



WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND



How It Shapes Our Tastes
OFF DUTY

DOW JONES | News Corp ***** SATURDAY/SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 18 - 19, 2021 - VOL. CCLXXVIII NO. 67 WSJ.com ★★★★★ \$5.00

What's News

World-Wide

The U.S. military that it mistakenly killed at least 10 Afghan civilians, including seven children—but not Islamic State terrorists, as intended—when it launched a drone strike on a car in Kabul last month. **A1**

◆ **An FDA advisory panel** endorsed booster shots of the Covid-19 vaccine from Pfizer and BioNTech for adults 65 years and older and those at high risk of severe disease. **A1**

◆ **France has recalled** its ambassadors to Washington and Canberra after a new deal among the U.S., U.K. and Australia to provide Australia with nuclear-powered submarine technology. **A8**

◆ **Gen. Milley said** he would mount a vigorous defense of two calls he placed to his Chinese counterparts in the tumultuous last days of the Trump administration. **A4**

◆ **The U.S. Border Patrol** is holding thousands of mostly Haitian migrants under a bridge in a small South Texas border town. **A3**

◆ **Biden said** the U.S. is working with the EU on a pledge to help cut global methane emissions by nearly a third by 2030. **A9**

◆ **Died: Abdelaziz Bouteflika**, 84, Algerian leader who resigned amid mass protests. **A8**

Business & Finance

◆ **The Biden administration** is preparing an array of actions, including sanctions, to make it harder for hackers to use digital currency to profit from ransomware attacks, according to people familiar with the matter. **A1**

◆ **Universal Beijing Resort**, a high-profile American entertainment investment in China, is set to make its public debut Monday amid souring relations between the two countries. **B1**

◆ **U.S. stocks fell**, with the S&P 500 and Nasdaq both retreating 0.9% and the Dow shedding 0.5%. All three major indexes lost ground for the week. **B1**

◆ **A chemist who worked** at Theranos testified at the criminal fraud trial of company founder Holmes about scientific failures that plagued the defunct blood-testing startup. **B3**

◆ **Several state funds** are selling or threatening to sell their investments in Unilever after its Ben & Jerry's brand said it would stop sales in Jewish settlements in the West Bank. **B3**

◆ **Tencent said** it would gradually remove some competitive barriers from its WeChat messaging app, including making it easier for users to share e-commerce listings from rival Alibaba. **B3**

NOONAN

America Has Lost The Thread **A13**

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Cancer patient Juan Mendoza, 63 years old, gets a third dose of a Covid-19 vaccine at a clinic in White Plains, N.Y., on Friday.

Vaccine Booster Is Endorsed For Older, Higher-Risk People

BY JARED S. HOPKINS
AND FELICIA SCHWARTZ

An advisory panel to the Food and Drug Administration offered a limited endorsement of booster shots of the Covid-19 vaccine from Pfizer Inc. and BioNTech SE, recommending injections for people 65 and older or at high risk of severe disease but stopping short of justifying them for the broader population.

The outside panel's action comes as the dangerous Delta variant of the coronavirus continues to spread in the U.S., and federal health officials hope that additional doses of approved vaccines will sustain protection in people who have been previously vaccinated.

Older adults and those with underlying health conditions and other high-risk factors were among the earliest groups in the U.S. to receive

vaccinations. The group likely includes residents of nursing homes and chronic-care facilities who meet the criteria.

The unanimous booster endorsement followed a daylong meeting that included intense debate among committee members over who should receive boosters and when, and presentations that offered varying conclusions about declining vaccine effectiveness and the benefit of administering

extra shots beyond the authorized dosing courses that provide full vaccination.

"I think that a lot of individuals do feel there is a role for another dose in populations, and we would like to see that come forward," said Jeanette

Please turn to page A7

◆ Moderna best at preventing hospital stays..... **A7**

◆ Companies grapple with vaccine mandate..... **B12**

U.S. to Target Crypto Use In Ransom Cyberattacks

BY IAN TALLEY
AND DUSTIN VOLZ

The Biden administration is preparing an array of actions, including sanctions, to make it harder for hackers to use digital currency to profit from ransomware attacks, according to people familiar with the matter.

The government hopes to choke off access to a form of payment that has supported a booming criminal industry and a rising national security threat.

The Treasury Department plans to impose the sanctions as soon as next week, the people said, and will issue fresh guidance to businesses on the

risks associated with facilitating ransomware payments, including fines and other penalties. Later this year, expected new anti-money-laundering and terror-finance rules will seek to limit the use of cryptocurrency as a payment mechanism in ransomware attacks and other illicit activities.

The actions collectively would represent the most significant attempt yet by the Biden administration to undercut the digital finance ecosystem of traders, exchanges and other elements that cybersecurity experts say has allowed debilitating ransomware attacks to flourish in recent years.

Senior officials have said

ransomware attacks this year have grown more severe than ever and represent a serious threat to critical infrastructure, including power operators, hospitals and banks.

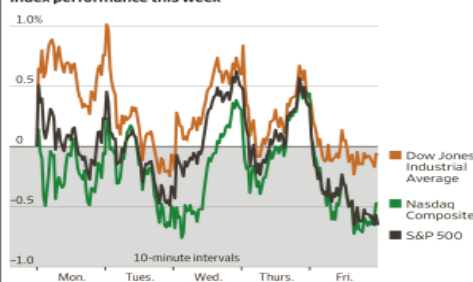
The Treasury Department declined to comment and the people familiar with the matter declined to specify the targets of sanctions. But to effectively disrupt illicit crypto transactions, Treasury would need to target the digital wallets that receive ransom transactions, the crypto platforms that help exchange one set of blockchain coins for another to obscure the culprits and the people that own or

Please turn to page A4

Stocks Post Declines for Week

New data on consumer sentiment helped pull U.S. shares lower on Friday, with major indexes ending the week with losses. **B1**

Index performance this week



Source: FactSet

Democrats Seek New Capital-Gains Track

BY ANDREW DUEHREN

WASHINGTON—Entrenched opposition from some Democrats to a White House plan to tax unrealized capital gains at death has pushed the party to look for alternative methods of collecting additional taxes from wealthy Americans' appreciating assets.

President Biden put forward a proposal to tax unrealized capital gains—including the appreciated values of homes, businesses, and stocks in taxable accounts—when the original owner dies, a break from current policy. Under the current tax rule known as the tax-free step-up in basis, someone who dies doesn't have to pay any

taxes on those increases, and the heirs have to pay taxes only when they sell and only on gains that occur after the original owner's death.

The White House proposal, which included a \$1 million per person exemption and special deferral rules for family-owned farms and businesses, drew criticism from some Democrats who raised concerns about its possible impact on family farms. The House Ways and Means Committee this week didn't propose any changes to the stepped-up basis as part of its roughly \$2 trillion package of tax increases, instead opting for only a rate increase.

Please turn to page A2

EXCHANGE



the facebook files

How Facebook hobbled Mark Zuckerberg's vaccine ambitions. **B1**

How to Beat a Hot Housing Market: Move to Where the Homes Are Free

Pennsylvania mayor gives away vacant houses to people willing to fix them up

BY BEN EISEN

Houses are more expensive than ever. Matt Shorraw is giving them away for free.

Mr. Shorraw is the mayor of Monessen, Pa., a small city set in a curve of the Monongahela River, which has hundreds of vacant homes. Many of them are in disrepair and have accrued thousands of dollars in back taxes. Property values are low. It is easier for owners to

walk away than to sell.

So Mr. Shorraw extended an open invitation earlier this year: Find a vacant house in Monessen—not difficult considering they make up about 10% of the properties. Track down the owner and ask her to sign the place over.

Many are happy to wash their hands of the house and the back taxes. Mr. Shorraw's administration will clear the taxes if the new

Please turn to page A10



Home free



How To Spend It

Men's style issue

SEPARATE MAGAZINE

Apple and Google drop Navalny app

◆ Kremlin forces concession as election starts ◆ US techs bow to pressure after legal threats

MAX SEDDON — MOSCOW
NADHUMITA MURUGIA — LONDON

Apple and Google have removed a tactical voting app made by supporters of jailed Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny from their online stores following strong pressure from the Kremlin, as three days of voting began in the country's parliamentary elections.

Google's Play Store and Apple's App Store blocked further downloads of the app in Russia yesterday after "multiple legal demands, not requests" from the country's communications regulator and law enforcement, according to a person close to the situation.

The move is the biggest concession

yet by western tech companies to the Kremlin's stringent demands for online censorship. President Vladimir Putin has said that the internet could make society "collapse from the inside" if it does not "submit to formal legal rules and the moral laws of society".

The person close to the situation also said Google staff had received threats of criminal prosecution if the company did not comply with the Kremlin request to remove the app from the store and search engines. They said armed men, thought by staff to be police officers, spent several hours in Google's Moscow offices on Monday. Russia's bailiff service said on Tuesday its officers had vis-

ited to demand that the company comply with a Moscow court ruling to remove the app from search results.

The person believed threats to staff of this nature were unprecedented, saying it had "never got this bad before". Apple and Google both declined to comment. Leonid Volkov, chief of staff to Navalny, said that the US tech companies had "caved to the Kremlin's blackmail".

Alena Epifanova, researcher at the German Council on Foreign Relations, said: "This is a crucial moment for Russia. It looks like big tech companies are starting to co-operate even more closely with the authorities' repression."

Apple justified the decision under a



Supporters of opposition leader Alexei Navalny backed tactical votes for candidates that the app recommended

Moscow court ruling in June that declared Navalny's foundation an "extremist organisation", according to a screenshot posted by Ivan Zhdanov, the former director of the opposition group.

Emilry Peskov, Putin's spokesman, welcomed the technology groups' decision, saying: "This app is illegal on the territory of our country."

With dozens of Navalny's allies struck from the ballot, his team is urging supporters to vote for Kremlin-approved "loyal opposition" candidates recommended by the app.

Peskov called the tactic of Navalny's allies "provocative", saying that it would "harm voters".

Back in fashion

London hosts hybrid event

Models pose in creations from the Dora Aksu catwalk show at London Fashion Week, which kicked off yesterday with the event's first in-person shows in a year.

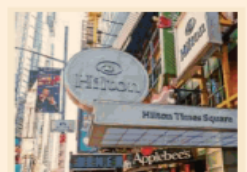
"It feels really great to be back," said Caroline Rush, chief executive of the British Fashion Council. She added that the new regime meant masks being worn backstage, vaccination proof and daily Covid-19 testing.

The hybrid fashion week, which features 79 physical events and 82 digital productions, takes up where last week's shows in New York left off. Milan is next week and Paris at the end of the month.

New York fashion show Life & Arts



Harry Nicholls/Reuters



Hilton eyes business sector to tap post-Covid demand

After a summer of optimism for hotel groups, hopes of any quick revival have receded. The travel sector, which enjoyed soaring prices as lockdowns eased and tourists headed to hotspots, has been left wondering if business will ever return to pre-pandemic levels.

Hilton has turned its focus from the leisure market, and is instead betting that business travel — and person-to-person meetings — is making a comeback.

Analysis ► PAGE 10

Thailand to reboot ravaged economy with 10-year visas for wealthy visitors

JOHN REED — BANGKOK

Thailand is planning to cash in on the working from home culture by offering long-term visas to 1m rich foreigners willing to invest \$250,000-\$500,000 in property or government bonds.

The visa scheme — which will target "affluent global citizens", wealthy pensioners, digital nomads and skilled professionals — is an attempt by the Thai government to start healing its pandemic-ravaged economy, which relies heavily on its tourism industry.

While Thailand is cautiously reopening its biggest island Phuket and some other resorts to vaccinated foreigners, officials acknowledge that mass tourism is unlikely to return to the record 40m visits recorded in 2019 anytime soon.

To qualify for the 10-year visa, which

includes family members, the Thai government said that "wealthy global citizens" would have to invest at least \$500,000 in bonds or real estate and prove they had a minimum income of \$80,000 per year. Retirees will need to invest at least \$250,000 and earn a minimum of \$40,000 a year.

Bangkok plans to offer the measures for an initial five-year trial period starting in 2022. During this period, the government said it expected an increase of investment by ฿890bn (\$24bn) in the country, as well as ฿270bn of additional tax revenues.

Thailand will join several other countries, including Antigua and Barbuda, and Barbados, that are offering tax and visa incentives to attract digital nomads and other high-earning foreigners.

"We expect wealthy global citizens, retirees and high-skilled professionals

to welcome this opportunity," said Juckchai Boonyawat, Thailand chief executive of Mercer, a consultancy.

But he pointed out that the government would need to change laws in relation to land and property ownership.

A government spokeswoman told the Financial Times that the scheme would only be put in place after "further amendments regarding laws and regulations" were made.

One expert on digital nomad visas described the 10-year duration as "a game changer", but added that its significance would depend on the details, including whether it allowed freelancers who worked for several clients, as opposed to a single employer, to set up base in Thailand. "That is the holy grail of the true digital nomad: to get a visa that is multiyear," said Jeff Opdyke, editor of Global Intelligence Letter.

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Sep 17	prev	%chg		Sep 17	prev	%chg		price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4428.96	4413.75	-0.3%	\$ per €	1.174	1.176	-0.2%	US Gov 10 yr	148.74	1.37	0.04
Nasdaq Composite	15022.62	15181.52	-1.0%	£ per €	1.375	1.377	-0.2%	UK Gov 10 yr		0.75	0.03
Dow Jones Ind	34578.33	34751.32	-0.5%	€ per ¥	0.854	0.854	0.0%	Ger Gov 10 yr		-0.28	0.02
FTSEurofirst 300	1778.27	1796.90	-0.9%	¥ per \$	109.970	109.656	0.3%	Jpn Gov 10 yr	115.85	0.05	0.00
Euro Stoxx 50	4121.39	4169.87	-1.1%	SFR per €	151.126	150.987	0.1%	US Gov 30 yr	117.56	1.91	0.03
FTSE 100	6863.64	7027.48	-0.9%					Ger Gov 2 yr	105.30	-0.70	0.01
FTSE All-Share	4023.33	4051.44	-0.6%	COMMODITIES					price	prev	chg
CAC 40	6570.19	6622.58	-0.7%		Sep 17	prev	%chg	Feed Grains Dtl	0.08	0.10	-0.21
Nikkei	15490.17	15561.75	-1.0%	Oil WTI \$	71.88	72.81	-1.3%	US 3m T-bill	0.04	0.04	0.00
Hong Kong	24520.76	24467.85	1.0%	Oil Brent \$	75.11	75.67	-0.7%	Euro Libor 3m	-0.56	-0.56	0.00
MSCI World \$	3122.57	3127.71	-0.1%	Gold \$	1747.95	1756.95	-0.5%	UK 3m	0.07	0.07	0.00
MSCI EM \$	1276.70	1288.88	-0.9%								
MSCI ADWI \$	725.21	737.08	-0.2%								

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Shunning Shot, But Lining Up For Antibodies

A Costly Therapy Soars in the Unvaccinated

By BENJAMIN MUELLER

Lanson Jones did not think that the coronavirus would come for him. An avid tennis player in Houston who had not caught on much as a cold during the pandemic, he had refused a vaccine because he worried that it would spoil his streak of good health.

But contracting Covid shattered his faith in his body's defenses — so much so that Mr. Jones, nose clogged and appetite vanished, began hunting for anything to spare himself a nightmarish illness.

The answer turned out to be monoclonal antibodies, a year-old, laboratory-created drug no less experimental than the vaccine. In a glass-walled enclosure at Houston Methodist Hospital this month, Mr. Jones, 65, became one of more than a million patients, including Donald J. Trump and Joe Rogan, to receive an antibody infusion as the virus has battered the United States.

Vaccine-resistant Americans are turning to the treatment with a zeal that has, at times, mystified their doctors, chasing down lengthy infusions after rejecting vaccines that cost one-hundredth as much. Orders have exploded so quickly this summer — to 168,000 doses per week in late August, up from 27,000 in July — that the Biden administration warned states this week of a dwindling national supply.

The federal government, which was already covering the cost of the treatment — currently about \$2,100 per dose — has now taken over its distribution as well. For the coming weeks, the government has told states to expect scaled-back shipments because of the looming shortages.

With seven Southern states accounting for 70 percent of orders, the new process has unsettled some of their governors, who have made the antibody treatment central to their strategy for enduring a catastrophic wave of the Delta variant.

More supplies are on the way. The federal government bought 1.8 million more doses this week, expected to arrive in the fall and winter. But for now, some hospitals are uncertain if supplies, Continued on Page 22



Remnants of the vehicle that was used to assassinate the Iranian scientist Mohsen Fakhriadeh last year in the town of Absard.

The High-Tech Killing of a Nuclear Scientist

A Top Iran Figure Eluded Israel for Years, So It Built a Machine for the Job

By RONEN BERGMAN
and FARNAZ FASSIHI

Iran's top nuclear scientist woke up an hour before dawn, as he did most days, to study Islamic philosophy before his day began.

That afternoon, he and his wife would leave their vacation home on the Caspian Sea and drive to their country house in Absard, a bucolic town east of Tehran, where they planned to spend the weekend.

Iran's intelligence service had warned him of a possible assassination plot, but the scientist, Mohsen Fakhriadeh, had brushed it off.

Convinced that Mr. Fakhriadeh was leading Iran's efforts to build a nuclear bomb, Israel had wanted to kill him for at least 14 years. But there had been so many threats and plots that he no longer paid them much attention.

Despite his prominent position in Iran's military establishment, Mr. Fakhriadeh wanted to live a normal life. He craved small domestic pleasures: reading Persian poetry, taking his family to the seashore, going for drives in the countryside.



A poster of Mr. Fakhriadeh during a rally in Tehran the day after his death.

And, disregarding the advice of his security team, he often drove his own car to Absard instead of having bodyguards drive him in an armored vehicle. It was a serious breach of security protocol, but he insisted. So shortly after noon on Friday, Nov. 27,

he slipped behind the wheel of his black Nissan Teana sedan, his wife in the passenger seat beside him, and hit the road.

Since 2004, when the Israeli government ordered its foreign intelligence agency, the Mossad, to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons, the agency had been carrying out a campaign of sabotage and cyberattacks on Iran's nuclear fuel enrichment facilities. It was also methodically picking off the experts thought to be leading Iran's nuclear weapons program.

Since 2007, its agents had assassinated five Iranian nuclear scientists and wounded another. Most of the scientists worked directly for Mr. Fakhriadeh (pronounced fah-KREE-zah-deh) on what Israeli intelligence officials said was a covert program to build a nuclear warhead, including overcoming the substantial technical challenges of making one small enough to fit atop one of Iran's long-range missiles.

Israeli agents had also killed the Iranian general in charge of missile development and 16 members of his team.

But the man Israel said led the bomb pro-

Continued on Page 10

Britain Returns to Global Stage As Broker in U.S.-Australia Deal

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — As relations between France and the United States sink to their lowest level in decades, Britain has emerged as the unlikely winner in a maritime security alliance that has sowed anger and recrimination across three continents.

The British government played an early role in brokering the three-way alliance with the United States and Australia to deploy nuclear-powered submarines in the Pacific, according to officials in London and Washington. The landmark agreement was announced hours after Australia canceled a \$66 billion deal for diesel-electric submarines with France, provoking fury in Paris and quiet satisfaction in London.

For Prime Minister Boris Johnson, who will meet this week with President Biden at the White

House and speak at the United Nations, it is his first tangible victory in a campaign to make post-Brexit Britain a player on the global stage.

Since leaving the European Union 18 months ago, Britain has cast about for a place in the world. Brexiters latched on to the phrase "Global Britain," which always seemed more a marketing slogan than a coherent foreign policy.

Yet the deal sealed on Wednesday, in which the United States and Britain would supply Australia with the submarines, confirmed Britain's status as a military power with nuclear expertise, as well as a trusted ally of the United States. It also lent credibility to Mr. Johnson's effort to build a British presence in Asia, a strategy that at first looked mostly like Continued on Page 9



Momentous Mission Ends

After three days in orbit, the four-person crew of SpaceX's Inspiration4 splashed down off Florida's coast on Saturday. Page 26.

Nashville's Parties on Wheels: Rolling Fun or Frankenstein?

By RICK ROJAS

NASHVILLE — The John Deere tractor pulled onto Broadway and rumbled into the madness.

On a Friday night in the heart of Nashville, as crowds and music spilled from packed clubs, it lumbered along at 5 miles per hour, tugging a canopied trailer with flashing lights and a group of friends from Denver sipping drinks and dancing to Shania Twain.

It wasn't especially conspicuous. The Big Green Tractor, as it's called, passed an open-air school bus crammed with partiers, and then another, and another. It also crept beside a vehicle with women leaning over a railing in tank tops printed with the slogan "Let's Get Nasty!"

The tractor hadn't even made it a mile. "It's the Wild West out here,"

Romee Heatherly said from her perch behind the bar of the Big Green Tractor, where she served variously as safety monitor, bartender, D.J., photographer, tour guide and taunter of ride-share drivers blocking the tractor's path. (She blasted the Ludacris song "Move" as she stared them down.)

As Nashville has cemented its reputation as a destination for getaways and bachelorette trips, party vehicles have proliferated, promising a rollicking good time and quite a stage to see and be seen while exploring the city. But there's a growing sense among residents, local officials, even some in the so-called transportation industry — that it has all gotten out of hand.

"We made the monster, and now we can't control the monster," said Continued on Page 25

INTERNATIONAL 4-12

A Cuban Podcast Boom

New audio shows made in Cuba are finding a rapt audience and upending the island's hyperpartisan media landscape. PAGE 4

NATIONAL 16-26

G.O.P.'s Hold on the O.C. Fades

Voters in Orange County rejected the effort to recall Gov. Gavin Newsom of California, continuing the political seesawing that has defined the area. PAGE 21

SUNDAY STYLES

Ask Her Any Question

The president's press secretary, Jen Psaki, is an unlikely avatar for social media's snack-down-happy culture, Michael M. Grynbaum writes. PAGE 8

ARTS & LEISURE

The New Season

In over 110 pages, a five-part section previews fall's offerings in theater, dance, film, television, music and art amid a triumphant, yet nervous, return. PAGE 10

SUNDAY REVIEW

Farah Stockman

PAGE 4



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McConnell plays crude politics on debt ceiling

BY PAUL KANE

Early last year, one of Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell's longest rivals offered a lesson about why the Kentucky Republican is unfazed by his critics whenever he digs in on a political strategy.

"The people in Kentucky who know him understand that he can't be shamed into changing," Rep. John Yarmuth (D-Ky.), who has worked with and clashed with McConnell for more than 50 years, said in an interview.

That was January 2020, and the context focused on House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's (D-Calif.) decision to hold articles of impeachment against President Donald Trump over his actions toward Ukraine to try to pressure McConnell into agreeing to hold an expansive Senate trial that would include witnesses.

Now, almost two years later, Democrats have set up a similar type of strategy that, if successful, will force Republicans to accept their fair share of the national debt that now tops \$28 trillion. If this strategy fails, the federal government could run out of funding authority and enter another congressionally forced shutdown — the fourth in less than a decade — and create a debt crisis that could rattle global financial markets.

McConnell has declared that Senate Republicans will not vote to increase the Treasury's authority to continue borrowing, which is the same as voting to allow a default. As he has done before, McConnell has essentially created a new rule out of whole cloth to justify his actions.

"Let me make it perfectly clear. The country must never default. The debt ceiling will need to be raised. But who does that depends on who the American people elect," McConnell told Punch-bowl News on Tuesday, acknowledging he will vote for a policy outcome he says he doesn't want

SEE GOP ON A4



LORENZO TUCNOLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

'They can take us out of here'

BY SUDARSAN RAGHAVAN

KABUL — By the time the American apology arrived, the lives of the Ahmadi family were already upended. And being falsely accused by the U.S. military of ties to the Islamic State was not the worst part of the ordeal.

There were their shattered family home. There were the nightmares, the bouts of crying and the screams triggered by the memory of a U.S. drone strike on Aug. 29 that killed 10 of their relatives, including seven children.

There were the fresh fears of persecution by the Taliban after the media spotlight on the family noted that some members, including survivors, worked for U.S.-based entities or the former Afghan security forces.

The Hellfire missile — the weapon

What does an Afghan family want from America after losing 10 relatives in a U.S. attack? A better life.

used in the Pentagon's capstone attack at the end of a two-decade war — also killed the family's only breadwinner, Zamara Ahmadi.

"We didn't have money to bury our relatives," said his 32-year-old brother, Enal on Saturday, steps away from the mangled carcass of a white Toyota sedan. "We had to borrow the funds."

Without doubt, the Pentagon's mea culpa Friday — that a series of miscalculations led to the wrongful targeting of Zamara Ahmadi, an aid worker

with a U.S.-based group — has lifted a heavy weight off the family.

"The Americans kept emphasizing they killed an ISIS-K terrorist," said Enal, referring to the Islamic State's Afghanistan branch. "Now we are happy they have acknowledged their mistake and confirmed that they killed innocent people."

What the family seeks now is to exit their American-made hell. Family interviews Saturday expressed no visible animosity toward the U.S. government for killing their loved ones. But forgiveness may be too strong a word.

Rather, the Ahmadi grasp onto a sense of pragmatism. They want compensation from the U.S. government and help in leaving Afghanistan and getting resettled in the United States

SEE AFGHANISTAN ON A20

ABOVE: Members of the Ahmadi family on Saturday contemplate the mangled remains of a car destroyed in a U.S. drone strike in Kabul that mistakenly killed family breadwinner Zamara Ahmadi and nine other relatives.

To Latin Mass devotees, a righteous defiance

A Catholic congregation in Nebraska holds firm to tradition, even in the face of contrary papal decree

BY CHICO HARLAN

LINCOLN, NEB. — The members of St. Francis of Assisi Catholic Church have been on edge for weeks, worried that their way of worship is under threat, and what makes their fears especially agonizing is the identity of the person leading the crackdown: Pope Francis.

The congregants — belonging to one of hundreds of U.S. churches devoted to the old Latin Mass — say they can't understand the pope's thinking on limiting its practice. Some say they are praying that Francis's better judgment still might prevail. One influential church member, theologian Peter Kwasniewski, has spent day after day publishing fiery opinion pieces, calling Francis's decree contemptuous, vindictive toward Catholic traditionalists, an atomic bomb against the faith.

"Let's not mince words," Kwasniewski wrote at one point on Facebook. "This is a declaration of total war."

Francis's decision, perhaps like no other in his eight-year papacy, has struck at the perilous fault line in the Catholic Church, where progressives and traditionalists are divided not only ideologically but also over how they



MADELINE CASS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

St. Francis of Assisi Catholic Church in Lincoln, Neb., is one of hundreds across the United States faithful to the old Latin Mass, which Pope Francis declared divisive in a July decree.

pray. While the vast majority of Catholics attend the modern Mass — devised in the 1960s and celebrated in the local language — a small but devout group of traditionalists prefer the old rite, a ceremony conducted in Latin that dates back more than a millennium, and that has increasingly become a conservative emblem of protest.

Francis, saying he was acting for the "unity" of the church, made clear he felt like the old rite was being weaponized. He said freedoms to celebrate the old Latin Mass granted by his predecessors had encouraged "disagreements that injure the Church, block her path, and expose her to the peril of division."

His mid-July decree dramatically tightened the rules on who can celebrate the old Latin Mass, requiring, among other things, new permission from local bishops. Some of the pope's allies say the goal is to curtail forces antagonistic not specifically toward Francis's pontificate, but toward Catholicism's sometimes-lurching effort since the Second Vatican Council to modernize and reform.

But within the U.S. church — a global epicenter for the traditionalist movement — the pope's

SEE MASS ON A10

As insurers reimpose costs, covid patients are hit by bills

Return of deductibles, co-pays results in uneven patchwork of billing

BY CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND

Jamie Azar left a rehab hospital in Tennessee last week with the help of a walker after spending the entire month of August in the ICU and on a ventilator. She had received a shot of the Johnson & Johnson vaccine in mid-July but tested positive for the coronavirus within 11 days and nearly died.

Now Azar, who earns about \$36,000 a year as the director of a preschool at a Baptist church in Georgia, is facing thousands of dollars in medical expenses that she can't afford.

"I'm very thankful to be home. I am still weak. And I'm just waiting for the bills to come in to know what to do with them," she said Wednesday, after returning home.

In 2020, as the pandemic took hold, U.S. health insurance companies declared they would cover 100 percent of the costs for covid treatment, waiving co-pays and expensive deductibles for hospital stays that frequently range into

the hundreds of thousands of dollars.

But this year, most insurers have reinstated co-pays and deductibles for covid patients, in many cases even as vaccines became widely available. The companies imposed the costs as industry profits remained strong or grew in 2020, with insurers paying out less to cover elective procedures that hospitals suspended during the crisis.

Now the financial burden of covid is falling unevenly on patients across the country, varying widely by health-care plan and geography, according to a survey of the two largest health plans in every state by the nonprofit and nonpartisan Kaiser Family Foundation.

If you're fortunate enough to live in Vermont or New Mexico, for instance, state mandates require insurance companies to cover 100 percent of treatment. But most Americans with covid are now exposed to the uncertainty, confusion and expense of business-as-usual medical billing and insurance practices — joining those with cancer, diabetes and other serious, costly illnesses.

Insurers continue to waive costs associated with vaccinations

SEE INSURANCE ON A14

50% veem chance de golpe de Bolsonaro

Para 30%, possibilidade de presidente tentar via autoritária é grande, mostra Datafolha; 70% dizem apoiar a democracia

AMEAÇA AUTORITÁRIA
Diante dos ataques às instituições, metade dos brasileiros diz acreditar que Jair Bolsonaro pode tentar um golpe de Estado, mostra pesquisa Datafolha feita nos dias 13, 14 e 15, uma semana após os atos a favor do presidente.

O apoio à democracia no país segue sólido: 70% afirmam que o sistema é o melhor para o Brasil. São cinco pontos a menos do que em junho de 2020, mas o segundo maior nível da série iniciada em 1989. Os que admitem a ditadura são 9%.

O instituto registrou ainda o maior percentual que cogita a possibilidade de o regime autocrático voltar desde que passou a fazer a pergunta: 51%, ante 45% que não veem chance. A margem de erro é de dois pontos percentuais para mais ou menos.

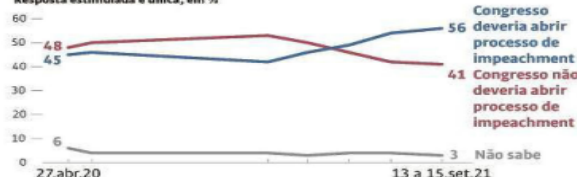
Dos 50% que afirmam que o presidente poderia dar um golpe (ou um autogolpe contra as demais instituições, por já estar instalado no poder), 30% dizem crer muito na hipótese. Para 20%, há um pouco de chance. Os que não veem possibilidade são 45%.

O golpe é considerado uma hipótese concreta para 70% daqueles que afirmam reprovar o governo de Jair Bolsonaro (fatia de 53% da população brasileira). No levantamento, o Datafolha entrevistou 3.667 pessoas em 190 municípios.

Quanto aos Poderes, o Executivo pode constituir ameaça à democracia para 71% dos brasileiros. O Legislativo é visto da mesma forma por 69%, embora parcela maior considere haver "poucas chances". Para o Judiciário, o índice é de 64%. Poder A4

Em alta, apoio da população a impeachment chega a 56% A6

Para 56%, Congresso deveria abrir processo de impeachment



Fonte: Pesquisa Datafolha presencial com 3.667 pessoas com 16 anos ou mais entre os dias 13 e 15 de setembro. A margem de erro máxima é de dois pontos percentuais para mais ou para menos.

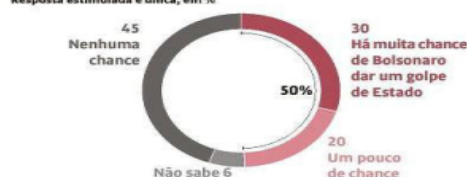
76% defendem abrir processo se presidente ignorar Justiça A6

76% dizem que Bolsonaro deve sofrer impeachment se descumprir ordem da Justiça



Para 66%, atos bolsonaristas são ameaça à democracia A5

Metade vê chance de Bolsonaro dar golpe



Cotidiano B3 Paulo Freire, 100 anos

Educador continua reconhecido e sai da mira bolsonarista

Ciência B2 Conheça os viajantes da primeira missão espacial 100% civil

ESG A24 Para chefe do Pacto Global, olhar risco climático é urgente

Esporte B6 Brasileiro registra menos trocas de técnicos em 2021

Ilus trada em sil Artistas têm suas obras censuradas em redes sociais C4

MÔNICA BERGAMO Política é espetáculo apaixonante, afirma André Marinho C2

EDITORIAIS A2

O voto ou a queda
Acerca de mensagens do eleitorado a Bolsonaro.

A tarefa de cada um
Sobre trabalho da CPI que investiga gestão da Covid.



Homenagem a Paulo Freire na Escola Estadual José Rufino, em Angicos (RN), em 1993. Acervo Paulo Freire

Lula tem sequência de 12 vitórias na Justiça em 1 ano

Com direitos políticos reabilitados desde março, o ex-presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) já teve ao menos 12 vitórias judiciais em processos e investigações a que respondia dentro da Lava Jato. Poder A8

Reinaldo José Lopes Até o Sol mudou de cor no interior de SP sob chamadas

Ciência B2

Quase 600 mil empresas fecham na crise pandêmica

Sob pandemia, o país perdeu quase 600 mil empregadores no intervalo de dois anos, aponta a Pnad. No 2º trimestre de 2019, pré-crise, eram 4,369 milhões; no fim deste junho, 3,788 milhões. Mercado A17

Metade dos que usaram Fies está devendo parcelas

Mercado A20

No auge da Covid, Saúde discutiu oferta improvável

Saúde B1

FOLHA, 100 Folha renova seu conselho editorial e amplia diversidade

A Folha passa hoje a ter um novo conselho editorial, com a função consultiva de trazer novas ideias e tendências. Entre os 11 integrantes estão Luiza Helena Trajano, Sueli Carneiro e Persio Arida. Poder A13

Total da população vacinada

	ao menos uma dose*	totalmente vacinada**
Brasil	68,3%	37,5%
MS	74,7%	52,3%
SP	80,2%	49,6%
RS	71,8%	43,7%

Totalmente vacinada



Números da pandemia

	Casos	Óbitos
Total	21,2 mil	590,5 mil
Méd. móvel	34,1 mil	565
Varição***	64,1%	-7,2%
Em 24 h	125,1 mil	803

Dados das 20h de 18 set. | * Tomou dose única ou 1ª dose. | ** Tomou dose única ou 2ª dose. | *** Em relação a 14 dias





Cruces por Cuba y Venezuela en Celac
Mario Abdo no reconoce al régimen de Maduro y este, enojado, le reta a un debate

PÁGINAS 9 y 52

Imposible acceso en la página web
Municipalidad de Asunción oculta alevosamente datos de su desmesurada nómina

PÁGINAS 28 y 29

Desequilibrio por compromisos financieros
Pago de intereses con los impuestos aumentó 122% y recaudación solo 16%

PÁGINA 36

Vice tiene a varios familiares en la función pública

Velázquez recurre a cuestionados clanes para llegar al 2023

Crece rol partidario como precoz candidato a presidente a expensas de su tarea específica. Rechazo a enmienda fue su punto más alto; el escándalo de Itaipú, el más bajo.

PÁGINA 8

DOMINGO

BID: "Paraguay es uno de los que va a crecer más rápido en su recuperación"

PÁGINAS 18 y 19

La guerra entre Alberto y CFK: Una recodo más del eterno laberinto argentino

PÁGINA 53

CON ESTA EDICIÓN

- REVISTA PULSA
- HISTORIETA TIPOGRAFIA 2



COMPRA OPCIONAL

• LIBRO: HISTORIAS DE ELOGIO DE LA LOCURA



Libro:

C. 25.000



Historias de una lucha épica

Especial. Los intensivistas (foto) fueron la primera línea contra el Covid. Ellos y el personal del Hospital Nacional narran cómo fue la titánica pelea.

PÁGINA 2 a la 4

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SOLITAIRE DU FIGARO

PIERRE QUIROGA,
LE SUDISTE QUI TRIOMPHE
DES BRETONS **PAGE 11**

ENQUÊTE
LE PRÉSIDENT TUNISIEN
À L'ASSAUT DE
LA CORRUPTION **PAGE 13**



L'Opéra royal de Versailles redémarre en fanfare

EXÉCUTIF
Clément Beaune,
l'atout européen
de Macron
pour 2022 **PAGE 5**

GAUCHE
Olivier Faure
reconduit à la tête
du PS **PAGE 6**

RUSSIE
Poutine verrouille
les élections
à la Douma **PAGE 7**

MAGHREB
Aziz Akhannouch,
milliardaire
et premier ministre
du Maroc **PAGE 9**

PROCÈS « V13 »
L'horreur du carnage
au Bataclan **PAGE 10**

NUMÉRIQUE
Une série d'enquêtes
accable Facebook
PAGE 24

CHAMPS LIBRES

- Les tribunes de Jean-Louis Thiériot et d'Edouard Tétreau
- La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté
- L'analyse d'Adrien Jaulmes

PAGES 14 ET 15

**FIGARO O
FIGARO NON**

Réponses à la question de vendredi :
Êtes-vous favorable à l'ouverture de nouvelles salles de shoot ?

OUI 13%	NON 87%
------------	------------

NON
87%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 102 114

**Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr**
Êtes-vous favorable à la
levée du passe sanitaire?

ALEXIS COURCOUX-FETHI BELAÏD/
AFP-ALTITUDEDRONE -
STOCKADOBÉ.COM -MBZT / LICENCE
CC-PÉRON LE QUAY/LE FIGARO

Passe sanitaire : Macron cherche la sortie

Le chef de l'État multiplie les déclarations pour annoncer la possible levée des mesures de restrictions mises en place pour contenir l'épidémie. Un Conseil de défense aura lieu mercredi.

Optimisme prématuré ou prudence excessive? Entre les déclarations répétées d'Emmanuel Macron ces derniers jours sur une possible levée des mesures de restrictions sanitaires

et les mises en garde du ministre de la Santé, Olivier Véran, sur la persistance de la menace, l'exécutif donne une nouvelle fois le sentiment d'une dissonance au sommet de l'État. Le

président fera valoir mercredi, lors du prochain Conseil de défense sanitaire, les raisons de sa sérénité. Sur le front de la vaccination, la France a atteint les 50 millions de primo-vaccinés

vendredi soir. L'obligation vaccinale pour les personnels soignants ne s'est pas traduite par des exclusions massives dans les hôpitaux. Sur les 2,5 millions de personnes

concernées, seulement 3 000 ont été suspendues. Enfin, les manifestations hebdomadaires des antivaccin et des anti-passe sanitaire rassemblent de moins en moins d'adentes.

→ LE VIRUS PERD DU TERRAIN ET LA PRESSION SUR LE SYSTÈME DE SOINS DIMINUE AVANT L'AUTOMNE → PASSE SANITAIRE, MASQUE : L'EUROPE EN ORDRE DISPERSÉ → LE RAPPEL VACCINAL CONFIRME SON INTÉRÊT FACE AU VARIANT DELTA → ENCORE BEAUCOUP DE QUESTIONS SUR LA VACCINATION DES ENFANTS DE MOINS DE 12 ANS PAGES 2 à 4

Quand les réseaux sociaux volent au secours du patrimoine



Twitter, Instagram, Facebook... Personnalités et anonymes utilisent aujourd'hui la vitrine offerte par ces réseaux sociaux pour défendre le patrimoine en péril. Un espace où les plus réactifs s'imposent. **PAGES 26, 27 ET L'ÉDITORIAL**

ÉDITORIAL par Bertrand de Saint Vincent bdesaintvincent@lefigaro.fr

Extension du domaine de la lutte

Que devient la France ? Son passé, ses paysages, ses monuments, sa culture ? Le patrimoine s'impose comme un enjeu majeur. Il étend son champ d'action. Chacun sent que tout est lié : l'histoire, que l'on n'apprend plus à l'école, les édifices que l'on laisse à l'abandon, les sites que l'on défigure, les grands hommes que l'on déboulonne. Même la baguette, candidate au patrimoine mondial de l'Unesco, témoigne de la grandeur française.

Il y a urgence à défendre ce qui fonde la nation. C'est une question de survie. Sans racines, tout s'efface. Les talibans l'ont bien compris, qui dynamitent les bouddhas de Bamiyan; Daech, qui détruit les trésors de Palmyre. En France, les fossoyeurs avancent masqués. Animés par une idéologie souterraine – souvent enrobée d'écologie –, ils rêvent de faire table rase d'un passé qu'ils exècrent. Adieu, châteaux, symboles d'un ordre féodal, églises, villages où les femmes courbaient le dos, laborieux où l'on grandissait entre soi. Il faut « libérer » l'homme de ce qui le rattache à lui-même pour en faire

un objet flottant, dépourvu de repères, facilement manipulable.

Cette perception confuse que quelque chose d'essentiel est en train de mourir agite les réseaux sociaux. Ils s'animent, se mobilisent, s'indignent. Cela va de l'enjouée défense des bancs de Paris à des souscriptions salvatrices en faveur de chefs-d'œuvre en péril. Parfois, ce sont de simples photos que les internautes

Il y a
urgence
à défendre
ce qui fonde
la nation

Les consciences s'éveillent. Même les politiques s'y mettent, c'est tout dire.

Nicolas Sarkozy, revigoré, appelle à lutter contre les tentatives de « désaffiliation civilisationnelle ». « Donnez aux Français une cathédrale à construire ensemble, et ils s'aimeront », s'enflamme Arnaud Montebourg, citant Saint-Exupéry. Le candidat souverainiste prône une aide massive pour aider les vieilles maisons de village à renaître.

Le combat est lancé; il est de civilisation. Nous n'avons plus les moyens de le perdre. ■

Élections allemandes : la campagne esquive la question migratoire

À huit jours des législatives du 26 septembre, qui verraont la fin de l'ère Merkel après seize ans de règne, *Le Figaro* entame une série de reportages sur ce puissant voisin souvent mal connu des Français. Six ans après l'ouverture des frontières aux réfugiés de Syrie et d'Irak, la question migratoire est aujourd'hui esquivée par les candidats à la Chancellerie. Le tabou de la dépense publique figure aussi au cœur des enjeux. **PAGES 8, 20 ET 21**

