

LA TRIBUNE

ÉDITION
NATIONALE

LE QUOTIDIEN ÉCONOMIQUE DES MÉTROPOLES | MARDI 26 SEPTEMBRE 2017 - N° 6291



À LA UNE

Grand plan d'investissement ou tour de passe-passe ?

Le grand plan d'investissement promis par Emmanuel Macron a été révélé lundi par le Premier ministre. Il est doté de 57 milliards d'euros sur la durée du quinquennat, dont 24 milliards de mesures budgétaires nouvelles. Les priorités sont la formation professionnelle, la transition écologique et la transformation numérique.



DÉFENSE
Renault Trucks : les coulisses d'une vente explosive



CAPITAL-RISQUE
Bpifrance : welcome aux investisseurs américains

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

2,40€ mardi 26 septembre 2017 LE FIGARO - N° 22 745 - www.lefigaro.fr - France métropolitaine uniquement

Dernière édition

lefigaro.fr

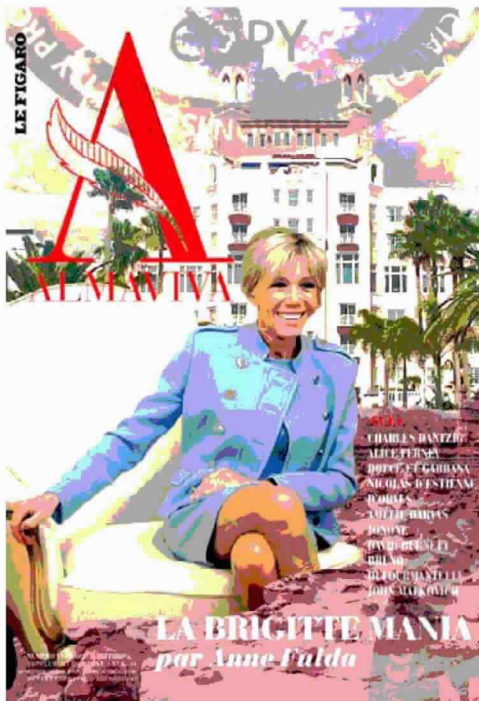
LE FIGARO

« Sans la liberté de blâmer, il n'est point d'éloge flatteur » - Beaumarchais

PATRIMOINE

LE CHÂTEAU DE
RAMBOUILLET, UN JOYAU
À REDÉCOUVRIR PAGE 28

DISPARITION

GISÈLE CASADESUS, UN SIÈCLE
DE TALENT À LA SCÈNE
ET À L'ÉCRAN PAGE 35«Almaviva», une nouvelle saison
de culture et d'art de vivre

Sans statut officiel ni mandat électoral, Brigitte Macron jouit d'une popularité exceptionnelle. Dans notre supplément *Almaviva*, écrivains, sociologues, créateurs de mode, historiens livrent leur vision de cette femme de 64 ans dont le style inédit et singulier bouscule les schémas traditionnels et les clichés de première dame.

Europe: le projet
de Macron
contrarié par
le scrutin allemand

Le président français dévoilera, ce mardi à la Sorbonne, sa vision pour relancer l'Union. Il devra composer avec l'arrivée probable dans la coalition allemande de libéraux, hostiles à ses idées.

Le chef de l'État aura attendu le surlendemain des élections en Allemagne pour lancer un «processus» visant à approfondir l'Union économique et monétaire.

Officiellement, le résultat du scrutin n'a pas changé sa vision. En dévoilant mardi ses positions de réformes européennes, Emmanuel Macron ne veut

«rien imposer» à ses partenaires, en particulier allemands. Mais il espère qu'elles seront entendues dans les négociations de la future coalition allemande.

À Berlin, la chancelière devra composer avec les libéraux du FDP, qui ont affiché pendant la campagne leur hostilité à certaines idées du président français.

Les Vingt-Sept face aux défis
d'une Union à plusieurs vitesses

Le Brexit a donné un coup d'accélérateur au vieux débat sur une «Europe des cercles». L'idée est de permettre à ceux qui veulent aller de l'avant pour tout ce qui touche au budget, à

l'euro, à la sécurité des frontières et à la défense de l'Europe de le faire. Mais il reste à définir les règles du jeu de cette option qui ressort à chaque fois que le projet européen paraît

en panne. Emmanuel Macron veut explorer cette piste, à laquelle n'est pas hostile Angela Merkel, mais Français et Allemands ne sont pas toujours d'accord sur l'objectif.

→ DES ENSEIGNEMENTS QUI VALENT AUSSI POUR LE PRÉSIDENT FRANÇAIS → LES DIVERGENCES FRANCO-ALLEMANDES SUR L'EURO MISES À NU → LA COALITION «JAMAÏQUE» OU L'ALLIANCE DES CONTRAIRES → AFFAIBLIE, MERKEL DOIT RASSEMBLER UNE ALLEMAGNE SONNÉE → UN QUATRIÈME MANDAT QUI S'ANNONCE DIFFICILE → L'EST EUROPÉEN CRAINT D'ÊTRE DOUBLEMENT MARGINALISÉ PAGES 2, 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 16 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

CHAMPS LIBRES

- Entretien avec Stéphane Rozès
- La tribune du général Jean-Pierre Bosser
- La chronique de Renaud Girard
- L'analyse d'Eugénie Bastié

PAGES 16 ET 17

FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de lundi:
La déclaration de Jean-Luc Mélenchon sur les nazis est-elle une faute politique ?

NON 23% OUI 77%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 39748

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr

Le score de l'extrême droite en Allemagne sous enquête-t-elle ?

AUDIT/ CENTRE DES MONUMENTS NATIONAUX-MAGNAN-L'ÉFIGARO

ABO : 2,60 € - BEL : 2,40 € - CH : 3,70 € - CAN : 5,20 € - D : 3,00 € - A : 3,50 € - ESP : 2,20 € - CROATIE : 2,20 € - GR : 3,00 € - DTM : 2,70 € - ITA : 2,80 € - LUX : 2,40 € - NL : 3,00 € - PORTUGAL : 2,80 € - MAR : 20 DH - TUN : 3,00 DT - ZONE CFA : 2,200 CFA - ISSN 0352-5852

ÉDITORIAL par Arnaud de La Grange adelagrang@lefigaro.fr

Vers l'Europe qui protège

Que tout semblait beau vu des hauteurs de la Pnyx, quand Emmanuel Macron déployait sa vision européenne. Du bureau athénien, le président français en appelait au renouveau démocratique. Et, avec justesse, à la refondation d'un projet enclavé. Dans le ciel grec ne planaient que les légers nuages de l'élection allemande. Ils devaient vite se dissiper. Le ciel, en fait, s'est singulièrement obscurci. Pour Paris, les nouvelles venues de Berlin ne sont pas excellentes. Une Merkel IV affaiblie, dépendante d'alliés euro-contrariants et mordue au mollet par des opposants anti-Europe. On croit déjà entendre, dans le fracas des batailles bruxelloises, Emmanuel Macron aider Angela Merkel à esquiver les coups. «Mutti, gardez-vous à gauche, gardez-vous à droite!» Sur sa gauche, la chancelière devra ferrailler avec les libéraux, a priori alliés mais bien décidés à tenir leurs positions. Ils ont déjà averti que les idées de Macron, comme un budget pour la zone euro, ne leur plaisaient pas du tout. Sur sa droite, Merkel aura les opposants musclés de l'AD. Un parti «anti-migrants» et «anti-islam» qui s'est d'abord construit

comme «anti-euro»... Gageons que cette situation servira aussi parfois Angela Merkel. Elle n'avait acquiescé que du bout des lèvres à certaines idées du président français. Pour les écarter, elle pourra se retrancher derrière le «contrat de coalition».

Les Français misent sur les intérêts européens bien compris des Allemands et leur sens légendaire du compromis. Mais il faut aussi tenir compte du signal venu d'outre-Rhin. Les grandes questions non résolues, comme la crise migratoire, ont pesé dans la percée des populistes allemands. Pour sauver l'UE, Berlin et Paris devront bâtir cette «Europe qui protège».

Ses citoyens, ses frontières, l'emploi et la compétitivité. Sur ces sujets de «souveraineté», déjà pris en main par Emmanuel Macron, il est essentiel d'obtenir des résultats concrets. Angela Merkel a dit elle-même l'importance que le «vocalisateur» sur l'Europe soit «doté d'un contenu». C'est, assurément, ce qui longtemps a fait défaut. ■

Macron et Merkel doivent avant tout rassurer



Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

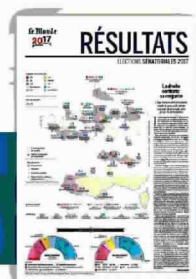
MARDI 26 SEPTEMBRE 2017
79 ANNEE - N° 23613
2,50 € - FRANCE METROPOLITAINE
WWW.LEMONDE.FR
FONDATEUR : HUBERT BEUVE-MERY
DIRECTEUR : JÉRÔME FÉROGLIO

Le Monde

ELECTIONS SÉNATORIALES:
LA DROITE RENFORCE
SA MAINMISE

LRM NE PARVIENT PAS
À PERCER ; LES AMBITIONS
DE MACRON CONTRARIÉES

RETROUVEZ TOUS
LES RÉSULTATS DANS
NOTRE CAHIER SPÉCIAL



MERKEL VICTORIEUSE MAIS FRAGILISÉE PERCÉE HISTORIQUE DE L'EXTRÊME DROITE

► Avec 33 % des voix pour les conservateurs (CDU-CSU), Angela Merkel enregistre une victoire en forme de désaveu. La chancelière devra bâtir une coalition inédite avec les libéraux du FDP (10,7 %) et les Verts (8,9 %)

► Le parti d'extrême droite AfD devient la troisième force politique du pays, avec 12,6 % et 94 élus au Bundestag

► Avec 20,5 % des voix, les sociaux-démocrates du SPD enregistrent le plus mauvais score de leur histoire

INTERNATIONAL - PAGES 2-6
CAHIER ÉCO - PAGES 4-5

ÉDITORIAL

UN QUATRIÈME
MANDAT À HAUTS
RISQUES POUR
LA CHANCELIERE

PAGE 26



Au siège de la
CDU, à Berlin,
le 24 septembre.
TOBIAS SCHWARTZ/APP

Politique L'exécutif annonce 57 milliards d'investissement

C'était une promesse du candidat Macron : lancer un plan d'investissement, en parallèle des mesures d'économies. Deux jours avant la présentation du budget, Édouard Philippe devait annoncer, lundi 25 septembre, une enveloppe de 57 milliards d'euros, répartie entre la transition écologique (20 milliards), la formation (15 milliards), la compétitivité (13 milliards) et la transformation numérique de l'Etat (9 milliards)

PAGE 13

Urbanisme Semaine décisive pour EuropaCity

Le projet de complexe de loisirs et de commerces EuropaCity, au nord de Paris, va être remanié alors que la ville de Gonesse vote lundi son nouveau plan d'urbanisme

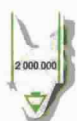
CAHIER ÉCO - PAGE 1



Entre rêve
et réalité, les
temps forts du
Monde Festival

« Rêver » : telle était l'invitation de la 4^e édition du Monde Festival, qui a réuni près de 25 000 personnes à Paris, pour un week-end riche en débats et spectacles

PAGES 17-19



Contraception
En 2016, la pilule
ne convainc
plus qu'un tiers
des femmes

PAGE 15

Politique
Surenchère
sécuritaire pour
sortir de l'état
d'urgence

PAGE 14

Enquête
Drôle de drame
à la paroisse
de Rove,
près de Marseille

PAGE 20

LE REGARD DE PLANTU



Algérie 220 DA, Allemagne 1,90 €, Argentine 1,00 €, Australie 1,30 €, Belgique 2,30 €, Brésil 2,10 €, Canada 1,20 \$, Chine 6,90 ¥, Danemark 6,80 kr, Espagne 1,60 €, États-Unis 1,30 \$, Finlande 6,40 €, France 1,00 €, Grèce 1,90 €, Hongrie 360 Ft, Italie 1,00 €, Japon 110 ¥, Royaume-Uni 0,75 £, République tchèque 24 Kč, Roumanie 4,70 Lei, Russie 62,50 Rub, Suède 9,00 kr, Suisse 0,90 CHF, Taïwan 30,00 NTD, Thaïlande 35,00 Baht, Turquie 1,60 TL, Ukraine 16,00 Hryvnia, Vietnam 23,00 VND, Yémen 250 RY

burov, CANAPES DUVIVIER, L'ÉOLUX, steiner neology

Cet automne, DES OFFRES EXCEPTIONNELLES
SUR LES PLUS GRANDES MARQUES DE CANAPÉ

Canapés, literie, mobilier : 3 000 M² D'ENVIES !
PARIS 15^e • 71/71 • M^o BOUICCAUT • P. GRATUIT
Canapés : 63 rue de la Convention, 01 45 77 80 40
Literie : 66 rue de la Convention, 01 45 02 50 10
Armoires lits : 60 rue de la Convention, 01 45 71 59 49
Dressing Cello : 143 rue St-Charles, 01 45 79 95 15
Steiner et mobilier : 145 rue Saint-Charles, 01 45 75 02 81
Meubles Gautier : 147 rue Saint-Charles, 01 45 75 02 81

Espace Topper
Maison familiale depuis 1925
www.topper.fr

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario



Disney Mickey, la petite souris qui vaut près de 9 milliards de dollars // P. 22

L'ESSENTIEL

TRUMP DURCIT LE DÉCRET ANTI-IMMIGRATION

La Maison-Blanche a étendu la liste de pays indésirables sur le sol américain. Les interdictions sont définitives et non plus temporaires. // P. 7

ENTREPRISES & MARCHÉS

PEU DE BLOCAGES DE ROUTIERS, PAS DE PÉNURIE D'ESSENCE

L'appel à manifester lancé lundi par les fédérations CCF et FO-transport n'a pas suscité une vague de blocages. // P. 15 ET L'ÉDITORIAL DE JEAN-FRANÇOIS PÉRESSE P. 9

TOTAL PROLONGE SON PLAN D'ÉCONOMIES JUSQU'EN 2020

Le pétrolier français vise une réduction de ses coûts de 5 milliards de dollars. Patrick Pouyanné se prépare pour une période de prix bas plus longue que prévu. // P. 18

LA FRENCH TECH S'INSTALLE À L'ÉTRANGER

D'après le baromètre EY et France Digitale, les start-up françaises sont installées à l'étranger pour plus de la moitié d'entre elles. // P. 24

CAPITAL-RISQUE : PARIS DÉPASSE LONDRES

Les levées de capitaux des fonds français ont atteint 2,7 milliards d'euros depuis janvier. C'est 400 millions de plus que les levées britanniques. // P. 27

LE COUP DE POUCE DE BERCY POUR LE SECTEUR FINANCIER

Avec le Brexit à l'esprit, Bercy va proposer dans son projet de budget d'alléger la taxe sur les salaires et celle sur les transactions financières. // P. 28

CARNET // P. 24



Voyage Les tour-opérateurs français retrouvent la croissance // P. 20

ET NOS INFORMATIONS PP. 35 À 37



DOMINIQUE SEUX
DANS « L'ÉDITO ÉCO »
À 7H45
DU LUNDI AU VENDREDI

M 00104 - 926 - F. 2,50 €



ISSN 0954-4743 105. ANNÉE
NUMÉRO 22537 38 PAGES

Antilles Réunion 3,50 € Guyane-St Martin 4,00 € Belgique 3,10 € Espagne 3,80 € Grande-Bretagne 3,20 € Grèce 3,50 € Italie 3,80 € Luxembourg 3,30 € Maroc 27 Dht Suisse 10 Frs Tunisie 4 TND Zone CFA 2.700 CFA.

Les Echos

LE QUOTIDIEN DE L'ÉCONOMIE // MARDI 26 SEPTEMBRE 2017 // LESECHOS.FR

Alstom-Siemens, fusion à hauts risques

- Les conseils des deux groupes se réunissent ce mardi pour approuver l'opération.
- Le maintien de l'influence française au sein du futur groupe est au cœur des dernières discussions.

Alstom, le champion français du ferroviaire, s'apprête à fusionner avec l'allemand Siemens, son meilleur ennemi. Régulièrement évoqué depuis des années, ce scénario devrait, sauf ultime rebondissement, devenir une réalité ce mardi, à l'issue d'une réunion simultanée des conseils des deux entreprises. L'opération donnera naissance au leader européen de son secteur, avec le risque toutefois que l'identité tricolore d'Alstom se dilue jusqu'à la perte de contrôle. Siemens pourrait, en effet, détenir 50 %, voire plus, de la nouvelle entreprise. Mais les pouvoirs publics français, qui

soutiennent activement ce rapprochement, assurent que l'accord sera équilibré, et que plusieurs garanties ont été négociées. Selon plusieurs sources, le siège du nouvel Alstom devrait rester en France, tout comme les centres de recherche et développement qui y sont déjà. Henri Poupart-Lafarge, le PDG du groupe français, serait également maintenu à son poste. L'Etat n'a, en revanche, pas l'intention d'activer la clause qui lui permet, pour encore quelques semaines, d'acquiescer jusqu'à 20 % du capital d'Alstom auprès de Bouygues.

// PAGE 17 ET « CRIBLE » PAGE 38

La hausse du déficit de l'Etat, fausse note du budget 2018

BUDGET Le déficit de l'Etat va repasser au-dessus de 80 milliards d'euros en 2018, contre 69 milliards en 2016. Le plan d'investissement dévoilé lundi aura un impact budgétaire limité.

C'est une évolution qui écorne l'image de sérieux budgétaire vantée par le gouvernement. Si le déficit public (toutes administrations confondues) est annoncé en net retrait l'an prochain, le solde budgétaire de l'Etat va emprunter la pente contraire. Il devrait se creuser fortement, à 82,9 milliards d'euros. Bien plus que les 69,1 milliards de 2016. La faute à un exercice 2017 plus dégradé que prévu et aux mesures fiscales prises par l'exécutif. Néanmoins, le gouvernement pourra se consoler avec l'avis du Haut Conseil des finances publiques, qui devrait conforter les

hypothèses de construction du budget. Côté Sécurité sociale, 4,2 milliards d'économies devront être réalisées sur l'assurance-maladie pour contenir l'évolution des dépenses. Par ailleurs, l'exécutif a dévoilé lundi son plan d'investissement de 57 milliards, qui fait la part belle aux compétences et à l'écologie. Son impact sur le déficit est estimé à 30 milliards sur la durée du quinquennat et est déjà intégré dans la programmation. // PAGES 2 À 4, L'ÉDITORIAL D'ÉTIENNE LEFEBVRE PAGE 9 ET LA CHRONIQUE DE JEAN-MARC VITTORI PAGE 10



Usine AvtoVAZ. Photo AvtoVAZ

Renault se prépare au rebond du marché russe

Sa filiale russe AvtoVAZ est revenue à l'équilibre au premier semestre.

AUTOMOBILE Huit ans après son entrée au capital d'AvtoVAZ, Renault pourrait enfin tirer un bénéfice de son investissement en Russie. La rentabilité opérationnelle du fabricant des célèbres Lada s'est redressée, notamment grâce à deux nouveaux modèles et à de gros efforts sur les coûts. // PAGE 16

Le casse-tête de Merkel pour former un gouvernement



ÉLECTIONS Après une victoire électorale amère, dimanche, la chancelière veut se laisser le temps pour former un gouvernement, dont la politique européenne pourrait être entravée selon les partenaires choisis. Les discussions s'annoncent difficiles. Le Parti social-démocrate a répété lundi son refus de gouverner de nouveau avec Angela Merkel, qui en appelle au sens des responsabilités du SPD. Les libéraux du FDP et les Verts sont disposés à négocier la formation d'une coalition, mais ils ont des vues diamétralement opposées sur l'Europe. // PAGE 6

Rajoy dans le piège catalan

L'analyse par Cécile Thibaud

Le chef du gouvernement espagnol avait fait le pari que les indépendantistes de Catalogne n'iraient pas jusqu'au bout dans leur volonté de faire secession, explique Cécile Thibaud. Mais son indifférence a joué le rôle de détonateur dans les mobilisations massives qui se déroulent ces derniers jours en faveur du référendum d'autodétermination. La voie de sortie pourrait être un pas de l'Espagne vers un modèle plus fédéraliste. // PAGE 9

DEUX MILLIONS DE PERSONNES DANS UNE FILE D'ATTENTE. ÇA VOUS SEMBLE ACCEPTABLE ?



FAIRE DU LOGEMENT LA PREMIÈRE PIÈTRE DU BIEN VIVRE ENSEMBLE

alila

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

2,00 € Première édition. N° 11303

MARDI 26 SEPTEMBRE 2017

www.libération.fr

The New York Times Chaque mardi, retrouvez un supplément spécial de 4 pages avec les meilleurs articles et éditoriaux du «New York Times», en anglais.

Libération

Qui veut la peau de la pilule ?

Le contraceptif numéro 1 des Françaises est délaissé par les plus jeunes, accusé d'être non naturel, source de troubles mineurs, voire dangereux. Des critiques sérieuses ou un phénomène de génération ? **PAGES 16-19**

MICHEL GALLIARD / KPA / OUTLINE / CIA

POURQUOI L'ALLEMAGNE A CRAQUÉ



Inégalités croissantes, accueil des migrants... L'extrême droite a misé sur la peur du déclassement pour entrer au Bundestag. Remettant en cause le modèle allemand. **PAGES 2-6**

IMPRIMÉ EN FRANCE / PRINTED IN FRANCE Allemagne 2,50 €, Andorre 2,50 €, Autriche 3,00 €, Belgique 2,00 €, Canada 5,00 \$, Danemark 29 Kr., DOM 2,60 €, Espagne 2,50 €, États-Unis 5,00 \$, Finlande 2,90 €, Grande-Bretagne 2,00 £, Grèce 2,90 €, Irlande 2,60 €, Israël 23 ILS, Italie 2,50 €, Luxembourg 2,00 €, Maroc 20 Dh., Norvège 30 Kr., Pays-Bas 2,50 €, Portugal (cont.) 2,70 €, Slovaquie 2,90 €, Suède 27 Kr., Suisse 3,40 FS, TOM 450 CFP, Tunisie 3,00 DT, Zone CFA 2 300 CFA.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

MARDI 26 septembre 2017 / Edition Bruxelles / Brabant wallon / Quotidien / N° 224 / 1,60 € / 02 225 55 55

LE SUGARDATING, CETTE PROSTITUTION QUI NE DIT PAS SON NOM P. 7

lesoir.be

LE SOIR

1^{er}
JOURNAL
À BRUXELLES

ALLEMAGNE

Macron veut peser
sur la formation
du gouvernement

P.11

La FGTB
dénonce
la précarité
de l'emploi
à Bruxelles

Ce mardi se tient le Sommet social bruxellois, rendez-vous annuel entre le gouvernement et les interlocuteurs sociaux. Le patron de la FGTB Bruxelles, Philippe Van Muylder, saisit l'occasion pour faire le point sur la situation en région bruxelloise. Il souligne avant tout plusieurs facteurs qui évoluent positivement : « Le taux de chômage qui diminue. Il y a des exclusions mais le phénomène est réel. Il y a aussi des dossiers qui évoluent bien : la réforme des groupes-cibles, l'ordonnance en matière de lutte contre la discrimination à l'embauche ». Mais il s'empresse de préciser que la qualité n'est pas au rendez-vous pour nombre d'emplois créés : « Il y a une hausse du nombre d'intérimaires, de temps partiels subis, des contrats étudiants. Près d'un travailleur bruxellois sur 7 occupe un contrat temporaire. Plus de 15.000 personnes dans l'intérim le sont toute l'année avec des contrats d'un jour ! En 2004, c'était 5.047 ». Et de dénoncer la précarisation « à la Deliveroo » qui progresse aussi rapidement que le message qui l'accompagne : « Vous avez un emploi, soyez content », ce qu'il conteste fermement. ■

► P. 4 NOS INFORMATIONS

De moins
en moins
de dossiers
en correctionnelle

Entre 2010 et 2015, les parquets ont enregistré une baisse de 18 %. Pour 2016 et 2017, la baisse serait plus forte encore.

En passant, en cinq ans, de 713.038 à 585.787, le nombre de dossiers entrant dans les parquets correctionnels a de quoi interpeller. D'autant que cette baisse de 18 % sur l'ensemble du pays ne serait qu'un avant-goût des chiffres qui se dessinent pour 2016 et 2017. La baisse globale s'élèverait alors à une trentaine de pour cent en l'espace de

quelques années. A titre d'exemple, le parquet de Bruxelles annonce un chiffre de 81.878 dossiers en 2016 contre 91.338 l'année avant. Et pour 2017, ses statistiques pointent à ce jour 61.096 affaires.

Le collège des procureurs généraux s'est donc penché sur le phénomène et y apporte plusieurs explications. L'importance des moyens mo-

bilisés pour la lutte contre le terrorisme figure au nombre de celles-ci. D'abord parce qu'elle implique le déploiement de davantage de forces policières dans les rues, ce qui a un effet dissuasif face à certains types d'infractions (vois dans les habitations, petits deals, arrachages de sacs). Mais aussi parce que cette politique d'occupation du terrain a des effets

négatifs. Le procureur général de Liège, Christian De Valneer, concède en effet que « forcément, il y a moins de disponibilités du côté des services de police pour constater certaines infractions... C'est un deuxième élément d'explication qui permet de comprendre la baisse de dossiers entrants ».

► P. 3 NOTRE DOSSIER

DIABLES ROUGES
La tournée
asiatique
remplacée par
deux amicaux
à Bruxelles

P. 22



WEB

Visant des publics
de niche,
les podcasts
ont le vent
en poupe

P. 20

CHRONIQUE

Kahn :

« Mélenchon,
capable
du meilleur
mais trop souvent
du pire » P. 21

Agents immobiliers : les clients seront mieux protégés

Déjà soumis à une réforme d'importance en 2013 qui durcissait les sanctions en cas de malversations – suspensions et radiations à la clé – et encourageait les formations, le secteur immobilier poursuit sa « professionnalisation ». Moins diplomatiquement dit, les « cow-boys » existent encore, de même que des pratiques commerciales douteuses et les malversations, et une autre réforme s'imposait. Le projet de loi est passé en première lecture au Conseil des

ministres en juillet et devrait être voté avant la fin de l'année pour une entrée en vigueur en 2018.

Mais que contient-il, ce projet de loi, concrètement, dont on nous assure « qu'il n'a pas pour volonté de renforcer le répressif, mais plutôt son volet préventif » ?

D'abord, et c'est un point majeur de la réforme, quand une plainte arrive sur sa table, l'Institut professionnel de l'immobilier (IPI) pourra demander au juge, selon une procédure d'urgence (en référé),

la désignation d'un administrateur provisoire, qui va gérer l'agence, bloquer l'accès des comptes à l'agent ou au syndic épinglé. L'argent des clients ne transiterait donc pas vers d'autres cieux en attendant qu'on statue sur le cas.

Autre innovation : la création par la loi de l'obligation pour l'agent immobilier d'être titulaire d'un « compte tiers », comme cela se pratique pour les avocats ou les notaires. Il s'agit de dissocier les comptes personnels de l'agent des

comptes de la société du gérant. Cela a son importance en cas de faillite puisqu'il est déjà arrivé qu'une curatelle prélève ou bloque des fonds de clients en transit sur le compte de l'agent.

Enfin, la procédure de traitement des plaintes par l'IPI sera modifiée pour offrir une voie de recours aux plaignants et le niveau de formation exigé des agents et syndics sera relevé. ■

► P. 16 NOS INFORMATIONS

L'ÉDITO

Béatrice Delvaux
ÉDITORIALE EN CHEFLE DÉSARROI
DU
POLITIQUE

Le gros coup sur la tête, puis le désarroi. Au lendemain des élections allemandes, une immense interrogation domine : comment donc parler à ces

peuples qui votent pour l'extrême droite ? Que dire et que proposer lorsque, même en Allemagne, les électeurs vont voter pour un parti qui les ramène aux heures les plus noires du racisme, du fascisme et de l'indignité ? Comment endiguer cette vague qui se propage sans se dissoudre, en France, aux Pays-Bas, en Pologne, en Hongrie, jusqu'aux États-Unis ?

Peut-être d'abord en ne se trompant pas de constat. L'analyse du cas allemand rejoint celle du FN en France : les électeurs qui ont fait dimanche le succès de l'AFD ne font pas ce choix par conviction « nazie », nostalgie du four crématoire ou racisme primaire. Ils votent comme on renverse une

table : sous le coup de la colère, par envie de punir quelqu'un(e), soit ces dirigeants qu'ils voient éloignés de la réalité de leur quotidien, qui n'assèneraient que des « il faut » et des « on doit » que, par ailleurs, ils s'appliquent.

Comment donc parler à ces peuples qui votent pour l'extrême droite ?

raient peu à eux-mêmes. Envie de sortir d'un horizon personnel en cul-de-sac, envie de ne plus se sentir en danger ou déclassé. Chômeurs, ouvriers, jeunes, plus de 55 ans, classes moyennes : ils ont pour beaucoup le sentiment d'être mis à l'écart/oubliés par un

progrès technologique ou un profit financier réservés désormais à une élite locale, ou à d'autres peuples, sur d'autres continents, qui ont, eux, le vent économique en poupe. C'est une terrible défaite pour les valeurs humanistes de voir M^{me} Merkel sanctionnée pour un « Wir Schaffen Das » qui voulait rassurer les populations locales sur la gestion de l'afflux de réfugiés, en même temps qu'assurer les migrants de l'existence d'un havre. C'est d'autant plus cruel pour la chancelière qu'aujourd'hui, ceux qui ont voté contre elle reconnaîtraient que le problème migratoire est sous contrôle. Mais la colère est là, amenant des

responsables politiques partout en Europe à penser qu'elle autorise les excès populistes, et cette fameuse « parole/action libérée » sur laquelle le Premier ministre belge sera amené à s'exprimer ce mardi à la Chambre. Quelle offre politique proposer à ces citoyens désabusés ? Quel projet de société crédible et « faisable » mettre sur table ? Les écologistes et les sociaux-démocrates cherchent sans trouver. Le monde politique sera plus fort s'il l'élabore au niveau européen, mais cela va demander d'être courageux et têtus pour oser jouer cette carte commune qu'en Allemagne aussi, désormais, il est devenu de bon ton de déconsidérer.

PRIX DE LA CRITIQUE
« La Convivialité »
sacree découverte
théâtrale
de l'année P. 17

LE SOIR

Lisez la carte blanche de Thierry Lemmens, ancien commandant de bord Sabena/Sobellair : « Ryanair, la fin du pirate ? », dans laquelle il affirme qu'« un management comme celui que propose Michael O'Leary n'est plus acceptable, tant pour les conditions de travail des employés de Ryanair que pour le confort et la sécurité des voyageurs ».



5 413635 081224

MARCHÉS
PETITES ANNONCES
NÉCROLOGIE

14

25

25

RÉGIONS

MOTS CROISÉS & SUDOKU

MÉTÉO & LOTERIE

27 À 29

30

30

BON À DÉCOUPER

TÉLÉVISION

PETITE GAZETTE

30

31

32

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario



ESERCITO

UFFICIO GENERALE DEL CAPO DI SM

UFFICIO PUBBLICA INFORMAZIONE E COMUNICAZIONE

DAILY NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

THE TIMES

Tuesday September 26 2017 | thetimes.co.uk | No 72338

26

Only £1 to subscribers £1.60



Good University Guide

How to pick the right course

Pullout

7 papers for £2.67
The Times and
Sunday Times sale
See pages 22-23 for details. T&Cs apply.

Trump's tweet is a declaration of war, says North Korea

Rhys Blakely Washington

A bellicose tweet from President Trump constitutes a "declaration of war" against North Korea, the regime's foreign minister said yesterday as he threatened to shoot American military aircraft out of international skies.

"Last weekend Trump claimed that our leadership wouldn't be around much longer, and hence, at last, he

declared war on our country," Ri Yong-ho said in New York. "Given that this comes from someone that is holding the seat of the United States presidency, this is clearly a declaration of war."

The remarks were apparently a response to a tweet by Mr Trump in which he referred to a threat by Mr Ri to detonate a hydrogen bomb over the Pacific. "Just heard foreign minister of North Korea speak at UN. If he echoes

thoughts of Little Rocket Man, they won't be around much longer!" Mr Trump wrote. Little Rocket Man was a reference to Kim Jong-un, leader of the nuclear-armed regime.

Mr Ri said yesterday: "Since the US declared war on our country, we will have every right to make counter-measures, including the right to shoot down US strategic bombers even when they are not yet inside the airspace

border of our country. The question of who won't be around much longer will be answered then."

Colonel Robert Manning, a Pentagon spokesman, said: "If North Korea does not stop their provocative actions we will make sure that we provide options to the president." Sarah Huckabee Sanders, the White House press secretary, dismissed Mr Ri's claim as absurd. American B-1B Lancer bombers,

escorted by fighter jets, flew in international airspace east of North Korea on Saturday. The flight, disclosed shortly before Mr Ri was due to address the UN, was the farthest north of the demilitarised zone separating North and South Korea that any US military sortie has flown this century, the Pentagon said.

Pyeonggang tested what it said was a hydrogen bomb that could be mounted on an intercontinental missile.

Labour vows more state control with £200bn raid

McDonnell plans sweeping renationalisation

Francis Elliott Political Editor
Harry Wilson City Editor

Labour has pledged to seize control of up to £200 billion of contracts running schools, hospitals and prisons in an expansion of nationalisation plans that business leaders warned would send investors "running for the hills".

John McDonnell, the shadow chancellor, delighted party activists and union leaders yesterday with a promise to "bring back in-house" assets built and maintained under the private finance initiative (PFI).

He also said that Royal Mail and water, energy and rail companies would be taken back into public ownership in the first years of a Labour government. Ministers would decide compensation, paid in government bonds, for both nationalisation programmes. Under the plans, shareholders of companies using tax havens could be punished by being given less than the valuation.

Launched by the Conservatives in 1992, PFI projects enable the state to fund new public infrastructure without the government having to raise the money up front. Builders are instead commissioned to provide projects using their own money and the government pays the builder, or a company that buys out the contract, at regular intervals to lease the infrastructure over several decades. PFI contractors have made millions of pounds in profits. Labour refused to say how many of the

719 PFI contracts in place would be nationalised, how their value would be determined or the likely cost.

The head of Britain's leading public spending think tank warned that the "very big-scale nationalisation" would mean an "awful lot" in upfront costs. "This is not about just getting rid of austerity or moving back to where the last Labour government was," Paul Johnson, of the Institute for Fiscal Studies, said. "This is a root-and-branch change to the way the economy has worked since at least the 1970s."

Carolyn Fairbairn, director-general of the Confederation of British Industry, which represents nearly 200,000 businesses, said it would scare investors already nervous about Brexit. "This would threaten the living standards of the very people that need help, from pensioners to students," she said. "Forced nationalisation of large parts of British industry will send investors running for the hills and puts misplaced nostalgia ahead of progressive vision."

Millions of pensioners, including retired public sector workers, face losing out under the PFI plans, experts said. The £4.2 billion London Pensions Fund Authority (LPFA), one of Britain's biggest retirement plans with nearly 80,000 members, among them firefighters and council workers, has an investment of close to £100 million in Semperton PPP Investments Partners, a Jersey-registered PFI provider.

Edi Truett, former chairman of the

Continued on page 2, col 3



Looking at you Prince Harry and his girlfriend, Meghan Markle, appeared side by side at a public event for the first time as they attended the Invictus Games, for injured service personnel, in Toronto yesterday to watch a wheelchair tennis match

Smile! Happiness boosts effect of flu vaccine

Oliver Moody Science Correspondent

Older people going for their annual flu jab may find that it helps to be a little more Ronnie Corbett and a little less Victor Meldrew.

Researchers are trying to find ways of pepping up the over-65s before they see the GP after discovering that a sunny disposition improves their response to the vaccination.

The findings come as academics warned that Britain could be hit by the worst flu season in half a century if the H3N2 strain arrives from Australia, which had its worst outbreak on record this year, with at least 166,000 cases and 72 deaths. The elderly are particularly

vulnerable: flu vaccines tend to fail in 50 to 80 per cent of older adults, and more than 90 per cent of flu deaths occur in this age group.

A smile may afford extra protection, however. Scientists found that being in good spirits appears to exert a stronger effect on the immune system's uptake of the flu vaccine than exercising, sleeping well or taking care over your diet.

A group led by Kavita Vedhara, professor of health psychology at the University of Nottingham, signed up 138 people aged 65 to 85 through four local GP surgeries in the autumn and winter of 2014-15. Before and after the jab, each participant recorded their meals, activity, mood, stress levels and sleeping hours

every day. Immune responses were measured with blood tests. The only factor with an effect on the jab's success was good cheer. The link was strongest on the day the jab was administered, according to findings published in the journal *Brain, Behaviour and Immunity*.

Watching a comedy has been found to raise concentrations of antibodies and curb inflammation-inducing cytokines in the blood. The next step is to learn how to develop an intervention which people can self-administer: something that an older person could listen to, maybe when they are sitting in their car beforehand.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

DOW JONES News Center

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 2017 - VOL. XXXV NO. 167

WSJ.com EUROPE EDITION

DJA 22296.09 ▲ 0.24%

NASDAQ 5370.59 ▲ 0.88%

NIKKEI 20397.58 ▲ 0.50%

STOXX 600 383.90 ▲ 0.18%

BRENT 59.02 ▲ 3.80%

GOLD 1306.80 ▲ 1.04%

EURO 1.1841 ▼ 0.90%

What's News

Business & Finance

China is considering relaxing rules requiring foreign auto makers to have a local partner, a move that could pave the way for Tesla to build cars there. **A1**

◆ **More large companies** are disclosing their political spending and boards are taking on more direct oversight, a study found. **B1**

◆ **Microsoft is unveiling** a customer-service virtual assistant as it takes on IBM in the market to apply artificial intelligence to everyday business needs. **B1**

◆ **GE agreed** to sell its industrial-solutions unit to ASX for \$2.6 billion as its new CEO continues efforts to streamline the company. **B1**

◆ **Unilever agreed** to buy Carver Korea for \$2.7 billion, the latest in a string of skin-care acquisitions. **B1**

◆ **Target is raising** its minimum wage to \$11 an hour starting next month and to \$15 within three years as it competes to lure workers. **B3**

◆ **A Hellman & Friedman** consortium is buying Danish payment-processing firm Nets for \$5.3 billion. **B5**

◆ **The U.K. and EU** need to agree on a deal to protect trillions of dollars in derivatives contracts after Brexit, the Bank of England said. **B5**

◆ **Hurricane Maria** caused an estimated \$40 billion to \$85 billion in insured losses, mostly in Puerto Rico. **WSJ.com**

◆ **China said** it fired three social-media operators for hosting banned content. **B4**

World-Wide

◆ **Republicans pushing** a last-ditch bill to repeal the ACA made several changes to win support as they neared a critical deadline. **A1**

◆ **Germany's Merkel** began laying the groundwork for a three-way governing coalition after her bloc's weaker-than-expected victory. **A1**

◆ **Nationalist party AfD** made deep inroads in the stronghold of Germany's establishment parties, detailed data showed. **A5**

◆ **Japan's Abe** called a national election, betting voters would rally behind his alignment with Trump in confronting North Korea. **A4**

◆ **North Korea's foreign minister** said the U.S. had declared war and Pyongyang had the right to respond. The U.S. dismissed the claim. **A4**

◆ **Kurds voted** in a referendum on independence from Iraq, risking backlash from Baghdad and the international community. **A3**

◆ **Trump issued** a new ban on entry to the U.S. that puts limits on eight countries, including Chad, North Korea and Venezuela. **A6**

◆ **Poland's president** introduced a law that would force a third of top judges to retire and give parliament more power to replace them. **A5**

◆ **Sharif returned** to Pakistan to face a corruption trial, the ex-prime minister's political party said. **A4**

◆ **Defense Secretary Mattis** arrived in India on a trip to reinforce a budding U.S.-India defense partnership. **A1**

CONTENTS Markets... B6
Business News... B3
Central Europe... A2
Dow Jones... B1C1
Currencies... A12
Technology... B4
Finance & Markets... B5
U.S. News... A1
Health & Science... B8
World News... A2
Life & Arts... A12
World News... A25

CL20: GHS50, £200
U.S. Military Expenditure

97792191986122

© Copyright 2017 Dow Jones & Company. All Rights Reserved.

Iraqi Kurds Rush to Participate in Independence Referendum



CROWD CONTROL: Police try to keep people from forcing their way into a voting station in the northern Iraqi city of Erbil. Kurds began voting Monday in a landmark referendum on independence from Iraq, risking backlash from Baghdad and the international community. **A3**

Merkel Seeks New Coalition

German chancellor faces arduous talks to secure fourth term as far-right party rises

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI
AND ANDREA THOMAS

BERLIN—Chancellor Angela Merkel started laying the groundwork for an unprecedented three-way governing coalition, but faced headwinds from conservative allies reeling from losses to an upstart

nationalist party and clamoring for a tougher line on immigration and security. After her center-right bloc's weaker-than-expected victory in Sunday's election, Ms. Merkel faces no easy path to a fourth term. A coalition with the pro-business Free Democrats, the favored partner of her Christian Democrats, would still lack a majority of seats in parliament. And the center-left Social Democrats, who have governed alongside Ms. Merkel for the last four years, reiterated on Monday

that they would refuse to serve as her junior partner for another term. That leaves a three-way coalition with the Free Democrats and the environmentalist Greens, a combination never before formed on the federal level, as Ms. Merkel's only viable option. Ms. Merkel said she would invite the parties to preliminary talks and was committed to reaching an agreement. The Greens favor liberal policies on immigration and European integration, putting them at odds with the Free

Democrats and with conservatives in Ms. Merkel's bloc. "It is important that Germany get a good, stable government," Ms. Merkel said at a news conference at her party headquarters in Berlin. Far more skeptical rumblings came from Munich, the base for the CDU's influential Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union. The CSU suffered a stunning setback in Sunday's election. Please see **ELECT** page A5

◆ **Rise of AfD challenges Germany's mainstream**... **A5**

A WASHINGTON NOVICE TAKES ON THE TAX CODE

Treasury chief Mnuchin aims for an overhaul that no one else has managed since 1986

By RICHARD RUBIN
AND KATE DAVIDSON

Steven Mnuchin is facing the biggest test of his short political career.

The Treasury secretary has been working for months to bridge divides between an impulsive president and a fractious Congress to deliver on the Republican Party's promise of a simpler tax code with lower rates.

He has a powerful tailwind. Both Donald Trump and Republican lawmakers have promised a tax overhaul, which now remains one of their biggest domestic policy priorities since their efforts to repeal or overhaul the Affordable Care Act have so far fallen flat.

Stacked against Mr. Mnuchin, as negotiations near the make-or-break stage, are unresolved intra-party disagreements over how much lost tax revenue is

acceptable and how tax cuts should be apportioned among companies, high-income earners and the middle class. Lobbyists stand ready to resist almost any proposed changes.

Mr. Mnuchin is tackling this terrain with less political experience than any other recent Treasury secretary. He didn't follow the trajectory of Henry Paulson or Robert Rubin, who acquired Washington contacts while leading Goldman Sachs Group Inc. And while Mr. Mnuchin has a close relationship with the president, it doesn't appear to be like that of James Baker with Ronald Reagan, which allowed Mr. Baker to manage the last major revamp of the tax code.

By contrast, Mr. Mnuchin this month found himself overruled by the president on a policy issue, the debt ceiling.

Please see **TAXES** page A8

With Popularity Rebounding, Abe Calls Election



ON THE RISE: Japanese leader Shinzo Abe's decision to call an election is a bet that voters will back his North Korea policy. **A4**

Tesla May Get Easier Road to China

By THEODORE MOSES
AND EVA DOL

SHANGHAI—China is considering relaxing rules requiring foreign auto makers to have a local partner, according to people with knowledge of the situation, a move that could pave the way for Tesla Inc. to manufacture vehicles in the country.

Tesla has long dreamed of planting its flag in China, the world's biggest market for electric vehicles, but finds itself the only notable auto

maker without public plans to manufacture electric vehicles there. Finding a local partner has been a sticking point.

While there has long been talk of easing these rules, U.S. President Donald Trump's investigation last month to launch an investigation into Chinese trade practices likely accelerated discussions, these people said.

Under a draft proposal shared with auto-industry executives, China is preparing to allow foreign companies to manufacture electric vehicles

New U.S. Health Repeal Targets Key Votes

By STEPHANIE ARMOUR

WASHINGTON—Republicans pushing a last-ditch effort to topple the Affordable Care Act neared a critical deadline armed with changes to the bill's text and a new Trump administration analysis aimed at winning over wavering senators.

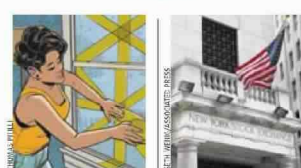
Pyongyang Official: U.S. Declared War

North Korea's foreign minister said the country interpreted recent remarks by Trump as a declaration of war. **A2, A4**

It was far from clear the changes would be enough to change the minds of the two GOP senators who have declared their opposition, however, or others who have said they are leaning against the legislation. But sponsors appeared to have little to lose, needing to lock in 50 votes before a Saturday deadline, when a crucial parliamentary vehicle expires with the end of the fiscal year.

The updated version of the bill sponsored by Sens. Lindsey Graham (R., S.C.) and Bill Cassidy (R., La.), circulating among lobbyists and on Capitol Hill as senators returned to Washington on Monday, would provide more benefits to states including Alaska, home to Republican Sen. Lisa Murkowski. Please see **HEALTH** page A6

INSIDE



AFTER A DISASTER, NEW CONFIDENCE

LIFE & ARTS, A12

IT'S TIME TO REINVENT THE IPO

STREETWISE, B1

Science Affliction: Is There a 'Blade Runner' Curse?

By DON STEINBERG

When the sci-fi classic "Blade Runner" was released in 1982, it conjured a Los Angeles of 2019 whose steampunk streets teem with flying cars and neon advertising.

Then came the curse: Many of the robust brands shown thriving in the cinematic future ran into financial troubles in the real world.

Next month, "Blade Runner" is back in a new film starring Ryan Gosling and Harrison Ford called "Blade Runner 2049." So will the



Harrison Ford in "Blade Runner"

"Blade Runner" curse return with the sequel? The original corporate curse was widespread. Atari,

whose logo shines on the street behind Mr. Ford in the original film, held an 80% share of the home videogame market in 1982. Within a year of its cameo, the company was dumping truckloads of unsold games into a New Mexico landfill, victim of a massive industry slump.

Headphone maker Koss Corp., featured on an electronics store in the original "Blade Runner," filed for chapter 11.

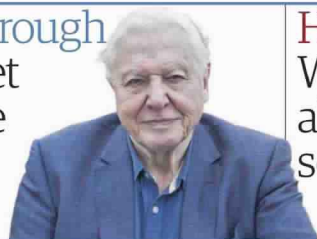
Please see **CURSE** page A8

◆ **Inside the renaming of 'Blade Runner'**... **A9**

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

David Attenborough The Blue Planet and the plague of plastic

→ all in g2



Hadley Freeman Why models always look so glum



Uber crisis How safe are women in cabs?



£2.00

Tuesday 26.09.17
Published in London
and Manchester
theguardian.com

£1.60 for
subscribers
page 20 →

the guardian

North Korea accuses US of declaring war

Pyeongyang threatens to shoot down planes after Trump's warning tweet

Julian Borger and Sabrina Siddiqui
Washington

North Korea has accused Donald Trump of declaring war and threatened to shoot down US bombers in international airspace in a significant escalation of tensions between the two countries.

The North Korean foreign minister, Ri Yong-ho, said: "The whole world should clearly remember it was the US who first declared war on our country." He referred in particular to a tweet by Trump on Sunday that warned that the regime's leaders "won't be around much longer".

In his first address to the UN last Tuesday, Trump had also warned that if the US and its allies were attacked, he would "totally destroy" North Korea. Ri said the UN and the international community had hoped that the war of words between the two countries would not turn into "real action".

"However, last weekend Trump claimed our leadership won't be around much longer, and hence at last he declared war on our country," Ri said, speaking to journalists through an interpreter outside the UN general assembly in New York. "Given the fact this came from someone who holds the seat of the US presidency, this is clearly a declaration of war."

He added: "Since the United States declared war on our country, we will have every right to make counter-measures, including the right to shoot down United States strategic bombers even when they are not yet inside the airspace border of our country."

"The question of who won't be around much longer will be answered then." The US denied it had declared war but said it had military options if North Korea did take further "provocative" actions.

"Frankly, the suggestion of that is absurd," said the White House press secretary, Sarah Huckabee Sanders.

"Our goal is still the same: we continue to seek the peaceful denuclearisation of the Korean peninsula," she said. "That's our focus - doing that through both the most maximum economic and diplomatic

pressures as possible at this point." Katina Adams, a spokeswoman for the state department, said: "The United States has not 'declared war' on North Korea. We continue to seek a peaceful denuclearisation of the Korean peninsula. No nation has the right to fire on other nations' aircraft or ships in international airspace or waters."

Meanwhile, the Pentagon said it had the right to fly sorties off the North Korean coast and would continue to do so. Col Robert Manning, a defence department spokesman, said the US had weighed military options in confronting the threat.

"If North Korea does not stop their provocative actions ... we will make sure that we provide options to the president to deal with North Korea," Manning said. Ri's threat came after a week in which tensions mounted, with an exchange of insults between Trump and Kim Jong-un, the North Korean dictator, and culminating in Trump's Sunday tweet and a sortie by US B-1B heavy bombers escorted by fighter planes off the North Korean coast - the first time US warplanes have flown north of the demilitarised zone that has separated North and South Korea since the 1950-53 war.

The US and North Korea have remained at war ever since, formally speaking. There was no peace treaty - and a UN armistice has remained in force since 1953.

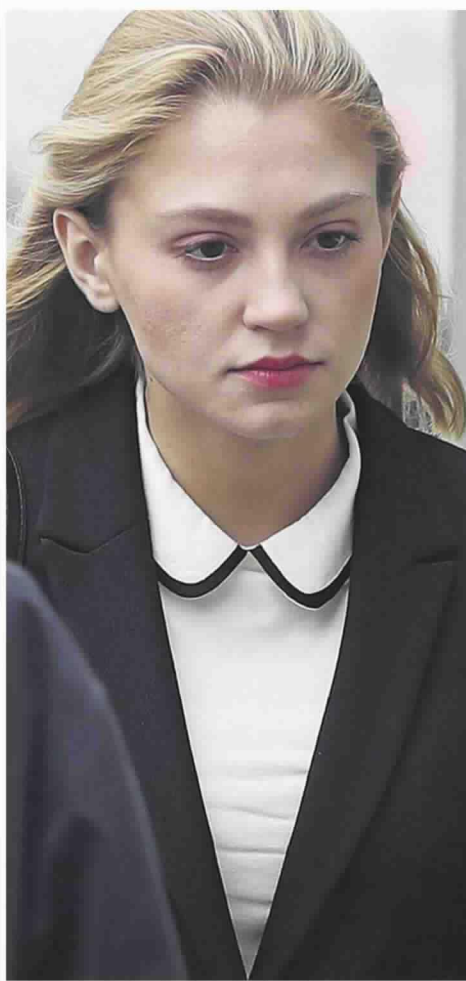
North Korea claims its national airspace as more than 50 miles off its coast, while the US recognises only the international norm of 12 nautical miles (14 miles). It is not clear how close Saturday's sortie came to the North Korean coast.

Neither is it clear whether Pyongyang's anti-aircraft missiles could shoot down a US bomber. Its KN-06 missiles have an estimated range close to 100 miles but it is not known whether it has the means to target and hit an offshore target.

"It is easier to prevent penetration than strike an aircraft that is offshore. The US military will be calibrating how and where it flies," said Adam Mount, a senior fellow at the Centre for American Progress. "It

Continued on page 2 →

Suspended sentence for Oxford student



Lavinia Woodward, who stabbed her boyfriend, outside court yesterday. A judge had hinted she wouldn't be jailed as it could damage her career

Barnier and Davis clash amid Brexit deadlock

Daniel Boffey and Rowena Mason

The Brexit secretary, David Davis, and the EU's chief negotiator, Michel Barnier, have clashed over the UK's exit bill and Britain's request for a transition period after Theresa May's Florence speech failed to unlock the stalemate in negotiations.

On the first day of the fourth round of talks, Barnier said the prime minister's £20bn (£17.6bn) offer did not mean the UK would be given a transition period or that negotiations could move on to the detail of a future trading relationship.

"It remains more necessary than ever to create the trust that we need to set up and build upon our future relationship," he said, adding that it was up to Britain to provide "clarity" with time running out before it leaves.

During a joint appearance in Brussels, Davis insisted there "could be no excuses for standing in the way" of progress this week and that it was "obvious" that discussions on the financial settlement needed to be undertaken in the context of talks over the future relationship.

Barnier's opening remarks are likely to disappoint No 10 and infuriate senior Brexit supporters in the government, who believe that May's Florence speech was a generous offer to the EU.

Boris Johnson, the foreign secretary, yesterday used a visit to the Czech Republic to claim the "ball is in the EU's court" after May promised to carry on living into the EU until at least 2020 and offered to enshrine the rights of EU citizens living in the UK in the Brexit withdrawal treaty.

"We are offering a great deal on citizens, a great deal on money, and an unconditional commitment to the defence of Europe. Let's hope we can move this thing forward and get these negotiations going," the foreign secretary said in Prague.

Johnson then headed to Romania and Slovakia as part of a "mission to explain the Florence speech and what it means for our determination to get on with negotiations over Brexit", while May placed an opinion article in a Czech newspaper, part of an effort to bypass the European Commission and take the UK's arguments straight to member states.

However, EU member states have made clear that authority over the talks lies with Barnier, who insists that Brussels needs to see sufficient progress on citizens' rights, the financial settlement and the Irish border before discussing future trade.

Continued on page 2 →

Nerve implant raises alertness of man in vegetative state

Hannah Devlin
Science correspondent

A 35-year-old man who had been in a vegetative state for 15 years has shown signs of consciousness after receiving a pioneering therapy involving nerve stimulation. The treatment challenges a widely accepted view that there is no prospect of a patient recovering consciousness if they have been in a vegetative state for longer than 12 months.

Since sustaining severe brain injuries in a car accident, the man had been completely unaware of the world around him. But when fitted with an implant to stimulate the vagus nerve, which travels into the brainstem, he appeared to flicker back into a state of consciousness.

He started to track objects with his eyes, began to stay awake while being read to, and his eyes opened wide in surprise when the examiner suddenly moved her face close to the patient's. He could even respond to some simple requests, such as turning his head when asked, although it took about a minute.

Angela Sirigu, who led the work at the Institut des Sciences Cognitives Marc Jeannerod in Lyon, France, said: "He is

"This paper is a warning to all those believing that a vegetative state is hopeless after a year"

still paralysed, he cannot talk, but he can respond. Now he is more aware."

Niels Birbaumer of the University of Tübingen, who is a pioneer of brain-computer interfaces to help patients with neurological disorders communicate, said the findings raised pressing ethical issues. "Many of these patients may and will have been neglected, and passive euthanasia may happen often in a vegetative state," he said. "This paper is a warning to all those believing that this state is hopeless after a year."

The vagus nerve, which the treatment targeted, connects the brain to almost all the vital organs in the body. It runs from the brainstem down both sides of the neck, across the chest and into the abdomen. In the brain, it is linked directly to

two regions known to play a role in alertness and consciousness.

In surgery lasting about 20 minutes, a small implant was placed around the vagus nerve in the man's neck. After one month of vagal nerve stimulation, the patient's attention, movements and brain activity had significantly improved and he had shifted into a state of minimal consciousness.

Recordings of brain activity also revealed major changes, with signs of increased electrical communication between brain regions and significantly more activity in areas linked to movement, sensation and awareness.

Similar stimulation has already been

Continued on page 4 →

Beaches Resorts
by Sandals

To Book The World's Leading All-Inclusive Resorts
Call 0800 742 742 • beaches.co.uk
in-store • See your local travel agent
Sandals Luxury Travel Store
135 Fulham Road, SW3 6RT

MORE QUALITY INCLUSIONS THAN ANY OTHER RESORTS IN THE WORLD

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario



ESERCITO

UFFICIO GENERALE DEL CAPO DI SM

UFFICIO PUBBLICA INFORMAZIONE E COMUNICAZIONE

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

VOL. CLXVII ... No. 57,732 +

© 2017 The New York Times Company

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 2017

\$2.50



In Puerto Rico, a Blunt Plea for Help

Waiting for water in Juncos, P.R. The governor said Monday that the island was on the brink of a "humanitarian crisis." Page A14.

North Koreans Issue a Threat To U.S. Planes

By RICK LARSON
and DAVID E. SANGER

North Korea threatened on Monday to shoot down American warplanes even if they were not in the country's airspace, stating that President Trump's comments suggesting he would eradicate North Korea and its leaders were "a declaration of war."

The warning, made by Foreign Minister Ri Yong-ho of North Korea in New York after a week of United Nations General Assembly meetings, escalated the investment exchanges with Mr. Trump and appeared to further preclude the possibility of a diplomatic exit from the biggest foreign crisis the administration has faced.

Administration officials denied that the United States had declared war on the isolated, nuclear-armed country of 25 million people, with Sarah Huckabee Sanders, the White House press secretary, calling such a suggestion "absurd."

She also said that "it's never appropriate to shoot down another country's aircraft when it's over international waters" and that the

Continued on Page A6

N.F.L. Players Knelt for Justice, But They Need a Lasting Stand

LANDOVER, Md. — It was undeniably a momentous Sunday for the National Football League. There were teams that were no-shows for the national anthem, and others that knelt and sat with owners. Players knelt and sat during the anthem, and some raised their fists.

But something was conspicuously missing from Sunday's stage: a real discussion about the issues Colin Kaepernick wanted

POLITICS AS INTRUSION Some in Pittsburgh wish to focus on protesting the sidelines. PAGE B9

A FLEETING UNITY N.F.L. team owners seem unlikely to continue joining players' protests. PAGE B9

As Syrian War Drags On, Assad's Grip Tightens

By BEN HUBBARD

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Although Syria's bloody six-year war is far from over, one result is already becoming clear: President Bashar al-Assad looks as though he is here to stay.

On the battlefield, no one remains who is willing and able to topple him. The rebel forces are waning, and President Trump has canceled the C.I.A. program that provided them with arms and support. The Islamic State, with its own agenda to rule Syria as a caliphate, is being routed from its strongholds.

Regional powers, foreign officials and Syrians themselves are increasingly operating as if he will rule for years to come, albeit over a greatly reduced country. His allies have begun to trumpet what they see as his impending victory, and his government is talking about rebuilding a shattered country, hosting an international trade fair last month and signing a deal with Iran to rebuild its power grid.

Even some longtime rebel supporters have grown weary-war and started to embrace the inevitable.

Since the government reclaimed control of the mountain town of Madaaya after a prolonged siege, life there has improved for

those who remained. The snipers left, electricity returned, food appeared in markets. Cafes reopened and people started going out.

"We are sick of the war," a teacher there said via instant message, speaking on the condition of anonymity so as not to be targeted for her past opposition to the government. "We want to live peacefully and safely, and we can't do that unless we are with the regime."

These developments do not suggest that Mr. Assad has an easy road ahead. He remains a pariah in much of the world, presiding over a divided land. If he emerges victorious, he is likely to be left with a weak state that is beholden to foreign powers and

lacks the resources to rebuild. But his endurance has serious ramifications for the country and for the Middle East, affecting the prospects of Syria's future stability, of refugees to return home and of the Syrian government to tap international funds to rebuild its destroyed cities.

It is also a grim, late act in the Arab Spring uprisings that broke out in 2011. While protests and armed insurrections removed power from the leaders of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, Mr. Assad has remained, despite warring tremendous violence against his people.

Mr. Assad himself has acknowledged the toll of the war, but argued that it has purified the state by eliminating threats to the nation and uniting Syrians around a shared project.

"We lost the best of our youth and our infrastructure," he told a conference in Damascus, Syria's

Continued on Page A8

6 Trump Aides Handled Work On Own Email

Criticism Over the Use
of Private Accounts

By MATT APPEZZO
and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — At least six of President Trump's closest advisers occasionally used private email accounts to send or receive at least a few work-related emails during the administration's first seven months. But Mr. Kushner was not alone. Stephen K. Bannon, the former chief White House strategist, and Reince Priebus, the former chief of staff, also occasionally used private email addresses. Other advisers, including Gary D. Cohn and Stephen Miller, sent or received at least a few emails on personal accounts, officials said.

Ivanka Trump, the president's elder daughter, who is married to Mr. Kushner, used a private account when she acted as an unpaid adviser early in the administration, Newsweek reported Monday. Administration officials acknowledged that she also occasionally did so when she formally became a White House adviser. The officials spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss the matter with reporters.

Officials are supposed to use government emails for their official duties so their conversations are available to the public and thus conducting oversight. But it is not illegal for White House officials to use private email accounts as long as they forward work-related messages to their work accounts so they can be preserved.

During the 2016 presidential campaign, Mr. Trump repeatedly harped on Hillary Clinton's use of a private account as secretary of state, making it a centerpiece of his campaign and using it to paint her as untrustworthy. "We must not let her take her criminal scheme into the Oval Office," Mr. Trump said last year. His campaign rallies often boiled over

with chants of "Lock her up."

Continued on Page A19

ANOTHER SENATOR DECLINES TO BACK G.O.P. HEALTH BILL

FAILURE ALL BUT CERTAIN

Collins Says Latest Plan
Is 'Deeply Flawed' —
Deadline Looms

By THOMAS KAPLAN
and ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON — A last-ditch attempt by President Trump and Senate Republicans to dismantle the Affordable Care Act appeared to collapse on Monday as a pivotal senator announced her firm opposition to the latest repeal plan, virtually ensuring that Republicans would not have the votes they need for passage.

The announcement by the senator, Susan Collins of Maine, effectively dooms what had been a long-shot effort by Republicans to repeal the health law after failing in dramatic fashion in July.

The demise of the latest repeal push means that Republicans are now all but certain to conclude Mr. Trump's first year in office without fulfilling one of their central promises, which the president and lawmakers had hoped to deliver on quickly after Mr. Trump took office.

For seven years, Republicans have said they would repeal President Barack Obama's signature domestic achievement and replace it with a new health care system more palatable to conservatives. But they were never able to formulate a replacement that was both politically and substantively viable.

Ms. Collins, one of three Republican senators who opposed the latest repeal attempt in July, described the latest plan as "deeply flawed." She expressed concerns about cuts to Medicaid as well as the rolling back of protections for people with pre-existing medical conditions.

Continued on Page A16

Weiner, Teary and Chastened, Is to Serve 21 Months for Lewd Texts

By BENJAMIN WEISER

He lost his seat in Congress, his audacious bid to resurrect his career as mayor of New York City, and his high-profile marriage. And he undermined Hillary Clinton's shot at the presidency in the closing days of the tumultuous 2016 campaign.

On Monday, Anthony D. Weiner, sobbing as the judge spoke, learned the final, personal cost of his seemingly uncontrollable habit of exchanging lewd texts and pictures with women and girls: 21 months in prison.

Mr. Weiner, a Democrat, was the essence of the brash politician fueled by relentless work and unbridled swagger. Until now, he was the beneficiary of multiple second chances, and earnest vows that he had learned his lesson.

But this time, there would be no second chance for Mr. Weiner, who pleaded guilty in May to one count of transferring obscene material to a minor, and had faced up to 10 years in prison.

His texting habit fueled his long and tortuous downfall. But it was his most recent exchanges with a 15-year-old girl that were the most personally ruinous: his wife filed for divorce, he pleaded guilty and now faces imprisonment.

Before the sentence was pronounced, Mr. Weiner, 53, did not so



Anthony D. Weiner leaving Federal District Court in Manhattan after his sentencing on Monday.

much ask for leniency as try to make a case that he had accepted full responsibility for his crime, and that he was a changed man. "I acted not only unlawfully but immorally, and if I had done the right thing, I would not be standing before you today," he said, crying.

ing as he addressed the judge.

"The prosecutors are skeptical that I have truly changed and I do blame them," he said. "I repeatedly acted in an obviously destructive way when I was caught." Reports of the federal investigation that led to Mr. Weiner's being

charged in the case first became public after the 15-year-old victim's story was told in a *Daily Mail* column in September 2016. It was during that investigation that the F.B.I. discovered on Mr. Weiner's laptop a trove of emails

Continued on Page A22



INTERNATIONAL A4-B6

Kurdish Vote for Independence Despite the Kurds' celebrations, the vote may cost them politically, with Iraq, Iran and Turkey all opposed. PAGE A7

Far Right's Cloud in Europe Right-wing populists are complicating Chancellor Angela Merkel's agenda, and the European Union's. PAGE A9

NATIONAL A10-20

Turning Point for Travel Ban The Supreme Court canceled a hearing on President Trump's travel ban after a new measure was announced. PAGE A12

Marriage and Your Paycheck Fewer Americans are marrying over all, and whether they do so, research shows, is more tied to socioeconomic status than ever before. PAGE A15

SPORTS/TUESDAY B14-B14

50th Homer Sets Rookie Mark The Yankees' Aaron Judge, who also has 2013 strikeouts, embodies modern baseball, Tyler Kepner writes. PAGE B9



SCIENCE D1-6

Mantis, on the Prey Praying mantises, nips of the insect world, are stalking birds. PAGE D1

ARTS C1-8

In Harlequin, a Vision for the Arts Thelma Golden prepares for a new profile for the Studio Museum. PAGE C1

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

An Entrepreneur's Ordeal A former dot-com entrepreneur, who is to go on trial in New York, says he has already undergone an ordeal in a Colombian prison. DealBook. PAGE B1

FASHION B16

Wondering if Milan Matters In a largely cut-of-focus season in Milan, Italian designers seem confused about their roles in the greater fashion ecosystem, Vanessa Friedman writes. PAGE B16

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Michelle Goldberg PAGE A27



NEW YORK A21-25

No Day at the Beach Unseasonably warm temperatures brought crowds to New York and New Jersey beaches over the weekend, but the surf became risky in spots. PAGE A21

0 554 613 8

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario



ESERCITO

UFFICIO GENERALE DEL CAPO DI SM

UFFICIO PUBBLICA INFORMAZIONE E COMUNICAZIONE

FINANCIAL TIMES

TUESDAY 26 SEPTEMBER 2017

WORLD BUSINESS NEWSPAPER

EUROPE

Merkel's challenge



- German elections: Comment special — PAGES 8 & 9
- What now for euro reform? — BIG READ, PAGE 7
- News and analysis — PAGES 2 & 3

Bank Brexit begins

While politicians wrangle, jobs are leaving the UK — PATRICK JENKINS, PAGE 12

Abe faces new rival in Japan's snap election

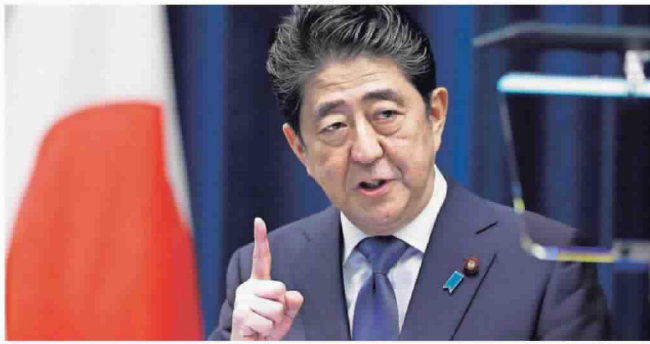
Shinzo Abe, Japan's prime minister, announces his calling of a snap election in Tokyo yesterday. He set the vote for October 22, promising to run on a platform of strong leadership against North Korea and increased education spending.

Mr Abe goes into the campaign with a huge lead in opinion polls but will face a fresh force in Japanese politics after the Tokyo governor, Yuriko Koike, said she would lead a new party to run against the ruling Liberal Democratic party.

The vote will determine whether Japan continues with its drive to escape years of deflation through massive economic stimulus and whether Mr Abe can push through constitutional change.

Report page 4

Short View page 11



© AP/WIDE WORLD

Merkel admits strategy 'polarised' Germany as grip on power loosens

Recriminations fly over liability for AfD poll surge • Euro falls on sense of greater risk

STEFAN WAGSTYL — BERLIN

Chancellor Angela Merkel admitted yesterday she had 'polarised' Germany with her controversial refugee policy, after an election breakthrough by the populist rightwing Alternative for Germany upended national politics and weakened her grip on power.

As recriminations flew over responsibility for the AfD's triumph and her own party's loss of support in Sunday's election, Ms Merkel insisted she would stay in office for a fourth term and took the first steps in what could be complex negotiations over a new coalition.

Ms Merkel's Christian Democrat-led bloc and the centre-left Social Democrats, its current coalition partner, both slumped to their lowest share of the

national vote since 1949, leaving the AfD and the other three smaller parties with an unprecedented share of parliamentary seats.

The result pushed the euro down as much as 0.4 per cent against the dollar to \$1.190 yesterday, as currency markets absorbed a sense of greater European political risk.

The next government will start with the economy in good shape but facing serious challenges from refugee integration, the scandal over carmakers' diesel emissions and the possible reform of the eurozone. President Emmanuel Macron of France is due to announce his proposals for the currency area today.

The SPD said it wanted to be in opposition to rebuild after a chastening defeat. Ms Merkel said she would still

approach the Social Democrats over a new government, as well as discussing a rare three-way coalition with two smaller parties, the Free Democrats and the Greens.

Preliminary results suggested the CDU bloc, Greens and FDP would comfortably have a majority of seats in parliament. But a deal to form a coalition could take months, given stark policy differences between the parties.

The chancellor faces attacks from her own CDU and its more rightwing sister party in Bavaria, the Christian Social Union, with critics accusing her of fueling the AfD's rise by moving too far away from the bloc's conservative origins, notably with her liberal refugee policy.

Ms Merkel told a press conference



Horst Seehofer of the CDU says it was a 'mistake to leave open the right flank' to attack

yesterday she was responsible for deep political 'polarisation' that was "linked to me as a person, quite clearly".

But she declined to admit to mistakes in decisions that led to more than 1m migrants coming to Germany in 2015-16. She put a brave face on her electoral setback, saying it was "not set in stone that after 12 years [in office] we would get the opportunity to form another government".

Horst Seehofer, the CDU leader, said it had been a "mistake to leave open the right flank" to attack by the AfD, while his party briefly considered scrapping its joint parliamentary group with the CDU before deciding to stay inside the oldest alliance in German politics.

Reports & analysis pages 2 & 3
Analysis & comment pages 7-9



Novartis chief aims to stir 'productivity revolution'

Interview — PAGE 13

Austria	€270	Macarons	De 220
Bahamas	266/4	Mafia	C150
Bolivia	€270	Monaco	C150
Bulgaria	€270	North Wales	C170
Canada	€270	Norway	140/5
Cyprus	€350	Omaha	€140
Costa Rica	€270	Pakistan	€140
Czechia	€270	Poland	€140
Egypt	€270	Portugal	C150
Finland	€270	Qatar	€140
France	€270	Romania	€140
Germany	€270	Russia	C170
Ghana	€270	Scandinavia	€140
Greece	€270	South Bay	C140
Hungary	€270	Switzerland	C150
India	€270	Spain	C150
Italy	€270	Sweden	C150
Japan	€270	Switzerland	€140
Kazakhstan	€270	Taiwan	€140

37 CULTURA 25 años sin César Manrique, el artista que 'diseñó' la isla de Lanzarote



VIAJES Sudáfrica y sus parques se reivindican como destino para conocer el África más salvaje

¡ÚLTIMO DÍA!
EL MUNDO al 30% de
descuento ¡Ahorra 207 €!

Llama ya al
91 275 19 88

EL MUNDO

MARTES 26 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2017.
AÑO XXVII. NÚMERO: 10.139.
EDICIÓN MADRID.
PRECIO: 1,50 €

• Engullimos de un sorbo la mentira que nos adula y bebemos gota a gota la verdad que nos amarga (Denis Diderot) •

Trapero desafía a la Fiscalía y planta al mando de Interior

Manda a su 'número 3' a la reunión con la Guardia Civil y la Policía ► El fiscal envía a los Mossos a los colegios para impedir que los directores faciliten que se conviertan en centros de votación

JAVIER OMS / FERNANDO LÁZARO
BARCELONA / MADRID

El mayor de los Mossos d'Esquadra, Josep Lluís Trapero, mantuvo ayer su desafío y plantó al coronel de la Guardia Civil Diego López de los Cobos en su primera reunión como mando policial único contra el 1-O.

En su nombre, Trapero envió al comisario Ferran López, su número tres, quien durante la cumbre mostró el rechazo del cuerpo a ser tutelado. También informó no obstante de que, mientras esperan que la Fiscalía cambie de parecer, acatarán las órdenes del Ministerio Público.

*La Historia
los juzga ya*

JOHN H. ELLIOTT

PÁGINA 15

En paralelo, el fiscal superior de Cataluña ordenó a los Mossos que interroguen a directores y responsables de centros escogidos como puntos de votación para evitar que colaboren con la celebración del referéndum, a riesgo de cometer un delito.

PÁGINA 9 / EDITORIAL EN PÁGINA 3

JP Morgan desaconseja invertir en España por la crisis de Cataluña

DANIEL VIANA MADRID

Los analistas de JP Morgan envían una clara advertencia a sus clientes: deben vender deuda española y completar su cartera con bonos de Portugal y Alemania. Y deben hacerlo lo antes posible, porque el órdago independentista de Cataluña se va a notar en el corto plazo y va a provocar pérdidas. «El equipo de JP Morgan recomienda recortar posiciones en la deuda a 10 años de España y apostar por las referencias de Portugal y Alemania», se explica en el informe con el membrete del mayor banco de Estados Unidos. SIGUE EN PÁGINA 22

CÓMO HEMOS LLEGADO A ESTO (V)

Niños de la inmersión, fábrica de patriotas

OLGA R. SANMARTÍN BARCELONA Durante tres décadas, el nacionalismo catalán ha ido construyendo su modelo de escuela mientras el Estado se encogía de hombros. En las aulas públicas no se garantizan la neutralidad ideológica ni el castellano como lengua vehicular de la enseñanza. PÁGINAS 14 Y 15

Mas tiene 15 días para pagar la fianza de 5,2 millones por la consulta del 9-N

MANUEL MARRACO MADRID

Artur Mas tiene desde ayer una cuenta atrás aún más acuciante que la del 1-O. Si dentro de 15 días el Tribunal de Cuentas no ha recibido 5,2 millones de euros, pondrá en marcha embargos contra el ex president, tres ex consejeros y otros cinco cargos de la Generalitat como responsables de gastar fondos públicos en la consulta ilegal del 9-N.

El tribunal encargado de impartir justicia contable les comunicó ayer las cantidades que deben presentar como fianza en ese plazo y que en caso de condena servirán para restituir al erario público el dinero que gastaron en la votación celebrada en 2014. SIGUE EN PÁGINA 10



Agentes de los Mossos, la Guardia Civil y la Policía hacen guardia, ayer, ante la Delegación del Gobierno en Cataluña. ALBERTO DI LOLLI

Alemania se quedará con un Gobierno en funciones hasta Navidad

La CSU, socio histórico de Angela Merkel, amenaza con retirarle su apoyo si no da un giro a la derecha

CARMEN VALERO BERLÍN

Tras una campaña tediosa y resultados decepcionantes para los dos grandes partidos alemanes, comienza el espectáculo y se prevé que dure hasta Navidad. Las conversaciones para formar Gobierno no co-

menzarán antes de las elecciones del 15 de octubre en el muy importante estado federado de Baja Sajonia, y los posibles compañeros de viaje de Angela Merkel quieren ir a la próxima legislatura con la cantimplora llena. SIGUE EN PÁGINA 18

UNIVERSIDAD ALFONSO X EL SABIO

CONECTA CON LA NUEVA ERA DE LA FORMACIÓN ONLINE

- GRADOS OFICIALES: Administración y Dirección de Empresas, Musicología, Informática y Derecho.
- CICLOS FORMATIVOS DE GRADO SUPERIOR en las áreas de Sanidad, Educación Infantil, Administración, Deporte, Dirección de Cocina e Informática.
- 22 POSTGRADOS.

openuax.com

918 10 92 00 UAX.ES

MADRID HORSE WEEK 2017



EM2 / SOCIEDAD

El viaje al infierno de Rocío y sus cuatro hijos

Los menores deambularon en la miseria antes de vivir cinco días con sus padres muertos
POR CHEMA RODRIGUEZ / PÁGINA 42

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

EL PAÍS

www.elpais.com

EL PERIÓDICO GLOBAL

MARTES 26 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2017 | Año XLI | Número 14.690 | EDICIÓN MADRID | Precio: 1,50 euros

El jefe de los Mossos evita la reunión con el mando único

Tres cuartas partes de los antidisturbios de la Policía se encuentran ya en Cataluña

El separatismo discute en qué condiciones hacer la declaración de independencia

La Generalitat paga los gastos de los observadores internacionales convocados

R. CARRANCO / P. RÍOS
R. DE MIGUEL, Barcelona / Madrid
Josep Lluís Trapero, jefe de los Mossos d'Esquadra, no acudió ayer a la reunión convocada por el coronel de la Guardia Civil Diego Pérez de los Cobos, que actúa bajo instrucciones de la

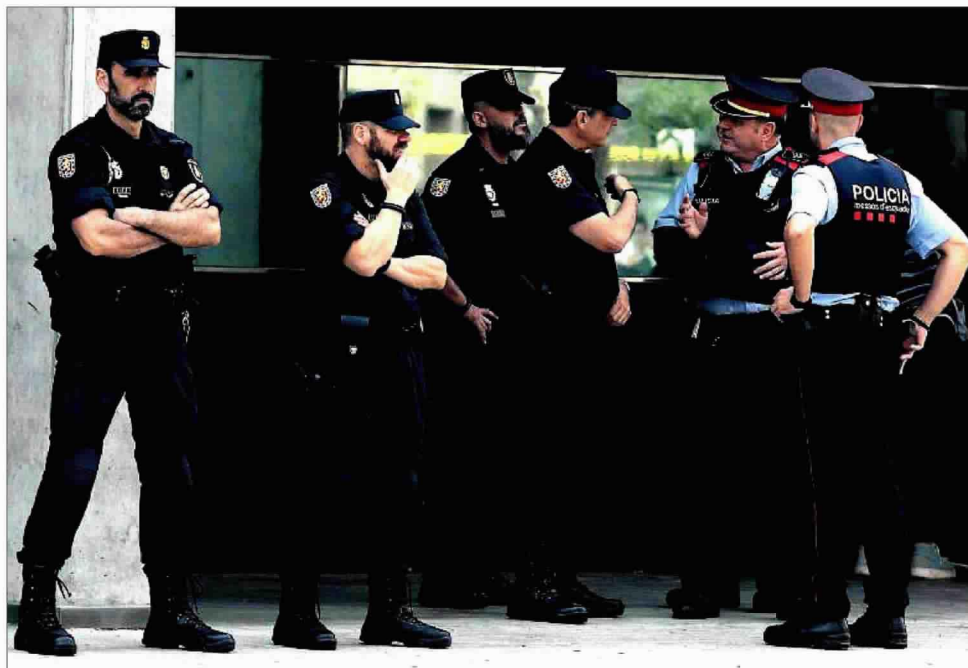
Fiscalía Superior de Cataluña para frenar el referéndum ilegal del próximo domingo. Trapero delegó en su número dos, el comi-

sario Ferran López. Tanto la Policía Nacional como la Guardia Civil sí enviaron a sus responsables orgánicos. Mientras, los li-

deres secesionistas debaten cómo proclamar la independencia después del 1 de octubre. En contra de lo estipulado por la UE, la Generalitat correrá con los gastos de 14 observadores internacionales contratados para supervisar la jornada. PÁGINAS 18 A 28

El expolio que nunca existió

PÁGINAS 24 Y 25



Policías nacionales y mossos d'esquadra dialogan en una comisaría durante la declaración de un joven citado por colaborar con el referéndum. / PACO PUENTES

El Rosellón, considerado por el soberanismo la Cataluña norte, se distancia del 'procés'

En Perpiñán está claro: ¡Vive la France!

MARC BASSETS, Perpiñán
Nick Gimenez tiene un aire de viejo patriarca de Macondo. Desde la plaza del Puig, en la colina del céntrico barrio de Sant Jaume, controla los resortes de la comunidad. Está acostumbrado a mediar entre árabes y gitanos, entre gitanos y payos y entre los propios gitanos. "Comprendo a los catalanes. Lo pagan todo ellos", dice en el catalán genuino de los gitanos

de Perpiñán. "Este Rajoy es difícil, ¿eh? La independencia, España no la concederá". Gimenez explica que se levanta cada día a las seis y se conecta a TV3. "Me inquieta que acabe mal", dice. Dalí bautizó la estación de tren de Perpiñán como el centro del mundo, pero estos días el centro del mundo —del mundo perpiñanés, sin duda— se sitúa 200 kilómetros, en Barcelona. PASA A LA PÁGINA 27

Si vas en serio
milanuncios

La victoria escasa de Merkel complica el futuro de la UE

La canciller tendrá que negociar una difícil coalición de Gobierno

L. DONCEL / C. PÉREZ
Berlín / Bruselas

La frágil victoria de Angela Merkel en las elecciones del domingo sitúa a la canciller alemana en la complicadísima tarea de unir en un mismo Gobierno a cuatro partidos con programas en las antipodas. A Merkel le reprochan en casa el peor resultado de su partido desde 1949, del que se ha beneficiado en parte el nacionalismo populista. Bruselas asume que este revés complicará la agenda reformista europea. PÁGINAS 3 A 7

EDITORIAL EN LA PÁGINA 14

Los kurdos desafían a Irak y votan en su referéndum

ÁNGELES ESPINOSA, Erbil (Irak)
Ilusionados y desafiantes, los kurdos de Irak acudieron ayer a votar en un referéndum de independencia que ha desatado las alarmas del Gobierno central y de sus vecinos. Los cánticos de las mezquitas y las campanas de las iglesias anticiparon un amplio "bale" (sí en kurdo). PÁGINA 12

ADEMÁS

Corea del Norte se considera en guerra con Estados Unidos

El ministro norcoreano de Exteriores, Ri Yong-ho, afirmó ayer en Nueva York que EE UU ha declarado la guerra a su país y que Pyongyang se reserva el derecho a derribar aviones estadounidenses. P9



La cruzada de Terminator a favor del medio ambiente P34

Jennifer Teege: "Mi abuelo me habría pegado un tiro" P37

El crecimiento de la banca en la sombra alerta a la UE P45

Cantantes y deportistas, de rodillas contra Trump P52

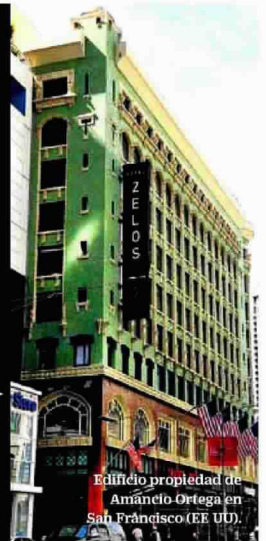
Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Martes / 26 de septiembre de 2017 / Año XL / Número 11.426

1,60€

CincoDías

El desembarco de lujo de Zara en San Francisco —P17 ▶
Uber presiona a Londres con el voto popular —P4 y 13
Merkel se juega su legado en Europa Por Bernardo de Miguel —3



Anticorrupción acusa a Popular de falsear información para ampliar capital

/ La fiscalía pide al juez que admita una treintena de querellas contra Ron, Saracho y el auditor PwC
 / Solicita dos piezas separadas: una por administración desleal y otra por manipulación del mercado —P11

El acceso a un fármaco en España “depende del código postal”, denuncian las multinacionales

—P8-9. Editorial en P7



Una persona reparte papeletas para el referéndum. EFE

Guindos y el Círculo de Empresarios alertan de inversiones paradas por el ‘procés’ —P18-19

Las raíces económicas del problema catalán (III)

El agravio de los peajes y un ferrocarril “indigno”

Por Javier F. Magariño —P6-7

El Foco

¿A qué Hacienda pagarán los catalanes?

Por Carlos Cuervo-Arango —P5

Espíritu inconformista.

a&g EFG
Banca Privada entre Socios

30 años

ayg.es

Mapfre: impacto en el resultado de hasta 200 millones por las catástrofes naturales

—P15

El seguro de vida es un 48% más caro con el banco que con la aseguradora

—P26

El 75% de los fondos de Bolsa española gana menos que el mercado

—P21

Ryanair afronta su crisis con un millón de billetes desde 9,79 euros

—P12

Carteras de fondos indexados
Planes de pensiones

indexacapital

PRUEBA AHORA
en indexacapital.com

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

SOLO HOY
Suscríbete a
Expansión 30%
¡AHORRE
193€ AL AÑO!
CLAVE VAL
91 275 19 88

Expansión

Martes 26 de septiembre de 2017 | 2C | Año XXXI | nº 9.454 | Segunda Edición

www.expansion.com

MAÑANA GRATIS

Expansión

Quién es Quién
en la economía española

Quién es quién P10

HOY Suplemento
Expansión
economía
digital



¿Por qué WalMart, BBVA y Ford compran empresas tecnológicas?

CATALUÑA EL DESAFÍO SECESIONISTA

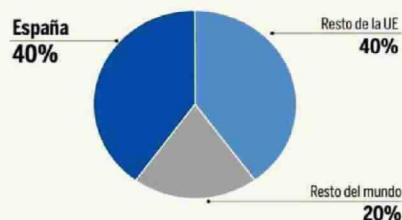
El 80% de las ventas catalanas va al resto de España y a la UE

El ministro de Economía, Luis de Guindos, señaló ayer que la independencia de Cataluña sería un "suicidio", debido a que no sólo la excluiría de España, sino de todo el mercado de la Unión Europea. El 80% de las exportaciones catalanas se dirigen a esta zona, de donde Cataluña obtiene 82.000 millones al año en ventas. Es más, diecisiete de los veinte principales clientes comerciales de esta comunidad se sitúan dentro de la UE. **P24 a 29/EDITORIAL**



El ministro de Economía, Luis de Guindos, ayer.

DÓNDE VENDE CATALUÑA
En porcentaje:



Inversor

Draghi defiende mantener un cierto nivel de estímulos **P23**

Los 9 valores preferidos de Goldman en España **P20**

Varapalo judicial al plan de salvamento de Abengoa **P5**

Las tormentas restan hasta 200 millones al resultado de Mapfre **P18**



David Pellow, vicepresidente de Hard Rock en Europa.

Hard Rock quiere abrir hoteles en Madrid y Barcelona **P7**

Las tres opciones de Angela Merkel para formar Gobierno **P31**

■ **Guindos: El 1-0 ha frenado la llegada de un fabricante de coches a Cataluña**

■ **Según fuentes empresariales, se trataría de Tesla, especializado en vehículos eléctricos**

■ **Así funciona el control de los bancos sobre los pagos de la Generalitat**

La crisis de Ryanair aviva la guerra del bajo coste

Los grandes rivales de Ryanair, con easyJet y Norwegian a la cabeza, aceleran sus planes de crecimiento y multiplican sus alianzas para

aprovechar la crisis del gigante irlandés del low cost. El líder del mercado europeo ve peligrar su posición por el aumento de costes. **P3/LA LLAVE**

Análisis: Tiempos turbulentos para las compañías aéreas 'low cost' **P4**

Anticorrupción denuncia a Duro Felguera por blanqueo de capitales

Ron, Saracho y PwC preparan sus defensas por el 'caso Popular'

Los dos últimos presidentes de Popular y la firma auditora aceleran la búsqueda de abogados penalistas ante la posibilidad de que la Audiencia aprecie posible administración desleal y engaño en la ampliación de capital de 2016. **P15**

ANÁLISIS
Por Salvador Arancibia
■ **El papel del juez en el inicio del 'caso Popular'** **P16**



Ángel Ron.



Emilio Saracho.

#hello
media group
hellomedia.com

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Werftenverbund

Europas neuer Rüstungsgigant

Frankreich und Italien wollen ihre militärischen und zivilen Werften zusammenschließen. Eine erste Vereinbarung soll am Mittwoch unterzeichnet werden. Die Schlagkraft der neuen Allianz wäre groß – und würde die Konkurrenz aus Deutschland enorm unter Druck setzen.

Thomas Hanke, Regina Krieger Paris, Rom

Europas Rüstungsindustrie der Meere konsolidiert sich, aber vorerst ohne Deutschland. Frankreich und Italien wollen ihre zivilen und militärischen Werften zusammenschließen. Wie französische Regierungskreise dem Handelsblatt bestätigten, soll beim bilateralen Gipfel am Mittwoch in Lyon eine entsprechende Vereinbarung unterzeichnet werden. „Der italienische Regierungschef Gentiloni und Präsident Macron werden sie selber vorstellen“, hieß es am Montag in Paris. Der Verbund werde auf italienischer Seite Fincantieri, auf französischer die zivile STX in Saint-Nazaire sowie die Marinewerft Naval Group (Ex-DCNS) umfassen. Zunächst wird Fincantieri 51 Prozent von STX übernehmen. Die Details bezüglich der Marinewerften sind noch in Arbeit.

Deutschland hat das Nachsehen, wenn ein solcher Werftenverbund entsteht. Mehrfach wurde versucht, DCNS und die deutsche Thyssen-Krupp Marine Systems (TKMS) zu vereinen. Sie waren immer wieder gescheitert. Als Grund wurde angeführt, dass ein privates Unternehmen wie TKMS schlecht mit einem staatlich geführten wie Naval Group fusionieren könne. Doch hat das Zusammengehen des privaten deutschen Panzerbauers Krauss-Maffei Wegmann (KMW) mit dem staatlichen französischen Nexter gezeigt, dass dies kein unüberwindbares Hindernis ist. Das größte Problem im Rüstungssektor sind unterschiedliche nationale Rüstungsexportregeln. Und da ist es eher ein Vorteil, wenn der Staat gleich mit an Bord ist.

Falls die französisch-italienische Einigung wie von der Politik angekündigt zustande kommt, wird der Werftenverbund zum führenden europäischen zivilen und militärischen Anbieter. Die Schlagkraft der Allianz wäre beachtlich, zumal Italiener und Franzosen „sich geografisch ergänzen“, wie ein französischer Industrievertreter sagt. Beide Anbieter hätten nicht dieselben Abnehmerländer. Gemeinsam können die Werften Skalenerträge realisieren und auf dem ebenso lukrativen wie hart umkämpften Markt für Kreuzfahrtschiffe und Marineschiffe noch wettbewerbsfähiger werden.

Das würde nicht nur den Werften zugutekommen, sondern auch der übrigen Industrie: Der größte Teil der Wertschöpfung bei Marineschiffen fällt nicht an der Küste an, sondern im Hinterland. Dort wird der größte Teil der Ausrüstung wie Elektronik und Bewaffnung hergestellt.

Deutschland will die Details abwarten

In der deutschen Industrie sieht man die französisch-italienische Annäherung offiziell gelassen. Es bleibe abzuwarten, wie die Einigung genau aussehe und zu welchen Bedingungen sie erfolge, heißt es. Genau das ist aber der Punkt: Nachdem die deutsche Industrie die Konsolidierung bei den Landsystemen erfolgreich vorangetrieben hat, wird sie nun zum Zuschauer.

Das ist auch deshalb negativ, weil die Politik auf mehr gemeinsame Verteidigung dringt. Nachteile könnte es für die Meyer-Werft in Oldenburg geben, die Kreuzfahrtschiffe herstellt.

Frankreich und Italien legen mit dem angekündigten Pakt zugleich ihren Konflikt um die Übernahme der Großwerft STX durch Fincantieri bei. Die Italiener hatten bereits unter Präsident François Hollande die Mehrheit an der Werft von den Koreanern erworben. Hollandes Nachfolger Emmanuel Macron aber nationalisierte STX, weil er rüstungspolitische Bedenken hatte. Nur STX verfügt über Anlagen wie ein riesiges Trockendock, in dem sehr lange Schiffe wie Flugzeugträger oder die französischen Mistral-Kommando- und Landungsschiffe auf Kiel gelegt werden können. Frankreich wollte bei der Ausrüstung seiner Marine nicht in eine einseitige Abhängigkeit von Italien geraten. Rom protestierte gegen die Nationalisierung.

Nun werden die beiden Länder aus der Not eine Tugend machen. Der größere Zusammenschluss soll auch die Marineaktivitäten bündeln und würde verhindern, dass Frankreich in die Rolle des Hilffloßen gerät. Zusammen bilden die Werften einen Koloss: Fincantieri ist mit einem Umsatz von 4,5 Milliarden Euro einer der führenden Anbieter von großen Kreuzfahrtschiffen. Und bei STX entstehen in Saint-Nazaire die größten Luxussschiffe der Welt.

Die militärische Sparte von Fincantieri macht nur rund eine Milliarde Euro aus. Das Unternehmen ist zu drei Vierteln im Staatsbesitz. Fincantieri ist der größte italienische und europäische Schiffsbaukonzern. Erst vor kurzem hat es Frankreich ausgestochen und von Katar den Zuschlag für den Bau von vier Korvetten und zwei Patrouillenbooten im Wert von vier Milliarden Euro erhalten.

Naval Group ist mit einem Umsatz von 3,2 Milli-

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

arden Euro (2016) insgesamt kleiner, aber nahezu völlig auf den Rüstungsbereich konzentriert. Das Geschäft mit erneuerbaren Energien (Unterwasser-Strömungsturbinen) ist erst im Aufbau. 2016 landete Naval Group einen großen Coup und gewann den „Auftrag des Jahrhunderts“, den Bau von zwölf U-Booten für die australische Marine im Wert von 34 Milliarden Euro. Darum hatte sich auch TKMS beworben, zog aber den Kürzeren: Die Australier störte, dass TKMS vor allem kleinere Jagd-U-Boote baut, während Naval Group auch Erfahrung mit großen und atomgetriebenen U-Booten hat.

Die Politik verhandelt mit

STX kommt auf einen Umsatz von rund zwei Milliarden Euro. Insgesamt bestünde also ungefähr ein französisch-italienisches Gleichgewicht. Fincantieri baut keine U-Boote, aber wie die Franzosen Korvetten (kleine Kriegsschiffe) und Fregatten, die mit 150 Meter Länge fast die Ausmaße eines Zerstörers erreichen. Diese Klasse von Marineschiffen bauen in Deutschland TKMS und die ebenfalls private Lürssen-Werft gemeinsam.

Dass die Einigung zustande kommt, bezweifelt niemand in Italien. Es müssen jedoch noch Details zwischen beiden Ländern geklärt werden. Der Knackpunkt dabei ist: Italien will den Werftenverbund führen, und die Verteidigungsministerin will den militärischen Bereich erst später einbeziehen. Für den Anfang wird deshalb wohl Fincantieri mit 51 Prozent bei STX die Führung übernehmen. Die französische Regierung behält Einspruchsrechte. Nach Aussagen aus Regierungskreisen umfasst die Einigung auch den militärischen Zweig, doch müsse hier noch die genaue Form vereinbart werden.

Der französische Wirtschafts- und Finanzminister Bruno Le Maire hat bereits mehrfach in Rom mit Wirtschafts- und Finanzminister Pier Carlo Padoan und Industrieminister Carlo Calenda verhandelt. Fincantieri und Naval Group haben bereits zwei Generationen von Fregatten gemeinsam entwickelt und deshalb viel Erfahrung in der Zusammenarbeit. Bei den neuesten Schiffen der „Fremm“-Klasse nahmen die Gemeinsamkeiten aber wieder ab: Jede Nation wählte ihren eigenen

Antrieb und ein eigenes Radar.

Das französisch-italienische Abkommen kommt zustande, meinen die Analysten von Kepler Cheuvreux, auch wenn das Ziel nun „ehrgeiziger“ geworden sei. Doch es gibt noch einen dritten Player: der Luft-, Raumfahrttechnik- und Rüstungskonzern Leonardo, ehemals Finmeccanica, wie Fincantieri ein teilstaatliches Unternehmen. Verteidigungsministerin Roberta Pinotti hat das Thema ihren Kollegen Padoan und Calenda ins Bewusstsein gerufen: Ein Drittel des Kapitals von Naval Group gehört Thales, fast zwei Drittel dem französischen Staat. Thales ist ein Konkurrent von Leonardo und ähnlich wie die Italiener spezialisiert auf zivile und militärische Luftfahrttechnik, daneben aber auch auf zivile Verkehrstechnik.

Verteidigungsministerin Pinotti fürchtet, dass Thales künftige Zulieferungs- und Ausrüstungsaufträge dem italienischen Konkurrenten Leonardo wegschnappen wird, weil es zu den Eignern des Verbundes gehören wird. Sie will deshalb erst das Kapitel STX-Saint-Nazaire schließen und dann an den militärischen Teil gehen. Zum schrittweisen Vorgehen scheint Frankreich nun bereit zu sein.

Aus der Privatwirtschaft gibt es sowohl kritische wie auch positive Stimmen. „Bisher sieht das Drehbuch nicht anders aus als bei bereits gezeigten Filmen: Frankreich ist ein Monolith, der sich kompakt bewegt, und Italien präsentiert wieder einmal vielfältige Positionen und Orientierungen, angefangen bei der Regierung“, lautet der Kommentar des italienischen Ökonomen Claudio di Donato.

Antoine Bouvier dagegen, Chef des deutsch-französisch-italienisch-britischen Raketenherstellers MBDA, sprach sich vor einer Woche für das Zusammengehen aus: „Wir können uns als Europäer keine weitere Zersplitterung erlauben.“ Bouvier kennt beide Seiten des Werftenverbundes gut: Sein Unternehmen bewaffnet Kriegsschiffe beider Länder.

Macron und Gentiloni werden die Einigung am Mittwoch vorstellen.

**Französische
Regierungskreise**

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario



Hubschrauberträger der Mistral-Klasse in Saint-Nazaire:

Werftenverbund ohne deutsche Unternehmen.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

NAVAL GROUP TOUT PRES DE MONTER A BORD DU CAPITAL DE STX FRANCE

MICHEL CABIROL

Naval Group a reçu l'autorisation de son conseil d'administration de prendre une participation allant jusqu'à 15% de STX France pour un montant maximum de 20 millions d'euros

A priori le sommet franco-italien, qui se tient à Lyon le 27 septembre, va entériner une prise de participation majoritaire de Fincantieri dans STX France. Tout ça pour ça... Dans ce cadre, Naval Group a reçu des consignes de son conseil d'administration pour entrer dans le capital de STX France aux côtés du groupe naval italien et de l'État français. Le groupe naval français, présidé par Hervé Guillou, a reçu l'autorisation de prendre une participation allant jusqu'à 15% de STX France pour un montant maximum de 20 millions d'euros, selon nos informations.

Les accords de gouvernance ont déjà été négociés avec Fincantieri. A priori ils ne devraient pas changer. Notamment Naval Group devrait disposer d'un droit de veto au conseil d'administration de STX France. Enfin, Fincantieri ne pourra pas se lancer dans la construction militaire avec STX France à l'exception des commandes passées par la France telles qu'un nouveau porte-avions et des pétroliers ravitailleurs ou encore de commandes export concernant des Bâtiments de projection et de commandement (BPC) de type Mistral.

UN ACCORD DE GOUVERNANCE SE DESSINE

Le ministre italien du Développement économique, Carlo Calenda, a souligné lundi que Rome restait résolu à obtenir pour Fincantieri les 51% de STX France, mais a fait état de l'existence de "conditions pour parvenir à un accord". À la question "les 51% de STX à l'Italie sont-ils intouchables?", Carlo Calenda a répondu: "ils le sont". D'après le quotidien italien La Repubblica, "la solution identifiée prévoit des pouvoirs renforcés et des garanties dans le conseil d'administration et en matière de stratégie pour l'actionnaire français".

"Nous sommes en train de travailler. Il y a les conditions pour parvenir à un accord, qui devra tenir compte tant des préoccupations des Français sur l'exportation du savoir-faire, que des nôtres concernant la nécessité d'avoir un contrôle effectif pour faire fonctionner le groupe", a affirmé le ministre dans un entretien au quotidien La Stampa.

Sur le militaire, le ministre italien a estimé que "s'il y a un accord sur les chantiers, on peut faire partir un raisonnement qui conduira dans un délai plutôt serré à un accord paritaire entre Fincantieri et Naval Group. Nous voulons une alliance européenne très importante, mais faite avec toutes les garanties. Pour cette raison nous avons travaillé ces dernières semaines ensemble avec les ministres (de la Défense Roberta) Pinotti et (des Finances Pier-Carlo) Padoan pour coordonner la position des différents acteurs italiens".

UNE CRISE INUTILE

La crise entre Paris et Rome a éclaté avec la nationalisation "temporaire" fin juillet de STX France, pourtant promis à Fincantieri sous la présidence de François Hollande. Mais son successeur Emmanuel Macron a décidé de rouvrir le dossier, estimant que l'accord n'était "pas suffisamment protecteur des intérêts industriels stratégiques français". Révisant le pacte d'actionnaires, il a proposé à l'Italie un accord 50-50, ce que Rome a refusé.

Pour faciliter un accord, Paris avait évoqué l'idée d'un grand pôle naval, civil et militaire, entre la France et l'Italie, ce à quoi le gouvernement italien s'est montré favorable. Mais, l'alliance se concentrerait dans un premier temps sur la seule composante civile, principalement la construction des navires de croisière



Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Busaidi visits Italian firm

ROME

MINISTER RESPONSIBLE for Defence Affairs
HE Sayyid Badr Bin Saud Al Busaidi and his delegation visited Leonardo-Finmeccanica Company in Italy, Rome.

The company is cooperating with the Ministry of Defence in relation to Super Lynx and NH90 helicopters, which are being used by the Royal Air Force of Oman (Rafo).

Oman News Agency

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Omani defence delegation visits Italian Leonardo-Finmeccanica Company

Rome, Italy - H E Sayyid Badr bin Saud bin Harib al Busaidi, Minister Responsible for Defence Affairs and his accompanying delegation visited Leonardo-Finmeccanica Company office in Italy on Tuesday.

The Italian company is cooperating with the Ministry of Defence for Super Lynx and NH90 helicopters, which are being used by the Royal Air Force of Oman (RAFO).

H E Busaidi met with the company's officials. He was briefed

on the company's works during which several matters related to the fields of common interest in relation to technical and administrative services between RAFO and the Italian company were discussed.

H E Busaidi is being accompanied by Air Vice Marshal Mattar bin Ali al Obaidani, RAFO commander, H E Dr Ahmed bin Salim Ba'omar, Oman's Ambassador to Italy and other members accompanying him.

ONA

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Sayyid Badr leaves for Italy

MUSCAT: Sayyid Badr bin Saud al Busaidy, Minister Responsible for Defence Affairs, and his accompanying delegation left here on Monday for the Italian Republic on an official several-day visit to enhance the good relations and existing cooperation between the two friendly countries.

Sayyid Badr will meet with the Italian Minister of Defence and some officials from the Italian Ministry of Defence.

Sayyid Badr and his accompanying delegation were

seen off at Al Seeb Air Base by Lt Gen Ahmed bin Harith al Nabhani, Chief of Staff of the Sultan's Armed Forces (SAF), Italian Ambassador to the Sultanate and some senior SAF officers.

He is accompanied by Air Vice Marshal Mattar bin Ali al Obaidani,

Commander of the Royal Air Force of Oman (RAFO) and some senior SAF officers. — ONA

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

OMAN, ITALY REVIEW TIES

ROME: Sayyid Badr bin Saud al Busaidy, Minister Responsible for Defence Affairs, held talks with Roberta Pinotti, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Italy, in Rome on Wednesday. Sayyid Badr welcomed with a guard of honour at the ministry premises in Rome. During the meeting, they reviewed the good relations between the two friendly countries and discussed issues of common concern. The minister was accompanied by Air Vice Marshal Matar bin Ali bin Matar al Obaidani, Commander of the Royal Air Force of Oman, Dr Ahmed bin Salim bin Mohammed Baoma, Sultanate's Ambassador to Italy.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

SAYYID BADR VISITS ITALIAN HELICOPTER MAKER

ROME: Sayyid Badr bin Saud al Busaidy, Minister Responsible for Defence Affairs, and his accompanying delegation on Tuesday visited Leonardo, which supplies superhelicopters (NH90 and NH90) used by the Royal Air Force of Oman. The minister met a number of company officials, who briefed the company's work. During the meeting, many technical topics were discussed by the Royal Air Force of Oman officials and the company. The minister was accompanied by Air Vice Marshal Matar bin Ali bin Matar al Obaidani, Commander of the Royal Air Force of Oman, Dr Ahmed bin Salim bin Mohammed Baoma, Sultanate's Ambassador to Italy.



Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

RAFO Commander meets Chief of Staff of Italian Air Force

ROME: Air Vice Marshal Matar bin Ali al Obaidani, Commander of the Royal Air Force of Oman (RAFO), met with Lt Gen Enzo Vecciarelli, Chief of Staff of the Italian Air Force, at the Italian Air Force Command on Wednesday.

The RAFO Commander is accompanying Sayyid Badr bin Saud al Busaidy, Minister Responsible for Defence Affairs, within the framework of his current official

visit to Italy. The two sides discussed several matters of common concern between RAFO and the Italian Air Force. — **ONA**



Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

AL BUSAIDI, ITALIAN MINISTER DISCUSS RELATIONS

Minister Responsible for Defence Affairs HE Sayyid Badr Bin Saud Al Busaidi held talks with Italian Minister of Defence Roberta Pinotti in Italy. The meeting was attended by Commander of the Royal Air Force of Oman Air Vice-Marshal Matar Bin Ali Al Dubaidani and Sultanate's Ambassador to Italy HE Dr Ahmed Bin Salim BaOmer.



Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Sultanate, Italy discuss defence

A joint official session of talks was held between the Minister Responsible for Defence Affairs and the Italian Defence Minister

ROME: Sayyid Badr bin Saud bin Harib Al Busaidi, Minister Responsible for Defence Affairs, held an official session of talks with Italian Minister of Defence Roberta Pinotti during his official visit to the Italian Republic.

Upon the arrival of the Minister Responsible for Defence Affairs at the headquarters of the Italian Ministry of Defence, a group of guards gave the military salute to the Minister and the music band played the Royal Anthem of Oman and Italian national anthem.

A joint official session of talks was then held between the Minister Responsible for Defence Affairs and the Italian defence Minister.

During the talks, they reviewed the good relations between the two friendly countries and discussed issues of common concern, and the existing spheres of military cooperation between the two ministries of defence in the two coun-

tries, and ways of strengthening them in the common interests of both sides.

Attended

The talks were attended by Air Vice-Marshal Matar bin Ali Al Oubaidani, Commander of the Royal Air Force of Oman, Dr. Ahmed bin Salim BaOmer, Sultanate's Ambassador to the Italian Republic, and the delegation accompanying the Minister.

The talks were also attended from the Italian side by a number of military and civil officials at the Italian Ministry of Defence. -DWA



Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Pour Gentiloni, l'Allemagne va œuvrer à la relance de l'UE

Le chef du gouvernement italien dit faire confiance à la chancelière pour constituer un gouvernement pro-européen.

PROPOS RECUEILLIS PAR

RICHARD HEUZÉ (A ROME)

ITALIE Membre du Parti démocrate et chef du gouvernement italien, Paolo Gentiloni a répondu au *Figaro* avant de rencontrer, ce mercredi à Lyon, le président Macron.

LE FIGARO. - Comment lisez-vous les résultats des élections allemandes ?

Paolo GENTILONI. - Nous ne devons pas interpréter ces résultats comme un frein aux perspectives de relance de l'Europe ni un repli de l'Allemagne sur elle-même. Je regrette le mauvais résultat d'un pilier de la construction européenne comme le SPD et je suis évidemment préoccupé par la croissance d'un parti anti-européen et xénophobe comme l'AfD. J'ai confiance en la chancelière Angela Merkel pour parvenir à faire un gouvernement orienté vers la relance de l'Europe. Beaucoup dépendra des initiatives communes de la France et de l'Italie.

Prônez-vous, comme le président Macron, un renouveau de l'Europe ?

Il est évident que l'Union européenne a bien réagi au moment du Brexit en juin 2016. Après ce moment difficile, face à la crise économique et aux grands flux migratoires, l'Europe a eu un moment d'incertitude. Graduellement, elle s'est reprise, et l'élection du président Emma-

nuel Macron en est la preuve. Aujourd'hui, cette relance doit répondre aux demandes des citoyens. Je m'attends donc à des pas en avant sur le front économique, face aux flux migratoires et sur le rôle géopolitique de l'Union. Autrement ce renouveau de la foi européenne risque d'être un feu de paille. On a aussi besoin de pas en avant institutionnels, reflétant une Union plus forte.

Le dumping social de certains pays européens, la prolifération des investissements chinois posent problème. Êtes-vous d'accord avec vos partenaires sur les moyens de les affronter ?

Nous autres Italiens sommes en première ligne pour reconnaître la nécessité d'accompagner la politique d'ouverture aux échanges commerciaux et le refus du protectionnisme de mesures contre la concurrence déloyale. On parle de « free and fair trade ». Le « free trade » permet à l'Italie d'avoir l'un des cinq

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

plus gros excédents commerciaux au monde. Le libre-échange doit respecter les règles. En la matière, la France et l'Italie ont des positions absolument convergentes. Il ne s'agit pas d'opposer un protectionnisme à d'autres. Pour défendre la liberté du commerce, il faut faire face à la dérégulation.

À Strasbourg, le président de la Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, a déclaré que « l'Italie avait sauvé l'honneur de l'Europe » dans la crise des migrants. Que voudriez-vous que l'Europe fasse de plus dans cette crise ? Faire respecter plusieurs principes importants de la part de certains pays qui n'adhèrent pas aux décisions pourtant prises en commun sur le reclassement de migrants. L'Union européenne s'est trouvée prise au dépourvu par les grands flux migratoires des dernières années. Elle avait des règles établies pour gérer le problème des réfugiés venant des pays d'Europe de l'Est : le règlement de Dublin. Le phénomène est aujourd'hui complètement différent. Il faut modifier ces règles. Nous nous fions encore aujourd'hui aux opportunités ou à la géographie. Cela ne suffit plus pour gérer ces grands flux. Nous sommes reconnaissants aux pays qui nous aident. La France le fait d'une manière particulière en Afrique. Mais cela doit devenir une véritable politique européenne.

La France et l'Italie cherchent toujours un accord sur deux gros dossiers, celui des chantiers navals et celui des télécommunications. Le trouverez-vous demain au sommet de Lyon ?

Tout d'abord, je pense que l'Italie et la France sont des pays qui ont une histoire et des intérêts communs. Deux pays qui travaillent ensemble et dans la même direction, en Europe, en Méditerranée, dans les rapports avec l'Afrique, jusqu'à partager la même idée de liberté et de démocratie et constater qu'ils sont l'un pour l'autre chacun deuxième partenaire commercial. L'importance de nos liens ne se discute pas. Mes rapports d'amitié avec le président Macron sont fondamentaux. L'examen d'une alliance dans la construction navale est bien engagé. On a l'ambition, fondamentale du point de vue stratégique, de construire un grand « player » global dans le secteur naval. L'accord sur les chantiers est une perspective à court terme. Construire un grand pôle civil et militaire ne se fait pas en un seul jour. On travaillera donc avec des emplois du temps différents.

Différents comment ?

Je veux dire entre la question spécifique des chantiers de Saint-Nazaire sur laquelle les conditions sont remplies pour parvenir rapidement à une conclusion et la question des ententes plus générales qui aura besoin d'analyses plus approfondies que nous ne pouvons que lancer.

L'Italie insiste-t-elle pour obtenir 51 % du nouveau groupe ?

Les prémisses sont réunies pour aboutir à un accord qui tienne compte de nos intérêts légitimes en même temps que ceux de la France.

Et dans les télécommunications ?

Il s'agit d'une partie entre groupes privés. Chaque pays a ses lois et les groupes privés doivent les respecter. Ce n'est bien entendu ni Macron ni moi-même qui décidons de la télévision ou des réseaux de communications privés dans l'autre pays.

Donc, pour vous protéger des incursions étrangères et faire respecter vos lois, vous êtes prêt à faire jouer la clause des « Golden Powers » permettant à l'État de défendre une société d'intérêt stratégique ?

Non. Un point technique est à l'examen. À savoir si Vivendi devait informer au préalable le gouvernement italien qu'il prenait le contrôle de Tim (groupe de télécommunications) et si cette prise de contrôle est conforme avec la loi italienne sur les « Golden Powers ». Un comité technique de notre présidence est en train de le vérifier. Il rendra ses conclusions sous peu. La discussion ne porte pas sur autre chose. ■



« Je m'attends à des pas en avant sur le front économique, face aux flux migratoires et sur le rôle géopolitique de l'Union », indique Paolo Gentiloni. STEPHANIE KEITH/REUTERS

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

La coalition «Jamaïque» ou l'alliance des contraires

NICOLAS BAROTTE

TROUVER le plus petit dénominateur commun va relever de l'exploit. Mais Angela Merkel veut y croire. Malgré sa victoire en demi-teinte dimanche soir, la présidente de la CDU a placé ses partenaires potentiels devant leurs responsabilités pour doter l'Allemagne «d'un gouvernement stable».

Compte tenu du refus du SPD de former une nouvelle grande coalition, Angela Merkel s'orienterait donc a priori vers une inédite alliance «Jamaïque», en référence aux couleurs associées aux trois partis, CDU-CSU, FDP et Verts. Mais il va falloir la patience et l'art du compromis de la chancelière pour aboutir tant les différences sur le papier sont grandes entre les Bavarois de la CSU, qui réclament un virage à droite, les écologistes, adeptes de la redistribution économique et favorables à la fin des moteurs à essence, et le FDP, qui exige des baisses d'impôts et fixe des lignes rouges européennes. «Nous sommes prêts aux discussions mais pas à n'importe quel prix», a déclaré leur leader, Christian Lindner, en commençant la partie de poker. «Nous sommes prêts aux discussions», ont plus modestement commenté les écologistes.

La question européenne figure parmi les plus compliquées à résoudre. Les libé-

raux, qui se sont laissés entraîner vers l'euroscépticisme, rejettent par principe toute proposition de budget de la zone euro. «M. Macron parle de plusieurs points du PIB européen et cela représenterait plus de 60 milliards d'euros pour l'Allemagne. Un budget de la zone euro où l'argent atterrirait en France pour les dépenses publiques ou en Italie pour réparer les erreurs de Berlusconi serait impensable pour nous et représenterait une ligne rouge», a déclaré lundi Christian Lindner. Les libéraux défendent aussi une position très ferme vis-à-vis de la Grèce, dont ils envisagent toujours la sortie de la zone euro. À l'inverse, le député européen Alexander Lambsdorff s'est dit ouvert à la transformation du mécanisme européen de stabilité en Fonds monétaire européen. L'idée est aussi défendue par Angela Merkel. À y regarder de près, les positions de la chancelière ne sont pas si éloignées de celles du FDP: la chancelière refuse aussi toute mutualisation des dettes et n'avait envisagé que de «petites contributions» à un budget européen pour financer ces projets précis. Lundi, elle a dit attendre les propositions d'Emmanuel Macron.

Les Verts pourraient-ils être des interlocuteurs plus faciles pour Angela Merkel? Les écologistes, de tradition très pro-européenne, réclament «la fin des politiques d'austérité en Europe». Cette volonté d'assouplissement risque de heurter le souci de «stabilité» et de «responsabilité» défendu par le FDP et la CSU.

Il faudra aussi intégrer à ces débats la question des migrations. Les Bavarois de

la CSU bloqueront des discussions qui n'iraient pas dans le sens d'une limitation du droit d'asile. Le FDP demande aussi le vote d'une «loi sur l'immigration». Les Verts, notamment leur aile gauche, auront du mal à accepter des dispositions restrictives. «Je ne voterai pas pour la coalition Jamaïque», a déjà prévenu la députée verte de Berlin Canan Bayram. «Je ne vois pas nos points communs avec la CSU ou le FDP.»

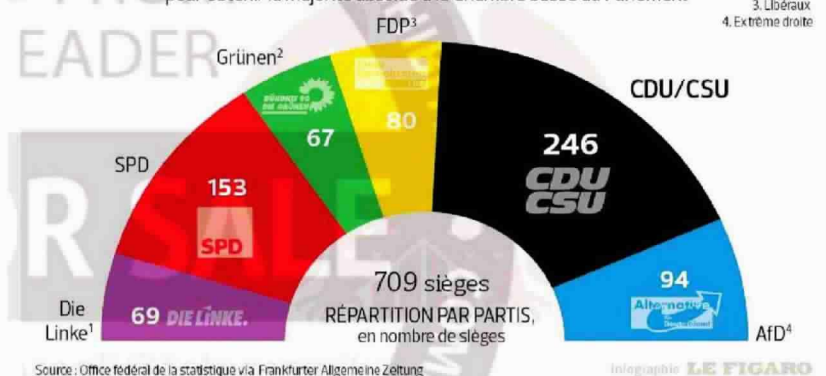
Lundi, Angela Merkel n'a pas voulu entrer dans le détail des discussions européennes. «Il ne me revient pas de dire ce qui va ou ce qui ne va pas», a-t-elle expliqué en refusant de tirer «des lignes rouges». Dans le rubikscube des discussions de coalition, l'Europe ne sera qu'un aspect du marchandage global. La chancelière a donc prévenu ses homologues: elle «ne peut pas» encore leur dire à quelle date l'Allemagne aura de nouveau un gouvernement. □

“ Je ne vois pas nos points communs avec la CSU ou le FDP ”

CANAN BAYRAM, DÉPUTÉE VERTE DE BERLIN

Quelle coalition pour le nouveau Bundestag ?

Il manque 109 sièges au parti d'Angela Merkel (CDU/CSU) pour obtenir la majorité absolue à la Chambre basse du Parlement



Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Kurdistan: Barzani unit ses voisins contre lui

En mobilisant au référendum d'autodétermination, lundi, le leader a renforcé l'axe anti-indépendance.

THIERRY OBERLÉ 

ENVOYE SPÉCIAL À ERBIL

IRAK À 8 heures précises, pour l'ouverture du scrutin, le chant du muezzin s'élève au-dessus des mosquées et les cloches des églises battent à la volée. Le Kurdistan irakien se réveille pour se prononcer sur son indépendance, malgré l'hostilité de l'Irak et des pays voisins. C'est un jour de fête et de cérémonie. Des hommes ont sorti le costume traditionnel kurde avec son pantalon bouffant, sa veste courte et sa large écharpe serrée autour de la taille. Des femmes arborent des robes chamarrées brodées de fils dorés. Des garçons et des fillettes portent l'uniforme des pechmergas, les combattants kurdes.

L'ambiance est joyeuse dans l'école primaire d'Ari, un quartier populaire d'Erbil où les votants déposent leur bulletin dans l'urne, après avoir trempé l'index dans un encrier bleu. La question posée dans ce référendum à quelque 4,5 millions d'électeurs est dénuée d'ambiguïté : « Voulez-vous que la région du Kurdistan ainsi que les territoires kurdes en dehors de la région deviennent un État indépendant ? » Elle est rédigée en kurde, en arabe, en assyrien et en turc. « Nous sommes heureux que ce jour arrive enfin. Je ne connais personne qui cochera la case du non » dit Mahabad, une enseignante. « Nous ne nous soumettrons plus. Nous avons fait tant de sacrifices et nous avons connu tant de souffrances. Mon beau-frère est mort l'an dernier près de Kirkouk dans les combats contre Daech. Nous votons pour lui », assure Redouane, un ouvrier, accompagné de sa femme et de son enfant.

Dans la banlieue chrétienne d'Aïn-kawa, l'élan en faveur du « oui » semble partagé. « Nous suivons nos chefs qui souhaitent tous l'indépendance, qu'ils soient kurdes ou chrétiens », dit Gorgis, un catholique-syriaque. Les populations déplacées de la plaine de Ninive et de la région de Sinjar votent dans des bureaux installés dans les camps. Ces centaines de milliers de chrétiens et de yazidis ont fui en 2014 l'offensive des djihadistes de l'État islamique contre les minorités.

Premières ripostes

Aujourd'hui libérés de Daech, leurs villes et leurs villages se trouvent dans les « territoires disputés », parfois du côté kurde, parfois du côté irakien. Ils ne rentrent pas chez eux en raison du manque d'infrastructures, de l'instabilité politique ou de la présence jugée menaçante des milices chiïtes. Dans le camp d'Ashti, seules 100 familles sur 1200 sont reparties à Qaraqosh, ville chrétienne sous administration irakienne. Saleh, un catholique syriaque qui s'est réinstallé cet été à Qaraqosh est revenu dans son centre d'hébergement pour participer au référendum. « Les autorités de Bagdad n'ont pas organisé de scrutin, mais moi je souhaite vivre à Qaraqosh sous administration kurde. Je ne fais pas confiance aux Irakiens qui nous prennent en tenaille dans leur affrontement confessionnel entre chiïtes et sunnites », explique-t-il. Mais Saleh craint désormais de voir le conflit irako-kurde pour le contrôle des territoires disputés dégénérer en guerre ouverte à la faveur de la consultation.

Le premier ministre Haïdar al-Abadi est incité par son prédécesseur, Nouri al-Maliki et par les puissantes milices chiïtes, soutenues par l'Iran, à employer la force. Il a rompu les ponts avec le président kurde Massoud Barzani et déclaré, dimanche soir, sur un

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

ton cassant, qu'il « allait prendre les mesures nécessaires pour préserver l'unité du pays ».

L'escalade a débuté ce lundi avec les premières ripostes de Bagdad. Elles visent, à la suite d'un vote du Parlement, à renforcer la présence des forces irakiennes dans les zones contestées et, en concertation avec les pays voisins, à isoler le Kurdistan. L'enclave peut être encerclée militairement et étranglée économiquement et financièrement. L'axe anti-indépendance est déjà constitué.

Car s'il a réussi à mobiliser les Kurdes, Massoud Barzani a provoqué un

consensus international contre lui. L'Iran lui a fermé ses frontières aériennes et la Turquie pourrait, à son propre rythme, bloquer les accès terrestres. Le président Recep Tayyip Erdogan a menacé de boucler dans les prochains jours la frontière turco-kurde. Le verrouillage de la porte de Habur, franchie chaque jour par plus d'un millier de camions, priverait le Kurdistan de la plupart des produits agricoles et manufacturés dont ses habitants ont besoin. Ankara peut également couper le robinet du pipeline de Ceyhan qui assècherait l'essentiel des revenus pétroliers d'Erbil. □



Des Kurdes irakiennes déposent leur bulletin de vote, lundi, dans une école à Erbil.

Corée du Nord: quelle stratégie américaine?

Sur le dossier coréen, avons-nous assisté à une rodомontage du président des États-Unis ?

Le 8 août 2017 Donald Trump avait promis le « feu et la colère » à la Corée du Nord, au cas où elle poursuivrait son programme d'armement balistique nucléaire.

Pour donner du crédit à cette menace, les États-Unis et leurs alliés sud-coréens avaient, en dépit d'une injonction nord-coréenne de ne pas le faire, lancé, le 21 août, leurs exercices militaires annuels baptisés Ulchi Freedom Guardian, auxquels participèrent 67 000 soldats. Kim Jong-un, le jeune dictateur nord-coréen, ne fut visiblement pas intimidé. Le 29 août, il ordonna le tir d'un missile balistique de portée intercontinentale, qui s'abîma loin dans l'océan Pacifique, après avoir survolé l'archipel japonais, sans se faire intercepter. Pour éviter que l'escalade ne dégénère, la Chine et la Russie appellent les États-Unis à rouvrir un dialogue diplomatique avec la petite nation stalinienne et guerrière (25 millions d'habitants et un territoire équivalent au quart de la superficie française). Pékin et Moscou suggèrent le deal suivant : abandon par Pyongyang de ses essais nucléaires et balistiques en échange d'une suspension des manœuvres américaines. Mais Washington refuse. Le 3 septembre 2017, Kim Jong-un réagit en ordonnant un essai nucléaire, qu'il présente comme l'explosion d'une bombe H. Les missiles intercontinentaux des cinq grandes puissances nucléaires, membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU, sont tous porteurs de bombes H. L'escalade s'est poursuivie de manière verbale, avec Donald Trump traitant Kim Jong-un de « rocket man » lors de son discours à l'Assemblée générale des Nations unies, et le ministre nord-coréen des Affaires étrangères répondant quelques jours plus tard, à la même tribune, que Trump était un esprit

« dérangé » et qu'il constituait « la plus grande menace actuelle pour la paix ». En géopolitique, quand on passe du stade de la confrontation à coups de manœuvres militaires à celui des insultes indirectes échangées à l'ONU, c'est que la tension commence à baisser.

Il paraît aujourd'hui évident que les États-Unis ne feront pas de guerre préventive contre la Corée du Nord. Chat échaudé craint l'eau froide. Les Américains sont inhibés par la catastrophe que fut leur dernière guerre préventive, l'invasion de l'Irak en mars 2003. Qui plus est, une action américaine unilatérale pourrait provoquer des représailles nord-coréennes sur Séoul, qui feraient des dizaines de milliers de morts. Le président sud-coréen a d'ailleurs obtenu des États-Unis l'engagement qu'ils n'attaqueraient pas leur ennemi commun sans que Séoul ait donné un feu vert préalable – ce qu'il ne fera jamais.

Il paraît aujourd'hui tout aussi évident que la Corée du Nord, qui s'est retirée en 2003 du TNP (traité de non-prolifération nucléaire dont l'application est contrôlée par l'Agence internationale de l'énergie atomique de Vienne), a l'intention de devenir une puissance nucléaire reconnue, au même titre que l'Inde ou que le Pakistan.

Comment en est-on venu à une situation aussi catastrophique ? La grande erreur stratégique remonte à l'époque de l'Administration de George W. Bush. En 2002, le président américain avait placé la Corée du Nord dans l'« axe du mal ». Le pays y côtoyait l'Irak et l'Iran. Washington s'est alors trompé de cible. Au nom de la lutte contre les « armes de destruction massive », les néoconservateurs sont allés faire la guerre à l'Irak – qui n'en avait plus aucune – au lieu de s'intéresser sérieusement à la Corée du Nord, qui développait à toute allure son programme

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

militaire nucléaire. Aujourd'hui que Pyongyang dispose de la bombe, il est trop tard pour agir militairement.

Mais l'Amérique n'a pas dit son dernier mot. Sa stratégie va être celle d'une double riposte graduée. D'une part, elle va agir, via la Chine. Il lui suffit de brandir une menace financière contre les entreprises chinoises, en décrétant que quiconque continue à faire du commerce avec la Corée du Nord serait interdit d'affaires avec l'Amérique et donc de toute transaction en dollars. Cela revient à une quasi-interdiction bancaire internationale : aucune grande société chinoise ne peut se permettre

de prendre ce risque.

D'autre part, les États-Unis vont relancer la fameuse « guerre des étoiles » chère à feu le président Ronald Reagan. La technologie des lasers a beaucoup progressé depuis cette date. On peut très bien imaginer, partant d'un satellite géostationnaire en position au-dessus du territoire nord-coréen, un système capable de désorienter le guidage de tout missile lors de sa phase d'ascension.

Il y a toutefois là un risque stratégique encore plus grand : que ces progrès techniques relancent une inutile course aux armements entre Washington, Pékin et Moscou...

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

En Italie, le Mouvement 5 étoiles ne réussit pas à masquer ses divisions

Sans faire l'unanimité, Luigi Di Maio a été élu comme chef de file pour les législatives

ROME - correspondant

Au premier abord, rien n'a vraiment changé. Sur l'immense parking de la Foire de Rimini (Emilie-Romagne), où ont été installés les stands de la kermesse, le peuple des partisans de Beppe Grillo est présent, dans toute sa diversité. On croise des écologistes, des militants végétariens, des activistes anti-grands travaux publics, des partisans de la « décroissance heureuse » et du revenu universel, vêtus de tee-shirts humoristiques... toutes les chapelles originelles du Mouvement 5 étoiles (M5S) sont représentées. Et la tonalité des débats, sur le système de santé, les retraites, les institutions ou le devenir de l'Union européenne, reste conforme à la colère et à l'esprit antisystème qui ont présidé à la naissance de ce mouvement protestataire foisonnant et inclassable, passé, depuis sa formation, en 2009, du statut de groupuscule à celui de première force politique d'Italie.

Le quatrième rassemblement annuel des partisans de M. Grillo, organisé sur les bords de l'Adriatique, n'a manqué aucune de ses figures obligées. Mais il a aussi traduit, et de façon spectaculaire, un changement d'époque, à quelques mois d'élections législatives que le mouvement abordera, pour la première fois, dans la peau d'une formation prétendant à l'exercice du pouvoir.

L'homme qui incarne cette métamorphose, c'est Luigi Di Maio, 31 ans, désigné par les militants grillinistes comme le candidat du mouvement au poste de président du conseil. Avec plus de 80 % des

37 000 votes électroniques exprimés sur la plate-forme Rousseau, nouveau cœur nucléaire de la galaxie « 5 étoiles », le jeune vice-président de la Chambre des députés peut se targuer d'un résultat net et incontestable. Samedi soir, devant plusieurs dizaines de milliers de personnes, il a reçu l'onction de M. Grillo, censée faire de lui le chef incontesté du mouvement.

Pourtant, ce passage de témoin ne s'est pas fait sans heurts ni dommages, tant la personne de Luigi Di Maio suscite au sein du mouvement de profondes réticences. Un homme incarne ces oppositions : c'est le député Roberto Fico, 42 ans, président de la commission de surveillance de la RAI. Compagnon de la première heure de M. Grillo, charismatique et très aimé de la base militante, il n'a pas cherché à faire de coup d'éclat. Mais, même si l'accès à la tribune lui a été interdit, il n'a pas manqué de faire passer son message. Il a suffi pour cela de quelques sorties bien calibrées, et des images muettes d'une conversation longue et animée entre lui et le nouveau leader du mouvement, captées par les caméras de télévision italiennes.

Passer la main

Tenant d'une ligne politique très conservatrice, Luigi Di Maio est en effet loin de faire l'unanimité. S'il a été largement élu, c'était sans véritable opposant, au terme d'un scrutin en ligne qui a mobilisé moins d'un cinquième des inscrits. De fait, comment des militants antisystème, hostiles à tout ce qui ressemble de près ou de loin à un professionnel de la politique, pourraient-ils accepter sans ciller un jeune homme de

31 ans qui n'a connu pour expérience, avant d'entrer au Parlement, que quelques petits boulots et un emploi d'ouvreur au stade San Paolo de Naples ?

En fin tacticien, M. Grillo a vite compris le danger et, s'il assurait encore, il y a quelques jours, sa volonté de passer complètement la main, affirmant que le candidat à la présidence du conseil deviendrait automatiquement le chef politique du mouvement, il s'est présenté, le temps de ces trois jours de manifestation, comme la figure tutélaire du M5S et le garant de leur unité. Dimanche après-midi, devant les caméras, comme pour rassurer ses partisans en leur montrant que rien n'a changé, il s'est livré à une nouvelle provocation, distribuant des billets de 500 euros aux journalistes, avant de leur lancer : « *Maintenant, vous faites ce que je dis !* » ■

JÉRÔME GAUTHERET

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Berlin risque d'être plus réticent à la réforme de la zone euro

Les projets de Macron vont se heurter à l'hostilité des libéraux du FDI

BRUXELLES - bureau européen

Pendant la campagne, il avait été très peu question des élections allemandes à Bruxelles, même si une série de dossiers y étaient gelés dans l'attente du nouveau mandat promis à la chancelière, Angela Merkel. Pour autant, les conséquences de ce scrutin, qui entraîne l'explosion de la grande coalition sortante, et voit l'extrême droite entrer pour la première fois au Bundestag, sont considérables.

À l'annonce des résultats, la phase d'euphorie qui a suivi les défaites de Geert Wilders aux Pays-Bas et de Marine Le Pen en France a semblé soudainement s'estomper avec le succès du parti d'extrême droite Alternative pour l'Allemagne (AfD). Le retrait des sociaux-démocrates du SPD entraînera sans doute un changement de ton à Berlin sur la politique migratoire, les relations avec la Turquie ou les possibles réformes de l'eurozone, tandis que la chancelière devra faire des concessions aux libéraux et aux Verts pour tenter de composer une nouvelle coalition.

Les faibles scores de l'Union chrétienne-démocrate (CDU) et du SPD compliquent le jeu du président français, Emmanuel Macron, dans le domaine-clé, vu de Paris, de la réforme de la zone euro. Depuis des mois, il promet de défendre un Parlement, un budget et un super-ministre des finances pour l'eurozone. Après dix ans de gestion chaotique de la crise des dettes, il compte sur une « fenêtre historique » pour faire enfin progresser l'intégration de

la zone monétaire, dotée actuellement de politiques économiques, sociales et fiscales insuffisamment coordonnées.

Les Allemands n'ont jusqu'à présent pas considéré qu'il s'agissait d'une priorité. C'est d'ailleurs pour cette raison, afin de tenter de susciter le débat à Berlin, que M. Macron compte détailler ses plans dès mardi 26 septembre, devant des étudiants de la Sorbonne. Avant qu'Angela Merkel se mette à négocier la composition d'une nouvelle coalition.

Retour du dossier migratoire

Jusqu'où le chef de l'Etat français placera-t-il le curseur de ses ambitions, sachant que les Allemands, toutes tendances politiques confondues, refuseront toute idée de mutualisation des dettes ou de transferts financiers supplémentaires entre Etats membres ?

La personnalité du futur ministre des finances allemand sera cruciale. Le leader des libéraux, le photogénique Christian Lindner, brigue le poste occupé par Wolfgang Schäuble, une personnalité (CDU) incontestablement pro-européenne, en dépit de sa rigidité vis-à-vis de la Grèce. Les libéraux sont, eux, hostiles à une réforme en profondeur de la zone euro. M. Lindner a déclaré dès dimanche soir qu'il n'était pas question d'envisager un budget commun substantiel pour l'eurozone : « 60 milliards d'euros directement pour la France et l'Italie ? C'est inconcevable. »

M. Macron dispose toutefois d'une carte maîtresse : il est encore considéré à Bruxelles comme celui qui a endigué la vague populiste. Si l'Allemagne de Merkel ne fait pas un geste envers ce pro-

Européen revendiqué qui veut rapprocher l'Union de ses citoyens, elle risque de rallumer la flamme de l'europhobie.

M. Macron devra-t-il aider la chancelière sur les dossiers migratoires, pour espérer obtenir des avancées minimales sur ces sujets ? Le dossier migratoire devrait en effet revenir en force à Bruxelles, en raison de la poussée de l'AfD, suscitée par l'arrivée de centaines de milliers de demandeurs d'asile en Allemagne. Berlin pousse depuis des mois pour une révision des règles d'accueil des réfugiés dans l'Union. Et estime que le jugement de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne, qui vient de donner tort à la Hongrie et à la Slovaquie, hostiles aux quotas de réfugiés adoptés en 2015, ouvre la voie à un mécanisme de relocalisation permanent. Au cœur du débat, la notion de « solidarité », refusée par des capitales de l'Est.

L'Allemagne – comme la France – veut aussi obtenir une révision des règles dans l'espace sans passeport Schengen. Les règles jugées « trop rigides » régissant la réintroduction temporaire des contrôles aux frontières seront revues. Berlin insistera aussi pour une politique plus vigoureuse de retour des illégaux et une extension de l'espèce de délégation de pouvoirs à la Libye (à ses gardes-côtes, voire à certaines de ses milices) à laquelle on assiste depuis des mois, pour

limiter les passages de migrants par la Méditerranée centrale.

La question turque devrait également être abordée, dès lundi, lors d'un conseil des affaires générales bruxellois, prélude à un sommet des dirigeants en octobre. M^{me} Merkel avait appelé à une rupture des négociations d'adhésion durant la campagne. Il n'en serait maintenant plus question – Berlin craignant une remise en cause de l'accord sur le contrôle des migrants de mars 2016 avec Ankara –, mais d'une énième mise en garde à l'endroit de cet encombrant partenaire, au régime toujours plus autoritaire.

Abondant dans le sens de Paris, la chancelière pourrait aussi progresser en matière de défense. Une « coopération structurée permanente » pourrait être bientôt notifiée officiellement. Initié par

Paris, Berlin, Madrid et Rome, le projet serait appuyé par suffisamment d'autres capitales pour être lancé, avec l'objectif de renforcer l'autonomie stratégique de l'Union, d'accélérer la politique commune de sécurité et de favoriser la coopération entre les industries nationales de défense.

M. Macron aura très vite l'occasion de tester la solidité de son jeu : dès le sommet de Tallinn, en Estonie, vendredi 29 septembre. Le rendez-vous était initialement consacré au numérique mais les dirigeants européens, anticipant qu'ils auraient d'autres sujets de discussion, se sont ménagé un dîner de travail la veille au soir. ■

CÉCILE DUCOURTIEUX

ET JEAN-PIERRE STROOBANTS

« 60 milliards d'euros directement pour la France et l'Italie ? C'est inconcevable »

CHRISTIAN LINDNER
président du FDP

LES RÉACTIONS

EMMANUEL MACRON

« J'ai appelé Angela Merkel pour la féliciter, a annoncé, dimanche 24 septembre, le président Emmanuel Macron sur son compte Twitter. Nous poursuivons avec détermination notre coopération essentielle pour l'Europe et nos pays. »

MARINE LE PEN

« Bravo à nos alliés de l'#AfD pour ce score historique ! C'est un nouveau symbole du réveil des peuples européens », a déclaré la présidente du Front national, Marine Le Pen sur Twitter.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario



Christian Lindner, le président du Parti libéral-démocrate (FDP), à Düsseldorf, le 23 septembre. INA FASSBENDER/DPA/AFP

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Washington étend le «travel ban» à Pyongyang, N'Djamena et Caracas

Les Etats-Unis interdiront l'entrée sur leur territoire des citoyens de Corée du Nord et du Tchad et limiteront celle des Vénézuéliens dans le cadre d'un nouveau décret sur l'immigration, a annoncé, dimanche 24 septembre, l'administration Trump. Ces nouvelles restrictions entreront en vigueur le 18 octobre. Elles élargissent la liste des pays visés, au départ essentiellement composée de pays à majorité musulmane (Iran, Libye, Syrie, Yémen, Somalie). Le Soudan, quant à lui, a été retiré de cette liste.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Référendum kurde : Bagdad hausse le ton

Le premier ministre irakien s'est dit prêt à prendre « les mesures nécessaires » pour préserver l'unité de son pays

BAGDAD - *envoyée spéciale*

Jusqu'au dernier instant, les responsables irakiens et leurs soutiens internationaux ont eu l'espoir que les pressions exercées sur Massoud Barzani pour annuler le référendum d'indépendance du Kurdistan irakien, lundi 25 septembre, porteraient leurs fruits. Le coup de théâtre n'a pas eu lieu. Dimanche, le leader kurde, président de la région autonome, a confirmé la tenue du scrutin, qu'il a présenté comme le premier pas d'un long processus de négociation vers l'indépendance avec Bagdad, estimant que le partenariat tissé en 2003 avait « échoué ».

Le premier ministre irakien, Haider Al-Abadi, est apparu à la télévision, dimanche, pour asséner, avec une rare fermeté, l'opposition de Bagdad. « Prendre une décision unilatérale affectant l'unité de l'Irak et sa sécurité ainsi que la sécurité de la région avec un référendum de séparation est contre la Constitution et la paix civile. Nous allons prendre les mesures nécessaires pour préserver l'unité du pays », a-t-il promis.

Conscient qu'il joue sa survie politique sur la gestion de cette crise, potentiellement déstabilisatrice alors que la lutte contre l'organisation Etat islamique n'est pas achevée et que se profilent des élections législatives au printemps 2018, M. Abadi s'est départi de son attitude conciliante.

A l'issue d'un cabinet de sécurité qui s'est tenu après ce « discours à la nation », son gouvernement a exhorté les pays étrangers à ne plus traiter avec les autorités du Kurdistan irakien dans les domaines du pétrole et des frontières et a ordonné à Erbil de lui restituer le contrôle des frontières et des aéroports. La Turquie et l'Iran avaient annoncé plus tôt de premières sanctions. Les deux pays ont suspendu leurs liaisons aériennes avec le Kurdistan irakien voisin et

intensifié leurs manœuvres militaires à sa frontière.

Refus de négocier

A Bagdad, le dialogue promis par M. Barzani n'est pas une option envisagée. « Dès lors que le référendum a lieu, il n'y a pas de négociation possible sur une feuille de route pour la création d'un Etat kurde », a déclaré au Monde Ali Alaaq, membre du parti chiite Al-Dawa de M. Abadi et négociateur avec Erbil.

Bagdad refuse une négociation dont l'issue est fixée à l'avance par un référendum. Si la solution fédérale, prévue par la Constitution irakienne, a leur préférence, ils n'envisagent sa remise en cause – pour une confédération ou l'indépendance – que par la voie d'amendements constitutionnels. C'est la position qu'a défendue M. Abadi dans ses contacts réguliers avec M. Barzani, et en public. Le premier ministre irakien avait misé sur le succès du partenariat inédit scellé entre leurs forces de sécurité respectives lors de la bataille de Mossoul.

Il avait également promis au président kurde une alliance électorale en 2018 pour l'amener au compromis. Si M. Barzani a gratifié le premier ministre irakien de marques de respect, il a jugé son avenir politique trop incertain pour accepter une alternative négociée sans garanties fermes des Nations unies et des Etats-Unis. Or, celles-ci ne sont jamais venues.

Une fois le dialogue rompu, le premier ministre irakien s'est joint, dimanche, aux voix qui, à Bagdad, n'ont cessé de tirer à vue sur le chef kurde. A son tour, il a comparé ses méthodes à celles de l'ancien dictateur Saddam Hussein et a exhorté ses « chers citoyens kurdes » à ouvrir les yeux sur les lacunes démocratiques du système Barzani, la corruption et la captation des ressources pétrolières à son seul profit.

Fragilisation de M. Abadi

« Le premier ministre Abadi ne prendra pas le risque de relancer le dialogue et d'être accusé de trahison par les autres partis chiites », estime un observateur étranger. Ils exploiteraient sa faiblesse pour empêcher sa reconduction à la tête du gouvernement à l'issue des législatives de 2018. La fragilisation de M. Abadi inquiète les Occidentaux, qui jugent son maintien au pouvoir essentiel pour la reconstruction de l'Irak. Ils ont redoublé d'efforts pour pousser M. Barzani à renoncer au référendum, les Etats-Unis allant jusqu'à menacer de lui retirer tout soutien politique, militaire et économique.

Le scrutin pose le problème des territoires disputés entre Bagdad et Erbil. L'Iran et ses alliés chiites irakiens ont tenté d'empêcher sa tenue à Kirkouk, une ville mixte kurde-arabe assise sur une région pétrolière, en misant sur les divisions kurdes. Mais les visites du général iranien Ghassem Soleimani ont échoué à convaincre les responsables de l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK), qui tiennent Kirkouk, de lâcher le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK) de M. Barzani.

« Nous nous en sommes tenus à ce stade à des moyens pacifiques et politiques. Mais nous sommes en droit légitime de combattre pour défendre l'intégrité du territoire irakien », menace Laïth Al-Adhari, membre du bureau politique de la milice chiite irakienne Asaib Ahl Al-Haq. La perspective des législatives de 2018 incite les partis chiites présents dans la région et leurs milices à afficher une certaine retenue. « Une action militaire est une décision politique qui incombe

au gouvernement central de Bagdad et au Parlement», poursuit M. Adhari, qui juge «inimaginable» que Bagdad reste sans rien faire.

Le premier ministre Abadi a prévenu que ses forces interviendraient en cas de troubles. Mais la crise avec Erbil risque de précipiter une reprise en main de l'Iran et de la Turquie, au grand dam des Occidentaux qui perdraient un point d'appui dans la région. «Téhéran a assez de leviers au Kurdistan pour déstabiliser le président Barzani en renforçant ses adversaires, l'UPK et le

parti Goran», estime un observateur étranger. Quant à la Turquie, elle n'a pas écarté l'option militaire mais peut aussi asphyxier Erbil en fermant le passage du pétrole kurde. ■

HÉLÈNE SALLON

« Dès lors que le référendum a lieu, il n'y a pas de négociation possible sur une feuille de route pour la création d'un Etat kurde »

ALI ALAAQ
négociateur irakien avec Erbil

LE CONTEXTE

KURDISTAN IRAKIEN

Reconnue dans la Constitution irakienne de 2005, la région du Kurdistan irakien jouit d'une large autonomie. Elle est peuplée de 6 millions d'habitants (17 % à 20 % de la population irakienne), mais ne représente qu'une partie de l'ensemble des Kurdes répartis aussi entre la Turquie, la Syrie et l'Iran. Elle jouit du contrôle de ses frontières et exploite son propre pétrole, qu'elle exporte par la Turquie. Le mandat de son président, Massoud Barzani, a expiré en 2015, faute d'élections, qui n'ont pas pu être organisées à cause de la lutte contre l'organisation Etat islamique.

TERRITOIRES CONTESTÉS

Un des points les plus épineux du référendum d'indépendance concerne la délimitation des frontières. Kirkouk et une bande de territoire bordant la région autonome, peuplées d'Arabes et de Kurdes, sont revendiquées par Erbil et Bagdad. Prévu par la Constitution, le référendum sur le rattachement de ces régions riches en pétrole n'a jamais eu lieu.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Trump durcit son décret anti- immigration

ÉTATS-UNIS

La Maison-Blanche a étendu la liste de pays indésirables sur le sol américain. Les interdictions sont définitives, et non plus temporaires.

Nicolas Rauline

 @nrauline

— Bureau de New York

Son précédent décret avait été sévèrement critiqué : Donald Trump a revu sa copie. Le président américain a présenté dimanche soir la nouvelle version de son décret « anti-immigration ». Une version... durcie et étendue à de nouveaux pays. Ce sont désormais huit nations qui sont visées. À l'Iran, la Libye, la Syrie, la Somalie et le Yémen, sont venus s'ajouter le Tchad, la Corée du Nord et le Venezuela. Le Soudan a été retiré de la liste.

Surtout, alors que le premier décret, promulgué en janvier dès son arrivée au pouvoir, interdisait

aux ressortissants de ces pays d'entrer sur le territoire américain pour une durée de 90 jours, et le deuxième, datant de mars, pour 120 jours, celui-ci a une durée illimitée. Il ne pourra être revu, selon la Maison-Blanche, que si les pays cités répondent « de manière satisfaisante aux insuffisances constatées » en matière de sécurité. Les conditions de cette interdiction diffèrent toutefois selon les pays. Ainsi, ce sont les officiels vénézuéliens et les membres de leur famille qui sont touchés par l'interdiction. L'Iran, lui, peut continuer à envoyer des étudiants, même si ceux-ci seront soumis à de longues enquêtes de la part de l'administration. Les Somaliens pourront visiter le pays, mais pas s'y établir définitivement... Ces subtilités pourraient provoquer un nouveau chaos aux aéroports, comme les précédents décrets. L'administration n'étant pas au point sur les changements.

La Cour suprême pourrait trancher

La réponse de Donald Trump ressemble à une tentative pour faire taire les critiques et devancer une décision d'inconstitutionnalité. Les précédents décrets visaient en effet des pays musulmans et leurs détracteurs pensaient pouvoir les faire annuler pour cette raison. En ajoutant la Corée du Nord et le Venezuela à la liste, le président américain espère démontrer que c'est la sécurité du pays qui l'emporte avant tout – alors que, durant sa campagne, il avait parlé d'interdire l'immigration de tous les musulmans...

Pour l'Union américaine pour les libertés civiles, il ne s'agit là que d'une diversion. « Il s'agit toujours d'une interdiction visant les musulmans : la Corée du Nord n'est quasiment pas concernée par les migrations et l'interdiction ne vise que quelques officiels vénézuéliens », a fait savoir l'association.

Le nouveau décret entrera en vigueur le 18 octobre. Mais il pourrait bien être attaqué devant les tribunaux, comme les deux précédents. Ce lundi, la

Cour Suprême a annulé des auditions qui devaient avoir lieu le 10 octobre, sur le deuxième décret, et qui n'avaient plus lieu d'être. Peut-être devra-t-elle bientôt se pencher sur cette troisième mouture... ■

Le FN se félicite de la victoire des «alliés» d'outre-Rhin

Le résultat définitif des législatives n'était pas encore connu, dimanche en Allemagne, qu'en France plusieurs cadres frontistes se précipitaient déjà pour adresser publiquement leurs félicitations à l'AfD. Le parti nationaliste allemand est la première formation d'extrême droite à faire massivement son entrée au Bundestag depuis 1945, avec 94 députés.

La présidente du Front national, Marine Le Pen, a vu dans ce résultat un «nouveau symbole du réveil des peuples européens» et félicité «[ses] alliés» pour leur «score historique». Nicolas Bay, secrétaire général du parti, a lui interprété le vote comme un choix «patriote» (le mot est à la mode en ce moment au FN) et «une volonté plus forte que jamais du peuple allemand de combattre l'immigration incontrôlée et l'islamisme qui en résulte». Lui qui a succédé il y a peu à Marine Le Pen à la présidence du groupe «Europe des nations et des libertés» au Parlement européen, groupe qui compte (entre autres) un Allemand de l'AfD, a aussi salué ses «alliés» d'outre-Rhin. AfD et FN ont officialisé leur rapprochement en janvier à Coblenz, en Allemagne, lors d'un congrès aux allures d'internationale des nationalistes, un meeting et une conférence de presse avec Marine Le Pen côté français et l'eurodéputé Marcus Pretzell côté allemand (le PVV néerlandais était représenté par Geert Wilders, et la Ligue du Nord italienne par Matteo Salvini). Une réunion plus médiatique qu'autre chose.

S'ils se ressemblent sur certains points – un discours anti-islam, anti-migrants, anti-euro, anti-Merkel, anti-américain et pro-Poutine –, le FN et l'AfD n'ont surtout en commun que leurs critiques à l'égard des élites politiques et leur nationalisme. Des positions qu'on retrouve par ailleurs dans beaucoup de partis populistes actuels. Créée en 2013, l'AfD est plus libérale en matière économique que le FN, et plus conservatrice qu'elle n'est identitaire. De fait, à l'époque de Coblenz, tous n'avaient pas apprécié la démarche: «Je trouve que le FN ne nous correspond pas du tout, c'est en fait un parti socialiste», avait protesté une tête connue de l'AfD, Georg Pazderski.

«Il n'y a pas de couple franco-allemand du nationalisme», analysait aussi à la même date Nicolas Lebourg, de l'Observatoire des radicalités politiques de la Fondation Jean-Jaurès. Et de résumer ce mariage opportuniste comme celui de «deux partis actuellement à la périphérie des droites et qui, face aux difficultés des partis conservateurs vis-à-vis de la crise sociale depuis 2008 et des réfugiés depuis 2015, tentent de se positionner auprès de leur électorat national comme relevant d'un réajustement planétaire des droites qui feraient d'eux non des extrêmes droites du passé, mais les mouvements transpartisans de demain».

Un point commun quand même: des axes d'ancrage différents selon les territoires. Comme il y a deux FN en France, celui du Nord, d'inspira-

tion sociale, celui du Sud, plus identitaire et sécuritaire, l'AfD est nationaliste à l'Ouest et libérale à l'Est (lire page 3).

De plus, les partis français et allemand affichent tous deux des divisions internes. Une fois le résultat des législatives connu en Allemagne, Frauke Petry, l'une des principales dirigeantes de l'AfD, a annoncé qu'elle ne siégerait pas avec la formation au Bundestag, regrettant un virage radical et agressif. Une décision sur laquelle l'ancien vice-président du FN, Florian Philippot, qui a quitté le parti jeudi, s'est immédiatement projeté. «La radicalité ne sert à rien, le départ de Frauke Petry dénonçant ces dérives le montre. Il faut bâtir un patriotisme clair et rassembleur», a-t-il plaidé.

TRISTAN BERTELOOT

Si les extrêmes droites française et allemande ont le même rejet de l'immigration et de l'islam, leurs visions économiques divergent largement.

A Kirkouk, la peur de l'après-référendum

Dans cette ville peuplée de Kurdes, Arabes et Turkmènes, les minorités craignent que le vote les marginalise. De nombreux incidents ont marqué les dernières semaines.

De toutes les villes où le référendum s'est déroulé lundi, Kirkouk était la plus scrutée. Celle où le risque d'incidents était le plus élevé, celle où le processus d'indépendance pouvait déraiser avant même d'avoir commencé. «*S'il y a des problèmes, ce sera la faute de bandits. J'ai demandé à nos peshmergas [les combattants kurdes, ndlr] de ne pas réagir aux provocations*», déclarait dimanche Massoud Barzani, le président du Kurdistan irakien. La participation ne semble pas avoir été massive, mais le vote s'est déroulé dans le calme. Un couvre-feu a été déclaré lundi dans le centre, ainsi que dans les secteurs arabe et turkmène, afin de «*protéger les citoyens*», a fait savoir la police..

«Piège». Kirkouk est une cité complexe, multiethnique et multiconfessionnelle, où les exclus d'hier sont devenus les dirigeants d'aujourd'hui. Les chiffres ne sont pas définitifs mais elle compterait environ 1,5 million d'habitants, dont un peu moins de 50% de Kurdes, environ 35% d'Arabes et 15% de Turkmènes. Certains sont sunnites, d'autres chiites. Kirkouk est aussi une ville au sous-sol riche, qui renferme 40% des réserves irakiennes de brut. Elle fait partie de ces zones que se disputent l'Irak et le gouvernement régional du Kurdistan. Saddam Hussein avait déplacé de force des Arabes pour la repeupler. Depuis 2014 et la fuite des soldats irakiens devant l'avancée de l'Etat islamique, les Kurdes en ont pris le contrôle. Leurs drapeaux flottent sur les administrations. Mais rien n'est réglé à Kirkouk. L'ambiance est

pesante, les peurs permanentes. «*Désolé, je ne peux pas vous parler. On pourrait nous voir. Il vaut mieux se taire ici*», dit un jeune Arabe. Autour du conseil provincial, qui incarne le pouvoir, les rues sont interdites aux voitures. On n'y accède qu'à pied, en longeant barrières et murs de béton, après avoir été fouillé trois fois. Les élus ont chacun cinq gardes du corps. Ils patientent dans les couloirs sinistres à la peinture jaunâtre et au carrelage écaillé. Les gardes de Kamiran Kirkouki, un élu kurde de 60 ans, étaient là quand les jihadistes de l'Etat islamique, qui contrôlent Hawija, à une vingtaine de kilomètres, ont lancé un assaut sur la ville le 21 octobre. «*J'ai pris mon arme et je suis parti avec eux pour empêcher les hommes de Daech d'entrer dans le conseil provincial*», se souvient-il. Les jihadistes ont été chassés de Kirkouk après deux jours de combats. Mais les incidents, moins graves, ont repris avec l'annonce du référendum. Le 11 septembre, une fusillade a éclaté entre des Kurdes qui fêtaient le vote à venir et un garde du siège d'un parti turkmène. Un Kurde a été tué et plusieurs personnes ont été blessées. Quelques jours plus tôt, un professeur arabe avait péri dans l'explosion de sa voiture. «*C'était une attaque faite pour provoquer des incidents entre Kurdes et Arabes avant le référendum. De notre côté, nous refusons de tomber dans ce piège. Nous avons de bonnes relations avec eux, il y a beaucoup de mariages mixtes et d'intérêts communs*», affirme Kamiran Kirkouki. L'élue craint surtout des actions «*dirigées depuis l'étranger*». «*L'Iran va pousser les chiites à créer des problèmes après le référendum*», affirme-t-il. Déjà, en début de semaine dernière, plusieurs dizaines de pick-up de la milice chiite Badr ont paradé dans le centre-ville. Les peshmergas n'ont pu qu'observer le coup de force, sans intervenir.

«Plainte». Dans le long salon aux murs bordés de canapés où il reçoit ses invités, le cheikh Bourhan Mazher al-Sissi, chef de la liste arabe au conseil, dit lui aussi sentir la montée des ten-

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

sions. «Des gens, et pas que des Arabes, ont quitté la ville ces derniers jours. Ils ont peur. Ce référendum est dangereux», affirme-t-il. D'un ton poli et calme, en réfléchissant à chaque mot, il ajoute: «Les Kurdes ont tout à fait le droit de décider de leur avenir. Mais dans leurs villes, pas dans celles qui sont disputées comme Kirkouk.» Il y a une dizaine de jours, le cheikh a fait passer un message au consulat américain à Erbil, la capitale du Kurdistan irakien, pour demander l'envoi d'une «force internationale neutre» dans la ville. Il n'a pas reçu de réponse. Les représentants de la communauté turkmène sont plus vindicatifs. L'un de leurs dirigeants, Raad Agha, conseiller au parlement provincial, habite une maison cossue derrière un grand portail. La rue est gardée par des hommes cagoulés et armés parlant turc. «Ce

référendum est illégitime. Il ne devrait pas avoir lieu dans des zones mixtes où vivent des Turkmènes. C'est aussi chez nous ici. Nous y avons nos maisons et nos emplois. Ce n'est pas à nous de payer pour les bombardements chimiques qui ont visé les Kurdes.» Raad Agha n'a pas de doute, le oui l'emportera, à Kirkouk comme ailleurs. «Mais dès que le résultat sera officiel, nous porterons plainte devant le tribunal fédéral. Et si ça ne suffit pas, nous mobiliserons toutes les instances que nous pourrons, jusqu'à l'ONU. Je ne comprends pas pourquoi Barzani s'est obstiné avec ce vote. C'est extrêmement dangereux. Il y a des jeunes motivés dans chaque camp, il suffira d'un rien pour que ça dégénère. Le pire est à venir.»

L.Ma. (à Kirkouk)

Populists toast success after EU reboot falters

Charles Bremner Paris

While Europe's right-wing populists were celebrating the advance of Germany's anti-immigrant AfD party, the relative setback for Angela Merkel spelt bad news for French efforts to re-launch the European Union.

Marine Le Pen, leader of the French National Front, and Geert Wilders, who heads the Dutch Freedom Party, saluted the entry into parliament of Alternative for Germany (AfD).

The party's success in gaining 13 per cent of the vote marks the arrival of anti-establishment populism in a nation long thought to be immune to it. "Bravo to our allies of the AfD for this historic score. This is a new symbol of the awakening of the peoples," tweeted Ms Le Pen.

The breakthrough by the AfD ended a losing streak for western Europe's hard nationalists in recent months after a poor electoral outing by Mr Wilders and Ms Le Pen's resounding defeat by Emmanuel Macron in the presidential elections. The National Front was unable to become even the second-largest party in France.

However, the dispute in the AfD leadership yesterday matched the divisions that have emerged on the Continent inside the so-called patriots' movements. The parties are split between unvarnished xenophobes and less extreme ideologues who hope to reach power one day.

The walkout yesterday by Frauke Petry, co-leader of the AfD, echoed a parallel feud inside the National Front between anti-immigrant traditionalists and the more polished anti-EU campaigners.

Ms Le Pen last week dismissed her deputy, Florian Philippot, because he refused to abandon his focus on leaving the EU and get behind the party's anti-foreigner doctrines. Yesterday Mr Philippot sided with Ms Petry's rejection of extremism, tweeting that "the departure of Frauke Petry shows that radicalism is useless". He added: "You have to build a patriotism that ... brings people together."

The rise of the far right in Berlin will encourage anti-immigrant parties across the EU, from Scandinavia to Italy, but the fierce "Germany-first" doctrine of the AfD and the arrival of a more conservative coalition under Mrs Merkel may worsen tensions with the nationalist governments of Poland and Hungary. Warsaw, for example, is unlikely to make progress with its demands for a trillion dollars in compensation for wartime losses at the hands of the Nazis. Alexander Gauland, AfD's leading candidate, even campaigned for Germany to be allowed to admire its world war soldiers.

More immediately, Mrs Merkel's probable alliance with the liberal Free Democrats (FDP) will dim the

prospects of German agreement to a push by Mr Macron to deepen the EU's core zone of single currency states. In a speech in Paris today the French leader will expand on his proposals for a common budget for the eurozone as well as a federal finance minister. His officials insisted that his ambitions would not be dimmed by the German election results. Privately, though, they acknowledge that the refusal of the FDP to countenance any deeper integration in the eurozone will create an obstacle.

Mrs Merkel had edged towards Mr Macron's ideas before the election but yesterday she sounded caution. "My view is that we can use more Europe, but this has to lead to more competitiveness, more jobs and more clout for the European Union," she said.

Germany's longstanding reluctance to accept more sharing of funds in the eurozone is based on its view that the uncompetitive southern economies should not be bailed out by German largesse. Mr Macron has bet that his pro-EU reforms in France will help to persuade Germany to accept more "solidarity" in the eurozone. His chances of success diminished on Sunday night.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario



ESERCITO

UFFICIO GENERALE DEL CAPO DI SM
UFFICIO PUBBLICA INFORMAZIONE E COMUNICAZIONE

Pag. 2

1/1

Misstep on migrants may yet seal Mutti's fate

Analysis

Angela Merkel said it herself: every leader should think twice before ruling for more than a decade (Roger Boyes writes).

She was seven years into her reign at the time, and looking forward to 2015, the notional ten-year milestone. Her rivals sharpened their knives accordingly.

Why not 2015? Mutti (Mummy) — as she is affectionately known to her followers — had weathered a eurozone crisis and was steaming ahead. It would be the 70th anniversary of Germany's unconditional surrender, the 25th anniversary of German unification, the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations with Israel: a graceful exit point for a modernising European leader at the peak of her game. Then, as Middle East wars lapped at the shores of Europe, she committed a capital error: without consulting her EU partners she threw open the gates for hundreds of

thousands of migrants. As the unfiltered newcomers began to overwhelm German institutions enthusiasm for her gesture curdled. It was the moment everything started to go wrong for her, but she resolutely plugged her ears.

Even now, after taking a pasting at the polls, she refuses to accept the fact of her decline. Fourth-term tenures are always toxic for German chancellors. Konrad Adenauer was unable to fend off the challenges mounted by his economics minister, Ludwig Erhard. Helmut Kohl, in the late 1990s, struggled with rising unemployment and his popularity plunged. A year before being thrashed by Gerhard

Schröder he picked up a prize honouring his European vision.

Like Mrs Merkel he saw himself as indispensable. Most fourth-term chancellors would start to think about handing on the

baton after another two years: time to find an acceptable successor and embark on legacy projects.

Mrs Merkel, however, may not last that long. The migrant crisis will catch up with whatever government alignment she manages to cobble together. She will find out

in regional elections in Lower Saxony on October 15 that her support is still melting away.

Negotiations for a cabinet must include two of the most implacably opposed parties in the German firmament: the Free Democrats and the Greens. If the Free Democrats refuse to sign up, the way out of Mrs Merkel's governing crisis may have to be new elections or a minority government. Either way it will accelerate the already inevitable departure of Mrs Merkel.

Her achievements have been significant, her calm tone welcomed by fellow EU leaders, but she will be remembered for her skills as a crisis manager rather than as one of Germany's greats. She stood out in Europe largely because she was surrounded for the most part by mediocre colleagues. Now Germans will watch, perhaps with some embarrassment, as she tries to deal with a motley crew of far-right detractors making a mockery of her rule. Power is already trickling away from Mrs Merkel.



Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Kurds head for polls to realise a dream

A long-oppressed people puts its faith in the ballot box, writes **Richard Spencer** in Kirkuk



Kurds in northern Iraq defied threats of blockades, external intervention and civil war yesterday to turn out in their millions to vote for the independent state they say they were denied a hundred years ago.

The central government in Baghdad instructed the army to send troops to Kurdistan's "disputed territories": districts such as the divided city of Kirkuk. Iran announced the closure of land borders and air space to Kurdistan-bound traffic. Turkey threatened to follow suit, and to cut the oil pipeline that carries Kurdistan's source of wealth to the outside world.

There are 35 million Kurds scattered as minorities across Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria and the vote has inspired many to think that they might finally achieve nationhood, which they were denied when the Ottoman Empire was dismantled after the First World War.

In an Arbil suburb Tarifa Kheder Ahmed, 32, was thinking of a more recent catastrophe. Her husband, Shamsaddin Omar Mohammed, a Peshmerga fighter since his teens, called her one afternoon two years ago to say goodbye after his unit had been surrounded by Islamic State fighters. His body was found later.

Her cousin, Hujam Surchi, another Peshmerga soldier, who has 12 children, was captured soon after by Isis and publicly beheaded. "Their blood should be remembered," Mrs Ahmed said. "We have lost so many people. We don't want others to control us any more."

Stories of decades of persecution — under Saddam Hussein, in neighbouring countries, and now in the fight against Isis — have dominated speeches and propaganda in favour of the independence vote. The other theme is the failure of the peace treaties signed at the end of the First World War to give the Kurds a separate state.

Masoud Barzani, president of Iraqi Kurdistan, talked scathingly in his closing campaign speech of what central government leaders describe as the "partnership" of Arabs and Kurds. "We have reached the conclusion that only with independence can we have a future without the atrocities we have suffered in the past," he said.

Most of those who were against the referendum chose to boycott it rather than vote "no", meaning that the result was a foregone conclusion. They included the Turkmen and Arab minorities of Kirkuk, a city that is no more than half Kurdish but which the Kurds are determined to include in their state.

"I didn't even know I could vote," Hani Masoud, 40, a Kirkuk Arab, said. Sabir Ayoub, a Turkmen oil engineer,

said he could have voted but did not, believing that any participation in the referendum would "bring war nearer".

Iran-backed militias have sent troops into Kirkuk to "protect" the Turkmen, who are mostly Shia. Turkey, which has cultural ties to the community, has also threatened to intervene.

British and American diplomats and some breakaway Kurdish politicians spent the past two weeks seeking a compromise, under which the referendum would be delayed while negotiations took place, particularly over Kirkuk. The city's governor, Najmaddin Karim, however, insisted on holding the referendum there. He denied that fighting would ensue between the different ethnic groups, some supported by outside powers. "Nothing will happen," he told *The Times*. "Turkey and Iran will come to love us in the end."

Mr Barzani has promised not to declare independence immediately but to open negotiations with Baghdad.

Mr Karim said that voting had been peaceful but he later imposed a dusk curfew on the city. There had been few reports of trouble by the time the polls closed.

"I am very happy to vote," Mrs Ahmed said. "We fought for this land, and we want it for ourselves."

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Isis fighters killed in drone strike on Libyan stronghold

Bel Trew Cairo

At least 17 Isis fighters died in an attack by American drones on a desert camp in Libya — the first US airstrike in the country since President Trump took office in January.

The camp, 150 miles southeast of Sirte, once Isis's stronghold in Libya, was being used to move fighters in and out of the country, US Africa Command said in a statement. The raid took place on Friday.

"These terrorists have sought safe haven and freedom of movement in Libya to launch external terror attacks in neighbouring countries, and have also been connected to multiple attacks across Europe," it added. The strike was conducted in conjunction with Libya's recognised unity government.

Western officials in the country initially played down reports that Isis militants were regrouping after local forces, backed by US airstrikes, took back control of Sirte in December. However, Libyan intelligence officials, members of the country's unity government and local security forces told *The Times* last month that hundreds if not thousands of jihadists were gathering in Libya after losing ground in Iraq and Syria.

In recent weeks the jihadists had grown bolder, setting up temporary checkpoints and attacking local forces, according to Libyan officials.

Khalifa Haftar, the east Libyan military commander, said this month that his forces had attacked Isis in Ain Taqrift, southeast of Sirte. The area is close to oilfields previously damaged by Isis attacks and appears to be near to where the US drone strikes occurred.

Thousand of demonstrators gathered in Tripoli, the Libyan capital, yesterday in support of a Swiss-based Libyan businessman who had called for a rally to reject the leadership of both of the two leading factions vying for control of the divided country. Basit Igtet has gathered thousands of Facebook followers and is presenting himself as a potential alternative.

"No Haftar, no Serraj. Igtet is here," demonstrators chanted, referring to Fayez al-Serraj, the prime minister-designate of the UN-backed government in Tripoli, and Marshal

Haftar, the commander of Libya's self-styled national army based in the eastern city of Benghazi.

Hundreds of counter-demonstrators joined the crowd and shouted anti-Igtet slogans. Mr Igtet himself was present for a time but did not speak. As night fell fights broke out between rival supporters with security forces forced to separate them.

At least 84 people — 30 of them children — died in two US-led airstrikes in March near Raqqa, Isis's de facto capital in Syria, Human Rights Watch said yesterday.

It claimed in a 42-page report that dozens of civilians had died in attacks on a school that was being used to house displaced families in Mansourah and a market and a bakery in Tabqa, two towns west of Raqqa. Isis fighters were present, but so too were hun-

dreds of civilians, meaning the attack was in violation of international law, said the report. It is likely to raise concerns that the US-led coalition was not taking "adequate precautions" to protect non-combatants.

**Khalifa Haftar
has led the fight
against Islamic
State in Libya**

Turkey threat to shut tap on Kurdish crude lifts oil price

James Dean US Business Editor

The oil price climbed above \$59 yesterday to its highest point in more than two years as the president of Turkey threatened to "close the tap" on Kurdish exports and analysts suggested that the full force of supply cuts was now being felt.

The price of a barrel of Brent crude, the international benchmark, rose to as much as \$59.18 a barrel in New York last night as Wall Street closed, a gain of 4.1 per cent for the day and its highest level since July 2015.

Twenty-one countries, led by Saudi Arabia and Russia, are collectively trying to cut crude supply by about 1.8 million barrels per day to help to prop up the oil price. The production cuts, as well as increasing demand from industrialised nations, have helped to drain stockpiles and push up the price by nearly a third since June.

Bjarne Schieldrop, chief commodities analyst at SEB Markets, said: "Inventories continue lower and the Brent crude curve continues to steepen due to both natural reasons and speculative pressures.

"In addition we have sentimental support for the oil [price] by the fact that US oilrigs have declined in five out of the past six weeks. Thus the arrows are pointing to higher levels."

Speaking at the *Financial Times* Commodities Asia Summit in Singapore yesterday, Janet Kong, BP's senior oil trader in Asia, said: "We are at a juncture where we are going to see continued inventory draws. The market is in rebalancing mode."

The Kurdish region of Iraq is about to hold an independence referendum, something that is opposed by Iraq, the United States, Iran, Turkey and others for fear that it will add to instability in the Middle East. The Iraqi government has called for an international boycott of Kurdish crude exports.

President Erdogan of Turkey, whose country controls the autonomous region's main export pipeline, said yesterday: "We have the tap. The moment we close the tap, then it's done." The pipeline transports about 500,000 barrels of oil out of Kurdish Iraq every day.

West Texas Intermediate, the American benchmark, rose by 2 per cent to \$51.68 per barrel yesterday, but the

price was weighed down by concerns about increasing production in the country. This pushed the spread between Brent and WTI to its widest since August 2015.

The 11 nations that make up the Opec cartel and a further ten oil-producing nations have been implementing supply cuts for nearly nine months. In August, Saudi Arabia and Russia, respectively the largest and second largest producers in the 21-nation group, cut production by more than the required amount.

Nonetheless, Moody's, the ratings agency, yesterday removed its "positive" outlook on the oil and gas sector, saying that growth was likely to slow significantly over the next year because the recovery had run its course.

Elena Nadtochi, senior credit officer at Moody's, said: "Our outlook has turned 'stable' to reflect the increased likelihood of earnings growth slowing down for the global oil and gas players in 2018, after the sharp recovery in 2017.

"We also expect fundamental conditions to stabilise further as companies have cut their production costs and capital investment amid low oil prices."

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Iraqi Kurds Rush to Participate in Independence Referendum

CROWD CONTROL: Police try to keep people from forcing their way into a voting station in the northern Iraqi city of Erbil. Kurds began voting Monday in a landmark referendum on independence from Iraq, risking backlash from Baghdad and the international community. **A3**



CHRIS MCGRATH/GETTY IMAGES

Kurds Hold Vote on Splitting From Iraq

Prime Minister Abadi has said he wouldn't recognize the results of the referendum

BY ISABEL COLES
AND ALI A. NABHAN

ERBIL, Iraq—Kurds voted in a landmark referendum on independence from Iraq, seeking to advance their dream of statehood but risking backlash from Baghdad and the international community, which is threatening to isolate and economically cripple the Kurds' semiautonomous region in response.

Emerging from polling stations with ink-stained index fingers on Monday, Kurds in Erbil, the capital of the semi-autonomous Kurdish region, said they had voted "yes" to

secure their rights as a nation.

"We have a language. We have a history. We have a geography. And we have suffered," said 73-year-old Saleh Mohammed, a retired lawyer. "There have been wars and uprisings, and after every uprising, negotiations and agreements that were never implemented."

At the foot of the ancient citadel in the heart of Erbil, Kurds dressed in traditional clothing posed for photographs to mark the day and children carried the region's sun-embazoned flag.

Polls closed at 6 p.m. local time, with results expected around 24 hours after that, according to Hendren Hama Salih, the head of the Kurdish electoral commission organizing the referendum. Some 3.9 million people are eligible to vote, he added. The vote concluded with no reports of violence.

Kurdish leaders say a "yes"

vote will give them a strong mandate to negotiate an amicable separation with Baghdad over the coming years. But Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi said on Sunday that he wouldn't recognize the results and vowed to take unspecified measures "to preserve the

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

unity of the country.”

For Kurds, however, the referendum represents a historic step in a long and bloody struggle for their own state, which they were denied when colonial powers carved up the region after World War I, dispersing them across Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria.

Kurds of all political persuasions overwhelmingly support independence and the region's main political parties have urged their followers to vote yes, even though some have questioned the timing of the vote and worry about the consequences.

The vote won't automatically trigger independence, but the U.S. and Middle Eastern governments say it could mean the end of a unified Iraq, destabilizing the greater region and undermining Iraq's fight against Islamic State.

The U.S., a backer of Mr. Abadi, opposes the vote. Representatives from the U.S.-led military coalition to defeat Islamic State have consistently said the referendum has had negative effects on the Iraqi government's military effort against the group, drawing its attention from a campaign targeting the last militant strongholds in the country.

On Sunday, the Baghdad government of Mr. Abadi demanded that the Kurds, whose region is in the north of Iraq, hand over control of all airports and border crossings and urged neighboring countries to deal only with the federal government of Iraq. It was unclear how Baghdad would enforce those demands.

Neighboring Iran and Turkey have already threatened to punish the landlocked region with sanctions. Iran and Turkey fear

that any move toward independence by Iraq's Kurds will inspire their own Kurdish populations to seek the same.

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in a speech Monday called the referendum “null and void and illegitimate,” threatening to close the Turkish border with the Kurdish region and halt oil exports through a pipeline on which the Kurds depend economically.

—Ben Kesling

contributed to this article.



Despite strong objections from Baghdad and neighboring countries with Kurds, Iraqi Kurds held a vote on independence on Monday.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Kurdistan's Independent Oil Boom Comes Under Fire

Iraqi Kurdistan's independence referendum has returned its renegade oil industry to the

*By Benoit Faucon,
Sarah Kent
and Summer Said*

spotlight, prompting Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan to threaten to cut off the region's petroleum exports and Baghdad to call for a de facto boycott of Kurdish crude.

Kurdistan has built up an independent oil sector against the odds, defying Iraq's central government, which claims control over the country's crude revenue. The result is an industry that accounts for 80% of the Kurdistan Regional Government's revenue and that exports

nearly 600,000 barrels of oil a day—about the same as petrostates like Qatar and Ecuador.

More than half of the region's production is exported through a Turkish pipeline, the result of a controversial deal in 2013 with Ankara that allowed the Kurds to bypass Iraq's state oil company and sell crude independently. Baghdad has long complained about the deal, but international oil companies now routinely buy Kurdish oil and sell it abroad.

A move toward Kurdish in-

dependence could change the equation for Mr. Erdogan, who has waged a deadly, costly battle with Kurdish separatists. On Monday, Mr. Erdogan made a veiled threat to close the Kurdistan-Turkey pipeline, saying: "We own the tap, once

we close it, that is done also."

Mr. Erdogan's comments came after the Iraqi government called for all countries to "deal exclusively" with Baghdad on oil and other matters. A senior adviser to the Iraqi oil industry said the government would pursue legal action if the Kurds declared independence.

The Kurdistan Regional Government didn't respond to requests to comment. Over the weekend, Kurdistan's Ministry for Natural Resources' Twitter page called Baghdad's oil regulators "corrupt" and accused the federal government of not paying the Kurds for oil in the past.

Kurdistan has worked to improve financial stability in

its oil sector ahead of the referendum and tried to settle its debts with key players.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Revamped Travel Ban Cites 8 Nations

New order places limits on Chad, North Korea and Venezuela; Sudan is cut from list

BY LAURA MECKLER

WASHINGTON—President Donald Trump issued a new ban on entry to the U.S. that applies a range of restrictions on nationals from eight countries, including new targets Chad, North Korea and Venezuela.

The new restrictions also apply to five of the six countries covered by the previous travel ban—Iran, Libya, Syria, Yemen and Somalia. The African country of Sudan was subject to the original ban but dropped under the new version after officials concluded that Sudan meets its vetting standards.

The previous order expired Sunday. The new rules take effect Oct. 18. Countries that were subject to an earlier version will operate under the old rules until then.

The new rules vary by country, with some nations facing outright travel bans and others subject to more limited restrictions. In most cases, though, the vast majority of potential travel to the U.S. will be banned. "As president, I

must act to protect the security and interests of the United States and its people," Mr. Trump wrote Sunday.

The new order reflects painful lessons learned following intense criticism of two previous versions. Mr. Trump's first executive order, issued after just a week in office, touched off widespread confusion in airports, protests and a judicial rebuke. The second version, in March, allowed for a phase-in, but it too was put on hold by the courts almost immediately before the Supreme Court allowed a modified version to take effect.

Administration officials were hoping for a calmer reception this time.

Officials also hope the new list will overcome charges that Mr. Trump's order was an unconstitutional Muslim ban, thinly disguised. This time, two non-Muslim countries were included—though neither stands to be affected by the new rules in a significant way. North Korea allows few people to enter the U.S. to begin with, and a White House official noted that any North Korean refugees would be eligible for waivers. Venezuela's restrictions are being applied only to certain government officials and their families, while most other countries

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

face sweeping prohibitions.

"The number of Venezuelans and North Koreans affected is vanishingly tiny. It's still a Muslim ban," said Omar Jadwat, who brought several of the court challenges for the American Civil Liberties Union.

Trump administration officials say just the threat of a travel ban persuaded more than a half-dozen countries to change

their policies and are now cooperating more fully with the U.S. in vetting their citizens.

The new restrictions have no set end date. Rather, restrictions will be added or removed at any time as conditions change, officials said. The new rules apply only to

prospective visa applicants—not current visa holders. That means there is less likely to be confusion at airports as the rules take effect, as was the case after January's rollout.

Mr. Trump and his supporters said the original travel ban was needed to keep potential terrorists from entering the U.S. Critics pointed to Mr. Trump's campaign promise to ban Muslims from entering the U.S. and said the executive order was driven by unconstitutional prejudice.

Under the order, two countries—North Korea and Syria—are subject to a ban on travel for people seeking to migrate to the U.S. and on those who just want to visit.

Hackers penetrate secret Deloitte emails

**Cyber-attack 'impacted' data of at least six clients
Breach may have exposed usernames and passwords**
Nick Hopkins

One of the world's big four accountancy firms has been targeted by a sophisticated hack that compromised the confidential emails and plans of some of its blue-chip clients, the Guardian can reveal.

Deloitte, which is registered in London and has its global headquarters in New York, was the victim of a cybersecurity attack that went unnoticed for months.

Deloitte, which reported a record \$37bn (£27bn) in revenue last year, provides auditing, tax consultancy and high-end cybersecurity advice to some of the world's biggest banks, multinational companies, media enterprises, pharmaceutical firms and government agencies.

The Guardian understands that Deloitte clients in all of these sectors had material in the company email system that was breached. The companies include household names as well as US government departments. So far, six of Deloitte's clients have been told their information was "impacted". Deloitte's internal review into the incident is continuing.

The Guardian understands Deloitte discovered the hack in March this year, but it is believed the attackers may have had access to its systems since October or November 2016. The hacker compromised the firm's global email server through an "administrator's account" that, in theory, gave them privileged, unrestricted "access to all areas". The account required only a single password and did not have two-step verification, sources said.

Emails to and from Deloitte's 244,000 staff were stored in the Azure cloud service, which was provided by Microsoft. This is Microsoft's equivalent to Amazon Web Service and Google's Cloud Platform.

In addition to emails, the Guardian understands the hackers had potential access to usernames, passwords, IP addresses, architectural diagrams for businesses and health information. Some emails had attachments with sensitive security and design details. The breach is believed to have been US-focused and was regarded as so sensitive that only a handful of Deloitte's most senior partners and lawyers were informed.

The Guardian has been told the internal inquiry into how it happened has been codenamed Windham. It has involved specialists trying to map out exactly where the hackers went by analysing the electronic trail of the searches made.

The investigating team is understood to have been working from the firm's offices in Rosslyn, Virginia, where analysts have been reviewing potentially compromised documents for six months. It has yet to establish whether a lone wolf, business rivals or state-sponsored hackers were responsible.

Sources said that if the hackers had been unable to cover their tracks it should be possible to see where they went and what they compromised, by regenerating their queries. But this kind of reverse engineering is not foolproof.

A measure of Deloitte's concern came on 27 April when it hired the US law firm Hogan Lovells to review "a possible cybersecurity incident". The firm was retained to provide "legal advice and assistance to Deloitte LLP, the Deloitte Central Entities and other Deloitte Entities" about the potential fallout from the hack.

Responding to questions from the Guardian, Deloitte confirmed it had been the victim of a hack but insisted that only a small number of its clients had been "impacted". It would not be drawn on how many of its clients had data made potentially vulnerable by the breach.

The Guardian was told an estimated 5m emails were in the "cloud" and could have

been accessed by the hackers. Deloitte said the number of emails at risk was a fraction of this number.

A spokesman said: "In response to a cyber incident, Deloitte implemented its comprehensive security protocol and began an intensive and thorough review including mobilising a team of cybersecurity and confidentiality experts inside and outside of Deloitte."

"As part of the review, Deloitte has been in contact with the very few clients impacted and notified governmental authorities and regulators. The review has enabled us to understand what information was at risk and what the hacker actually did, and demonstrated that no disruption has occurred to client businesses, to Deloitte's ability to continue to serve clients, or to consumers."

"We remain deeply committed to ensuring that our cybersecurity defences are best in class, to investing heavily in protecting confidential information and to continually reviewing and enhancing cybersecurity. We will continue to evaluate this matter and take additional steps as required."

"Our review enabled us to determine what the hacker did and what information was at risk as a result. That amount is a very small fraction of the amount that has been suggested."

Deloitte declined to say which government authorities and regulators it had informed, or when, or whether it had contacted law enforcement agencies.

The breach is a deep embarrassment for Deloitte, which offers potential clients advice on how to manage the risks posed by sophisticated cybersecurity attacks.

In 2012 it was ranked the best cybersecurity consultant in the world.

244,000

The number of Deloitte staff. Emails to and from them were stored in the Azure cloud service, provided by Microsoft

France Macron's grand plan needs Berlin

Angelique Chrisafis Paris

The French president, Emmanuel Macron, is to press ahead with a major speech today setting out plans to "rebuild" the EU, despite fears that a new coalition government in Berlin could limit his ambitions.

The German chancellor, Angela Merkel, who in recent months had cautiously warmed to Macron's proposed radical overhaul of the eurozone, won a fourth term in office this weekend. But she faces difficult talks with smaller parties in the face of opposition from the emboldened far-right, anti-Europe Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) party.

The prospect of Merkel sharing power in a coalition with the pro-business Free Democratic party could create problems for Macron's plans for deeper integration of the eurozone, with a shared budget and finance minister.

Christian Lindner, the FDP leader, remains fiercely critical of Macron's ideas, and hours after the election result said he would put the brakes on with "red lines" against Macron's plans for a single eurozone budget.

Lindner sought to hammer home German taxpayers' fears that a more integrated eurozone with its own budget would mean Germany being made to pay for bills left unpaid in other states, naming France and Italy. "For us, it's unimaginable," he said.

The Greens, the other potential German coalition partner with Merkel, are in prin-

ciple closer to some of Macron's views. But with the FDP as a partner and the AfD pushing back loudly in parliament, the prospect of Merkel selling deeper European integration to her coalition and the wider public looks far more challenging.

The centrist Macron, who was elected in May against Marine Le Pen of the far-right Front National, has staked his presidency on an overhaul of the EU and closer eurozone cooperation after Brexit.

Macron maintains that his "historic reconstruction of Europe and the eurozone" - designed to reconcile the EU with disgruntled citizens after a decade of financial and immigration problems - is urgent, not least to stem rising far-right parties. But he cannot move without Germany's agreement.

The French president will make his key speech at Sorbonne University in Paris, in which he is expected to give a roadmap fleshing out his ideas for the EU and shoring up the euro, including a separate budget, a finance ministry and a European monetary fund. The mood in Paris was one of determination. A French official said: "Now is the moment to explicitly set out what France wants to do."

Some have questioned the wisdom of France forcing the EU issue on to the table during German coalition talks. But the view in Paris is that Macron's detailed explanations should counter any negativity in Berlin.

Macron, who is fiercely pro-European,

was elected after a clear and constantly repeated promise to transform the EU hand in hand with Germany, but there was far less talk of the future shape of the bloc in the German election campaign.

German politicians are aware that the unemployment rate in France of almost 10% is more than twice that in Germany, raising the concern that any eurozone budget transfers would go one way.

If Macron is to get Berlin on board, he must convince it that he is delivering domestic structural reforms to loosen the labour market and reduce unemployment.

In Parisian diplomatic circles, many have been keen to stress that even if there are disagreements, it does not mean the powerful France-Germany partnership will not work.

Paradoxically, the Franco-German motor of Europe has often worked best when leaders of opposite political persuasions have been in power.



Emmanuel Macron, the French president, believes that far-reaching reform of the EU is urgent, not least to curb the rise of the far right

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Kurds defy warnings in ballot on independence

Iran, Iraq and Turkey fear for stability of borders

International community wanted vote cancelled

Martin Chulov *Kirkuk*

Thousands of people in the Kurdish region of northern Iraq cast votes yesterday in a referendum billed as a first step towards independence from Baghdad, defying regional demands that the ballot be abandoned and international fears that the outcome could spark violence.

More than 80% of registered voters cast ballots in a poll that many felt transcended the demands of Iraq's Kurdish north and buttressed the cause of Kurds across the region.

Leaders in Erbil had tried to confine aspirations to the Kurdish Regional Government's (KRG) boundaries in Iraq. However, Iran, Turkey and Baghdad vehemently denied this was happening, fearing that the ballot will instead provide momentum to restive Kurdish movements within their borders and potentially prove destabilising. All three yesterday issued bellicose warnings of border closures and potential conflict.

Iraq's parliament debated sending troops into disputed areas south of Kirkuk, which were contentiously included in the referendum. In the multi-ethnic oil city, Kurdish areas were brimming with vot-

ers, many wearing celebratory clothes or traditional costume.

"This is better [than the Islamic festivals]," said Abdul Kareem Kakarash, a blacksmith, 62. "It is the best day of my life."

"I hope that the west will see this as a historic day," said his relative Mala Rasul Mamish, 40, "and not just the project of one political party. It is much more than that. So much of our blood has been spilt for being Kurds. The Iraqi government has done to us things that even infidels wouldn't do."

The ballot is widely expected to deliver an overwhelming yes to independence - a boost for the de facto Kurdish president, Masoud Barzani, who had invested much of his political capital in the independence drive. Barzani repeatedly ignored calls from neighbours, the US, Britain, the EU, UN and Arab League that he abandon the vote in favour of more talks with Baghdad.

The Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, said he could cut a pipeline allowing Iraq's Kurds to export oil to the world - much of it from Kirkuk - generating a large swath of the KRG's revenue.

Although the referendum result is non-binding, Iraq's central government views it as a potential trigger for disintegration of the fragile state, which has been battered by 14 years of war and instability, the past three of which have been consumed by battling Islamic State.

Barzani's calculation was that the fight

with the terror group gave him leverage that he would not otherwise have had. However, Baghdad seems less inclined than ever to offer concessions in the wake of a result that ostensibly moves the semi-autonomous north further from its orbit and adds new complications to already stalled deals on oil and revenue-sharing.

Kirkuk, contested for centuries between Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen, looms as a flashpoint in coming months, with Shia militias loyal to Iran and Baghdad sitting just to the south of the city.

In the city itself, Hasiba Abdullah, 51, who supervised a polling station, said: "It's a dream come true for everyone. We want the Kurdish flag to rise over all our communities here. They will all be included. We are ready to set aside all disputes and take our place in the global community. We want to see our flag at the United Nations."

Initial poll results are expected on Tuesday, and the official results will be announced later in the week.

Additional reporting: Mohammed Rasool



Women celebrate the referendum, which has prompted fears of wider Kurdish action Photograph: Ahmad Al-Rubaye/AFP

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Merkel must strike a deal. Europe's future depends on it

Natalie Nougayrède

We obsess about the far right. But who ends up in Germany's ruling coalition is far more important

This German election matters greatly to the whole of Europe, not just to Germany alone. Its results, and what emerges now, will determine much of what can or cannot be accomplished to rejuvenate a 60-year-old European project that has, in recent years, often looked as if it was on crutches. The German far right's entrance into the Bundestag is worrying, but it risks being the only thing many beyond Germany will pay attention to, and that in turn means we may miss the full impact for Europe of Germany's vote.

First, however raucous the AfD may be, the centre ground has held in Germany. That Angela Merkel has been re-elected, after more than 1 million refugees arrived in the country, says something about its stability and resilience. Remember that Marine Le Pen gained 21% in the first round of the French presidential elections, in a country that took in only a tiny fraction of the migrants who arrived in Europe in 2015-16.

The key story from the German election has yet to unfold: with Merkel set for another term, the suspense now centres on her search for a new coalition. The outcome of the negotiations will have a much bigger effect on Europe's prospects than the noise surrounding the AfD. Indeed, the task of anchoring western liberal democracy will to a large extent depend on the dynamics of Germany's coalition.

If, like me, you take the view that in the era of Donald Trump, Europe has a key role to play in preserving the liberal international order, and if you also recognise that the historic heart of the EU is the so-called Franco-German "engine", then a simple conclusion arises: it is essential that Merkel and Emmanuel Macron find a common path towards what they have called a rekindling, or "renaissance", of the European project. At the centre of this effort stands the need to reform eurozone governance.

To be convinced of how important the single currency is, remember that the roots of Europe's populist moment go

back to the eurozone crisis. Anti-establishment and anti-EU parties emerged for the first time in the 2014 European parliament elections - this was before the migration crisis reached its peak.

The reasons for the populist surge vary from one country to another. In Germany, the lingering east-west divide adds a specific ingredient - but even with today's eurozone economic indicators having notably improved, it is hard to dispute that eurozone mismanagement and faulty construction took a severe toll on the continent's politics.

So can the single currency's two heavyweights, France and Germany, see eye to eye on how to proceed? Macron has called for the creation of a eurozone finance minister and budget. German scepticism towards some of the French ideas is well known. There are divergences among Germany's mainstream political parties, and this is where Merkel's coalition intentions - and what kind of domestic agreement she can reach - will be crucial.

When it comes to Macron's plans, the German social democrats (SPD) are supportive, but they have so far discounted the idea of pursuing a "grand coalition" with Merkel. The Greens, whom the chancellor is likely to turn to as part of a potential new governing team, also support Macron's plans, with some enthusiastic voices even suggesting that Germany needn't wait for France's domestic reforms to

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

pass before moving forward together on deepening European monetary union.

The pro-business FDP liberals, however, have strong doubts about eurozone integration. On Sunday, the FDP leader Christian Lindner made that opposition clear: "€60bn directly for France and Italy? Inconceivable!" he said. It doesn't help that if the FDP enters government, Lindner will reportedly want the position of finance minister. Parts of Merkel's own CDU/CSU grouping also have doubts about what France wants to achieve, with some having called Macron "an expensive friend" during the campaign.

The German election was by far the most important political event for Macron since his election. In the run-up to Sunday's vote, he reportedly told friends: "If the [German] liberals enter government, I'm done for." The French president needs to show French voters he can get Germany to agree to his European ambitions.

Merkel is well aware of the stakes. In her mind, Macron's success is vital to rescuing the European project and ensuring its future. This is the legacy she will be judged on as she enters her final term as chancellor. She is of course an astute political operator, but her manoeuvring space has shrunk.

The EU was little mentioned during the German election campaign, yet these elections were as much about Europe as about Germany. Today Macron is due to give a speech on the future of the EU at the Sorbonne. It's tricky timing. He needs to strike the right balance on eurozone integration, to avoid making Merkel's coalition-building even harder. He would much prefer the SPD to come on board, but that now seems to be off the table. German politics have never mattered more to the rest of the continent, but instead of obsessing about the rise of the far right, we need to study the shape of the coalition as it emerges.

The German election was by far the most important political event for Macron since his election



► Illustration by Andrzej Krauze

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Europe Stiffens Its Defense Of Iran Deal

By GARDINER HARRIS

WASHINGTON — After months of quietly urging the Trump administration to preserve the Iran nuclear deal, European diplomats have begun an aggressive defense of it, warning of serious consequences if the United States ignores their concerns.

President Trump denounced the nuclear agreement in a speech to the United Nations last week as an “embarrassment to the United States.” But he said later that his real goal was not to scrap the deal right away but to enlist the European allies who were also signatories of the 2015 agreement in an effort to toughen its provisions.

Responding to his speech, Federica Mogherini, the European Union’s foreign policy chief, said there was “no need to reopen the agreement because it’s fully delivering.” And she expressed the near-disbelief among European officials that Mr. Trump might walk away from the Iran accord while trying to resolve an escalating crisis involving North Korea’s nuclear and missile programs.

“We already have one potential nuclear crisis,” she said. “We definitely do not need to go into a sec-

ond one.”

Preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons could be impossible should Mr. Trump abandon the landmark deal struck by President Barack Obama and the leaders of Germany, France, Britain, China, Russia and Iran. And Europe is far closer to Iran and at much greater risk than the United States should it develop nuclear weapons.

On Monday, the ambassadors to the United States from Britain, France, Germany and the European Union met on a stage at the Atlantic Council in Washington to reinforce that message.

Gérard Araud, the French ambassador, said that it was not just the Europeans who refused to renegotiate but also Iran as well as China and Russia. Their position, he said, was, “No way. There won’t be any reopening of the agreement. The agreement is working as it is.”

Should the United States end the agreement and try to penalize European companies doing business with Iran, David O’Sullivan, the European Union’s ambassador, said that Europe could respond with its own measures against the United States.

“I’ve no doubt that if this sce-

nario materializes, the European Union will act to protect the legitimate interests of our companies,” he said.

For most of this year, Mr. Trump and America’s European allies have papered over stark differences on such issues as the Paris climate accord to preserve some semblance of Western unity.

But European officials say their patience with Mr. Trump may be nearing an end, and they view his possible abandonment of the Iran nuclear agreement as a potential breaking point.

“These problems are on our doorstep,” Kim Darroch, the British ambassador, said on Monday, adding: “These issues matter to us and to our national security more than you could imagine.”

Until recently, senior Trump administration officials had reassured their European counterparts that while a comprehensive review of Iran policy was underway, none thought that scrapping the nuclear deal would be a good idea, according to European officials and diplomats.

But in recent weeks, they have been told that Mr. Trump had told advisers that he will most likely refuse next month to certify to Congress that Iran is in compli-

ance with the deal. In a meeting last week with Prime Minister Theresa May of Britain, Mr. Trump said he had made a decision on the deal but refused to disclose what he had settled on.

In a speech three weeks ago at a conservative think tank, Nikki Haley, the Trump administration’s ambassador to the United Nations, described in detail how and why such a decertification could occur. And she said that European concerns about such a strategy would not deter Mr. Trump.

Decertifying the deal would give Congress 60 days under accelerated legislative provisions to vote to reimpose sanctions on Iran and any country doing business there.

Such a process would force Europe to accede to the Trump administration’s demands for fear that “powerful U.S. secondary sanctions and other instruments of financial power would force European banks and companies to choose between America’s \$19 trillion-dollar market and Iran’s \$400 billion one,” said Mark Dubowitz, chief executive of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, a prominent critic of the Iran deal.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

CARRICK-ON-SHANNON JOURNAL

Kurds of County Leitrim: Refugees Call an Irish Town Home

By MEGAN SPECIA

CARRICK-ON-SHANNON, Ireland — A bold black-and-red sign announces Jamshid Ghafur's business — "Kurdish Barber" — up a narrow flight of stairs just off the main street of Carrick-on-Shannon in western Ireland.

Here, patrons have their hair trimmed under the watchful eyes of the famed Irish fighter Conor McGregor, whose poster hangs high on a wall. On the opposite wall hangs a Kurdish flag, the décor a simultaneous nod to Mr. Ghafur's homeland and the town where he lives.

"I am happy with this small business," he said as he gestured around the shop with pride. "I feel like home here."

Mr. Ghafur, 37, is part of a thriving group of Kurds who adopted this small town as their own after a United Nations-supervised refugee resettlement program brought them here more than a decade ago.

Kajal Allakarami, 29, was 17 when she arrived. "We said it was like heaven when we came," she said, as she bounced her own daughter on her knee while sitting on a cushion at the floor of her mother's home. The smell of a spiced beef and chickpea stew cooking in the kitchen filled the room. "Maybe it wasn't our ways, maybe it wasn't our traditions," she said, "but the way they respected us was huge."

In 2005 and 2006, around 100 Kurdish refugees, most Muslim, arrived in Carrick-on-Shannon, population 5,000, plucked from decades of displacement.

Now, Kurdish-owned businesses have opened in town, one of the county's top players in the traditional Irish sport of hurling is a Kurdish man, and Nowruz celebrations are held to mark the Kurdish new year. The number of Kurds has grown as members of the first wave married and had children.

The group of families who settled here originally fled the Kurdish region of Iran in 1979 because of political persecution, and found relative safety across the border in Iraq, where some lived for nearly 25 years in Al Tash, a refugee camp.

They fled again in 2003, when the Iraq War forced them into a no man's land at the border with Jordan. They were stuck there for three years before the United Nations resettled them.

Ms. Allakarami arrived in Carrick-on-Shannon with her parents, Fawzieh Amiri and Aziz Allakarami, and her six siblings — all thrust abruptly into the parochial life of a small Irish town. None spoke English.

The government provided social welfare and language courses for the adults, while the children enrolled in the local schools. Volunteers brought food and clothes, Mrs. Amiri said. Among them was Nora Burke, a Roman Catholic nun, who visited Mrs. Amiri weekly to help her practice English.

Still, the adjustment was not easy. Sister Nora said some locals resented the state-funded support the Kurds received.

"Carrick-on-Shannon was not prepared," she said. "They just arrived and some in Carrick thought: 'God, who are these people? Where did they come from? What are they here for?'"

"People say to me, 'Oh, they integrated so well,'" she said, "but they struggled to no end."

Shortly after the Kurds arrived, the local gaelcoil, which conducts classes in Irish, found its enrollment increasing. Many in town said it had less to do with any particular interest in the language than with the influx of the Kurds, as well as a wave of Latvian and Polish students at the other primary schools in town.

Also, jobs in a small county like Leitrim are scarce at the best of times, and for the newly arrived Kurds, the added barrier of a new language and culture made the search for employment more difficult.

But bit by bit, the Kurds established themselves.

Mrs. Amiri's family lives in a modest home in a housing estate on the outskirts of the town, the air inside thick with the smell of spices wafting from the kitchen. The family now includes Khomar, 11, born shortly after they arrived in Ireland. Mrs. Amiri affectionately calls him her "little Irish man."

Her husband takes pride in the small patch of land behind their

home, where he grows potatoes and tomatoes. He still struggles with the language, but his wife has enough English to work at Cryan's, a local hotel and pub. He's now the primary homemaker, a stark role reversal in their traditional culture.

"I'd like to understand this country," Mrs. Amiri said of how she has embraced this new life.

For members of the younger generation, resettlement has been a complex process of not just understanding Ireland but of coming to terms with their Kurdish and Irish identities.

Zemnako Moradi used sports to bridge the divide. Named after a mountain in Iraqi Kurdistan, but dubbed Zak when he came to Carrick-on-Shannon at age 11, he began training with the local Gaelic Athletic Association almost as soon as he arrived. He found his stride in hurling.

"It's a small community," Mr. Moradi said, crediting the club with helping him adjust to life off the field and opening pathways for jobs and socializing. "You all stick together."

He has since moved to Dublin — where he has picked up the thick accent of the city — but still calls Carrick-on-Shannon home and competes with Leitrim's county hurling team.

Some found the adjustment more difficult. Jabar Azizi and his twin brother were 16 when their family arrived.

"My age group, it was really, really difficult for us," Mr. Azizi said. "Even though I was in Ireland, my mind was somewhere else."

Still, he made it through school, and credits the small town.

"They respected us and our religion," Mr. Azizi said. "They respected the way we wanted to live."

Mr. Azizi plays soccer a few

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

times a week with other Kurdish men at a small field in Carrick's Aura Leisure Center. He has his own business; he owns a car-wash in a nearby town.

But it took tragedy for the Azizi family and the rest of the Kurdish community to know they had found a true home with their new Irish neighbors.

In March 2012, Jalal Azizi, Jabar's twin, was swimming with friends in the Shannon river during a rare warm snap when he got into difficulty and drowned. The whole town was shaken. Shops shut their doors and residents lined the road to pay their respects as the 21-year-

old's funeral cortege passed by.

"To be honest, we didn't expect that with our brother," Mr. Azizi said. "His death really touched everyone."

Strangers visited his home, and rallied around the family, bringing food and offering condolences. The family bonded with Joe and Rosie Dolan, owners of the Bush Hotel, who had lost their own son a year earlier. A year later, they were there when the town planted an oak sapling to honor Jalal. A small plaque in a riverside park now memorializes the young man.

"When he passed away, we saw all the community from Carrick-on-Shannon gathering in my house," Mr. Azizi said. "It is something I will never forget in the years to come; it is something I will tell my son about."



PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAULO NUNES DOS SANTOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jabar Azizi with his wife, Surat Ahmed, and their children at home in Carrick-on-Shannon. He was part of a group of Kurdish refugees who were resettled over a decade ago. Referring to local residents, Mr. Azizi said, "They respected the way we wanted to live."

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Iraqi Kurds Vote on Independence, Angering Neighbors and U.S.

By DAVID ZUCCHINO

ERBIL, Iraq — As jubilant Iraqi Kurds celebrated their vote Monday on independence from Iraq, shooting off fireworks and parading in cars festooned with Kurdish flags late into the night, their neighbors conducted military exercises on the region's borders, raising the threat of military intervention if it secedes.

The vote played out on a historic day for several million Kurds in northern Iraq, and was a pivotal moment in the Kurdish dream of a politically independent state.

While officials said the vote would not be tabulated until at least Tuesday, it was expected to be overwhelmingly in favor of independence for Iraqi Kurdistan, the semiautonomous region in northern Iraq.

Despite the celebrations, the vote may come at a steep political cost to the Kurds.

It proved highly provocative for Turkey, Iran and Iraq, whose responses are likely to roil the region in the coming days, stirring the very turmoil that the United States hoped to avoid when it pressured the Kurds to call off the vote.

The White House has warned that a Kurdish move toward independence could set off ethnic conflict, and that it could fracture Iraq and undermine the American-led coalition against the Islamic State, also known as ISIS. "We hope for a unified Iraq to annihilate ISIS, and certainly a unified Iraq to push back on Iran," the White House spokeswoman, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, said Monday.

The vote has strained Iraqi Kurdistan's relations with the United States, which relies heavily on Kurdish fighters to assist the American-led coalition against Islamic State militants. The region, which is landlocked, is vulnerable to growing threats of sanctions along its borders.

Turkey and Iran, which fear that the vote will foment unrest among their own Kurdish minorities, are conducting military exercises on their borders with Iraq near Kurdistan. Late Monday, Iraq's defense ministry announced joint maneuvers with Turkey.

Kurdish voters did not seem to care.

"When I voted, I didn't think for one second of Turkey or Iran and

their threats," said Rashid Ali, 61, a retiree who voted at a public school on Monday morning. "I'm not worried about them."

Kurdish officials said Monday night that the turnout among 3.9 million registered voters was 72 percent and that it was expected to rise as counting continued at more than 1,700 voting stations.

A convincing "yes" vote would not lead to immediate independence, but it would set in motion moves toward statehood and toward negotiations with Baghdad.

Reporting was contributed by Kamil Kakol, Mohammed Mahmud and Alissa J. Rubin from Erbil; Falih Hassan from Baghdad; Carlotta Gall from Istanbul and Clifford Krauss from Houston.

Iraqi officials, however, have called the referendum unconstitutional and vowed to ignore the results. They fear losing a third of the country — and a major source of oil — should Kurdistan break away.

Iraqi officials were also angered that the referendum included residents of ethnically mixed, disputed areas controlled by Kurdish pesh merga forces but claimed by Iraq.

Vice President Nuri Kamal al-Maliki called the referendum "a declaration of war on the unity of the Iraqi people."

Iraq's Parliament voted Monday to ask Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi to dispatch Iraqi troops toward disputed areas and to close land crossings leading into areas controlled by the Kurdistan Regional Government. Mr. Abadi is expected to discuss those issues with Parliament on Wednesday.

Baghdad also demanded that the Kurdish government surrender control of its international border posts and give up revenue from its lucrative crude oil exports to Turkey, the Kurdish region's largest single source of income.

In Turkey, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan threatened possible military intervention and warned that his country could shut down a pipeline that runs from Iraqi Kurdistan into Turkey. Referring to a Turkish intervention in Syria last year, Mr. Erdo-

gan suggested that Turkey could take similar action in Iraq. "We may enter at night without warning," he said.

Mr. Erdogan also said that a border crossing from Turkey into northern Iraq had been closed in one direction, and that Turkey planned to shut it down entirely.

At Iraq's request, Tehran halted flights on Sunday between Iran and the two international airports inside Iraqi Kurdistan. Kurds now worry that Baghdad will close airspace over the region.

Given the shared economic interests of all parties in the referendum dispute, it is difficult to predict how the confrontation will play out if the Kurds continue to aggressively pursue their independence ambitions after the vote.

Still, Turkey's threat to close the oil pipeline was particularly worrisome to the Kurdish leadership. Kurdistan sends 550,000 barrels a day through the pipeline, earning the region roughly \$8 billion a year.

Just a week before the referendum, the giant Russian oil company Rosneft and the Kurdish Regional Government signed a deal to build a natural gas pipeline to Turkey, which would be a likely conduit to European markets by 2020. The pipeline will have a capacity to ship 30 billion cubic meters of gas per year, many times more than Kurdistan now produces and equivalent to more than half of Turkey's annual demand.

On Sunday, the Kurdish region's president, Massoud Barzani, said the Kurds' "partnership" with Iraq was over. He said Iraq's Kurds could no longer tolerate living in a "theocratic, sectarian state," a reference to Iran's considerable influence on Mr. Abadi's government, which is dominated by Shiite Muslims.

"From now on, Kurdistan will be a neighbor of Iraq, but not part

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

of it," Mr. Barzani said.

The most contentious of the disputed areas is Kirkuk, an oil-rich city inhabited by Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen and smaller ethnic groups. Pesh merga forces captured the city and surrounding areas after Iraqi troops fled an Islamic State assault in 2014.

A government official in Kirkuk said late Monday that voter turnout was 80 to 90 percent in Kurdish neighborhoods of Kirkuk, but less than 10 percent in Arab and Turkmen areas. The police blocked streets to vehicle traffic after Kurdish voters drove through Kurdish areas of the city, celebrating the voting.

Turnout will be an important gauge of the depth of opposition to the vote among many Kurds. Some Kurds who favor independence eventually say the region yet lacks the democratic institutions for nationhood. They are part of a significant contingent – including

a "No For Now" movement – that opposes Mr. Barzani, and accuses his government of corruption, incompetence and nepotism. They were expected to signal their displeasure by staying home.

The United States has significant military and intelligence assets in Iraqi Kurdistan. Kurds are counting on relations with the United States to continue as usual once the referendum is completed and the rhetoric becomes less heated.

Mr. Barzani has said he is ready to begin negotiations with Baghdad over borders, security arrangements, oil income and other mutual interests, even if it takes two years or more.

Hoshyar Zebari, a former Iraqi foreign minister and a leader of the referendum effort, has stressed that the region will look no different the day after the vote than it did before.

"The sun will rise in the east and we will negotiate," he said Saturday. "Statehood takes time."



Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

As Syrian War Drags On, Assad's Grip Tightens

By BEN HUBBARD

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Although Syria's bloody six-year war is far from over, one result is already becoming clear: President Bashar al-Assad looks as though he is here to stay.

On the battlefield, no one remains who is willing and able to topple him. The rebel forces are waning, and President Trump has canceled the C.I.A. program that provided them with arms and support. The Islamic State, with its own agenda to rule Syria as a caliphate, is being routed from its strongholds.

Regional powers, foreign officials and Syrians themselves are increasingly operating as if he will rule for years to come, albeit over a greatly reduced country. His allies have begun to trumpet what they see as their impending victory, and his government is talking about rebuilding a shattered country, hosting an international trade fair last month and signing a deal with Iran to rebuild its power grid.

Even some longtime rebel supporters have grown war-weary and started to embrace the inevitable.

Since the government reclaimed control of the mountain

town of Madaya after a prolonged siege, life there has improved for those who remained. The snipers left, electricity returned, food appeared in markets. Cafes reopened and people starting going out.

"We are sick of the war," a teacher there said via instant message, speaking on the condition of anonymity so as not to be targeted for her past opposition to the government. "We want to live

peacefully and safe, and we can't do that unless we are with the regime."

These developments do not suggest that Mr. Assad has an easy road ahead. He remains a pariah in much of the world, presiding over a blasted, divided land. If he emerges victorious, he is likely to be left with a weak state that is beholden to foreign powers and lacks the resources to rebuild.

But his endurance has serious ramifications for the country and for the Middle East, affecting the prospects of Syria's future stability, of refugees to return home and

of the Syrian government to tap international funds to rebuild its destroyed cities.

It is also a grim, late act in the Arab Spring uprisings that broke out in 2011. While protests and armed insurrections removed from power the leaders of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, Mr. Assad has remained, despite wielding tremendous violence against his people.

Mr. Assad himself has acknowledged the toll of the war, but argued that it has purified the state by eliminating threats to the nation and uniting Syrians around a shared project.

"We lost the best of our youth and our infrastructure," he told a conference in Damascus, Syria's

Continued on Page A 8



Bashar al-Assad

As Syrian War Drags On, Assad's Grip on Power Seems Tighter Than Ever

From Page A1

capital, last month. "It cost us a lot of money and a lot of sweat, for generations. But in exchange, we won a healthier and more homogeneous society in the true sense."

Syria's conflict began in 2011 with a popular uprising against Mr. Assad, which his security forces sought to suppress with overwhelming force. The opposition took up arms, and the United States, Saudi Arabia and others endorsed the rebels' cause, backing them politically and giving them arms and cash.

Now, Mr. Assad has succeeded in dispelling the rebel threat, largely because of the steadfast financial and military support of his foreign backers.

His government controls Syria's largest cities and most of its remaining people, who generally live in better conditions than those elsewhere in the country. His allies — Russia, Iran and Hezbollah

— have stood by him, bolstering his depleted military and helping it advance.

The rebels, a disparate collection of factions with varying ideologies, never managed to form a unified front, or to convince all Syrians that they would create a better future. Extremists linked to Al Qaeda joined their ranks, and their territory has shrunk as their backers have abandoned them to focus on fighting the Islamic State.

"The Syrian regime is now the

Hwaida Saad and Nada Homsí contributed reporting from Beirut, and Karam Shoumali from Istanbul.

furthest from being toppled," said Bassam Alahmad, executive director of Syrians for Truth and Justice, a human-rights monitoring group based in Turkey. "Fewer powers are interested in making that happen than was the case near the beginning of the Syrian

war."

But Mr. Assad is in many ways a limited head of state.

Much of Syria's territory remains out of his hands, and foreign powers have carved out spheres of influence, undermining his claim to rule all of Syria.

Turkish forces allied with local rebels hold territory in the north, and the United States is working with Kurdish and Arab fighters against the Islamic State in the east.

Even in areas nominally under Mr. Assad's control, Russia, Iran, Hezbollah and local militias empowered by the war often exercise

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

greater control than the Syrian state. And Russia has taken the lead in Syria's international diplomacy, negotiating safe zones with foreign powers around the country to try to stop the violence.

The war's toll has been tremendous and could be a burden on Mr. Assad and his allies for decades to come.

A recent report by the World Bank put the country's lost economic output during the first six years of the war at \$226 billion, four times its gross domestic product in 2010, before the conflict began. And while images of Syria's destroyed cities have become common symbols of the war's toll, the cost of unseen factors like broken social trust and shattered social networks could outstrip that of the physical damage many times over, Harun Onder, the report's lead author, said in an interview.

"As the conflict continues, it is not only the physical destruction, but also that the degradation in the social fabric intensifies," he said.

Merely by staying in power, Mr. Assad could hinder reconstruction.

Officials in the United States and Europe still hope that Mr. Assad will leave office in an eventual political agreement, but they have vowed not to reward him for his brutality and rampant human rights violations if he stays by helping rebuild the country.

Other countries that support Mr. Assad could help, but their resources are limited. Iran and Rus-

sia are under international sanctions, their economies hurting from low oil prices.

Last month, the government held an international trade fair in Damascus for the first time since 2011, welcoming companies from Iran, Iraq, Russia, Venezuela and elsewhere. Among the new deals signed were ones for the importation of 200 buses from Belarus and contracts to export 50,000 tons of produce.

Mr. Assad's hold on power could also affect the return of refugees, a critical issue for neighboring states.

About half of Syria's people have been displaced by the war, with more than five million of them seeking refuge abroad. Many fled attacks by Mr. Assad's forces and have no homes to return to. Others say the situation is not safe or fear arrest or conscription by Mr. Assad's security forces.

After years of living in exile, Bassam al-Malik, a businessman and former member of the main exile opposition group, tried to return to Syria this year to sell off some of his property. Through an intermediary, the government warned him not to return or he would be detained.

Now he was stuck, he said, between "the regime and the opposition."

Some Syrians have dropped their opposition and made their peace with a government that seems to be winning.

In 2012, Firas al-Khatib, a star soccer player, told a crowd of

screaming fans that he would not play for the Syrian national team "as long as any artillery is shelling any place in Syria."

Last month, he returned to Damascus and received a hero's welcome at the airport. "Today, we are on the land of our homeland and in the service of our homeland," he said.

The team, which is closely related to Mr. Assad, is still in the running to qualify for the 2018 World Cup.

Other citizens, like the teacher from Madaya, are happy to support anyone who can provide basic security and services.

"We are people who walk where the winds take us," she said. "During the siege, we were with the revolution. Now we are hanging Bashar's photos and we sing for him."



MOHAMMED BADRA/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY



SYRIAN ARAB NEWS AGENCY

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario



BULENT KILIC/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A Syrian fighter in the former Islamic State stronghold of Raqqa on Monday. With the Islamic State losing ground and the rebels on the wane, no one is left who could oust President Bashar al-Assad.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Far-Right Populists Complicate the Agenda Of Merkel and the E.U.

By STEVEN ERLANGER

BERLIN — Angela Merkel's re-election as chancellor of Germany was supposed to be the capstone of a year in which Europe did better than anticipated in holding off a populist surge, especially after the new French president, Emmanuel Macron, won so decisively over the National Front of Marine Le Pen.

Instead, the election on Sunday showed that the alienation with mainstream consensus politics has hardly gone away. Support for centrist parties, including Ms. Merkel's Christian Democrats, eroded badly, as the far-right Alternative for Germany party received 12.6 percent of the vote.

Even if the far right was contained this year, it broke significant barriers in Europe's core, making it to the final round of the presidential elections in France and now shattering a post-World War II taboo in Germany by entering the parliament.

It has gained a powerful place from which to alter European politics. The far right's gains in Germany will now complicate not only the calculations of Ms. Merkel, the de facto leader of the European Union, but by extension the path ahead for the entire bloc.

If populist parties peaked in 2016, at the height of the migration crisis, "their election results in 2017 are still close to, or even higher than, their historical top scores," said Cas Mudde, a Dutch political scientist at the University of Georgia, citing the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands, the National Front in France and now the Alternative for Germany, which is widely known by its German initials, AfD.

Polls indicate that the same will be true in Austria, where the Freedom Party seems set to enter the coalition government after next month's elections.

The far right will be a constant presence in the minds of Europe's leaders if they want to avoid worse political fallout ahead, even as the populists may make it hard-

er for Ms. Merkel and Mr. Macron to come up with solutions that could keep them at bay.

Compared with Germany, Mr. Macron faced a far more robust assault from the far right in France, but he was able to vault to power by capturing the center, creating his own political movement and precipitating the collapse of mainstream parties.

In Germany, many votes for the AfD were cast in protest against 12 years of Merkel's pragmatism about issues like immigration, national identity and the burdens of the European Union.

As Mr. Macron himself has warned, a failure to reform the European Union, better secure its borders and fix the euro currency will only further feed the far right.

Globalization, the bureaucratic nature of the European Union and its inability to protect its borders and produce thriving economies in all member states have led to increased nationalism, anxieties about national identities and Islamophobia.

But while institutional reform of the European Union may be vital, it is harder to sell to increasingly fragmented national polities, especially as the center-left parties lose ground.

"The German elections confirm the decline of mainstream traditional parties in Europe to the benefit of insurgents, including Macron's En Marche," said Stefano Stefanini, a former Italian diplomat based in Brussels.

"A domestically weakened Merkel must hold the E.U. together and safeguard the trans-Atlantic bond despite an unpredictable American president, while trying to forge a strong alliance with Macron, tame the Visegrad dissidents and bring on board Italy and Spain, both in choppy waters," he said. (The Visegrad countries are Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia.)

There is also a danger that Ms. Merkel will be forced to focus more domestically as she faces the absorbing challenge of balancing what promises to be a new, un-

wieldy and potentially less stable governing coalition. The decision of the Macron-friendly Social Democrats to leave government and become Germany's official opposition means that Ms. Merkel will now probably have to form a government with the liberal Free Democrats as well as with the Greens.

Oliver Rakau, the chief European economist at Oxford Economics, said the closer integration of European finances sought by Mr. Macron — and fiercely opposed by the Free Democrats — would be more difficult now.

"There is unlikely to be a large eurozone budget," he said. "I think there will still be progress on European reform," including security issues.

In any coalition, the Free Demo-

Jack Ewing contributed reporting from Berlin and Aurelien Breeden from Paris.

crats, sometimes known as the liberals, will have to make their mark, said Christoph von Marschall, the chief diplomatic correspondent of the Tagesspiegel newspaper.

Toughness on eurozone budget discipline and opposition to any fiscal transfers within the eurozone are "central points for the liberals, and they will continue to be hard on this, because this is where they compete with the AfD," he said.

Carsten Brzeski, the chief economist for Germany and Austria at ING Bank, said, "It's a clear cold shower for Macron." He added, "It means a very cumbersome process of further integration."

In a call on Sunday night, Mr. Macron congratulated Ms. Merkel

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

on winning a fourth term, and he said on Twitter that "we resolutely continue our essential cooperation for Europe and our countries."

Mr. Macron is scheduled to make a speech on Tuesday to present his reform proposals. But he should expect little support from Ms. Merkel for any big ideas before she forms a government, which may take until the end of the year, and only selective support thereafter.

In a briefing in Paris on Monday, French officials outlining Mr. Macron's speech were cautious and short on detail. They insisted that Mr. Macron was not pressuring the chancellor, but that it was important to outline French ideas as Ms. Merkel begins the laborious coalition negotiations.

But it is also possible that Mr. Macron's early intervention may backfire in what will already be a difficult task for Ms. Merkel.

It may be easier for her to support Mr. Macron's less controversial proposals, like better border security and turning an existing eurozone bailout fund into a kind of European Monetary Fund, as long as they do not involve new commitment of funds.

She has already given some support to Mr. Macron's proposal of a eurozone finance minister.

But the French and Germans differ on the responsibilities that

such a minister should have. The Germans would want a taskmaster to enforce the rules and keep national budget deficits within the debt limits required by the eurozone. The French want a minister with flexibility who would control a eurozone budget financed by the states — but that is exactly what Mr. Merkel's likely new coalition partners, the Free Democrats, oppose.

The party's leader, Christian Lindner, was blunt on Sunday night, repeating his opposition to Mr. Macron's ideas. Without ruling out all reform, he said that a eurozone budget that could be used to send money to France and Italy "would be unthinkable and a red line for us."

Mr. Lindner told journalists before the election that he would push for the finance ministry in a coalition. If he succeeds, it may produce little change from the similarly tough-minded Wolfgang Schäuble, who has been Ms. Merkel's finance minister.

"Will Lindner be tougher than Schäuble?" asked Hans Kundnani of the German Marshall Fund. "Unlikely."

In the end, Ms. Merkel may have more trouble with her coalition from her sister party, the Bavaria-based Christian Social Union, which is deeply conservative

and which lost about 10 percent of its vote from 2013, largely to the AfD.

With regional elections next year, the Christian Social Union and its leader, Horst Seehofer, will try to push Ms. Merkel further to the right on security and migration issues.

To some degree he blames her for his poor showing at the expense of the AfD.

But as Mr. von Marschall pointed out, Ms. Merkel's move toward the center over the last four years — on the euro, migration and same-sex marriage — also meant that she would not find herself losing to a left-leaning coalition. The sacrifice of conservative supporters was probably a price she felt she had to pay to keep her party in power after so many years, he said.

The coalition that is likely to result will be unpopular in eastern Germany. And it is likely to be unstable, given the tensions within Ms. Merkel's own party.

Yet unstable coalitions and early elections are the norm in most of Europe, Mr. Brzeski said. "Germany has become a bit more European."

In Germany and France, leaders will look to avoid fallout and guide Europe.

Travel Ban Draws Anger, Applause and Shrugs

WHEN PRESIDENT TRUMP announced the latest and most far-reaching version of his travel ban on Sunday, citing threats to national security posed by letting citizens of specific countries into the country, the White House said it had come after exhaustive planning. It was meant to prevent the confusion and chaos that his first travel ban created at airports, colleges and technology companies in the United States and at refugee camps around the world back in January.

A White House official said the new policy was more narrowly targeted than its precursor, which was swiftly blocked by the courts. But immigrant and diaspora communities from the affected countries once again reacted with dismay, and refugee advocates denounced the new decree as more of the same.

"This is still a Muslim ban," Becca Heller, the director of the International Refugee Assistance Project, said in a statement.

The first travel ban was blocked by federal judges because it was perceived to discriminate against Muslims; the Trump administration argued it was a security meas-

ure designed to thwart terrorism. A revised version of that ban expired on Sunday.

The new third version, which is to take effect on Oct. 18, adds Chad, North Korea and Venezuela to the list of affected countries and drops Sudan. (The other affected countries are Iran, Libya, Syria, Yemen and Somalia.)

Different restrictions were imposed on each of the three additions, depending on the threat they were deemed to pose. For example, for Venezuela the ban applies only to visits by certain government officials and their families, while Somalis are barred from emigrating to the United States but not from visiting.

CHAD

An Ally Against Militants Asks, 'Why Us?'

The addition of Chad to Mr. Trump's travel ban took that country's government by surprise and bewildered analysts of Central Africa.

With a mixed population of Muslims and Christians, Chad has been a longtime American ally in fighting Islamist militants in the region, including offshoots of Al Qaeda and Boko Haram.

In a statement, the government expressed "incomprehension in the face of the official reasons for this decision, which contrasts with Chad's constant efforts and commitments in the fight against terrorism." It called on President Trump to rethink the decision, "which has seriously affected the image of Chad and the good relations maintained by the two countries."

In a report last year, the State Department said that few Chadians join terrorist groups, and that the country had tightened its borders to impede the movements of militants, but that a financial crisis kept the country from consistently paying police and military salaries, which presented some risk.

Matthew Page, who was the State Department's expert in the region until last year, said that the travel ban for Chad seemed to be "a knee-jerk move."

DIONNE SEARCEY
and JAIME YAYA BARRY

SUPPORTERS

Cheers From Trump Backers

Supporters of the president's national security agenda cheered the new policy on Monday. "I'm excited," said Louis Murray, 52, who campaigned for the president in Boston as part of a group of Catholics for Trump. "I'm excited that the Department of Homeland Security and the Trump Administration has looked very hard at how to use extreme vetting to keep Americans safe."

Mr. Murray said he viewed the administration's broad travel policies as the best way to prevent attacks like the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013, which was carried out by two beneficiaries of the asylum system. "When you're talking about the movement of people across national borders, I don't know how specific you want to be," he said.

Conservative lawmakers also called the new travel ban a necessary public safety

measure. "We are a compassionate nation," Representative Lou Barletta, Republican of Pennsylvania, said in a statement. "However, our enemies continuously seek to use our generosity against us, and the president has a duty to protect the American people first."

CATLIN DICKERSON

SOMALI AMERICANS

Dismay Among Immigrants in Minnesota

Somali-Americans in the Cedar-Riverside area of Minneapolis processed the news of the travel ban as they went about their business in the run-up to Monday, voicing wariness of an administration that has frightened them from the start and trying to learn more about the details of the ban.

Sima Osman, 29, said she had just put her three toddlers to bed Sunday evening when she heard about the travel ban on television, and the news made her cry. She emigrated from Somalia a year ago to join her husband, and the new ban seemed to scorch her dream of bringing her parents over to unite with her children.

"I feel lonely," she said, walking to a bus stop on her way to work. "When my children grow up, they will feel the pain."

Janal Hassan, 23, a student in the Twin Cities who was born in Ethiopia to a Somali mother, said he worried about her. "Our moms are going to the mall by themselves, and get harassed because of their head scarves — especially after he got elected," Mr. Hassan said. "It was calm before that." Mr. Hassan did not dispute President Trump's claim that Somalia's immigration officials do not adequately vet extremists. Some Somali-Americans from the Twin Cities have been recruited by Islamic extremist groups abroad, but Mr. Hassan said it was unfair that all Somalis must pay a price. "We are getting punished for what they did," he said.

CHRISTINA CAPECCHI
and KIMIKO de FREYTES-TAMURA

VENEZUELA

Anger at Home, but Émigrés Are Pleased

Venezuela's foreign ministry blasted the travel ban on Monday as an "irrational decision" that "constituted a form of political and psychological terrorism," and asserted that the United States was trying to "stigmatize our country using the pretext

of the fight against terrorism," Venezuela also said that it would consider retaliating.

But the travel ban, which would bar business and tourism visits to the United States by "certain Venezuelan government officials and their immediate family members," drew the opposite reaction among Venezuelans who have fled the country since the rise to power of Hugo Chavez, who died in 2013, and his ally Nicolas Maduro, the current president.

In fact, Alicia Reyes was nothing short of ecstatic about the new restrictions.

"They're dogs, rats, the worst in the world," Ms. Reyes, 53, said of Mr. Maduro and his party. She moved to Weston, in South Florida, from her native Caracas 18 months ago because of the erosion of social order there, which she blamed squarely on the government.

NICK MADIGAN, NICHOLAS CASEY
and SOMINI SENGUPTA

IRANIAN-AMERICANS

Thwarted Reunion Plans for Families

In Los Angeles, the large Iranian diaspora centered on the Westwood neighborhood spent Monday morning puzzling over the ban's potential impact. It had not yet sunk in with many people that the new decree would block most Iranians not only from emigrating to the United States, but also from visiting; only students and scholars would be allowed in.

"People haven't paid attention yet to understand how this might change the life of their family," said Farhad Bersharati, who owns a travel agency in Westwood. "If I was in the shoes of President Trump, I might do the same thing with the kind of people who are ruling my country now. But putting the people who are still there all together with the revolution is not fair."

Many of the more than one million Iranian-Americans have relatives remaining in Iran. They will no longer be able to sponsor them for permanent residence.

Alex Helmi, who owns a Persian rug store in Westwood, questioned the purpose of the ban and said he was confident that the Supreme Court would rule fairly on it.

"What is the goal here — is it propaganda, or stopping terrorism?" he said. "You have not found one Iranian person who has been connected with any terrorism in this country. This is a little bit odd."

JENNIFER MEDINA

STUDENTS

Hardships Seen Even for Permitted Students

It was not immediately clear what led to a special carve-out that permits Iranian students, but not most other Iranians, to continue to obtain visas.

Pedram Gharghabi, 31, a doctoral candidate and research assistant in electrical engineering at Mississippi State University, said on Monday that the ban would probably lead to hardships even for exempted students.

"My understanding is that our families will not be allowed to enter the United States for a visit," Mr. Gharghabi said. Because many Iranian students' visas do not permit the students to leave and come back, he said, "that means we may not meet our families for years."

The new ban appears to keep out all students from Somalia, Syria and North Korea. But it appears to permit those from Chad, Libya, Venezuela and Yemen.

STEPHANIE SAUL

NEW YORK

Confusion and Anxiety Among Immigrants

Immigrant advocates scrambled on Monday to address questions from their communities.

Rama Issa-Ibrahim, executive director of the Arab American Association of New York, said many people who have been petitioning to bring relatives to the United States are confused and anxious now.

"We don't really know how this is going to unfold until Oct. 18, but since January, we've seen the chaos that these travel bans, the executive order, has brought to our community and to the country in general," she said.

Rubyah Althabani, 39, a Yemeni-American activist in Brooklyn, has not been able to bring in her Yemeni husband, Basheer Othman, a prominent liberal journalist. The couple married in January 2016 in India, but they have been living apart ever since, with Mr. Othman waiting in Malaysia to receive a visa.

"I don't know what it means for him, and it's really scary," Ms. Althabani said through tears on Monday after speaking with him via Skype. "I'm in limbo, and it's a hellish nightmare."

LIZ ROBBINS

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario



EMILY BIEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



JOHN C. MARANZANO/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY



PETER FOLEY/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY



JENN ACKERMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top left: Shoppers at an Iranian market on Westwood Boulevard in Los Angeles; passengers at San Francisco International Airport during the Fourth of July holiday, one of the busiest times of the year for travel; men at evening prayer at the mosque inside the Karmel Square Mall in Minneapolis; travelers lining up at John F. Kennedy International Airport.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Justices Cancel Hearing on Travel Ban as Questions Linger on New Policy

This article is by Michael D. Shear, Ron Nixon and Adam Liptak.

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Monday abruptly canceled oral arguments on President Trump's travel ban, signaling the beginning of the end for a politically charged legal case that could have produced a blockbuster ruling on the clash between presidential power and claims of religious discrimination.

A new, broader ban on travel prompted the unusual move by the justices, leaving Mr. Trump to face scrutiny on a policy that in some ways goes even further — indefinitely banning most travel to the United States from seven countries and imposing restrictions on two others.

But the president's third attempt at controlling the border may finally stand up to the expected wave of new legal challenges. The new ban includes two countries that are not majority Muslim, which may insulate him from charges that his actions are based on religious discrimination.

And the new ban was developed after a vigorous security review that administration officials said provided a legally unassailable rationale for the travel restrictions. The court was set to hear the challenge to Mr. Trump's travel ban in two weeks. But after the president's announcement over the weekend, the justices now appear likely to declare the case moot.

That would allow Mr. Trump to avoid a definitive ruling on whether he had violated the Constitution's protection of religious freedom and exceeded his statutory authority to control the country's borders, as civil rights lawyers argued. With lower courts having ruled against him, Mr. Trump was pinning his hopes for political vindication on an ideologically divided Supreme Court.

Critics say Travel Ban 3.0 is still little more than a dressed-up Muslim ban. And despite a less chaotic rollout, questions remain about how the travel ban will be put in place, who will be affected, how the countries were picked and whether it will work to prevent terrorist attacks.

Here are answers to some of those questions:

Why did Trump ban travel from these countries?

The Department of Homeland Security said the countries covered under the presidential proclamation were chosen because they could not properly establish the identity of people seeking to travel from those countries to the United States. Officials said the countries on the list did not share information about whether potential travelers have a criminal history or connections to terrorism. And some of the countries are known to be potential terrorist safe havens.

Administration officials said countries on the banned-travel list failed to meet what they called "objective criteria." They will be subject to the travel ban until they can demonstrate their ability to deliver the information requested by the United States, officials said.

Will this prevent a terrorist attack?

While counterterrorism experts say improvements to the government's vetting capabilities are necessary, they say the new restrictions may be far too broad because they focus on countries and not individuals.

An internal report written by intelligence analysts at the Department of Homeland Security in February found that "country of citizenship is unlikely to be a reliable indicator of potential terrorist activity."

Moreover, the Cato Institute found that since 1975, no Americans have been killed on American soil by foreign-born terrorists who come from any of the countries on the new executive order: Iran, Libya, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Chad, North Korea, Iraq and Venezuela. The New America Foundation found that since the Sept. 11 attacks, 95 Americans had been killed by terrorists inside the United States. Each of the terrorists was a citizen or legal resident of the United States who would not be affected by the new travel restrictions.

Since the Sept. 11 attacks, the United States has made a number of changes to its vetting system for foreign visitors, immigrants and refugees.

The government has created a number of terrorist watch lists, required visitors to provide biometric information including fingerprints and facial scans,

hired new consular officers and Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents to conduct visa security background checks and improved both interagency and country-to-country intelligence sharing.

Some counterterrorism experts say the new travel restrictions could make the United States less safe.

"My concern over the travel restrictions on countries like Yemen, Chad and Somalia is that it may discourage those countries from cooperating on vital counterterrorism efforts in their countries, and that will hurt our efforts to go after Al Shabab, Al Qaeda and ISIS," said John D. Cohen, a professor at Rutgers University and a senior Homeland Security Department official during the Obama administration.

Isn't this just a Muslim ban?

Like his first travel bans, the president's latest restriction mostly targets predominantly Muslim countries. But officials note that two non-Muslim countries — North Korea and Venezuela — are on the list this time. They say that should be proof that the latest ban was not designed to target one religion.

Critics are not convinced. They continue to point to Mr. Trump's history of calling for a ban on Muslim entry into the United States. And they insist that the addition of two non-Muslim countries does little to alter the original intent of the restrictions: to keep Muslims from certain countries out of the United States.

"President Trump's original sin of targeting Muslims cannot be cured by throwing other countries onto his enemies list," Anthony D. Romero, the executive director of the American Civil

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Liberties Union, said.

How involved was the White House in drafting the new travel ban?

When it comes to immigration issues, very little happens in the Trump administration without the direct input of Stephen Miller, the president's senior policy adviser, and Jeff Sessions, the attorney general. But administration officials said the process of selecting countries for travel restrictions involved scores of career bureaucrats at the Department of Homeland Security, the State Department and the intelligence agencies.

Officials said information collected by the agencies helped generate a recommendation from the secretary of homeland security to the president. On Friday, Mr. Trump met at his Bedminster, N.J., golf club with officials from the agencies, legal advisers and Mr. Sessions to make a final decision.

So what will happen now in the courts?

The Supreme Court asked lawyers in the case involving the previous ban to submit briefs by Oct. 5 addressing "whether, or to what extent, the proclamation" may render the case moot. The court also asked for briefings on

a question not addressed in the proclamation, concerning the earlier ban's suspension of the nation's refugee program. That suspension is scheduled to expire next month. On that question, too, the court asked the parties to explain whether the issue would soon be moot.

By canceling the arguments for now, the court indicated that it may never decide the case. "The cases are removed from the oral argument calendar, pending further order of the court," the court said.

If the court does eventually dismiss the case as moot, a further legal question will remain. The Trump administration will ask the court to vacate the appeals court decisions striking down the earlier ban, while the challengers will ask that the decisions remain on the books.

Several critics have said they intend to challenge the new ban in court as well. But that would most likely require a new lawsuit at the federal district court level, followed by hearings in front of appellate courts. It could take a long time for new litigation to reach the Supreme Court again.

But legal experts say that critics of the president's policies may have less success waging a legal battle against the latest travel ban.

In the first case, administration officials struggled to explain to judges the basis for the selection of the majority-Muslim countries on the list. That led judges to rely on Mr. Trump's campaign statements and Twitter posts, many of which suggested religion as a motivation.

The current travel ban was put in place after a worldwide security review, and officials can point to a rigorous process conducted by bureaucrats from several agencies. That is the kind of executive branch action to regulate immigration and the country's borders that is usually given plenty of deference by judges.

When will this take effect? And does it affect students?

The new travel ban takes effect Oct. 18, though citizens of countries included in the earlier orders will remain banned from entry until the new one takes over. Unlike the chaotic rollout of the president's first executive order, the latest travel restrictions have clear exceptions for people who already have permission to enter the United States, so there should be few instances of people being detained at airports or consulates.

As for students, it depends. Citizens of some of the affected

countries are completely banned from coming to the United States. Those include Syria and North Korea. Students from the other countries may still travel to the United States to study, assuming they can meet the normal requirements for a student visa and pass security screenings.



The Supreme Court abruptly canceled a hearing set for Oct. 10 and asked lawyers in the travel ban case to submit briefs by Oct. 5.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

EDITORIALS

A Travel Ban We've Seen Before

The central question to ask about President Trump's latest travel ban, which he issued on Sunday, is: Will it make Americans safer?

The answer, as best as anyone can tell based on publicly available information, is no.

Starting Oct. 18, the United States will permanently bar entry to most citizens of seven countries — Iran, Libya, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Chad and North Korea. Certain citizens from Iraq and Venezuela will face restrictions and heightened scrutiny.

The new restrictions on seven countries, mostly Muslim, will not improve on rigorous procedures already in place.

Mr. Trump justified these restrictions — which target countries that either failed or refused to meet new vetting standards — by saying he was acting “to protect the security and interests of the United States and its people.” Americans should be skeptical. While it may appear more modulated, Sunday's proclamation is a direct descendant of a central plank of Mr. Trump's campaign — his call for a “total and complete shut-down” of Muslims entering the United States, which he made in 2015, and which remained on his campaign website as late as May.

The list is almost identical to the ban issued in January — all are Muslim-majority countries with the exception of two additions, North Korea and Venezuela, both of which look a lot like window dressing. Annual visa grants to North Koreans number in the dozens, while the ban in Venezuela applies only to officials from the government of the Trump nemesis Nicolás Maduro, along with their family members.

Meanwhile, no citizen from the barred countries has carried out a fatal terrorist attack in the United States in the past two decades. That's in part because the “extreme vetting” that Mr. Trump and his anti-immigration cabal have been hawking was already the law of the land. The United States subjects visa applicants to some of the most thorough and rigorous scrutiny in the world. The risk of a terrorist attack by a foreign-born visitor who could be stopped by these procedures is minuscule.

As one federal appeals court said in blocking the earlier

ban, the administration has presented no evidence that “present vetting standards are inadequate, and no finding that absent the improved vetting procedures there likely will be harm to our national interests.”

The new restrictions have, we're told, been informed by rational, evidence-based concerns about countries whose vetting procedures pose a true security threat to the United States. That might be enough for the ban to be upheld by the federal courts, which are as a rule very deferential to presidential actions on immigration and national security. (On Monday, the Supreme Court, which was slated to hear challenges to the second ban on Oct. 10, removed the case from its calendar and ordered the parties to submit briefs on whether the new ban makes the case moot.) But considered in the broader context of Mr. Trump's own remarks — most recently, his call for a “far larger, tougher and more specific” travel ban — it's hard to see how this latest version breaks much new ground.

This shows why it is so damaging to have a fundamentally untrustworthy commander in chief. All presidents must make hard choices about security, and all administrations have faced the intransigence or incompetence of foreign governments when it comes to fighting terrorism. But when the president has freely spouted his own longstanding animus toward adherents of one of the world's major religions, his actions — which include, in addition to the travel ban, a pervasive hostility toward immigration — must be evaluated against that backdrop.

In the end, debating whether Sunday's travel ban is fairer or better thought out than its predecessors is beside the point. Its political function is the same — the latest gambit in a cynical, unceasing effort by an embattled president to inflame public fears and woo the xenophobes in his base.



Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Three-way talks. Alliance-building

Outcome points to Jamaica coalition

Most likely option is named
after the party colours of the
CDU/CSU, Greens and FDP

TOBIAS BUCK — BERLIN

Angela Merkel started her election campaign hoping for a wealth of options for forming a coalition government — from a repeat of the grand coalition with the Social Democrats to alliances with either the centrist Free Democrats or the Green party. After Sunday night, the chancellor's dance card contains just one name: Jamaica.

The name for a three-way combination between Ms Merkel's conservative CDU/CSU bloc, the FDP and the Greens derives from the parties' black, yellow and green colours, those of the Caribbean island's flag. But it could just as well describe the exotic nature of a political alliance that would bring together Green eco-warriors, free market champions within the FDP, the staunchly conservative Christian Social Union from Bavaria and a veteran Christian Democrat chancellor humbled by the CDU's worst election result since 1949.

Germany and Europe would be wise to prepare for months of wrangling, even if the pressure to succeed is already building. "It will be hard and it will get hairy. But in the end there is no alternative. Citizens would not understand if at the end of the day there is no coalition," said Volker Kronenberg, professor of politics at Bonn University.

The potential pitfalls are as plentiful as they are evident. From climate change and the future of the car industry to eurozone reform and energy policy, from Germany's approach to the refugee crisis to the country's stance towards Russia, the parties have long adopted wildly contrasting positions. And while the CDU and CSU have traditionally formed a joint group in parliament they do not always see eye to eye, meaning the forthcoming talks will often pit not three but four parties against one another.

The Bavarians are licking their wounds after a poor result on Sunday and looking ahead nervously to next year's regional election. On core issues such as refugee policy and migration, CSU leaders will want to drive a hard bargain and defend their right flank against the Alternative for Germany.

For all their previous doubts, the Greens seem determined to give Jamaica a try. Emboldened by a better-than-expected result, party leaders yesterday placed notable emphasis on the need to form a stable government and their sense of duty. "The key word is responsibility. We are deeply aware of our own responsibility," Cem Özdemir, one of the Greens' co-leaders, said.

The FDP, in contrast, is likely to approach coalition talks in a more hesitant fashion. The Free Democrats have not forgotten their experience in 2013, when voters booted them out after four years as junior partner in a Merkel-led government. "We know what awaits us," a party functionary noted grimly at the

FDP election night celebration in Berlin. "A coalition with the CDU would have been difficult enough. Bringing the Greens into it makes it even harder."

Policymakers in Brussels and Paris will be particularly concerned about the FDP's voice in the forthcoming debate over reforming the eurozone.

Christian Lindner, the party's chief, has repeatedly ruled out a substantial new eurozone fund — an idea likely to be at the centre of France's reform plan. On Sunday night, with most votes counted and the party's return to the Bundestag assured, he still declined to moderate his language. "A [eurozone] budget from which money would flow to France to finance state consumption or to Italy to compensate for the economic policy failure of Mr Berlusconi is unthinkable."

Yesterday, however, Mr Lindner and other party chiefs were careful not to sound too demanding, stressing the need for a strong France and for trust between the prospective allies in Berlin. "[Building a coalition] is not just about substance, it is also about atmospherics. It would therefore be wrong to poison the atmosphere," said Nicola Beer, the FDP general secretary, when asked to explain her party's differences with the Greens.

FDP and Green leaders were also keen to highlight areas of agreement. Both parties want to reform the education system, invest in fibre-optic cables, strengthen citizens' rights and introduce an immigration law that would make it easier for skilled migrants to enter and work in Germany.

Here, as on issues such as internal security and refugees, the CSU is certain to be the bigger obstacle.

"Issues such as climate change, the environment, energy and transport policy will all be difficult. The Greens want to push for a phase-out of the internal combustion engine and for closing coal-fired power plants. The FDP says: Not so fast. They are on the side of less regulation and lower taxes," said Prof Kronenberg.

Working through these differences will take time, possibly more than the three months it took in 2013 to get a new government. But judging by the measured words and conciliatory gestures the day after the election, the parties are more than willing to try.

"At the end of the day, all sides should be able to compromise," Prof Kronenberg concluded. "None has placed hurdles that are so high that agreement is impossible."



Angela Merkel is likely to open negotiations with the Greens' Cem Özdemir, left, and Christian Lindner of the Free Democrats, right — FT montage
DPA/EPA/Getty

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Independence Iraqi Kurds defy threats and go to polls

Voters in Iraq's northern region of Kurdistan poured into polling stations to cast their ballots in a contentious referendum on independence, despite escalating threats from Baghdad and neighbouring states.

Queues of eager voters arrived at polling stations well before voting started at 8am yesterday, unbowed by Baghdad's move to block oil sold by the Kurdistan Regional Government and to take control of the region's border crossings and river ports.

Iran showed its anger that the referendum was going ahead by closing its airspace to the autonomous Kurdistan region the day before the vote.

Some 3.9m people are eligible to take part in the referendum in which Kurdish voters are expected overwhelmingly to back independence. Officials said the results would be announced today.

The referendum is complicated by some 15 "disputed areas" which are claimed by both Baghdad and the KRG — most notably the oil-rich city of Kirkuk, where clashes could break out between KRG forces and Iranian-

backed Iraqi militias.

There have been clashes in the town of Toz Khormatu, south-east of Kirkuk, which is split between Kurds and Iraqi Shia militias. Kirkuk itself is now under curfew.

KRG officials say the vote will not trigger independence but will be a starting point for negotiations with Baghdad on separation.

Turkey president Recep Tayyip Erdogan yesterday called the referendum "illegal, null and void" and threatened to cut off the oil pipeline to Turkey that Iraqi Kurdistan relies on to reach international markets and generate up to 90 per cent of its revenues.

"Let's see where they are going to drain off the petrol — we control the valve," he said. "Once you turn off the valve, it will be over."

But international threats did little to damp the mood in the KRG capital, Erbil, where honking cars held flag-waving passengers and families arrived together at polling stations dressed in their finest.

Others, like Fatima Maarouf, 50, wore black to honour parents, siblings, nephews and nieces killed by Iraqi forces under Saddam Hussein's regime. "I came today because I've never seen any good in this life yet. Maybe I will under independence," she said. "I don't know if I'll live until formal independence or not, but now I have hope the next generation will."

The vote has a historic and emotional pull for Iraqi Kurds, who

suffered genocidal campaigns and sarin gas attacks under Saddam's regime that killed and expelled tens of thousands. Critics say KRG officials played on these emotions to push a vote they say is poorly timed and could drag them into regional conflict.

Nechirvan Barzani, KRG prime minister, said the measures adopted by Baghdad amounted to collective punishment similar to that used by the Saddam regime. But he vowed Kurdistan would remain a friend and stable partner to Turkey, which warned it would take "all measures" under international law if the referendum threatened its national security. *Erika Solomon, Erbil*



Emotional poll: voters wait to enter a polling station in Erbil yesterday

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Deloitte hit by cyber attack in blow to fast-growing role as security adviser

MADISON MARRIAGE — LONDON

Deloitte has confirmed that hackers accessed data on an email platform, forcing the “big four” accounting firm to contact clients potentially affected by the cyber attack as well as government authorities.

The breach, described by Deloitte as a “cyber incident” and first reported by the Guardian newspaper, will come as a blow to the firm, which cites the cyber security advice it provides to large companies as one of its fastest-growing revenue streams.

Deloitte, which audits large multinational companies including Glaxo-SmithKline, BAE and BP, did not give many details about the nature of the attack except for confirming that the hackers accessed an email platform.

The firm, which this month reported record global revenues of \$39bn, said in a statement that the breach had affected “only very few clients” and that “no disruption had occurred to client businesses, to Deloitte’s ability to continue to service clients, or to consumers”.

Deloitte added that its response to the

incident included mobilising a team of cyber security and confidentiality experts inside and outside of the company, alerting government authorities immediately after it became aware of the incident and contacting all of the clients affected.

It said: “Deloitte remains deeply committed to ensuring that its cyber security defences are best in class, to investing heavily in protecting confidential information and to continually reviewing and enhancing cyber security.”

The breach has again demonstrated how vulnerable large professional services firms are to cyber attacks.

DLA Piper, one of the world’s biggest law firms, said in July it was still struggling with the effects of a global cyber attack that blocked its employees from accessing emails and documents.

In the US, credit reporting company Equifax is still dealing with the fallout of a cyber attack that has threatened the personal details of up to 143m Americans. The company faces state and federal investigations and private lawsuits.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Golpe a la refundación de Europa

Con los liberales en el Gobierno alemán, la reforma de la UE lanzada por Macron se hará difícil

ENRIC GONZÁLEZ PARÍS
CORRESPONSAL

Llevamos una temporada oyendo hablar de «refundación» en la Unión Europea. Lo más probable es que sigamos con ello otra temporada, sin que ocurra más que eso: oír hablar. El resultado de las elecciones alemanas asegura unas cuantas semanas, o más bien meses, de parálisis, porque la jefa, la canciller Angela Merkel, no estará para nada hasta que forme una coalición de Gobierno. Y si, como parece seguro, los liberales se integran en esa coalición, cualquier hipotética refundación, reforma o modificación modesta (necesariamente paralela a la negociación del *Brexit*) se hará tan difícil como dolorosa. Los liberales alemanes ya han dicho que están abiertos a cualquier diálogo sobre la Unión Europea, con la condición indispensable de que «cada uno pague sus deudas». En Francia, tra-

dicional pistón pequeño del eje dominante y ahora motor del reformismo comunitario, las noticias que llegan de Berlín suenan a catástrofe.

Emmanuel Macron basó su campaña hacia la presidencia en el europeísmo. Y ganó. Pero prometió que las cosas iban a cambiar. Dio por hecho que Merkel le ayudaría a doblar el brazo de gobiernos como el polaco para reescribir la directiva sobre trabajadores desplazados, gracias a la cual más de 300.000 obreros construyen en Francia con los sueldos y cotizaciones sociales de su país de origen (Polonia, por ejemplo); dio por concluida la era de la austeridad (apoya un gran plan de inversiones para relanzar el crecimiento y el empleo) y apostó por una ambiciosa estructura en torno al euro (establecimiento de un Fondo Monetario Europeo, creación de un ministro europeo de Finanzas) que asegurara, más o menos, tanto la supervivencia de la moneda única como un mayor equilibrio entre el país más beneficiado por la unión monetaria, Alemania, y los menos beneficiados, casi todos los demás.

A Macron, que tanta fortuna tuvo en las elecciones presidenciales, parece habérsele acabado la racha. Especialmente en lo que se refiere

a la Unión Europea. El pasado día 7 pronunció desde la Acrópolis de Atenas un discurso solemne y largamente preparado sobre la refundación de las instituciones de la Unión y la necesidad de una nueva política, más propensa a la inversión que al recorte fiscal.

El escenario, la hora (ideal para el telediario nocturno en Francia), el lugar, conformaban una ocasión histórica. Pero mientras Macron ascendía a la cuna de la civilización europea, un pavoroso huracán se llevaba por delante los departamentos franceses en el Caribe. Ninguna televisión habló del discurso. La destinataria última, Angela Merkel, tampoco prestó atención, ocupada como estaba en su campaña electoral. Fue un intento fallido.

Emmanuel Macron vuelve a in-

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

PNV Y BILDU, OBSERVADORES

Ignorada por el independentismo catalán, la consulta kurda contó con presencia vasca. Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV) y EH Bildu se enrolaron en el exiguo plantel de observadores internacionales. «Tenemos relaciones estrechas con el Partido Democrático del Kurdistan [la formación de presidente kurdoiraquí Masud Barzani] desde el inicio de la democracia en España y los vínculos se hicieron aún más fuertes en tiempos de Sadam Husein», explicó a EL MUNDO Mikel Burzako, al frente del área de Exteriores del PNV. Por su parte, Jon Iñarritu, senador de EH Bildu, rebajó las similitudes con el ‘procés’ catalán. «Hablamos de una nación sin estado en el corazón de Europa y de la mayor nación sin estado del mundo en Oriente Medio. Más allá, los paralelismos son complejos de hacer». / F. C.

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

El Kurdistan vota en masa por la independencia

Los kurdos de Irak desafían la amenaza de sanciones de Bagdad, Teherán y Ankara

FRANCISCO CARRIÓN ERBIL (IRAK)

Al mal tiempo, buena cara. Los kurdoiraquíes votaron ayer en masa ataviados con sus prendas más pomposas, su colección de vestidos tradicionales y su ilimitada pasión por los uniformes militares. Un recurso a la naftalina y al rincón del armario reservado a las grandes ocasiones para desfilas por un referéndum de independencia cuya desafiante celebración amenaza con descargar sobre la región una ristra de sanciones y un aislamiento dictado por el Gobierno central iraquí y los vecinos Irán y Turquía.

«Estoy pletórica. Por fin, seremos un país como cualquier otro. Tendremos los mismos derechos que cualquier ciudadano del mundo», esbozó Iman Yunes, una funcionaria treinteañera que arrastraba sus mejores galas a primera a primera hora de la mañana por su centro de votación, ubicado en un colegio de las afueras de Erbil, la capital del Kurdistan iraquí.

Aunque los resultados definitivos no se esperan hasta hoy, el *bale* –sí, en kurdo– a la independencia no tuvo ayer la más ligera competencia. «Aquí todos soñamos con ser un Estado», reconocía Sinan Kamal, uno de los empleados públicos encargados de velar por un proceso que registró un 78% de participación. Una unanimidad que lleva semanas empujando Erbil y que ayer alcanzó incluso un hotel de cinco estrellas de la capital, por el que procesionaron los altos cargos del Gobierno acompañados por su *troupe* de esposas y retoños.

«No puedo votar porque soy demasiado pequeño pero estoy feliz. Espero que haya pronto un Kurdistan independiente», voceó un chiquillo vestido de domingo mirando hacia la comitiva de periodistas y cámaras que –confinados al otro lado de un cordón de seguridad– observaba al cortejo. Entre los distin-

guidos asistentes figuraba una pléyade de políticos internacionales invitados por Erbil y convencidos de la causa kurda liderada por el ex ministro de Exteriores francés Bernard Kouchner.

Desde un salón contiguo, el primer ministro Nechirvan Barzani trató de apaciguar la cascada de reacciones de los países vecinos que se sucedieron durante toda la jornada. «No somos ni seremos nunca una amenaza para la seguridad nacional de Turquía», declaró el sobrino del presidente. Bagdad, Teherán y Ankara cruzaron llamadas y acordaron adoptar «medidas coordinadas» ante lo que consideran un asunto interno que puede agitar a sus propias minorías kurdas. El presidente turco Recep Tayyip Erdogan anunció vagamente «la clausura de las fronteras»; amagó con «cerrar el grifo» del petróleo –la mayoría de los 600.000 barriles de crudo que despacha a diario el Kurdistan se exporta a través de un oleoducto en dirección a Turquía– y no descartó una intervención militar. Irán, por su parte, indicó que los bordes siguen abiertos. «Por el momento, solo la frontera aérea entre Irán y esta región ha sido clausurada», admitió la diplomacia iraní. Desde Bagdad, en calidad de comandante en jefe de las fuerzas armadas, Al Abadi, ordenó el despliegue de tropas en las zonas disputadas para «proteger a los ciudadanos de las amenazas y las presiones que podrían afrontar en las zonas bajo control de la región». En Kirkuk, una de las áreas bajo litigio, un toque de queda entró en vigor «hasta nuevo aviso» a las 18.00 horas, tras el cierre de los centros de votación.

Una tensión creciente que, a última hora de la tarde, reiteró la ONU. Un portavoz del secretario general advirtió de «los potenciales efectos desestabilizadores del plebiscito». Unos avisos internacionales que en

el barrio de Ankawa, hogar de los cristianos que abandonaron el resto de Irak desde el ocaso de Sadam Husein en 2003, nadie parecía dispuesto a escuchar. «Me siento segura aquí. Nuestra situación es totalmente diferente a la de los cristianos que habitan otras zonas del país», manifestó la asiria Hana Hani, una contable de 30 años en el jardín de una escuela poco antes de que hasta el mismísimo arzobispo caldeo de Erbil, Bashir Warda, depositara en la urna una papeleta escrita en cuatro idiomas –kurdo, árabe, siríaco y turco–.

«125.000 cristianos huyeron del Estado Islámico y hallaron refugio aquí con el apoyo del Gobierno regional. Todas las demandas que presentamos para un hipotético estado del Kurdistan han sido incluidas en el borrador inicial de Constitución», comentó el prelado antes de abandonar el complejo escoltado por un grupo de monjas. A unos metros, la familia de la cristiana Ronak festejaba una victoria anunciada, repleta de interrogantes. Uno de sus hijos correteaba con un uniforme *peşmêrga* (el ejército de facto del Kurdistan iraquí). «Le fascinan los *peşmêrga*. Si Dios quiere, veremos un Kurdistan libre».

Erdogan amaga con cortar el grifo del petróleo y no descarta intervenir
La ONU advierte del «potencial desestabilizador del plebiscito»

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario



Un cittadino kurdo iraquí muestra sus dedos manchados de tinta después de votar, ayer en Kirkuk, en el referéndum de independencia. AHMAD AL-RUBAYE / AFP

UNA REGIÓN CONFLICTIVA

■ Kurdistán iraquí ■ Áreas con población kurda



FUENTE: Elaboración propia.

EL MUNDO

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

LUIGI DI MAIO Líder y candidato del Movimiento 5 Estrellas

“Si la UE no escucha, el último recurso es salir del euro”

DANIEL VERDÚ, **Rimini**

Luigi di Maio tiene solo 31 años y la única experiencia política de una legislatura como el vicepresidente de la cámara de Diputados más joven de la historia. Pero desde el pasado sábado es el líder del Movimiento 5 Estrellas, el partido con mayor intención de voto para las próximas elecciones (previstas en primavera), y el candidato a primer ministro. Su partido aspira a pasar de la protesta a un discurso político que permita gestionar un país que ha tenido 64 Gobiernos en 70 años (3 en esta legislatura) y en el que el descrédito de los partidos tradicionales —si es que existe tal cosa todavía en Italia— aumenta sus posibilidades. Más allá de ese escenario, Di Maio —charla durante 13 minutos con EL PAÍS— deberá pilotar un partido profundamente ligado a la figura profética de su fundador, el cómico Beppe Grillo, cuyo sector más ortodoxo ya ha empezado a cuestionar su autoridad.

Pregunta. Usted es ahora también el nuevo líder político, algo que ha levantado críticas de algunos sectores de su partido y que rebaja la influencia de Grillo. ¿Qué hará él ahora?

Respuesta. Será el garante. Mi puesto no servirá para cambiar el movimiento, sino el país. Está claro que mi función será presentar listas, programa y llevar adelante la línea del movimiento.

P. M5S y PD tienen, según sondeos, el mismo número de votan-

tes. Pero en sus primarias han participado 37.000 personas y en las del partido de Renzi acudieron 2 millones. Parecen pocos para hablar de democracia interna.

R. En el PD vota quien quiere, no hace falta ser militante. En nuestro caso lo hacen las personas históricas del movimiento inscritas en la plataforma desde siempre. Cada uno representa a una comunidad de trabajo en el territorio. Dicho esto, lo que debe interesarnos no son los números de las primarias, sino los que juntaremos en las elecciones.

P. Usted tiene 31 años y un mandato de experiencia política. ¿Cómo suplirá esa carencia?

R. La experiencia política no significa estar décadas en las instituciones, que muchas veces te hacen perder el sentido de la realidad. Experiencia, capacidad y competencia son fundamentales, pero no son nada sin sensibilidad política. Los técnicos demostraron en Italia que solo con la experiencia podían hacer mucho daño en temas como los pensionistas, a quienes destruyeron la vida.

P. Según las normas del M5S, solo pueden permanecer en política dos mandatos. Usted lleva uno. De modo que si sale elegido solo

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

podrá ejercer una legislatura. ¿No le convertiría eso en un primer ministro de transición?

R. No, porque nunca hemos pensado estar eternamente en política. Considerar la política como una carrera la ha destruido. Si la consideramos como un mandato limitado, un contrato a tiempo limitado con los ciudadanos para obtener resultados, tienes más prisa por realizarlo.

P. Últimamente ha ido al foro empresarial de Cernobbio y mantiene relaciones con el Vaticano. ¿El M5S también necesita al *establishment* para gobernar?

R. El *establishment* ha perdido mucho poder en Italia. Hoy hay grandes *lobbies* que condicionan la vida de los partidos. Y hablaremos con todos, respetando la diversidad. Pero con la conciencia de que es la política la que decide. Piense la influencia que tiene el *lobby* bancario sobre Italia, a quien ha dado miles de millones de euros para rescates sin pedir

nada a cambio. Esos bancos deben nacionalizarse.

P. Tendrá que convencer a los tradicionales *poteri forti* italianos.

R. En el referéndum italiano se demostró: entonces el *establishment* italiano estaba del lado del sí, todos los medios estaban con esa opción. Pero ganó el no con un 60%. Intentar convencer a esos *lobbies* es someterse. Ganas, pero no cambiarás nada.

P. A esos *lobbies* también preocupa su visión sobre Europa. ¿En qué beneficiaría salir del euro, como ustedes defienden, si no se atienden sus demandas de reforma sobre decenas de tratados?

R. No debe considerarse en términos de beneficio la salida, sino que se puedan modificar algunos tratados sobre el *Fiscal compact*, los eurobonos, los intercambios comerciales con algunos países que nos restan competitividad. Es un beneficio pedir al BCE que no haga solo política para las finanzas, sino para los territorios. Lue-

go lo del euro es el último recurso ligado a una UE que no quiere escuchar. Llegados a ese punto, sálvese quien pueda. Si no, Italia no saldrá bien parada. El objetivo es salvar el país.

P. El otro día leímos que su modelo político es Rajoy.

R. Lo que dije es que hay países como España que logran obtener resultados económicos más altos porque han hecho una serie de políticas en las que uno se puede fijar. No es que se haya inventado nada, pero ha convencido a la Comisión Europea para superar el 3% de déficit... o las políticas estructurales de inversión en las empresas. Y esas cosas podemos intentar hacerlas en Italia.

“Nos podemos fijar en las políticas económicas que ha hecho España”

“Hay grandes ‘lobbies’ que condicionan la vida de los partidos”

“Los bancos rescatados en Italia deberían nacionalizarse”



Luigi di Maio, durante una entrevista el domingo en Rimini. / MAX ROSSI (REUTERS)

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

El embajador saliente acusa a España de ceder a la presión de Trump para echarle

El embajador que abrió la legación de Corea del Norte ante el Reino de España, Kim Hyok-chol, dedicó ayer la que posiblemente sea su última comparecencia ante la prensa antes de abandonar el país a criticar al Gobierno por decretar su expulsión. Kim acusó al Ejecutivo de sumisión y de “echar leña al fuego rendido a la locura de EE UU” y enmarcó la decisión gubernamental no en las cada vez más frecuentes pruebas nucleares y balísticas del régimen de Pyongyang y las consiguientes sanciones, sino en los preparativos de la visita que el presidente Mariano Rajoy hará hoy en la Casa Blanca a su homólogo, Donald Trump, a quien llamó “el hombre de Twitter”.

“España tiene el honor de haberse rendido a la coacción de EE UU más que nadie en Europa” por haberle declarado

persona non grata y haber ordenado que salga para el día 30, dijo Kim, quien compareció en el chalé de una urbanización de Madrid que alberga la embajada. España tomó estas medidas en represalia tras la sexta prueba nuclear.

El diplomático norcoreano aseguró que la posición española “empezó a cambiar bruscamente” cuando el ministro de Exteriores, Alfonso Dastis, se reunió en Washington con el secretario de Estado, Rex Tillerson, a finales de junio para preparar la visita. Además de España, Kuwait, México y Perú han expulsado a los embajadores. Egipto, Filipinas y Uganda han rebajado sus relaciones diplomáticas, según un recuento realizado por la agencia Reuters.

La apertura de la Embajada en Madrid en 2013 formó parte de

la ofensiva diplomática emprendida por Kim Jon-un tras su llegada al poder en 2011. La capital española fue elegida en buena medida porque alberga también la sede de la Organización Mundial del Turismo (OMT). Los turistas son, junto a las remesas de los trabajadores norcoreanos en el exterior, una de las fuentes de las ansiadas divisas. / NAIARA GALARRAGA

Corea del Norte considera que EE UU ha declarado la guerra

JAN M. AHRENS / S. POZZI, Washington / Nueva York
La estrategia de la tensión a la que se han lanzado Washington y Pyongyang ha marcado un nuevo límite. Si el sábado los bombarderos estadounidenses se hicieron sentir en la frontera de Corea del Norte, ayer el ministro de Exteriores norcoreano, Ri Yong-ho, consideró una “declaración de guerra” las invectivas de Donald Trump a su país y defendió su derecho a derribar aviones militares incluso fuera del espacio aéreo nacional. Con las espadas en alto, el mundo asiste a un choque que, lejos de amainar, acrecienta a diario el espectro nuclear.

Es el juego del terror. Trump y el Líder Supremo, Kim Jong-un, están llevando su enfrentamiento a zonas abismales y ninguno parece dispuesto a parar. El presidente de EE UU, a diferencia de su predecesor, no evita el cara a cara con su adversario norcoreano. Fiel a su genética televisiva, le contesta sin mordazas, le ridiculiza y amenaza. Ha hecho de la realidad un *show*, una pelea que en muchas ocasiones parece sacada de un plató de medianoche.

Ante la Asamblea General de la ONU, Trump amenazó la semana pasada con arrasar Corea del Norte: “No se puede aceptar que esa banda criminal se arme con misiles nucleares. Tenemos una gran paciencia, pero si nos vemos obligados a defendernos o a defender a nuestros aliados no tendremos otra opción que destruir completamente a Corea del Norte. El Hombre Cohete está en misión suicida consigo mismo”.

Dos días después, dio otra vuel-

ta de tuerca y ordenó estrangular la economía norcoreana con una nueva tanda de sanciones. Y el sábado, para completar el cerco, envió a sus bombarderos B-1B, con capacidad nuclear, a sobrevolar aguas internacionales muy cerca de la frontera, más al norte de la zona desmilitarizada de lo que jamás ningún avión militar estadounidense haya pasado en todo el siglo XXI. Washington había mostrado los dientes.

El aumento de la tensión

No menos virulento ha sido el tiránico régimen norcoreano. Tras probar a principios de mes una bomba de hidrógeno en el subsuelo, cruzó el espacio aéreo japonés con un misil y hace una semana amenazó con ensayar en el Pacífico su mayor arma de destrucción masiva. Todo ello sin dejar de anunciar que iba a “domar con fuego al desequilibrado y viejo chocho” de Trump.

Pocos saben hasta dónde puede llegar la tensión. El último golpe lo asestó ayer el ministro de Exteriores norcoreano, Ri Yong-ho. En una declaración en Nueva York, el diplomático volvió a abrir la espita del miedo: “EE UU nos ha declarado la guerra y tenemos derecho a tomar medidas, como

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

derribar a bombarderos estratégicos estadounidenses incluso si no están dentro de las fronteras aéreas de nuestro país”.

Ante el cariz que tomaba la escalada, el embajador chino ante la ONU, Lu Jieyi, intentó un llamamiento a la tranquilidad que no hizo sino subir más la temperatura: “Queremos que esto se calme. Se está volviendo demasiado peligroso y no le interesa a nadie. Esperamos que ambos vean que no hay otro camino que las negociaciones; la alternativa es el desastre”.

Las amenazas de Corea del Norte, en especial la acusación de declaración de guerra, tajantemente negada por la Casa Blanca, estaban medidas para desatar el

pánico, esa materia de la que se nutre el hermético régimen, pero, como ya ha ocurrido otras veces, también aumentan la incógnita sobre la resolución del conflicto.

El Departamento de Estado confía en reducir a Kim Jong-un mediante el estrangulamiento económico. Con apoyo de China, cree que Pyongyang acabará cediendo como lo hizo en su día Irán. Pero la constante agitación verbal, el *crescendo* de ensayos nucleares y ahora el inicio del baile militar hacen temer que esta estrategia pueda verse desbordada en cualquier momento. El régimen ha mostrado una férrea determinación en desarrollar un misil nuclear con capacidad para alcanzar EE UU. Y las sanciones no

han logrado frenar su avance.

La posibilidad de que el pulso derive en una intervención militar, aunque sea quirúrgica, puede dar al traste con los esfuerzos diplomáticos. Ni la sanguinaria personalidad del Líder Supremo ni la impredecibilidad de Trump ayudan a evitar un hipotético choque.



El ministro de Exteriores norcoreano, Ri Yong-ho, seguido por su intérprete ayer en Nueva York. / RICHARD DREW (AP)

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

Trump suma a Venezuela y Corea del Norte al nuevo veto migratorio

La orden afecta a ocho países, pero se les otorga un trato diferente

J. MARTÍNEZ AHRENS, **Washington**
Donald Trump ha levantado otro muro. Expirada la vigencia del polémico veto migratorio, el presidente lo ha reemplazado con un texto de carácter indefinido, que suma tres nuevos países (Chad, Corea del Norte y Venezuela) e impone masivas restricciones de entrada a EE UU. El mayor impacto lo sufrirán los ciudadanos de Irán, Libia, Siria, Yemen, Somalia, Chad y Corea del Norte, mientras que en el caso de Venezuela el veto recaerá en cargos gubernamentales y sus familias. "Hacer América más segura es mi prioridad número uno. No admitiremos el ingreso de aquellos que no podamos escrutar con certidumbre", proclamó Trump.

La nueva orden se hará efectiva el próximo 18 de octubre. A diferencia de la anterior, que solo tenía una duración de tres meses, esta carece de plazo. La lista, de la que ha quedado fuera Sudán, será revisada cada 100 días y la salida de ella dependerá, según la Administración de Trump, de la mejora en los "problemas detectados".

En la selección de los ocho países, la Casa Blanca asegura que ha empleado un triple criterio: el riesgo que entrañan para la seguridad nacional, la fiabilidad de los pasaportes y documentos de identidad, y la fluidez en el intercambio de información sobre sospechas terroristas y antecedentes.

Un cambio básico respecto a la primera orden radica en que

cada nación es tratada de forma diferenciada. Venezuela lo ilustra. La prohibición de entrada se basa en los fallos en el flujo de información antiterrorista y la falta de cooperación de Caracas a la hora de comprobar riesgos para la seguridad nacional. "Esto no impide, sin embargo, que se pueda verificar por fuentes alternativas la ciudadanía e identidad de los venezolanos. Por tanto, las restricciones impuestas en esta proclamación se centran en los cargos del Gobierno de Venezuela responsables de los fallos detectados", indica la orden. Pese a esta reducción del perímetro de la restricción, el texto advierte que los poseedores de visados serán sometidos a medidas adicionales.

Más radical es el trato a Corea del Norte. Washington considera que no cumple ninguno de los criterios y, por tanto, prohíbe el paso a sus ciudadanos, ya sean inmigrantes o no. Irán también sufre un veto casi absoluto, aunque se permite que prosigan los programas de intercambio de estudios. Y en el caso de los somalíes se les impide emigrar, pero se les autoriza la visita bajo fuertes controles.

Más filtros

El alcance completo de las restric-

ciones se conocerá con el paso de los días. El primer veto, emitido el pasado 27 de enero, desató una gigantesca ola de protestas. La amplitud de las restricciones, su sesgo islamóforo y el propio vitriolo de Trump mostraron al mundo el rostro más feroz y xenóforo de la nueva Administración.

El rechazo fue recogido por los jueces de primera instancia y dio pie a una casi inmediata paralización del veto. La Casa Blanca respondió con una versión más moderada. Pero nuevamente fue frenada en apelación. Solo la entrada en juego del Tribunal Supremo, después de la designación del conservador Neil Gorsuch, desbloqueó la orden.

La corte, aunque impuso limi-

taciones, admitió como argumento la amenaza para la seguridad y concedió que el interés nacional debía prevalecer sobre el posible daño que pudiese causar el veto.

Ahora, la Casa Blanca ha presentado el recambio. El último texto ha pasado más filtros internos y su lectura revela una mayor elaboración. Aunque sigue siendo implacable con los emigrantes de los países vetados, se advierte un lenguaje alejado de la retórica presidencial y, sobre todo, el intento de superar escollos judiciales.

Los kurdos de Irak votan a favor de la independencia en desafío al Gobierno

ÁNGELES ESPINOSA, Erbil

El Kurdistan iraquí celebró ayer su referéndum de independencia sin incidentes dignos de mención. A pesar de la tensión en las "zonas en disputa" y de las advertencias del Gobierno central, los países vecinos y la comunidad internacional, la votación transcurrió en un ambiente festivo y con una elevada participación. Ilusionados e incluso desafiantes, los kurdos acudieron a las urnas convencidos de hacer historia y de impulsar el proceso que les llevará a tener pasaporte propio.

"Toda la gente de Kurdistan está feliz con esta ocasión. Hemos venido a votar sí", declara exultante Aryan Hamad, de 24 años y estudiante de ingeniería agrícola, en un colegio electoral de Erbil. La acompañan su madre, una hermana y una prima. Todas exhiben orgullosas el índice impregnado de tinta que prueba su participación. "Mi padre y mis hermanos vinieron a primera hora", aclara. Los centros de voto son mixtos aunque a la puerta de las salas donde se encuentra cada mesa, ambos sexos esperan turno en filas separadas.

Las colas se fueron alargando según avanzaba el día, lo que obligó a ampliar la votación una hora hasta las siete de la tarde. Antes de la extensión, la participación alcanzaba el 78%, según la cadena de televisión Rudaw. Sin embargo, el entusiasmo era desigual. En Suleimaniya, centro tradicional de la oposición y que ha aglutinado un movimiento para que se retrasara el referéndum, la asistencia fue menos nutrida. En todo caso, y a pesar de que los analistas consideran que el enclave no está maduro como Estado, se espera un cómodo triunfo del sí.

"Sí, he votado y votado sí", res-

pondía orgullosa Shilan, un ama de casa de 35 años, a la vez que muestra su índice impregnado de tinta. "Queremos ser como otros países, que se nos reconozca nuestra identidad", explica. "Si tuviera miedo, no estaría aquí", desestima cuando se le mencionan las amenazas de Irán y Turquía de cerrar la frontera e incluso el oleoducto que permite la exportación de petróleo. "Hemos superado situaciones más difíciles", asegura, utilizando una frase que a lo largo del día repiten numerosos entrevistados.

El referéndum estaba abierto a todos los residentes registrados, kurdos y no kurdos, mayores de 18 años, tanto dentro de la región autónoma como en las áreas

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

colindantes que esta reclama como propias y sus fuerzas (los *peshmerga*) controlan desde que el Ejército iraquí se retiró ante el avance del Estado Islámico (ISIS, por sus siglas en inglés) en 2014. En total, unos 5,2 millones. De hecho, la papeleta estaba escrita en cuatro idiomas: kurdo, árabe, turco y asirio. “¿Quiere que la región de Kurdistán y las áreas kurdistaníes fuera de la región se conviertan en un país independiente? SÍ / NO”.

“Nací aquí y tengo derecho a participar”, manifiesta tras depositar su voto Taksim, un turcomano que tiene una popular casa de comidas en el barrio de Mistawfi, a los pies de la Ciudadela de Erbil. A diferencia de la mayoría de miembros de su comunidad que residen en Kirkuk, Taksim defiende la separación de Bagdad. En su opinión, todas las comunidades pueden convivir.

Nagam y Hawrea nacieron en Bagdad y, sin embargo, aquí están, aguantando arregladísimas bajo el sol de media tarde para poder votar en el colegio electoral del Estadio Franso Hariri. Ambas son árabes suníes, pero han encontrado en Erbil la seguridad y la tranquilidad que les negó su

ciudad natal, algo que también valoran otras minorías como los cristianos, los kakais o los shabaks. “Queremos la independencia de Kurdistán en tanto en cuanto no haya extremismo ni racismo contra el resto de los grupos étnicos”, expone Nagam, que ha montado un salón de belleza con el que saca adelante a sus tres hijos. “Aquí nunca nos hemos sentido discriminadas”, concurre su amiga, que estudia ingeniería eléctrica.

Elevada participación

La actitud de Taksim, Nagam y Hawrea contrasta con el sentimiento que árabes y turcomanos expresan en la contendida provincia de Kirkuk. De hecho, allí la mayoría de esas comunidades se oponían a la consulta. Las alegaciones de que algunos árabes habían sido coaccionados para que votaran sí, fueron respondidas por el Gobierno central con el anuncio de un inmediato envío de tropas a las “zonas en disputa”, que incluyen Kirkuk, Janaqin, Majmur, Sinjar y Yalaula.

La información oficial daba una elevada participación en todas esas regiones, pero no desglosaba dónde se habían recogido los votos. Dadas las dificultades

para instalar las urnas en algunos de ellos y el hecho de que muchos de sus habitantes se encuentran desplazados, se abrieron colegios especiales como el del Estadio Franso Hariri en Erbil. Apenas una hora antes del cierre de las urnas, aún esperaban pacientemente para votar dos o tres centenares de personas, como las hermanas Rupak, Shano y Shehla Adil, originarias de Janaqin. “Queremos conseguir nuestros derechos, sino para nosotras para nuestros hijos”, resumen.

España aportará por primera vez fondos a la lucha contra el ISIS

El Gobierno se plantea destinar 15 millones a la estabilización de Irak

MIGUEL GONZÁLEZ. **Madrid**

Aunque España forma parte desde su nacimiento, en la cumbre de la OTAN en Gales (2014), de la Coalición Internacional contra el Daesh (ISIS, por sus siglas en inglés), hay un capítulo del que hasta ahora ha estado ausente: la contribución económica para estabilizar zonas de Irak y Siria liberadas del grupo yihadista. El Gobierno se propone aprobar esta asignatura pendiente con una primera aportación de unos 15 millones de euros. Es uno de los compromisos que Mariano Rajoy podría asumir hoy en su primera entrevista con el presidente de EE UU, Donald Trump, en la Casa Blanca.

Aunque no participa en los bombardeos sobre el autodenominado califato, España es uno de los primeros contribuyentes a la coalición militar contra el Daesh, con 450 militares y guardias civiles dedicados a la instrucción del Ejército y la policía iraquíes.

También contribuye activamente a otros frentes en los que actúan los más de 60 países de la coalición liderada por Washington: la lucha contra la radicalización y el reclutamiento; el

control de los combatientes retornados; y la neutralización de las redes de financiación del grupo terrorista.

Hasta ahora, sin embargo, España no ha contribuido al capítulo económico con el que la coalición financia la estabilización de las zonas de donde han sido desalojados los yihadistas. La acelerada pérdida de base territorial del Daesh hace, sin embargo, que sea cada vez más urgente la reconstrucción de extensas áreas de Irak y Siria.

El Gobierno, según las fuentes consultadas, se propone participar en esa reconstrucción y, a falta de que se cierren definitivamente las cifras, se plantea una aportación de unos 15 millones de euros. El hecho de que Irak no figure entre los países prioritarios de la cooperación española había impedido hasta ahora que se le destinaran fondos, salvo la ayuda alimentaria.

Además de este compromiso económico con la coalición contra el Daesh hay otros méritos que Rajoy podrá exhibir ante Trump; el más reciente, la expulsión del embajador de Corea del Norte en España por sus pruebas misilísticas y nucleares. Co-

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

mo aclaró la jefa de la diplomacia europea, Federica Mogherini, se trató de una decisión española, no de un acuerdo de la UE.

Rajoy también promueve en la UE una política más dura hacia el régimen venezolano, con la imposición de sanciones selectivas e individualizadas; y está dispuesto a incrementar moderadamente, en unos 50 instruc-

tores militares, el contingente español en Afganistán. Son todas ellas decisiones que deben complacer a Trump.

El Kurdistan iraquí celebra su referéndum como una victoria

Tranquilidad en la votación por la independencia pese a las amenazas de Bagdad

CATALINA GÓMEZ

Kirkuk (Irak)

Enviada especial

Después de semanas de discusiones, amenazas de envíos de tropas e intentos por destituir al gobierno local, ni los mismos kurdos de Kirkuk podían creer ayer que el referéndum de autodeterminación del Kurdistan iraquí había podido celebrarse, y mucho menos en su ciudad, donde su realización estuvo en vilo hasta el último minuto.

La jornada transcurrió en calma a pesar de que Irak había declarado la consulta ilegal, la presión internacional era altísima y las milicias chiíes a las órdenes de Bagdad amenazaban con intervenir. Que se pudiera votar fue una victoria de las autoridades kurdas y de un pueblo de unos 40 millones de personas repartido en cuatro países que, al caer el imperio otomano, no pudo dotarse de un Estado propio.

La participación, según la cadena Rudaw, alcanzó el 78% y el resultado, que se conocerá dentro de dos días, augura un amplio apoyo al sí a la independencia.

El referéndum no es vinculante y el presidente, Masud Barzani, lo utilizará para negociar la secesión con Bagdad.

Desde tempranas horas de la mañana, la asistencia a las urnas fue una fiesta acompañada con música tradicional kurda.

“Yo sabía que algún día iba a llegar este momento –dijo una mujer que dijo llamarse Delaram–. Estoy feliz por nuestros antepasados”. Como muchas otras mujeres que ayer asistieron a votar, iba vestida con uno de los trajes largos y coloridos tradicionales. Más que un día electoral, los barrios kurdos de Kirkuk vivían un pequeño Nuruz, el año nuevo, que se celebra en el equinoccio primaveral y llena estas

tierras de banderas, bailes y colores.

En Rashid Awa, uno de los enclaves kurdos más tradicionales, las familias hacían cola para pasar el control de seguridad. Asad Yabadi, miembro de la comisión electoral, contaba que ayer mismo, después de una larga reunión entre representantes de las diferentes comunidades de Kirkuk, que incluye a turcomanos y árabes, se acordó celebrar el referéndum. Los peshmergas kurdos ocupan Kirkuk desde el verano del 2014, pero la ciudad no está dentro de la región. “Fue un ali-

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario

vio para todos, era lo que tenía que hacerse”, dijo Yabadi. La pregunta del referéndum incluía a las regiones kurdas fuera del Kurdistan y anticipaba su incorporación al nuevo Estado.

Kirkuk, multicultural y rica en petróleo, es una de las ciudades más importantes de Irak.

El Gobierno de Bagdad había declarado ilegal la consulta y las milicias chiíes Hash al Shabi, conocidas como las Fuerzas de Movilización Popular, habían amenazado con usar la fuerza, pero nada sucedió ayer, salvo una escaramuza al sur de la ciudad.

La noche del domingo, sin embargo, fue tensa. La población se había refugiado en sus casas, atendiendo el toque de queda, a la espera de lo que pudiera pasar. Por primera vez en años la preocupación dejaba de ser el Estado Islámico y sus constantes atentados. Miles de peshmergas garantizaron la seguridad.

De ahí la emoción de la población cuando abrieron los colegios y la votación se realizó con normalidad. Era una victoria y se celebró con disparos al aire.

La misma alegría se vio en las tres provincias de la región autónoma del Kurdistan. “Todos los estados están en nuestra contra, nadie nos apoya, pero nosotros estamos aquí, demostrando que no nos dejaremos vencer”, declaró Hero, un hombre vestido con el traje tradicional de pantalón bombacho y chaqueta.

Las noticias que llegaban ayer de que Irán, Turquía e Irak cerrarían las fronteras y, adicionalmente, realizarían maniobras militares, indignaron a la población. “Cuando Sadam intentó hacer una limpieza étnica, nos fuimos a

Bagdad. Sólo regresamos después del 2003 y estoy dispuesto a luchar para no tener que irme de nuevo”, aseguraba Mohamed, que trabaja como coordinador en un puesto de votación en uno de los barrios mixtos de la ciudad. En ellos la asistencia a las urnas era menos multitudinaria que en los sectores de mayoría kurda, pero aseguraban que en las dos primeras horas de la mañana habían votado 800 personas.

A falta de tiempo para registrar a los votantes, decidieron usar las listas de votación de las últimas elecciones locales. Y si algún nuevo votante quería participar, era enviado a un centro especial para los no registrados.

Cuatro jóvenes árabes que se acercaron a uno de los colegios en los sectores situados al otro lado del hoy seco río Jasar, que divide la ciudad, aseguraban que su vida en un Kurdistan independiente sería más segura.

En los barrios turcos y árabes la escena era opuesta a la que se vivía en los barrios de mayoría kurda. Las calles estaban vacías, la participación era escasa y la presencia de policía, elevada.

Al caer la noche se prohibió circular a los coches y la tensión volvió a subir al conocerse que el Parlamento iraquí había autorizado al ejército a desplegarse en

el Kurdistan.

Es claro que los kurdos, incluidos los de Kirkuk, vivieron un día histórico. Pero está por verse cuál será el camino que marcará este referéndum. El presidente Barzani ha dicho que de salir victorioso empezará un largo proceso de negociación con Irak. La pregunta ahora es si Bagdad está dispuesto a negociar.●

DIVISIÓN

Los barrios turcos y árabes de Kirkuk apenas participan en la votación

NEGOCIACIÓN

El referéndum no es vinculante y Barzani lo utilizará para negociar con Bagdad

TENSIÓN

Los peshmergas protegen el territorio y las milicias chiíes de Irak no intervienen

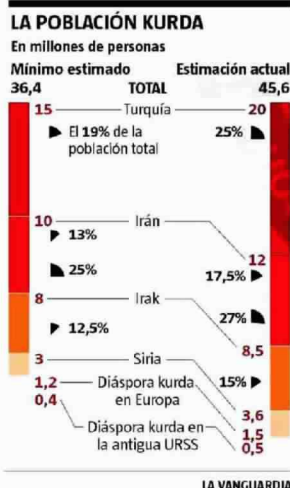


Un pueblo repartido en cuatro países

Zona de población kurda ■ Turquía ■ Irán ■ Irak ■ Siria



FUENTE: 'The Guardian' y Fundación Instituto Kurdo de París



Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario



CHRIS MCGRATH / GETTY

Kirkuk, que registraron una participación del 78%, según la cadena de televisión Rudaw

Normalidad

Colas y ambiente festivo en los colegios electorales, como este de

Ritaglio stampa ad uso esclusivo del destinatario