



# WSJ

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND



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### What's News

#### World-Wide

**The Justice Department** agreed to allow Huawei finance chief Meng Wanzhou to return to her home in China nearly three years after she was detained in Canada on behalf of the U.S. Meanwhile, China released two jailed Canadians. **A1**

◆ **Top House Democrats** said they would charge ahead with a plan to bring up both a \$1 trillion infrastructure bill and a broad healthcare, education and climate package for a vote next week. **A4**

◆ **Biden expressed support** for a Senate proposal to place an income tax on billionaires' unrealized capital gains. **A4**

◆ **The House passed legislation** that would ban abortion restrictions before fetal viability, a response by Democrats to a Texas law. **A3**

◆ **A GOP-ordered review** of the 2020 presidential election results in Arizona's most populous county didn't change Biden's victory, county officials said. **A6**

◆ **U.S. officials have emptied** the makeshift camp of mostly Haitian migrants under a bridge in Del Rio, Texas, the DHS chief said. **A3**

◆ **A California prosecutor** filed criminal charges in a case involving manslaughter against PG&E for its role in igniting a wildfire that killed four people last year. **A3**

#### Business & Finance

◆ **Global investors** who own China Evergrande Group's U.S. dollar bonds hadn't received an interest payment from the property giant by Thursday's deadline, said people familiar with the matter. **A1**

◆ **China's central bank** said that all cryptocurrency-related transactions are illegal, reinforcing the country's tough stance against digital rivals to government-issued money. **B1**

◆ **Chinese conglomerate HNA Group** said that its chairman, Chen Feng, and Chief Executive Adam Tan are suspected of committing crimes and have been detained. **A9**

◆ **The S&P 500 and Dow** ticked higher on Friday, clinching weekly gains, while the Nasdaq edged lower, ending little changed for the week. **B11**

◆ **Starbucks is pushing back** against a unionization drive as workers at some Buffalo, N.Y., stores attempt to become the first company-owned cafes in the U.S. to organize. **B1**

◆ **WPP will pay \$19 million** to resolve government allegations that it failed to adequately guard against corruption risks in India, China, Brazil and Peru. **B3**

#### NOONAN

What Millie Got Right—And Wrong **A15**

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## Trapped Afghan Women Live in Fear Under Taliban Rule



**WATCHFUL:** Many women who invested lives and careers to further a U.S.-backed political order in Afghanistan after 2001 have been unable to flee and are at risk because of their past roles. Nabila, a 31-year-old judge, went into hiding. **A10**

## Evergrande's Bondholders Are Left In the Dark on Payments

Global investors who own China Evergrande Group's U.S. dollar bonds hadn't received an interest payment from the property giant by Thursday's

By Serena Ng,  
Alexander Gladstone,  
Gregory Zuckerman  
and Justin Baer

deadline, said people familiar with the matter.

Evergrande was on the hook to make \$83.5 million in coupon payments by Sept. 23

on dollar bonds with a face value of \$2.03 billion. The company could make the payments belatedly, and it has a 30-day grace period before bondholders can call a default.

A missed payment would set the stage for what could be the largest yet dollar-bond default by a company in Asia. Evergrande didn't respond to a request to comment.

Thursday's payment deadline became a focal point for global investors after Evergrande's liquidity worsened

dramatically over the summer, leading to construction halts at some of its unfinished apartment complexes and sharp sales declines. As recently as June, the company had emphasized that it had never missed a bond payment since its founding in 1996.

On Wednesday, Evergrande's flagship property business in mainland China said it had privately negotiated with onshore bondholders to settle a separate coupon payment on a yuan-denominated bond. The

developer didn't say if that payment, equivalent to about \$35.9 million, would be made in cash or other assets. Evergrande's beaten-down shares fell 11.6% in Friday trading in Hong Kong, and are down more than 84% this year.

Chinese authorities have asked local governments to

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◆ PwC gave Evergrande a clean bill of health.....A8

◆ Jason Zweig: Thorny problem of investing in China.....B1

## Virus Research Explodes, Igniting Worry

Covid spurs scientists to begin experiments that don't always get a high-level review of risks

By Betsy McKay  
and Amy Dockser Marcus

Laboratories around the globe increasingly are experimenting with emerging viruses, sometimes giving them new capabilities, as they seek to identify dangerous ones and find ways to combat them.

While the goal is to protect health, some of the projects carry the chance of a misstep that could unleash an epidemic, some scientists say.

Experiments in the U.S. are reviewed in advance by researchers' institutions or government funders, but risky projects

can go forward without being subjected to the highest level of scrutiny, especially in some other countries.

Some scientists and officials in the Biden administration are pushing for more oversight, globally, of risky biosecurity. One focus is laboratory work that enhances a pathogen or endows it with new properties—sometimes called “gain-of-function” research—which is often done to assess its potential to infect humans.

The administration, looking for ways to better weigh the potential benefits of such research against the risks, is considering ideas that include forming

a new entity to address global biosecurity. Another is to expand oversight of U.S.-funded research on pathogens beyond the current practice in which most projects are vetted by the agencies that fund or oversee them and the review committees of universities and hospitals.

“This is a high priority for us,” said Beth Cameron, senior director for Global Health Security and Biodefense at the U.S. National Security Council. “The pandemic was an extraordinary wake-up call about what biology can do, what infectious diseases can do,

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### EXCHANGE



#### HOLLYWOOD ROYALTY?

How Prince Harry and Meghan Markle hustled to build an entertainment empire. **B1**

## Debate Over Boosters Muddles the Message

By Stephanie Armour

The Biden administration publicly touted its plan to roll out Covid-19 boosters to almost all the fully vaccinated during the week of Sept. 20, saying data from Israel supported the approach.

Yet behind the scenes, federal regulators tasked with clearing boosters and recommending who should get them were locked in a pitched battle over whether the data supported the plan, according to people familiar with the matter.

Some regulators argued that only certain vulnerable groups such as seniors needed an additional shot and that the decision-making timeline was too rushed, the people said.

The dissenters also bristled at the Biden administration's declaration, in August, that boosters would be widely available if authorized by the Food and Drug Administration and recommended by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, arguing it put pressure on the agencies to follow the announced course, the people said.

In another twist, late Thursday CDC Director Rochelle Walensky took the unusual step of overruling agency advisers and recommending that nurses, teachers and other workers at high risk of exposure should

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◆ GM presses staff on vaccination status.....A2

## In Aging Japan, Under 75 Now Qualifies as ‘Pre-Old’

Parts of the world's oldest nation change their definition for who is elderly

By Miho Inada

NAGANO, Japan—Sachiko Kobayashi turns 65 next year, but she isn't eager to be called elderly—not with a job making box lunches, a crafts business and a garden full of pumpkins and radishes.

The good news is that so long as she stays in Nagano, she won't be elderly next year, or even in 2030. The city, eager to keep its older residents active, has redefined the word so that only those 75 and older qualify.

“I think it's a natural move, because people in their 60s

are much younger than I had imagined before,” Ms. Kobayashi said.

Japan is by far the world's oldest nation, with more than 29% of the population 65 or older, compared with 17% in the U.S. and 21% in Europe. Efforts to get younger have gone nowhere. The birthrate is still falling and immigration has nearly ground to a halt with Covid-19.

Linguistically, however, Japan is at the forefront of change. Millions of people have learned they no longer are old, but merely “pre-old.”

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## Huawei Finance Chief Released In Deal

Move eliminates one source of tension with Beijing; China frees detained Canadians

The U.S. Justice Department agreed to allow Huawei Technologies Co. finance chief Meng Wanzhou to return to her home in China nearly three years after she was detained in Canada on behalf of the U.S., removing one irritant in a deteriorating relationship between the U.S. and China.

By Aruna Viswanatha,  
Dan Strumpf  
and Jacquie McNish

Under the agreement, entered in federal court in Brooklyn on Friday, Ms. Meng admitted remotely from Canada to some wrongdoing in exchange for prosecutors deferring and later dropping wire and bank fraud charges.

Ms. Meng's plane took off from Vancouver, British Columbia's airport bound for China early on Friday evening. At around the same time Ms. Meng's plane took off, China released two Canadians, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, who boarded a plane bound for Canada accompanied by Canada's chief envoy in Beijing, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

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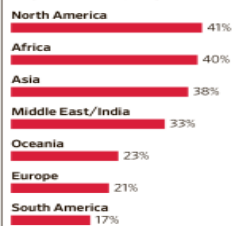
◆ Raimondo aims to improve business ties with China.....A7

◆ U.S. hosts allies to share concerns about Beijing.....A8

## Santa Needs More Reindeer

Shipping delays are making delivering in time for the holidays a costly headache. **B4**

Share of cargo ships waiting to get to port, by region



Note: As of Sept. 24. Source: eeSea



## HOW TO SPEND IT

ARTS SPECIAL

with Isabelle Huppert, Rufus Wainwright, Jeff Koons and more



## Huawei's Meng reaches deal on US charges

- Executive held by Canada since 2018
- Detention widened rift with China

STEFANIA PALMA — MONTREAL

US prosecutors have struck a deal with Huawei's chief financial officer Meng Wanzhou to resolve fraud charges in a deal that could ease tensions between China and both the US and Canada.

Meng was arrested in December 2018 at Vancouver airport and has since been living in her mansion in the city under electronic surveillance. US authorities have sought to extradite her from Canada to face charges of bank and wire fraud, alleging she misled banks into processing transactions for Huawei that breached US sanctions on Iran.

US authorities have accused Huawei of making "untrue representations" to HSBC in a PowerPoint presentation in Hong Kong in 2013 that denied the company controlled Skycom, an Iran-linked group.

Prosecutors allege Huawei controlled Skycom's operations in Iran until at least 2014. The Chinese company has said there was "no misrepresentation" in the presentation.

Meng's detention opened a rift between Canada and China and became a flashpoint in efforts by Donald Trump, then US president, to challenge Huawei's growing sway in 5G mobile technologies.

US authorities have claimed Beijing can use Huawei equipment to spy on the west.

After her arrest, Beijing detained two Canadian citizens — known as the "two Michaels" — for more than two years, in cases viewed by Canada as retaliation for Meng's Vancouver arrest.

Michael Spavor, who ran cultural exchanges with North Korea from China, was sentenced in August to 11 years in prison after being found guilty of illegally providing state secrets to foreigners. Michael Kovrig, a former diplomat, has also been detained, reportedly accused of aiding Spavor in spying.

Spavor's sentencing came a day after a Chinese court upheld a death sentence on Robert Schellenberg, another Canadian citizen, who had been found guilty of planning to send 225kg of methamphetamine to Australia. Schellenberg denies the charges.

Beijing maintains that the trials of Schellenberg, Spavor and Kovrig have been handled in accordance with Chinese law.

Progress in the three cases has often matched developments in Meng's extradition hearings, prompting human rights groups and former Canadian diplomats to accuse Beijing of "hostage diplomacy".

## Birds in the hand German rivals take nothing for granted as polls narrow



Getty Images via AP

Angela Merkel feeds Australian lorikeets at a bird sanctuary in Marlow, Germany, as polls suggest the race to succeed the long-serving chancellor is tightening.

The top candidates — Olaf Scholz of the Social Democrats, Annalena Baerbock of the Greens and Armin Laschet of Merkel's CDU/CSU — hold final rallies today before tomorrow's vote. For the

first time in postwar history, the incumbent is not standing, blowing the contest open.

Even in the northern town of Pinneberg, known as "the oracle" because its people have a 70-year record of opting for the party that goes on to occupy the chancellery, voters are unsure.

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## An artists' exchange Elena Ferrante opens up to Marina Abramovic

LIFE & ARTS



## Cool houses Homes for a heating planet

HOUSE & HOME



## Trump nemesis Cyrus Vance has Lunch with the FT

LIFE & ARTS



## Rises on the horizon Central bank thinking shifts

BIG READ



## Regime helps Iranians find love on matchmaking app

Iranians are finding love through state-sponsored online dating that the regime hopes can promote traditional values and arrest the falling birth rate. Devout Ali wanted a woman 'not ugly nor beautiful' but religious, with a degree. Sara sought a man with a masters and average income — no poyntails. Volunteer social workers from the website monitored their initial meetings and mediated over the downy. Now they are happily married. Site blessing ▶ PAGE 5

## WPP accused of bribery as SEC takes aim at aggressive acquisition strategy

ALISTAIR GRAY — LONDON

US regulators have accused WPP, the largest advertising group, of paying bribes to Indian government officials and participating in other "illicit schemes" in China, Brazil and Peru. The Securities and Exchange Commission said yesterday that the UK-based company had agreed to pay \$19m to resolve charges that it breached the US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act between 2013 and 2018.

Schemes uncovered by the SEC included WPP subsidiaries paying as much as \$1m in bribes in India and helping illegally to fund a political campaign by the mayor of Lima.

In another alleged violation, an entire advertising campaign to celebrate the anniversary of the formation of Telangana, an Indian state, was fabricated.

WPP, which was led until 2018 by founder Sir Martin Sorrell, neither admitted nor denied the findings. In a statement, it said its "new leadership" had since adopted "robust new compliance measures and controls". Sir Martin declined to comment.

The company had failed to put in place an adequate system of accounting controls necessary to prevent the bribery and to respond to "repeated warning signs of corruption" at some overseas subsidiaries, the SEC said.

The watchdog said an overly aggressive growth strategy, in which WPP took majority stakes in local agencies in high-risk markets, was a root cause of the breaches.

In China, a subsidiary made "unjustified payments" in connection with a tax audit, the SEC said. It also alleged that an arm of WPP in Brazil had made

"improper payments" in connection with government contracts between 2016 and 2018.

A WPP subsidiary in Peru was used as a conduit for bribes paid by a construction company to the mayor of Lima's political campaign, the SEC said.

The US financial regulator said WPP had failed to ensure that its subsidiaries followed adequate accounting controls and compliance policies. It allowed founders and the chief executive of the acquired businesses "to exercise wide autonomy and outsized influence". WPP said it had "fundamentally changed its approach to acquisitions, co-operated fully with the commission and terminated those involved in misconduct".

While it has a primary listing in London, WPP's American depositary shares are traded in New York.

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## World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES					
	24 Sep	prev	%chg		24 Sep	prev		24 Sep	prev		price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4448.13	4448.98	-0.09	\$ per £	1.175	1.175	£ per \$	0.728	0.728	US Gov 10 yr	147.29	1.45	0.01
Nasdaq Composite	15068.50	15052.24	-0.29	\$ per €	1.375	1.375	€ per \$	1.170	1.170	UK Gov 10 yr	0.83	0.02	0.00
Dow Jones Ind	34764.84	34764.02	-0.09	£ per \$	0.855	0.855	¥ per \$	129.403	129.403	Ger Gov 10 yr	-0.23	0.00	0.00
FTSEurofirst 300	1787.66	1803.08	-0.89	¥ per \$	110.135	110.135	\$ index	81.000	81.267	Jpn Gov 10 yr	115.84	0.05	0.02
S&P 500 VIX	4156.48	4194.92	-0.92	€ per \$	151.376	151.376	Sfr per £	1.288	1.288	US Gov 30 yr	115.97	1.98	0.00
FTSE All-Share	4662.29	4691.25	-0.92	Sfr per \$	1.084	1.084				Ger Gov 2 yr	105.23	-0.09	0.00
CAC 40	6836.46	6791.98	-0.95										
Xetra Dax	15531.75	15643.97	-0.72										
Nikkei	32246.81	29639.40	2.36										
Hong Kong	24162.18	24619.99	-1.39										
MSCI World \$	3106.42	3074.35	1.04										
MSCI EM \$	1272.52	1282.29	-0.77										
MSCI ADWI \$	731.56	724.24	1.01										

COMMODITIES				INTEREST RATES			
	24 Sep	prev	%chg		24 Sep	prev	
Oil WTI \$	73.92	73.30	0.85	Fed Funds Eff	0.09	0.10	-0.01
Oil Brent \$	77.93	77.25	0.89	US 3m Bills	0.03	0.00	0.03
Gold \$	1790.00	1773.40	-1.32	Euro 10m Bills	-0.86	-0.56	0.00
				UK 3m	0.08	0.07	0.01

Prices are latest for settlement  
Data courtesy of Morningstar

COMMODITIES				
	24 Sep	prev	%chg	
Oil WTI \$	73.92	73.30	0.85	
Oil Brent \$	77.93	77.25	0.88	
Gold \$	1799.00	1773.40	-1.32	

FUND RATES				
	price	prev	chg	
Fed Funds Eff	0.09	0.10	-0.01	
US 3m Bill	0.03	0.03	0.00	
Euro Libor 3m	-0.56	-0.56	0.00	
UK 3m	-0.08	-0.07	0.01	

Prices are latest for edition. Data provided by Morningstar

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Frankfurt, Germany. After 16 years, Angela Merkel leaves behind a changed country full of pride and prosperity — and anxiety.

## F.B.I. Informer Was Amid Mob At Capitol Riot

By ALAN FEUER and ADAM GOLDMAN

As scores of Proud Boys made their way, chanting and shouting, toward the Capitol on Jan. 6, one member of the far-right group was busy texting a real-time account of the march.

The recipient was his F.B.I. handler.

In the middle of an unfolding melee that shook a pillar of American democracy — the peaceful transfer of power — the bureau had an informant in the crowd, providing an inside glimpse of the action, according to confidential records obtained by The New York Times. In the informant's version of events, the Proud Boys, famous for their street fights, were largely following a pro-Trump mob consumed by a herd mentality rather than carrying out any type of preplanned attack.

After meeting his fellow Proud Boys at the Washington Monument that morning, the informant described his path to the Capitol grounds where he saw barriers knocked down and Trump supporters streaming into the building, the records show. At one point, his handler appeared not to grasp that the building had been breached, the records show, and asked the informant to keep him in the loop — especially if there was any violence.

The use of informants always presents law enforcement officials with difficult judgments about the credibility and completeness of the information they provide. In this case, the records obtained by The Times do not directly address whether the informant was in a good position to know about plans developed for Jan. 6 by the leadership of the Proud Boys, why he was cooperating, whether he could have missed indications of a plot or whether he could have deliberately misled the government.

But the records, and information from two people familiar with the matter, suggest that federal law enforcement had a far greater visibility into the assault on the Capitol, even as it was taking place, than was previously known.

At the same time, the new information is likely to complicate the government's efforts to prove the high-profile conspiracy charges it has brought against several members.

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## A Nation Transformed Under Merkel Moves On

By KATRIN BENNHOLD

STUTTGART, Germany — The small silver star at the tip of Aleksandar Djordjevic's Mercedes shines bright. He polishes it every week.

Mr. Djordjevic makes combustion engines for Daimler, one of Germany's flagship carmakers. He has a salary of around 60,000 euros (about \$70,000), eight weeks of vacation and a guarantee negotiated by the union that he cannot be fired until 2030. He owns a two-story house and that E-class 250 model Mercedes in his driveway.

All of that is why Mr. Djordjevic polishes the star on his car.

### A CONTINENT'S POWER VACUUM

France's president has ambitions, but Europe may not have a central figure after Merkel. Page 9.

"The star is something stable and something strong. It stands for Made in Germany," he said.

But by 2030 there will be no more combustion engines at Daimler — or people making combustion engines.

"I'm proud of what I do," Mr. Djordjevic said. "It's unsettling to know that in 10 years' time my job will no longer exist."

Mr. Djordjevic is the picture of a new German pride and prosperity — and German anxiety.

As Chancellor Angela Merkel prepares to leave office after 16 years, her country is among the richest in the world. A broad and contented middle class is one facet of Ms. Merkel's Germany that has been central to her longevity and her ability to deliver on a core promise of stability. But her impact has been far greater.

To travel the country she leaves behind is to see it profoundly transformed.

There is the father taking paid parental leave in Catholic Bavaria. The married gay couple raising two children outside Berlin. The woman in a hijab teaching math in a high school.

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First Lt. Sukhbir Toor is the first Marine in the Corps's 246-year history to wear a turban on duty.

## Marines Allow Sikh to Wear Turban, Sometimes

By DAVE PHILIPPS

Almost every morning for five years, First Lt. Sukhbir Toor has pulled on the uniform of the United States Marine Corps. On Thursday, he also got to put on the turban of a faithful Sikh.

It was a first for the Marine Corps, which almost never allows deviations from its hallowed image, and it was a long-awaited change for the officer to combine two of the things he holds most dear.

"I finally don't have to pick which life I want to commit to, my faith or my country," Lieutenant

Toor, 26, said in an interview. "I can be who I am and honor both sides."

His case is the latest in a long-running conflict between two fundamental values in the United States military: the tradition of discipline and uniformity, and the constitutional liberties the armed forces were created to defend.

While Sikh troops in Britain, Australia and Canada have long worn turbans in uniform, and scores of Sikhs do so now in other branches of the military, Lieutenant Toor's turban is the first in the 246-year history of the Marine Corps. For generations, the Corps

has fought any change to its strict appearance standards, saying that uniformity was as essential to a fighting force as well-oiled rifles.

The Marine Corps has made the allowance only to a point. Lieutenant Toor can wear a turban in daily dress at normal duty stations, but he cannot do so while deployed to a conflict zone, or when in dress uniform in a ceremonial unit, where the public could see it.

Lieutenant Toor has appealed the restrictive decision to the Marine Corps commandant, and he says that if he does not get a full accommodation, he will sue the

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## Fabled Police Force Shows Limits of Death Inquiries

### When Officers Kill, Texas Asks the Rangers to Step In. Their Record Is Spotty.

By MICHAEL LaFORGIA and JENNIFER VALENTINO-DeVRIES

When the Texas Rangers learned that a woman had died in a jail south of Dallas, they put Adam Russell on the case.

He found that there had been a struggle between the woman, Kelli Leanne Page, 46, who was being held on drug charges, and two guards, who entered her cell because they said she would not stop banging a hairbrush against the door.

One jailer threw her to the floor, punched her in the face while they scuffled and piled atop her as blood streamed from her nose. The other, a trainee weighing 390 pounds, pinned her down until she stopped breathing.

Six hours into his investigation, Ranger Russell indicated in his notes, he was not inclined to blame the guards for her death. And when an autopsy later determined that Ms. Page was the victim of a homicide — having died on Oct. 8, 2017, of a form of asphyxiation — Ranger Russell appeared not to reconsider.

Instead, he obtained a second opinion from a retired chief medical examiner, who read the forensic report and said he believed that heart disease might have led to her death while she was being restrained. Ranger Russell later testified that the initial autopsy was a rush to judgment and that "something inside Kelli" had killed her. The guards were not charged.

For many years, Texas has made its state investigators, the fabled Rangers, available to review deaths that occur in the custody of local authorities, filling a need that is especially pressing in

rural areas. After the murder of George Floyd last year by a Minneapolis police officer, at least seven other states have embraced a similar approach to Texas, reasoning that outside inquiries are more likely to hold wrongdoers accountable.

But state agents do not necessarily lead to better investigations or greater accountability, according to a New York Times examination of the record in Texas. Drawing on dozens of interviews and more than 6,000 pages of investigative files, autopsy reports, police records and court filings, The Times found that state investigations can be afflicted by the same shortcuts and pro-police biases that outside interventions are meant to eliminate.

State investigators in Texas review deaths in custody more often than in any other state, records show, making it a rich laboratory for studying how the investigations play out. The Rangers, in response to a public records request, provided The Times with roughly 300 case files completed since 2015, while other documents were obtained from local police departments, medical examiners and court proceedings.

Some of the Rangers' investigations offer a textbook example of dogged police work, like the one into the overdose death of James Dean Davis, 42, in the La Salle County jail in 2017. Ranger Russell, Garcia meticulously documented the neglect of guards who mocked Mr. Davis as he screamed for help from his cell. But in other investigations, the Rangers' records show, they were overlooking more than a dozen

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## Split on Vision, Democrats See Fate in Big Bills

By JONATHAN MARTIN

WASHINGTON — With President Biden's approval ratings falling below 50 percent after the most trying stretch of his young administration, pushing through his ambitious legislative agenda has taken on a new urgency for Democratic lawmakers.

Recognizing that a president's popularity is the best indicator for how his party will fare in the midterm elections, Democrats are confronting a stark prospect: If Mr. Biden doesn't succeed in the halls of Congress this fall, it could doom his party's majorities at the polls next fall.

Not that such a do-or-die dilemma is itself sufficient to stop Democrats' intraparty squabbling, which the president on Friday termed a "stalemate." Divisions between moderates and liberals over the substance, the price tag and even the legislative timing of Mr. Biden's twin priorities, a bipartisan public works bill and broader social welfare legislation, could still undermine the proposals.

But it is increasingly clear to Democratic officials that beyond fully taming the still-raging pandemic, the only way Mr. Biden can rebound politically — and the party can retain its tenuous grip on power in the Capitol — is if he and they are able to hold up tangible achievements to voters.

For us to be successful in the midterm elections next year, tens of millions of Americans need to see that giving Democrats the ability to pass big bills makes a difference in their lives," said Senator Christopher A. Coons of Delaware, a close Biden ally, pointing to the infrastructure bill and ele-

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A student in San Antonio preparing to take a Covid-19 test.

## Schools Cram For Covid Tests Across America

By EMILY ANTHERS and SABBINA IMBLER

SAN ANTONIO — One recent Thursday, Clara Brown, a junior at Fox Tech High School in San Antonio, stepped up to a small white table, pulled down her face mask and took a test that is still far from standard in American schools: a cotton swab up the nose.

"Testing is super-easy," she said. "It's not as scary as I thought it would be — it's not a huge thing going up in your brain."

The United States has struggled with Covid testing since the earliest days of the pandemic. Now, nearly two years in — and weeks into another Covid-disrupted school year — school systems across the nation are struggling with the role of testing in keeping children safe and in class.

Some, like Clara's in Texas, have gone all in; others offer no Covid testing at all. And still others say they want to do more testing but lack the resources or have been

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### INTERNATIONAL 4-11

#### Eyes Fixed on English Channel

The southeastern coast of England is increasingly the focal point of Britain's migration debate as more asylum seekers arrive by boat.

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#### Whiskey and Nerves of Steel

Few countries have been willing to fly dangerous rescue missions into Afghanistan since the Americans left. Ukraine is an exception.

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#### Revisiting a Downed Warplane

Thirty-three years after his first trip, a photographer traveled to Papua New Guinea in search of a World War II plane that crashed in 1944.

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### ARTS & LEISURE

#### A Black Composer at the Met

Terence Blanchard, a jazz trumpeter best known for scoring Spike Lee films, reopens the opera house and ends a 138-year drought.

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### SUNDAY REVIEW

#### Jonathan Malesic

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### NATIONAL 12-21

#### Cities Step Up on Reparations

While legislation in Washington remains stalled, state and local governments are breathing new life into the reparations movement.

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#### Lives in Limbo in a 'Tent City'

About 8,500 people evacuated from Afghanistan are temporarily living on a military base in central New Jersey as they wait to be resettled.

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#### Hochul May Call In the Guard

Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York is weighing calling in the National Guard to cover any staffing shortages caused by the state's vaccine mandates.

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### THE NEW YORK TIMES FOR KIDS

#### What School Is Really Like

Students say returning to class is weird, exciting, scary and magical.

PAGE 1

### SPORTS 25-27

#### A Quarterback's Big Leap

Josh Allen's development has vaulted the Bills into the N.F.L.'s elite.

PAGE 25

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### Workers Under Stress

The ranks of home care aides are expected to grow more than any other job in the next decade, but nearly one in five lives in poverty. What kind of work are they being asked to do?

PAGE 1

#### A Secret to Productivity

Despite conventional wisdom and metrics, remote work shows that the best way to be productive just might be to stop trying.

PAGE 1







**FIREFIGHTERS** clear away combustible material amid the Dixie fire, outside Janesville, Calif., on Aug. 20. The blaze burned across the Sierra Nevada mountains and leveled the town of Greenville. LUIS SINCO Los Angeles Times

## HOW DIXIE FIRE'S PACE WAS SLOWED

Experts say there is much to be learned from the blaze's spread and eventual containment at near 1 million acres

By Hayley Smith

When the Dixie fire sparked in Plumas County on a warm afternoon in July, few could have known that it would morph into the monster it soon became. A downed tree, a blown power line fuse and a small ring of fire were all it took to create the second-largest wildfire in California history.

In the days and weeks after the fire began, it produced one ominous sign after another — generating its own lightning, burning clear across the Sierra and, most horrifically, reducing the town of Greenville to ashes.

Soon it was threatening to surpass the size of the

August Complex of 2020, the largest wildfire in California history, which burned more than 1 million acres.

But after nearly two months of nonstop expansion, something shifted. Seemingly overnight, the weather grew more favorable, the fiery terrain leveled out, and crews were able to turn a corner on the massive blaze. The Dixie fire stopped growing, as if frozen in time, at about 963,000 acres. As of Friday, it was 94% contained.

It was a hard-won victory, and experts say there is much to be learned from the Dixie fire — unprecedented even in an era of unprecedented fires.

"We just can't get used to [See Dixie, A14]

## Outbreaks rife at L.A. fire and police stations

LAFD, LAPD account for over half of virus cases among county's public safety agencies.

By KEVIN RECTOR

Los Angeles County health officials have identified hundreds of coronavirus outbreaks at police and fire agencies since the start of the pandemic, according to data obtained by The Times through a public records request.

The outbreaks, accounting for more than 2,500 cases, have occurred in public safety agencies large and small across the county. More than half, however, were in just two agencies: the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles

Fire Department — where members are actively fighting public health measures to control such spread.

Of 211 identified outbreaks of three or more coronavirus cases at police or fire agencies in L.A. County between March 2020 and last month, 112 were linked to the LAFD and LAFD, according to the data.

The LAFD had 37 identified outbreaks, accounting for 1,061 cases, while the LAFD had 75 identified outbreaks, accounting for 553 cases, the data show.

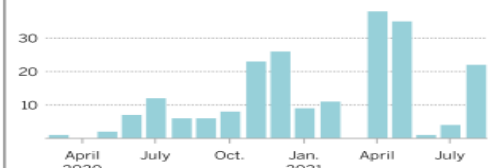
Another 18 outbreaks were identified at the L.A. County Sheriff's Department, accounting for 334 cases, and 44 at the L.A. County Fire Department, accounting for 211 cases, the data show.

The figures reflect a comment and the Los Angeles [See Outbreaks, A9]

### Coronavirus outbreaks in police and fire agencies in L.A. County

Clusters of at least three coronavirus infections per outbreak accounted for more than 2,500 total cases from March 2020 through last month.

Number of outbreaks reported



Source: Los Angeles County Department of Public Health

Los Angeles Times

## Bias in a love letter to a home seller?

STEVE LOPEZ

It's the perfect house in the right neighborhood, so the competition is stiff, but you've absolutely got to have it.

So what do you do?

You make your bid, offering more than the list price because that's how insane the California real estate market can be in many neighborhoods, and then you sit down and write a love letter.

"We cannot express to you how much we love your home," says an internet letter-writing primer that includes tidbits about 20-month-old Jimmy, "a wild, fun, curious boy" who's going to love the backyard, while family felines Bubba and Mr. Cat "will love basking in all the natural light."

This practice has always struck me as creepy — a fawning essay contest in the dream house sweepstakes. But it's been part of the supercompetitive real estate market for years. Full disclosure: When my wife and I sold our house in Silver Lake five years ago, three bidders wrote us letters, and we were advised to write a letter when we put in a bid on another house.

Lately, though, love [See Lopez, A12]



Illustration by XIAO HUA YANG For The Times

## After psychiatric hospital, years of legal restraints

California program puts those found not guilty by reason of insanity in a restrictive limbo

By CHRISTIE THOMPSON

Venus Moore had been released from the California psychiatric hospital where she was confined for years. But she was far from free.

The pandemic was raging, and her sister could provide a safe place for her to live. But Moore, 48, was required instead to live locked inside a care home for seniors. She was not allowed to drive, work, open a bank account, travel or date.

The restrictions stemmed from something that had happened two decades earlier. In 2001, diagnosed with a mental illness and experiencing hallucinations, she stabbed a relative. She was charged with assault with a deadly weapon and inflicting great bodily injury. If she had been found guilty of these crimes, she could have served up to seven years in prison. Instead, she was found not guilty by reason of insanity and sent to a state hospital indefinitely.

After years of treatment, [See CONREP, A10]

This article was published in partnership with the Marshall Project, a nonprofit news organization covering the U.S. criminal justice system.

## GOP faces an 'uphill battle' in attracting younger voters

By JANET HOOK

WASHINGTON — Republicans are on the losing end of one of the biggest demographic shifts of the last 20 years: A growing number of young people — millennial and Generation Z voters — have turned to the left and thrown in their lot with the Democratic Party.

Swimming against the

tide, Republicans are court- ing young conservative voters in the hope of narrowing the yawning gap between the parties, even if they have little hope of eliminating it.

"No doubt about it, it is going to be an uphill battle with young people," said Andrew Kolvet, spokesman for Turning Point USA, a student-oriented conservative group that has just launched a livestreaming

### Party takes stock after recall loss

California Republicans at state convention aim to chart a path forward. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

platform. "But there is budding optimism on the conservative side. We are finally [See Young voters, A13]



TONY ÁVELAR Associated Press

### UCLA defeats Stanford, 35-24

Bruins quarterback Dorian Thompson-Robinson fought through an apparent shoulder injury to help fend off the Cardinal's rally Saturday. **SPORTS, D1**

### Fears of erasure in South L.A.

Black residents ponder fate under new zoning laws, Erika D. Smith writes. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

### China-Canada prisoner swap

Two Canadians and a Chinese business executive return home as deal is completed. **WORLD, A4**

### Weather

Fog to sun.

L.A. Basin: 75/59. **B10**

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# The Washington Post

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## Confusion surrounds booster guidance

Doctors and vaccinated seek answers about third-shot eligibility

BY CARISSA WOLF,  
FRANCES STEAD SELLERS,  
ASHLEY CUSICK  
AND KIM MUELLER

Even in Idaho, which has one of the lowest coronavirus vaccination rates in the country, clinics have been gearing up for an onslaught of calls and emails requesting booster shots.

Administrators at the Primary Health Medical Group updated their website Thursday and set about revising it Friday when government eligibility recommendations for boosters suddenly changed to include workers in high-risk jobs. Even then, the clinic's chief executive had to figure out which occupations that meant.

"Who's at high risk? I had to look it up. Is it firemen? I don't know," said David Peterman. "This is so confusing to the public and creates mistrust. And we can't have that right now. Right now, we need the public to say, 'Let's get vaccinated.' And for those that need boosters, we need to say that 'This is safe, and this is what we need to do.'"

Confusion over boosters, which has been brewing for months, heightened over the past week as government regulators and advisers met to hash out the pros and cons of administering third doses.

Hours of meetings were followed by a dramatic decision  
SEE VIRUS ON A12

## Pro-Trump omens ring out ahead of German vote

BY ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER

HANNOVER, GERMANY — One message advocated "occupying election offices."

Another warned of "coronavirus tyranny."

And a third extolled former president Donald Trump and Q, the shadowy oracle of the extremist ideology QAnon, for inspiring a new social movement prepared to take back power from the state. "America is waking up and ready to fight," it vowed.

The calls to action came not in anticipation of the Jan. 6 assault on the U.S. Capitol. Rather, they emerged this month in Germany, within a far-right group on the messaging app Telegram, where neo-Nazis and doomsday preppers foresee what's known as "Day X" — the collapse of the German state and assassination of high-ranking officials.

Such apocalyptic messages — posted in the run-up to German elections Sunday — import conspiratorial, anti-government rhetoric broadcast in the United States, according to screenshots of the since-deleted chat room reviewed by The Washington Post.

This dynamic is accelerating in the anarchic online channels of  
SEE GERMANY ON A22

**'Nail-biter':** Today's vote too close to call in wide-open contest. **A21**

**Goodbye:** An Angela Merkel teddy bear has sold out in Germany. **A21**



PHOTOS BY LORENZO TUGNOLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## Arrival of Afghans near one Virginia town exposes two different Americas

BY MEAGAN FLYNN

BLACKSTONE, VA. — Mayor Billy Coleburn finished his burger, pulled out his cellphone and braced himself for the two dozen Facebook notifications and slew of unread messages waiting for him. "Let's see how bad they are," he said, sitting in a booth at the Brew House on Main Street, in the town of roughly 3,600 people in rural Southside Virginia.

The rumors seemed to be evolving each day, ever since an international humanitarian crisis made its way across the world and then landed in Blackstone's backyard. Just over a mile from the town limits, past a thick tree line and behind the heavily guarded gates of Fort Pickett, there were now more Afghan evacuees than Blackstone residents.

Roughly 5,900 men, women and children who had escaped the chaos  
SEE BLACKSTONE ON A14

**ABOVE:** In May, soldiers provide medical assistance to a commando who was injured in the district of Panjwal, outside the city of Kandahar. **BELOW:** Noor Ahmad Zhargi, an Afghan policeman, guards an outpost in Kandahar in May, two months before his checkpoint would fall to the Taliban. Other police in the city said they heard everyone at Zhargi's outpost had surrendered, but no one knew if they were still being held as prisoners or had been executed.



## Living without power in the wake of Hurricane Ida



SARAH L. VOISIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

More than 1 million people lost electricity after Ida's 150-mph winds hit Louisiana. Restoring power proved difficult and was especially slow outside of heavily populated areas. In LaPlace, communities were left without electricity in sweltering heat and strangling humidity for three weeks. The residents of Yorktowne Drive turned to one another for help, sharing gasoline and generators, carpooling to the store and barbecuing together with food that had defrosted in their powerless refrigerators. **Story, A18**

## Fallout begins for far-right trolls exposed in Epik hack

For online hate trackers, breach has been 'mother of all data lodes'

BY DREW HARWELL,  
HANNAH ALLAM,  
JEREMY B. MERRILL  
AND CRAIG TIMBERG

In the real world, Joshua Alayon worked as a real estate agent in Pompano Beach, Fla., where he used the handle "South-Florida's Favorite Realtor" to urge buyers on Facebook to move to "the most beautiful State."

But online, data revealed by the massive hack of Epik, an Internet-services company popular with the far right, signaled a darker side. Alayon's name and personal details were found on invoices suggesting he had once paid for websites with names such as racisminc.com, whitesencyclopedia.com, christiansagainstisrael.com and the-holocaustisfake.com.

The information was included among hundreds of thousands of transactions published this month by the hacking group Anonymous that exposed previ-

ously obscure details of far-right sites and launched a race among extremism researchers to identify the hidden promoters of online hate.

After Alayon's name appeared in the breached data, his brokerage, Travers Miran Realty, dropped him as an agent, as first reported by the real estate news site Inman. The brokerage's owner, Rick Rapp, told The Washington Post that he didn't "want to be involved with anyone with thoughts or motives like that."

Alayon told The Post that he does not own the "racisminc," Holocaust-denial or other Web addresses but declined to say if he had owned them in the past; the records were hacked earlier this year. But in a screenshot of his Epik account, which he sent to The Post, the information for four other domains he currently owns matches the private records that can be found in the Epik breach.

Asked why his name, email address and other personal information were listed in company invoices for the "racisminc" and Holocaust-denial domains, Alayon said the data was "easily falsifiable," that he was the possible victim of extortion and that  
SEE EPIK ON A25



## Los Pumas, cada vez más lejos del mapa internacional

Perdieron su quinto partido en el Championship 27-8 con Australia, su capitán no apareció en la foto oficial y el entrenador Mario Ledesma pidió "un mayor respeto". Deportes



## LA ARGENTINA QUE SÍ FUNCIONA: LOS NICHOS DE LA CIENCIA

—el berlinés

Pese a las crisis recurrentes, el país mantiene vivos sectores que lo destacan en el mundo; por ejemplo, la clonación, ensayos clínicos y la energía nuclear.

## CARILÓ VIVE UN BOOM DE RESERVAS PARA LA TEMPORADA

—coronavirus

La dificultad de salir del país para los vacunados con Sputnik y el efecto dólar impulsan el crecimiento de alquileres de propiedades premium en la costa. Página 27

# LA NACION

DOMINGO 26 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

## El Gobierno redefine su campaña y apura medidas por casi \$150.000 millones

**PLAN.** Busca que esos fondos estén en la calle antes de las elecciones; incluye un bono para jubilados y beneficiarios de la AUH y otro IFE

Una semana después de su semana más crítica, el Gobierno realizó un profundo replanteo de su estrategia electoral. La movida comprende acciones de campaña, como la reorganización del equipo de coordinación y el ajuste del discurso. Pero fundamentalmente se sustenta en una batería de medidas económicas que le permitirá volcar a la calle aproxima-

damente \$150.000 millones hasta las elecciones generales de noviembre. Allí se encuentran un bono para jubilados y beneficiarios de la AUH, la reconversión de los planes sociales y un nuevo IFE. Además, ayer Fernández se reunió con el ministro de Agricultura, Julián Domínguez, para evaluar el levantamiento del cepo a la carne. Página 14

### EL ESCENARIO

Entre los escombros del FDT  
**Martín Rodríguez Yebra**

Página 18

### EL ESCENARIO

La demanda que obliga a inventar otro peronismo

**Jorge Fernández Díaz**  
—LA NACION—

“Estono parece un gobierno peronista”. La frase está datada a mediados de 2020 y se le atribuye a cierta arquitecta egipcia, aunque no hay certeza de que ella efectivamente la haya pronunciado en su pirámide del Instituto Patria. Es, sin embargo, una frase verosímil, susurrada por ciertos adláteres en los oídos de algunos cronistas del poder. Durante 22 meses de gestión, operadores de un otro campamento de este oficialismo bipolar se enviaron mensajes sibilinos y hostiles a través de los diarios. Continúa en la página 38

### EL ANÁLISIS

La Justicia toma distancia de Cristina

**Joaquín Morales Solá**  
—LA NACION—

Han pasado 22 meses del gobierno de Alberto Fernández y ninguna causa judicial contra Cristina Kirchner se cerró. Esa es una de las muchas razones del fastidio que ella cultiva contra el Presidente. Hace dos meses, la vicepresidenta recordó en público que el actual jefe de Gabinete, Juan Manzur, no había sido procesado nunca por el Plan Qunita, aunque él era ministro de Salud cuando se lanzó ese programa en julio de 2015. Continúa en la página 39

## Con el Obelisco de fondo, el tango tuvo su mundial

**sociedad**— El clásico certamen volvió a la presencialidad. Anoche, en un escenario a metros del Obelisco, Bárbara Ferreyra y Agustín Agnez ganaron en la categoría Tango Pista; Yanina Muzyky y Emmanuel Casal triunfaron en Tango Escenario. Página 30



Noche de tango en el corazón de la ciudad, en Diagonal Norte, con más de 2000 asistentes

IGNACIO SÁNCHEZ

## Estabilidad, el legado de Merkel para Alemania

**Luisa Corradini**  
ENVIADA ESPECIAL

BERLÍN.— Las elecciones de hoy pondrán fin a la era de Angela Merkel como canciller, que deja un legado de estabilidad para una Alemania con mucho por hacer. Página 4

### EL ESCENARIO

La canciller se va... ¿y si viniese a la Argentina?

**Inés Capdevilla**  
Página 8

## Seis de cada 10 argentinos prefieren el empleo público

**ENCUESTA.** La tendencia se intensifica entre los jóvenes. Economía



**Ciência B5**  
Turistas orbitais podem mostrar a pesquisadores doenças no espaço

**Esporte B8**  
Após fiasco nas Olimpíadas, vôlei de praia volta com velhos problemas

**ilustração**  
trabalha  
pela  
Sônia

Carlos Zéfiro, 100, marcou gerações com revistinhas pornográficas **C4**

Psicóloga se torna referência na prevenção do suicídio no país **C8**

**Cliente da periferia acusa empresas de segregação**

A recusa de empresas de prestar serviços em áreas urbanas mais pobres, sob o argumento da insegurança, força moradores dessas regiões a buscar soluções como fornecer o endereço de amigos para poderem receber encomendas.

Clientes reclamam por não terem acesso, na prática, a serviços de delivery ou transporte privado, por exemplo. **Mercado A15 e A18**

**De rica a carente, cidade alemã expõe conflitos da eleição**

Outrora pujante com a siderurgia na era do carvão, Gelsenkirchen tenta se reinventar na transição energética, relata Ana Estela de Sousa Pinto. É o retrato de uma Alemanha que vai às urnas hoje com o clima como a maior preocupação dos eleitores. **Mundo A12**

**Economia argentina é vulcão a estalar, diz líder dos libertários**

**Mundo A14**

**ENTREVISTA**

**Votorantim**

**Nova geração de herdeiros se prepara desde os 15 anos**

**Painel S.A. A16**

**Mercado pet cresce e já supera o da linha branca A20**

Amazônia sob Bolsonaro



Laio de Almeida/Folhapress

**ÍNDIOS MANOKIS TENTAM CONCILIAR ATIVIDADES TRADICIONAIS COM A SOJA MECANIZADA EM MT**

Paulo Marcos Tupxi, que produz mel na Terra Indígena Irantxe, em Brasnorte; manokis aderiram à sojicultura para obter renda **Ambiente B6 e B7**

## Com pandemia, mortes por causa mal definida saltam 30%

Especialistas ligam alta a subnotificação de Covid, o que indicaria 11,5% mais de óbitos que o oficial

Mortes por causa mal definida saltaram 30% em 2020, ano marcado pela pandemia de Covid-19, que oficialmente se aproximam hoje dos 600 mil no Brasil. Ao todo, foram registradas 97.436 mortes desse tipo no país em 2020, ante 74.972 durante 2019.

Para especialistas, os dados indicam subnotificação de óbitos decorrentes da Covid-19, que oficialmente se aproximam hoje dos 600 mil no Brasil. Ao todo, foram registradas 97.436 mortes desse tipo no país em 2020, ante 74.972 durante 2019.

Se atribuído o salto de casos não diagnosticados à Covid, ele representa 11,5% mais mortes do que as 194.976 registradas pelo consórcio de veículos de imprensa, o qual a **Folha** integra, de fevereiro de 2020, início da pandemia, até 31 de dezembro.

Marinho resalta o componente social: "Geralmente as mortes no domicílio, quando mal definidas, ocorrem na população mais pobre, que não teve acesso a médico ou estava sem assistência médica nos dias que antecederam o falecimento".

São tidas como indefinidas mortes em casa ou equipamento de saúde decorrentes de sintoma desconhecido ou por parada cardiorrespiratória, insuficiência respiratória aguda e Síndrome Respiratória Aguda Grave sem causa específica. **Saúde B1**



AFP

**TALIBÃ PENDURA CORPOS EM PÚBLICO NO AFGANISTÃO**

Cadáver é içado por guindaste em Herat; quatro supostos sequestradores foram mortos por grupo fundamentalista, que quer restaurar execuções e amputações de criminosos **Mundo A14**

**Aprovação do STF resiste a ataques, mas não passa de 25%**

Alvo preferencial de Jair Bolsonaro na crise institucional, o STF manteve sua avaliação estável de julho para cá — embora isso não seja boa notícia para seus ministros. Apenas 25% consideram o trabalho dos magistrados como ótimo ou bom.

São 35% os brasileiros que reprovam a atuação da corte e outros 35% os que avaliam como regular.

Os dados são de levantamento do Datafolha, com 3.667 entrevistas presenciais no país, feito nos dias 13, 14 e 15 de setembro. **Poder A6**

**Total da população vacinada**

	ao menos uma dose*	totalmente vacinada
<b>Brasil</b>	<b>69,8%</b>	<b>40,7%</b>
MS	75,3%	55,5%
SP	81%	53,8%
RS	73%	46,3%

**Total de doses aplicadas**

	1ª	2ª	única
<b>Brasil</b>	<b>144,7 mi</b>	<b>82,7 mi</b>	<b>4,1 mi</b>
1ª SP	36,6 mi	24 mi	1,2 mi
2ª MG	14,6 mi	7,4 mi	485,6 mil
3ª RJ	11,6 mi	6,2 mi	349,1 mil

**Números da pandemia**

	Casos	Óbitos
<b>Total</b>	<b>21,3 mi</b>	<b>594,2 mil</b>
Méd. móvel	16,2 mil	528
Variação***	-2,7%	12,8%
Em 24 h	14 mil	548

**Estágios**

■ Acelerado

■ Estável

■ Desacelerado

■ Reduzido

■ Desacelerado

Dados das 20h de 25.set

\* Tomou dose única ou 1ª dose

\*\* Tomou dose única ou 2ª dose

\*\*\* Em relação a 14 dias



**Bolsonaro usará marco dos mil dias para entregar obra**

Na esteira do pior patamar de reprovção do governo, Jair Bolsonaro planeja uma sequência de eventos para a semana em que completa mil dias de mandato. A ideia é que o presidente viaje por todas as regiões do país para apresentar entregas de obras. **Poder A4**

**Marcelo Leite**  
**Presidente segue ética de Mengele**

Ao gosto de Jair Bolsonaro, o que se perpetrou no tratamento da Prevent Sevid não difere de ações de Josef Mengele: fazer experimentos com o corpo dos outros sem consentimento implica desprezo à dignidade humana. **Ciência B5**

**EDITORIAIS A2**

**Recessão partidária**  
Sobre acerto de manter proibidas as coligações.

**Reforma a esmo**  
Acerca de proposta que altera o serviço público.

**ATMOSFERA**

São Paulo hoje



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Entre ellos, el gobernador Hugo Javier  
**El Ministerio Público es  
condescendiente con los  
colorados investigados**

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Sigue mejorando situación sanitaria  
**Salud anunció el primer  
día sin muertes por  
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Precios están prohibitivos  
**Un kilo de carne de  
primera cuesta más de la  
mitad del jornal mínimo**

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## DOMINGO

**"Prohibir internet a los  
niños no es la solución,  
sino enseñarles a usar"**

PÁGINA 6

**Víctima contó su calvario en La Lupa**  
Por 6 meses vivieron un  
infierno en la cárcel por un  
robo que no cometieron

PÁGINA 55

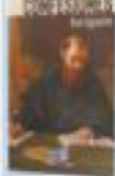
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**El candidato del PLRA es poco conocido**

# Nenecho lidera las preferencias, pero hay un alto nivel de indecisos

Está 10 puntos por encima de Eduardo Nakayama,  
según datos de la encuesta de ÚH, Telefuturo y Mo-  
numental 1080 de cara a las elecciones municipales.

PÁGINAS 8 y 9



**Ventaja.** El candidato  
colorado podría ser ree-  
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y 23 de setiembre.

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## LE FIGARO

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



**VIGNOBLES**  
NOTRE CLASSEMENT  
DES DOMAINES DONT LES  
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Bayrou veut  
engager l'union  
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La crise sanitaire  
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BFMTV pulvérise  
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**FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question  
de vendredi :**  
Les pays riches  
doivent-ils augmenter  
leur aide à la vaccination  
des pays pauvres ?

**OUI 65% NON 35%**

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 26 279

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Angela Merkel a-t-elle été  
une bonne chancelière ?

BNIC AURÉLIEN TERRADE ; MARIA  
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## Auf Wiedersehen

Angela Merkel se prépare à quitter  
le pouvoir après seize ans à la tête  
de l'Allemagne. Le social-démocrate  
Olaf Scholz et le conservateur  
Armin Laschet sont au coude-à-coude  
pour lui succéder à la veille du scrutin.

**PAGES 2 À 6, 20, 21 ET L'ÉDITORIAL**



JOHN MACDOUGALL/AFIP

## Un scrutin incertain jusqu'au bout pour succéder à la chancelière

Les législatives de dimanche devraient être les plus incertaines qu'a jamais connues la République fédérale. Les sociaux-démocrates et les conservateurs se disputent une victoire qui s'annonce étiquée. Avec 25 % d'intentions de vote, l'avance du SPD sur la CDU se réduisait à 2 points.

## Macron veut devenir l'homme fort du couple franco-allemand

Avec le départ de la chancelière Angela Merkel, le centre de gravité du couple franco-allemand se déplace du côté de l'Élysée. De quoi mettre Emmanuel Macron en position de force à la veille de la présidence française de l'Union européenne.

## D'Angela Merkel à « Mutti », seize ans de pragmatisme

La chancelière, qui n'a pas mené de grandes réformes, a habilement géré l'héritage de Gerhard Schröder. Sa rationalité froide, son pragmatisme et son sens du compromis lui ont permis d'affronter les crises en série qui ont marqué ses quatre mandats à la tête de l'Allemagne.

## ÉDITORIAL par Patrick Saint-Paul [psaintpaul@lefigaro.fr](mailto:psaintpaul@lefigaro.fr)

### Sagesse allemande

L'Allemagne redoutait un crépuscule sans fin, comme celui de ses deux modèles en politique, Konrad Adenauer et Helmut Kohl. Angela Merkel avait-elle fait comme eux le mandat de trop ? Fragilisée un temps, elle a été revigorée en fin de règne par sa gestion de la crise du Covid. Sa popularité est au zénith après seize ans de pouvoir, une anomalie politique au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle ! Et le principal enjeu des législatives de dimanche est de savoir lequel des deux candidats incarne le mieux son héritage : son dauphin, le conservateur Armin Laschet - aussi peu charismatique que la chancelière - ou le social-démocrate Olaf Scholz, qui pousse l'hommage jusqu'à singer sa gestuelle. L'appropriation de la succession de Merkel mérite-t-elle un combat si féroce ? Gestionnaire pragmatique, elle n'a pas mené de grandes transformations. Elle a habilement capitalisé sur les réformes libérales de Gerhard Schröder, qui a remis l'économie allemande sur une trajectoire vertueuse. Merkel a érigé l'art du consensus - parfois stérile - en vertu cardinale. Elle a chassé sur les terres électorales de la gauche et des écologistes,

pour mieux les neutraliser, au risque de brouiller parfois le paysage politique et de faire monter les extrêmes.

Elle reste la chancelière de la porte ouverte aux vagues de migrants, celle qui provoqua ainsi le retour de l'extrême droite au Bundestag. La crise de l'euro, dont elle est sortie renforcée, aura marqué le retour d'un « égoïsme allemand ». Souvent, son projet pour une Europe secouée par les crises et confrontée au double défi stratégique du retrait américain et de la montée en puissance de la Chine s'est résumé à une vision comptable... Elle est allergique aux grands discours et aux grandes visions. Mais « Mutti » (maman) a aussi su rassurer et protéger, apporter la stabilité et apaiser un peuple qui a dû digérer en quelques années la réunification, l'abandon du Deutsche Mark au profit de l'euro (Kohl) et les réformes libérales (Schröder). Parfois jugée trop prudente, la scientifique venue de l'Est a su incarner une forme de « sagesse allemande ». ■

### Qui incarnera le mieux l'héritage de Merkel ?

Elle est allergique aux grands discours et aux grandes visions. Mais « Mutti » (maman) a aussi su rassurer et protéger, apporter la stabilité et apaiser un peuple qui a dû digérer en quelques années la réunification, l'abandon du Deutsche Mark au profit de l'euro (Kohl) et les réformes libérales (Schröder). Parfois jugée trop prudente, la scientifique venue de l'Est a su incarner une forme de « sagesse allemande ». ■



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