

## What's News

## Business &amp; Finance

**Polestar** is nearing a deal to go public through a merger with a special-purpose acquisition company that would value the Swedish electric-vehicle maker at \$21 billion. **B1**

◆ **A buyout boom** fueled by easy money and a looming increase in the capital-gains tax is sweeping Wall Street deal making to highs not seen since before the 2008 financial crisis. **B1**

◆ **Chinese tech giants** have seized on a new legal tactic to fight claims of intellectual-property theft, raising concerns in the U.S. that Beijing's promises to strictly enforce patent and copyright laws will be undermined by Chinese courts. **B1**

◆ **China Evergrande's** once-high-flying electric-vehicle unit warned it was facing a serious shortage of funds and might not be able to meet its financial obligations, adding to challenges facing its heavily indebted parent. **B3**

◆ **Top U.S. cyber officials** urged Congress to add more teeth to any legislation forcing firms that operate critical infrastructure to disclose hacks, calling for a narrow reporting window after a breach and fines against companies that don't comply. **B4**

◆ **The Biden administration** is taking aim at so-called stablecoins as it begins to lay the ground for stricter regulation of cryptocurrencies that could shape the future of digital money. **B9**

## World-Wide

◆ **Germany faces weeks** of uncertainty after Sunday's election delivered a slim victory to the center-left Social Democrats over Chancellor Angela Merkel's party, leaving open the shape and agenda of the next government. **A1**

◆ **A slew of high-stakes** deadlines will collide on Capitol Hill this week, setting up potentially chaotic negotiations against the backdrop of expiring government funding and the threat of a possible U.S. default. **A1**

◆ **A crisis-management** playbook Fed officials created years ago could guide their response this fall if the federal government can't pay all its bills because of a political standoff over raising the federal debt limit. **A4**

◆ **The WHO is reviving** its stalled investigation into the origins of the Covid-19 virus as agency officials warn that time is running out to determine how the pandemic that has killed more than 4.7 million people world-wide began. **A6**

◆ **Behind-the-scenes** dealings that freed a Chinese executive from U.S. prosecution removed a stumbling block between the rival nations and demonstrated a little-noticed pragmatic dimension to the relationship. **A6**

◆ **Switzerland voted** by a wide margin to allow same-sex couples to marry, bringing the Alpine nation into line with many others in Western Europe. **A8**

JOURNAL REPORT  
Women in the Workplace: Redefining ambition. **R1-8**

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World News.....A6-8



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## Investigators Look for Answers in Deadly Derailment



**ON THE SCENE:** Five people remained hospitalized in stable condition Sunday after the derailment of an Amtrak train that killed three people and injured dozens more Saturday afternoon. The cause of the derailment was under investigation. **A3**

## Supply-Chain Delays Worsen As Ports Struggle to Adapt

By COSTAS PARIS  
AND JENNIFER SMITH

Nike Inc. doesn't have enough sneakers to sell for the holidays. Costco Wholesale Corp. is reimposing limits on paper towel purchases. Prices for artificial Christmas trees have jumped 25% this season. Despite mounting shipping delays and cargo backlogs, the busiest U.S. port complex shuts its gates for hours on most days and remains closed on Sundays. Meanwhile, major ports in Asia and Europe have operated

round-the-clock for years.

"With the current work schedule you have two big ports operating at 60%-70% of their capacity," said Uffe Ostergaard, president of the North America region for German boxshop operator Hapag-Lloyd AG. "That's a huge operational disadvantage."

The U.S. supply chain has so far failed to adapt to the crush of imports as businesses rush to restock pandemic-depleted inventories. Tens of thousands of containers are stuck at the ports of Los Angeles

and Long Beach, Calif., the two West Coast gateways that move more than a quarter of all U.S. imports. More than 60 ships are lined up to dock, with waiting times stretching to three weeks.

Participants in each link in the U.S. chain—shipping lines, port workers, truckers, warehouse operators, railways and retailers—blame others for the imbalances and disagree on whether 24/7 operations will help them catch up. All of them are struggling with a shortage of workers.

The ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach are managed separately and operate 13 private container terminals. Long Beach officials said last week they would try operating 24 hours a day from Monday to Thursday. Gene Seroka, executive director of the larger Port of Los Angeles, said his port will step more cautiously, keeping existing hours while waiting for truckers and warehouse operators to extend their hours.

"It has been nearly impossible to get everyone on the

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## Congress Pressed by Deadlines To Avoid Default, Shutdown

By KRISTINA PETERSON  
AND ANDREW DUEHREN

**WASHINGTON**—A slew of high-stakes deadlines will collide on Capitol Hill this week, setting up potentially chaotic negotiations against the backdrop of expiring government funding and the threat of a possible U.S. default.

Even by the standards of a Capitol used to operating under pressure, this week's legislative and fiscal crosscurrents are setting the stage for an extraordinary sprint. Democratic leaders are trying to shepherd two

complicated legislative packages: a roughly \$1 trillion bipartisan infrastructure bill and a sprawling healthcare, education and climate package whose proposed \$3.5 trillion price tag and details are still under intense debate within the party.

At the same time, the government's funding is set to expire at 12:01 a.m. on Friday, which would partially shut down the government if Congress doesn't act. Lawmakers also are feuding over who is responsible for raising the debt limit and avoiding a potentially catastrophic default. Absent

swift action, Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen notified Congress this month that the Treasury might be unable to keep paying all of the government's bills on time during October.

"The next few days will be a time of intensity," House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D., Calif.) wrote in a Saturday letter to House Democrats.

The week could also test the leadership of President Biden, who has been battered

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◆ Fed could be forced to revisit emergency playbook.....A4

## Options-Trade Boom Transforms Markets

By GUNJAN BANERJEE

Shares of Robinhood Markets Inc. had mostly disappointed the trading app's fans since their initial public offering. But Harsh Patel felt sure that was about to change.

Mr. Patel, a 27-year-old nurse in Columbus, Ohio, figured its price would rise after he saw chatter about Robin-

hood light up a stock market chatboard. So on Aug. 4, he paid \$600 for a call option—a contract that confers the right, though not the obligation, to purchase 100 shares at a stated price by a certain date.

He purchased the most-bullish option he could find on the first day of options trading in Robinhood. It would become exercisable once the shares

reached \$70, a 50% increase from their closing price the previous day and nearly double the previous week's IPO price.

In a testament to the growing impact of individual investors on a handful of favored stocks, the call option became exercisable just hours later, as Robinhood shares surged. Mr. Patel sold the option for about

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## U.S. Dominates to Win Ryder Cup



The U.S. won the 43rd Ryder Cup 19-9 on Sunday, an all-time rout in the modern era of the golfing event. The win returns the trophy to the States for the first time since 2016. **A14**

## Covid's Hidden Toll: One Million Children Who Lost Parents

As contagious variants kill younger adults, grandparents, aunts step in to provide care

By RYAN DUBE  
AND LUCIANA MAGALHAES

**PISCO, Peru**—Several nights a week, 4-year-old Sofia Felices jolts awake in tears and calls out for her mother, who used to cuddle her youngest daughter in bed. Sofia's mom died from the coronavirus in April, so that job now falls to the girl's great-aunt, Janette Navarro.

"She cries and she cries," said Ms. Navarro, who has three children of her own but has become caregiver to her niece's five children in this coastal fishing city. "She screams with her eyes closed, 'I want my mommy. I want my mommy.'"

A year and a half into the Covid-19 pandemic, contagious variants have been kill-

ing many in the prime of parenthood, a group that remains mostly unvaccinated in many parts of the world. From March 2020 to April 2021, an estimated 1.1 million children lost a primary caregiver to the virus, according to a recent study in the medical journal the Lancet.

Many of the most affected countries are in Latin America, which accounts for about one-third of coronavirus deaths despite having just 8% of the global population. On a per capita basis, Peru has been the hardest hit, with an estimated 10.2 children per 1,000 losing a primary caregiver, according to the study published in the Lancet. Mexico, Brazil and Colombia also are in the

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## INSIDE



**BUSINESS & FINANCE**  
Swedish electric-car maker Polestar is nearing a deal valued at \$21 billion. **B1**

What Rhymes With Carbon?  
Composers Pen Climate Anthems

Vie to become official song of November summit, but organizers aren't listening

By JAMES HOOKWAY

**GLASGOW, Scotland**—Anton Hicks worries world leaders at the big climate summit here in November will find it hard to agree on a plan of action.

"Perhaps they should listen to my anthem," says the amateur composer. "It's the only way anything will get done." Mr. Hicks is vying to have his song, "With Earth's Grace," adopted as the meeting's official

song by organizers of the 26th annual United Nations Climate Change Conference of the Parties, or COP26, in Glasgow. But he has competition.

David Glasson, best known for his work with members of England's Bonzo Dog Doo-Dah Band, a '60s-era group that mixed psychedelic pop with comedy, has high hopes for "Save the Earth," an anthem he wrote with John Gribbin.

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## Caught in a trap

Debt-fuelled capitalism and China's Evergrande dilemma — OPINION, PAGE 19

## Read the room

Hybrid hotch-potches cannot beat in-person events — VIV GROSCHOP, PAGE 13



## Judging Johnson

Can the UK premier prove he is a man of substance? — BIG READ, PAGE 17

## Neck and neck German race too close to call

Ballots are counted in Munich as yesterday's German election was poised on a knife-edge last night, with the contest between the two main parties to decide who will succeed Angela Merkel as chancellor too close to call.

Two exit polls showed Merkel's Christian Democratic Union and the CDU, its Bavarian sister party, on 24-25 per cent of the vote, with the rival Social Democrats at 25-26 per cent.

The preliminary results suggest Germany is set for a three-way coalition, the first in its recent history, and weeks of wrangling to agree on a viable government led either by the SPD's Olaf Scholz or by Armin Laschet, the CDU/CSU candidate and Merkel's chosen heir.

Virtual file page 2



Sean Haggerty/CPA via AP

# Democrats in crunch talks to save Biden's \$1.2tn infrastructure bill

Progressives cling to \$3.5tn promise Federal shutdown looms Budget plans in danger

LAUREN FEDOR — WASHINGTON

Democrats are gearing up for a week of fraught negotiations on Capitol Hill as they race to iron out their differences to salvage Joe Biden's legislative agenda and stave off a US government shutdown.

The Democrat-controlled House of Representatives had been expected to vote today on the president's \$1.2tn infrastructure bill, which passed the US Senate this year with bipartisan support.

The bill needs to pass both chambers of Congress if it is to become law. Several progressive lawmakers in the House are withholding support for the spending package as they seek to preserve Biden's bigger \$3.5tn budget plan, which would make historic investments in the US social safety net. Moderate

Democrats in both the House and Senate have said that the budget plan is too expensive and must be scaled back.

The divisions have piled pressure on Nancy Pelosi, the Democratic Speaker of the House, who must balance the interests of the competing factions if she is to help the president deliver on his campaign promises.

Democrats hold a wafer-thin eight-vote majority in the House and control the 50-50 Senate by the narrowest of margins, with vice-president Kamala Harris able to cast a tiebreaking vote. Party activists fear they are likely to lose ground in next year's midterm elections. Pelosi insisted yesterday that the infrastructure bill would pass "this week" but conceded that the vote was unlikely to take place today.

"We will bring the bill to the floor for consideration," she told ABC News. "But you know I'm never bringing a bill to the floor that doesn't have the votes."

Her comments were echoed by Pramila Jayapal, the Democratic congresswoman from Washington state who chairs the House progressive caucus and has for weeks demanded assurances that the \$3.5tn budget will not be watered down in the Senate.

"The Speaker is an incredibly good vote counter and she knows exactly where her caucus stands and we've been really clear on that," Jayapal told CNN yesterday. "The votes aren't there."

Jayapal's opposition sets the stage for a tense couple of days on Capitol Hill. In a letter to colleagues at the weekend, Pelosi said that it would be a week of



Pramila Jayapal, the Democrat who chairs the House progressive caucus, says: 'The votes aren't there'

"intensity" and called on all House Democrats to attend crunch talks today.

But in comments that are likely to stoke further discontent among progressives, Pelosi acknowledged that it was all but certain the \$3.5tn budget plan would be scaled back. Asked if the final number would be smaller, Pelosi said: "Yes... that seems self-evident."

Democrats are also under mounting pressure to avoid a federal shutdown, with a deadline of midnight on Thursday to raise the debt ceiling that allows the government to borrow money.

The House last week passed a bill to avert a shutdown but Democrats have insisted that it should pass the Senate with bipartisan support, even as Republicans have refused to sign on.

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### Briefing

► **Redemptions soar as Spacs lustre dims**  
Investors are pulling their cash from special purpose acquisition companies. Some of the vehicles have had more than 90 per cent of their shareholders redeem investments. — PAGE 6

► **Chinese cities seize Evergrande revenue**  
At least two local governments in China have taken control of sales revenue from Evergrande properties, even as Beijing remained silent on the liquidity crisis at the world's most indebted developer. — PAGE 6

► **Frayed ties persist despite Meng release**  
China's nationalist propaganda blitz surrounding the return of Meng Wanzhou, presumed heir of China's Huawei, to Shenzhen showed that China-US relations remain rocky. — PAGE 2



► **Covid triggers decline in life expectancy**  
The pandemic has caused the largest falls in life expectancy since the second world war in most developed nations, with men in the US suffering the most severe decline, research has found. — PAGE 4

► **Naval vows to claw back subs deal cost**  
Naval, the French defence group at the heart of the diplomatic crisis over the Aukus military pact, has vowed to claw back tens of millions of dollars over a cancelled deal. — PAGE 8; ANAND MENON, PAGE 10

► **Swiss poll backs gay rights amendments**  
Switzerland's constitution will be altered to enshrine marriage and adoption rights for gay couples after voters gave overwhelming support for the changes in a nationwide referendum. — PAGE 4

### Business Life and Lex

Pillita Clark's Business Life column, Lex comment on congestion charging and the crossword can be found on page 14 of today's newspaper.

### Datawatch

#### Back to the future

How do you refer to the coming Saturday and Sunday? (% of UK adults)

■ This weekend ■ Next weekend



Source: YouGov

A survey taken on a Monday and Tuesday reveals a generational split in how Brits refer to the Saturday and Sunday of the same week. Some 70 per cent of those aged 60 and over call it 'next weekend'; 61 per cent of 18-29s call it 'this weekend'



## Afghans who aided allies face struggle for freedom

After the Taliban took Kabul in mid-August, about 123,000 people were airlifted by the US and its allies out of Afghanistan. However, thousands of Afghans who had aided the US-led mission were left behind. Those trying to leave on their own face big hurdles: commercial flights have not resumed and the cost of a charter is exorbitant, with a flight to Islamabad costing \$1,200. Also, Afghanistan's neighbours have tightened border controls.

Taliban takeover — PAGE 4

## Peloton bike loans peddled to Wall St buyers on back of home fitness craze

JOSHUA FRANKLIN AND JOE RENNING — NEW YORK

Wall Street has found a way to tap in to some of the safest consumers in the US, by selling slices of debt backed by bundles of loans for people buying the popular Peloton fitness bike.

Affirm, a market leader in "buy now, pay later" services where customers pay for products in instalments, has sold hundreds of millions of dollars in loans made for Peloton equipment, according to people familiar with the transactions.

Since 2020, the company has raised more than \$2.2bn through six deals: three that roughly mirror Affirm's broader loan portfolio and three that batched up unsecured, zero-interest loans, predominantly to Peloton customers, these people said. The latter three deals generated a total of \$845m.

The senior tranche of Affirm's latest Peloton-backed deal, most protected from default of underlying borrowers, offers a coupon of just over 1 per cent, only about 0.2 percentage points more than an equivalent US government bond when the deal was priced in April.

The deals highlight some of the financial wizardry that helped fuel the buy now, pay later boom during the pandemic surge in online shopping, while the low yields suggest investors are keen for exposure to some of the highest-rated individual borrowers in the US.

Peloton benefited from a surge in at-home fitness during the pandemic. Prices for its static bikes start at \$1,495.

Customers tend to be affluent with very high Fico scores, a measure of US consumer credit quality, and the loans have a history of very low default rates. Affirm offers zero-interest loans

on Peloton purchases, from 12 to 45 months. Peloton provided about 20 per cent of the online lender's \$870.5m in revenue in the year to June 30, 2021.

Some of the loans are passed through Wall Street's securitisation machine, packaged up to underpin payments on fresh slices of debt bought by investors, such as asset managers and insurers.

Francisco Paez, head of structured products research at MetLife, said that the products were popular with insurers because "they deliver strong value relative to the amount of risk".

The deals are part of a broader strategy by Affirm to raise additional capital by securitising loans it has made to consumers at more than 11,000 merchants, according to ratings documents from DBRS Morningstar.

Affirm and Peloton declined to comment.

### World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES							
	Sep 24	Sep 17	%Week		Sep 24	Sep 17	%Week			Sep 24	Sep 17	%Week			
S&P 500	4455.48	4452.98	0.51	\$ per £	1.171	1.174	-0.27	£ per \$	0.731	0.727	-0.55	US Gov 10 yr	1.47	1.45	0.05
Nasdaq Composite	15047.70	15043.59	0.02	\$ per €	1.368	1.375	-0.51	€ per \$	1.168	1.171	-0.03	US Gov 30 yr	1.56	1.54	0.02
Dow Jones Ind	34790.00	34584.98	0.62	€ per £	0.857	0.854	0.34	£ per €	1.293	1.291	0.15	Ger Gov 10 yr	0.23	0.23	0.00
FTSE 100	1287.06	1279.27	0.62	\$ per ¥	110.705	109.570	1.02	¥ per \$	0.009	0.009	0.00	Japan Gov 10 yr	0.05	0.05	0.00
Euro Stoxx 50	4158.51	4130.84	0.67	¥ per €	151.398	151.176	0.15	€ per ¥	0.007	0.007	0.00	US Gov 30 yr	1.56	1.54	0.02
FTSE MIB	7951.48	7963.64	-0.15	\$ per ₹	1.003	1.003	0.00	₹ per \$	0.009	0.009	0.00	Ger Gov 2 yr	0.05	0.05	0.00
FTSE All-Share	4062.20	4023.33	0.97	₹ per \$	0.004	0.004	0.00								
CAC 40	6638.46	6570.19	1.04												
Nikkei	15031.75	15490.17	-3.27												
Hang Seng	24782.16	24667.85	-0.46												
MSCI World	3196.42	-	-												
MSCI EM	1272.52	-	-												
MSCI ACWI	731.58	-	-												

COMMODITIES				INTEREST RATES				
	Sep 24	Sep 17	%Week			Sep 24	Sep 17	%Week
Oil WTI \$	73.87	71.97	2.78	US Gov 10 yr	1.47	1.45	0.05	
Oil Brent \$	78.06	75.32	3.64	US Gov 30 yr	1.56	1.54	0.02	
Gold \$	1750.00	1749.95	0.03	Ger Gov 10 yr	0.23	0.23	0.00	
				Ger Gov 2 yr	0.05	0.05	0.00	

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES							
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MSCI EM	1272.52	-	-												
MSCI ACWI	731.58	-	-												

Prices are latest for London. Data provided by Morningstar

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## Political Game Increases Odds Of U.S. Default

### Neither Party Buds on Debt-Limit Vote

By JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — For nearly two decades, lawmakers in Washington have waged an escalating display of brinkmanship over the federal government's ability to borrow money to pay its bills. They have forced administrations of both parties to take evasive actions, pushing the nation dangerously close to economic calamity. But they have never actually tipped the United States into default.

The dance is repeating this fall, but this time the dynamics are different — and the threat of default is greater than ever.

Republicans in Congress have refused to help raise the nation's debt limit, even though the need to borrow stems from the bipartisan practice of running large budget deficits. Republicans agree the U.S. must pay its bills, but on Monday they are expected to block a measure in the Senate that would enable the government to do so. Democrats, insisting that Republicans help pay for past decisions to boost spending and cut taxes, have so far refused to use a special process to raise the limit on their own.

Observers inside and outside Washington are worried neither side will budge in time, roiling financial markets and capping the economy's nascent recovery from the pandemic downturn.

If the limit is not raised or suspended, officials at the Treasury Department warn, the government will soon exhaust its ability to borrow money, forcing officials to choose between missing payments on military salaries, Social Security benefits and the interest it owes to investors who have financed America's spending spree.

Yet Republicans have threatened to filibuster any attempt by Senate Democrats to pass a simple bill to increase borrowing. Party leaders like Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky want to force Democrats to raise the limit on their own, through a fast-track congressional process that bypasses a Republican filibuster. That could take weeks to come to

Continued on Page A14



RICHARD HEATHCOTE/GETTY IMAGES

### A Firm U.S. Grip

The American team won the Ryder Cup against Europe in record fashion. Page D1.

## Mentally Ill Man's Death Spotlights Rikers Crisis

By JAN RANSOM  
and JONAH E. BROMWICH

When Esias Johnson moved to New York from his hometown in 2019, chasing dreams of musical stardom, his parents were terrified.

Mr. Johnson, then 21, had been diagnosed with Asperger's syndrome as a child and suffered from mental illness for much of his

### Inhumane Conditions Tied to Low Staffing

young life, failing to fit in and eventually getting into trouble with the law. His family feared that a city full of strangers who could not understand his struggles might swallow him.

But what happened was far worse than what they had imagined.

Almost as soon as he arrived in New York from north of Boston, Mr. Johnson found himself in trouble with the law again. And as his mental illness worsened, manifesting in increasingly frightening ways, Mr. Johnson was arrested repeatedly and taken, again and

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### NATIONAL A11-16

#### Mass Firings Loom at Hospitals

With a deadline on Monday, thousands of health care workers in New York are risking their jobs by not getting a coronavirus vaccine. PAGE A16

#### Big Infrastructure Dreams

Ferries in Alaska. Trains in Oregon. The pending bill could reshape priorities across the U.S., jump-starting projects that stalled over funding. PAGE A12

#### Cause of Amtrak Crash Unclear

Five people remained hospitalized on Sunday after eight of 10 passenger cars jumped off the tracks in Montana, killing three passengers. PAGE A11

### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

#### Wartime Issues Dog Colombia

Cocaine farming, poverty and armed factions persist in rural areas, despite a 2016 treaty with rebels. PAGE A4

#### Uyghur Stranded in Albania

A former Guantánamo detainee has spent the last 15 years in exile. China still brands him as a terrorist. PAGE A7

### BUSINESS B1-7

#### Stuck at Work

Millions of employees did not have the luxury of thinking about returning to the office — they never left. Six workers share their experiences. PAGE B4

#### Gamers Chafe in China

New government rules further limiting minors' playing time on video games have frustrated many. PAGE B1

#### OBITUARIES, A17, D8

#### Director of Popular Sitcoms

Jay Sandrich won Emmy Awards for "The Mary Tyler Moore Show" and "The Cosby Show." He was 89. PAGE D8



### ARTS C1-7

#### Broadway Celebrates Again

The Tony Awards honored actors like Aaron Tveit, above, on Sunday, but theater itself also triumphed. PAGE C1

#### Scholar Is Accused of Theft

The craft chain Hobby Lobby has sued a former Oxford lecturer, asserting that he sold it stolen artifacts. PAGE C1

### SPORTS D1-7

#### Athletes for Abortion Rights

With Roe v. Wade at stake, an Olympic team on whose invitation about what means a choice meant to her. Sports of The Times. PAGE D1

#### Cog in an Admissions Scandal

A coach who took a plea deal says his Stanford colleagues knew where the money was coming from. PAGE D3

### OPINION A18-19

#### Charles M. Blow

PAGE A19

## NO CLEAR WINNER IN GERMAN VOTE FOR CHANCELLOR

### END OF THE MERKEL ERA

#### Negotiations to Form a 3-Party Coalition May Take Months

By KATRIN BENNHOLD

BERLIN — After 16 years of Angela Merkel as their chancellor, Germans scattered their votes across the political spectrum on Sunday in the election to replace her, a fractured return that heralds a messier political era in Germany and weaker German leadership in Europe.

Preliminary results gave the center-left Social Democrats a small lead, but were so close that no one could yet say who the next chancellor would be nor what the next government would look like.

The only thing that seemed clear was that it would take weeks if not months of haggling to form a coalition, leaving Europe's biggest democracy suspended in a kind of limbo at a critical moment when the continent is still struggling to recover from the pandemic and France, Germany's partner at the core of Europe, faces divisive elections of its own next spring.

Sunday's election signaled the end of an era for Germany and for Europe. For over a decade, Ms. Merkel was not just chancellor of Germany but effectively the leader of Europe. Her steady hand through successive crises and in the process helped Germany become Europe's leading power for the first time since two world wars.

Her time in office was characterized above all by stability. Her center-right party, the Christian Democratic Union, has governed in Germany for 52 of the 72 post-war years, traditionally with one smaller party.

But the campaign proved to be the most volatile in decades. Armin Laschet, the candidate of Ms. Merkel's Christian Democrats, was long seen as the front-runner until a series of blunders compounded by his own unpopularity eroded his party's lead. Olaf Scholz, the Social Democratic candidate, was counted out altogether before his steady persona led his party to a spectacular 10-point comeback. And the Greens, who briefly led the polls early on, fell short of expectations but recorded their best result ever.

On Sunday, the Christian Democrats' share of the vote collapsed well below 30 percent, heading toward the worst showing in their history. For the first time, three parties will be needed to form a coalition — and both main parties are planning to lead competing talks to do so.

"It's so unprecedented that it's not even clear who talks with whom on whose invitation about what, because the Constitution does not have guardrails for a situation like that," said Thomas Klein-Brockhoff, the vice president of the German Marshall Fund, a research group.

Even before the first official results. Continued on Page A8

## China Moving To Avoid Panic In Its Economy

By KEITH BRADSHAW

BEIJING — In any other country, the sudden collapse of a corporate titan with more than \$300 billion in debt would send shock waves across the economy. Headlines would blare. Banks would shudder. Investors would panic.

A corporate collapse of that scale may happen soon. But it would be in China, where the Communist Party keeps a firm grip on money, corporate boardrooms, the news media and the broader society. Those controls may be facing one of their toughest tests yet, but Beijing is signaling that it feels up to the challenge — even if it will first try to teach big investors and companies a bitter lesson about lending recklessly.

The financial world is watching the struggles of China Evergrande Group, one of the largest property developers on earth and certainly the most indebted. Last week, a deadline to make an \$83 million payment to foreign investors came and went with no indication that Evergrande had met its obligations, raising questions about what would happen if its huge debt load went sour.

The Chinese government does not want to move in yet because it hopes Evergrande's struggles will show other Chinese companies that they need to be disciplined in their finances, say people with knowledge of its deliberations who insisted on anonymity. But it has an array of financial tools that it believes are strong enough to stem a financial panic if matters worsen.

The government is "still going to provide a guarantee" for much of Evergrande's activities, said Zhu Ning, deputy dean of the Shanghai Advanced Institute of

Continued on Page A10

## Desperate and Leaving Texas to Have Abortions

By SABRINA TAVERNISE

OKLAHOMA CITY — On a windy Tuesday morning, the parking lot outside a small brick building on the Southside of Oklahoma City was filling up fast. The first to arrive, a red truck shortly before 8 a.m., was from Texas. So was the second and the third.

The building houses one of Oklahoma's four abortion clinics, and at least two-thirds of its scheduled patients now come from Texas. So many, in fact, that it is trying to hire more staff members and doctors to keep up. The increase is the result of a new law in Texas banning abortions after about six weeks, a very early stage of pregnancy. As soon as the measure took effect this month, Texans started traveling elsewhere, and Oklahoma, close to Dallas, has become a major destination.

### New Law's Prohibitions Driving Women Into Neighboring States

"We had every line lit up for eight hours straight," said Jennifer Reince, who works the front desk phones at the clinic, Trust Women Oklahoma City, describing the first week the measure was in force.

The effects of the new law have been profound: Texans with unwanted pregnancies have been forced to make decisions quickly, and some have opted to travel long distances for abortions. As clinics in surrounding states fill up, appointments are being scheduled for later dates, making the procedures more costly. Other

women are having to carry their pregnancies to term.

Marva Sadler, senior director of clinic services at Whole Woman's Health, which operates four clinics in Texas, said she believed that many patients were not able to arrange child care or take time off work without losing their jobs to travel to other states.

"I think a majority of women are being sentenced to being parents," she said.

The law is the latest in a string of successes by the anti-abortion movement, which for years has pushed for more conservative judges and control over state legislatures. Now, the Supreme Court is preparing to take up an abortion case — the first to be argued before the court with all three of former President Donald J. Trump's conservative appointees — that has the potential to remove federal

Continued on Page A15



NICK OXFORD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Trust Women clinic in Oklahoma City has seen a rise in patients arriving from Texas.

## A \$380 Covid Test, and the Law That Allows It

By SARAH KLIFF

At the drugstore, a rapid Covid test usually costs less than \$20.

Across the country, over a dozen testing sites owned by the start-up company GS Labs regularly bill \$380.

There's a reason they can. When Congress tried to ensure that Americans wouldn't have to pay for coronavirus testing, it re-

### Congress Made Insurers Pay, but Set No Limit

quired insurers to pay certain laboratories whatever "cash price" they listed online for the tests, with no limit on what that might be.

GS Labs's high prices and grow-

ing presence — it has performed a half-million rapid tests since the pandemic's start, and still runs thousands daily — show how the government's longstanding reluctance to play a role in health prices has hampered its attempt to protect consumers. As a result, Americans could ultimately pay some of the cost of expensive coronavirus tests in the form of higher insur-

Continued on Page A15



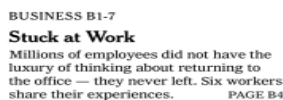
### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

#### Wartime Issues Dog Colombia

Cocaine farming, poverty and armed factions persist in rural areas, despite a 2016 treaty with rebels. PAGE A4

#### Uyghur Stranded in Albania

A former Guantánamo detainee has spent the last 15 years in exile. China still brands him as a terrorist. PAGE A7



### BUSINESS B1-7

#### Stuck at Work

Millions of employees did not have the luxury of thinking about returning to the office — they never left. Six workers share their experiences. PAGE B4

#### Gamers Chafe in China

New government rules further limiting minors' playing time on video games have frustrated many. PAGE B1

#### OBITUARIES, A17, D8

#### Director of Popular Sitcoms

Jay Sandrich won Emmy Awards for "The Mary Tyler Moore Show" and "The Cosby Show." He was 89. PAGE D8



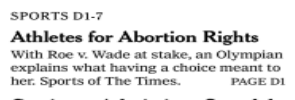
### ARTS C1-7

#### Broadway Celebrates Again

The Tony Awards honored actors like Aaron Tveit, above, on Sunday, but theater itself also triumphed. PAGE C1

#### Scholar Is Accused of Theft

The craft chain Hobby Lobby has sued a former Oxford lecturer, asserting that he sold it stolen artifacts. PAGE C1



### SPORTS D1-7

#### Athletes for Abortion Rights

With Roe v. Wade at stake, an Olympic team on whose invitation about what means a choice meant to her. Sports of The Times. PAGE D1

#### Cog in an Admissions Scandal

A coach who took a plea deal says his Stanford colleagues knew where the money was coming from. PAGE D3

### OPINION A18-19

#### Charles M. Blow

PAGE A19





## s400 u1165



# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside the Washington, D.C. area.

Partly sunny, nice 81/64 • Tomorrow: Stray thunderstorm 80/60 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 2021 • B2

## As justices' approval dips, storm lies ahead

Court strains to shed partisan perception with divisive term on tap

BY ROBERT BARNES  
AND SEUNG MIN KIM

The Supreme Court's approval rating is plummeting. Its critics are more caustic, and justices are feeling compelled to shed the case to the public that they are judicial philosophers, not politicians in robes.

All of this as the court embarks Oct. 4 on one of the most potentially divisive terms in years. Docketed cases concern gun control, separation of church and state, and the biggest showdown in decades on *Roe v. Wade* and the constitutional right to an abortion.

Meanwhile, a presidential commission studying the court is being bombarded with criticism from the left, and occasionally the right, that the justices are too political, too powerful and serve for too long.

Even those who value the court see trouble ahead.

"Not since *Bush v. Gore* has the public perception of the court's legitimacy seemed so seriously threatened," the Georgetown Supreme Court Institute's executive director, Irv Gornstein, said last week.

SEE SUPREME COURT ON A6

## Study shows generational inequality of climate crises

Scientists say kids will see three times as many disasters as grandparents

BY SARAH KAPLAN

Adriana Bottino-Poage is 6 years old, with cherub cheeks and curls that bounce when she laughs. She likes soccer, art and visiting the library. She dreams of being a scientist and inventing a robot that can pull pollution out of the air. She wants to become the kind of grown-up who can help the world.

Yet human actions have made the world a far more dangerous place for Adriana to grow up, according to a first-of-its-kind study of the impacts of climate change across generations.

If the planet continues to warm on its current trajectory, the average 6-year-old will live through roughly three times as many climate disasters as their grandparents, the study finds. They will see twice as many wildfires, 1.7 times as many tropical cyclones, 3.4 times more river floods, 2.5 times more crop failures and 2.3 times as many

SEE CLIMATE ON A2

## IN THE NEWS



**The Tonys** Danny Burstein was among the winners on the biggest night in theater, finally realized after months of pandemic delays. C1

**Bulldozed by Buffalo** The Washington Football Team had no answers for Bills quarterback Josh Allen in a 43-21 loss. D1

**THE NATION** Federal investigators began to probe the cause of an Amtrak passenger train derailment that killed three people and injured dozens in rural Montana. A5  
**Democratic proposals** to improve the nation's infrastructure and overhaul federal education, health-care and tax laws remain unsettled just ahead of key House votes. A4

**THE WORLD** A wave of Haitians has abandoned Chile, a nation once seen as a land of opportunity. A10

**In a post-Brexit reversal**, Britain is granting emergency visas to over 10,000 foreigners as it wrestles with a shortage of truck drivers. A12  
**THE ECONOMY** Forensics investigators have grown savvy at mapping blockchain use, giving rise to a "novel cottage industry" of those tracking illicit cryptocurrency activity. A21

**THE REGION** The District is set to test whether paying for more housing can tackle the city's growing homelessness crisis. B1

**The U.S. Chamber of Commerce** appeared to issue an ultimatum to two moderate congresswomen from Virginia over Democrats' tax and spending proposal. B1

### THE WEEK AHEAD

**MONDAY** The Supreme Court meets for a conference.

**The Senate** convenes to discuss legislation on extending government funding and delivering emergency assistance.

**TUESDAY** Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin and other military officials testify during a Senate Armed Services Committee

hearing on Afghanistan. **Former president Barack Obama** and Michelle Obama attend the groundbreaking for his presidential center in Chicago.

**WEDNESDAY** President Biden travels to Chicago to promote vaccine requirements for businesses.

**THURSDAY** Jobless claims are estimated at 335,000.

**A Senate Commerce subcommittee** holds a hearing on protecting children online.

## INSIDE



**STYLE** Tough testimonies A conversation between Anita Hill and Christine Blasey Ford as part of a new podcast series is moving, Margaret Sullivan writes. C1

**A show of force** Maestro Glanadrea Nosedá presided over an enthusiastic scene at the NSO season opener. C1

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COMICS	C6
OPINION PAGES	A22
LOTTING	B2
OBITUARIES	B6
TELEVISION	C5
WORLD NEWS	A10

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PHOTOS BY ADRIA MALCOLM FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## A fractured state fair

In battle over N.M. vaccine mandate, resistance means missing an experience

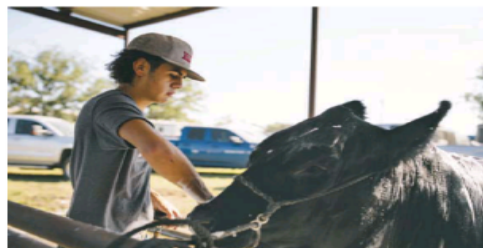
BY KARIN BRULLIARD

**ALBUQUERQUE** — Down from the New Mexico State Fair's glittery midway, and past the stands selling funnel cakes and turkey legs, the barns that are typically packed with animals entered in the state's premiere youth livestock contest were quiet. Resting in pens were a sleepy pig and a few sheep there only for display, not awards.

About 200 miles southeast, hundreds of children instead gathered at a fairground with no rides and few spectators to show more than a thousand cows, pigs, sheep and goats in open-sided barns. It was an alternative livestock show quickly thrown together after families decided to boycott the state fair over a requirement that everyone over age 12 show proof of coronavirus vaccination, test or exemption to enter.

New Mexico's state fair this year was a triumph compared with the previous — when

SEE MANDATES ON A18



**TOP:** Raul and Irma Diaz take photos of their food Sept. 15 at the New Mexico State Fair in Albuquerque, which saw smaller-than-normal crowds. **ABOVE:** Tye Martinez, 17, bathes his steer at the New Mexico Youth Livestock Expo in Roswell on Sept. 16.

## Colo. voting may face an inside threat

BY EMMA BROWN

In April, employees in the office that runs elections in western Colorado's Mesa County received an unusual calendar invitation for an after-hours work event, a gathering at a hotel in Grand Junction. "Expectations are that all will be at the DoubleTree by 5:30," said the invite sent by a deputy to Tina Peters, the county's chief elections official.

Speaking at the DoubleTree was Douglas Frank, a physics teacher and scientist who was rapidly becoming famous among election deniers for claiming to have discovered secret algorithms used to rig the 2020 contest against Donald Trump. Frank led the crowd in a rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner" and spent the next 90 minutes alleging an elaborate conspiracy in-



**Mesa County Clerk Tina Peters allegedly aided in the copying of voting machine hard drives and embraced conspiracy theories.**

volving inflated voter rolls, fraudulent ballots and a "sixth-order polynomial" video of the event shows. He was working for MyPillow chief executive Mike Lindell, he said, and their efforts could overturn President Biden's victory.

Being told to sit through a presentation of wild, debunked claims was "a huge slap in the face," one Mesa County elections-division employee said of the previously unreported episode. "We put so much time and effort into making sure that everything's done accurately," the employee told The Washington Post, speaking on the condition of anonymity out of fear of retaliation. Peters, the elected county clerk, had expressed sympathy for such theories in the past, the employee said.

SEE PETERS ON A8

## Surveillance of workers at home likely to outlast covid

BY DANIELLE ABRIL  
AND DREW HARWELL

When Kerrie Krutchik, an attorney for 34 years, was hired this spring for one of the legal field's fastest-growing jobs, she expected to review case files at a pandemic-safe distance from the comfort of her Ohio home.

Then she received a laptop in the mail with her instructions: To get paid, she'd have to comply with a company-mandated facial recognition system for every minute of her contract. If she looked away for too many seconds or shifted in her chair, she'd have to scan her face back in from three separate angles, a process she ended up doing several times a day.

For Krutchik, the laptop's

unblinking little camera light quickly became a nightmare — and a reminder of what her new workday might look like stress: You're trying to concentrate, and in the back of your mind, you know you're on camera the entire time," she said. "While you're reviewing a document, you don't know who is reviewing you."

The spread of the delta variant has kept many of America's office employees working from home and fueled a rise in

SEE SURVEILLANCE ON A19



## Hamilton hace historia: alcanzó la victoria 100

Al ganar el Gran Premio de Rusia, se convirtió en el primer piloto de Fórmula 1 que logra esa meta; recuperó el liderazgo en el campeonato y desplazó a Verstappen. Deportes. Página 8



## BOCA LE GANÓ A COLÓN Y LLEGA FIRME AL SUPERCLÁSICO

—deportes

Se impuso por 1 a 0 en la Bombonera, con un golazo de Orsini ante el último campeón; invitó en la era Battaglia, llega con envión al choque con River.

## MIKE FLANAGAN, EL REGRESO DEL GRAN MAESTRO DEL TERROR

—espectáculos

Se estrena en Netflix la miniserie *Misa de medianoche*, del autor de un suceso como *La maldición de Hill House*; una apuesta con nuevos ingredientes.

# LA NACION

LUNES 27 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

## La AFIP acentúa maniobras para beneficiar a empresarios y funcionarios kirchneristas

**GIRO.** Favoreció ante la Justicia a Cristóbal López, Fabián de Sousa y Lázaro Báez; desactivó equipos que investigaban denuncias y ascendió a empleados oficialistas

Diego Cabot y  
Hugo Alconada Mon  
LA NACION

El desistimiento de la querrela penal contra los empresarios Cristóbal López y Fabián de Sousa que la Administración Federal de In-

gresos Públicos (AFIP) comunicó a la Justicia Penal fue el último eslabón de una larga serie de medidas controvertidas que adoptó el organismo y que beneficiaron a figuras del kirchnerismo o cercanas a ese espacio desde diciembre de 2019.

Esas medidas se complementaron con otras destinadas a investigar la actuación de los dos titulares de la AFIP durante el gobierno de Mauricio Macri—Alberto Abad y Leandro Cucciolí—y sus principales colaboradores. Continúa en la página 8

Para Marcó del Pont, el organismo hace "lo correcto"

Página 9

La Oficina Anticorrupción abandona querellas

Página 9

## Alemania, ante el inicio de la era pos-Angela Merkel

**el mundo**—Alemania protagonizó ayer unas históricas elecciones que marcan el inicio de una nueva era, tras 16 años de Angela Merkel en el poder. Con un resultado reñido, obtenía una leve ventaja el candidato de la oposición socialdemócrata, Olaf Scholz. Página 2



Angela Merkel, aplaudida ayer en la sede de su partido

MARKUS SCHREIBER/AP

## Crecen las trabas para importar y afectan a la clase media

**DÓLAR.** Faltan insumos textiles, repuestos de autos y hasta cápsulas de café

Camila Dolabjian  
LA NACION

En las últimas semanas se multiplicaron los reclamos por faltantes de insumos importados para la producción. Son bienes de consumo, bienes intermedios—como algunas piezas e insumos que usan la industria y el agro—y productos finales. Textiles e indumentaria, autopartes y hasta productos alimenticios son los principales afectados. Continúa en la página 16

## EL ESCENARIO

De la grieta a la brecha entre el poder y la gente

Claudio Jacquelin

LA NACION

Página 10

Aperturas. El turismo local revive sin restricciones

Página 22



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## ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Omar Aziz

### Aras não vai poder matar no peito e ignorar CPI

Presidente da CPI da Covid, senador afirma que o relatório final será robusto para não ser engavetado pelo procurador-geral da República, Augusto Aras. Texto recomendará indiciamento de membros da gestão Bolsonaro por crimes contra a vida, sanitário e por omissão, diz Aziz. Para ele, existem "indícios fortíssimos" de que houve busca de vantagens ao negociar vacinas. **A12**

## Celso Rocha de Barros A comissão achou o CPF dos culpados

A CPI provou a ocorrência do maior crime da história republicana brasileira. Achou documentos certos e o CPF dos culpados. Provou que Bolsonaro recusou compra de vacinas da Pfizer e Butantan. **Poder A9**

## Em baixa no cargo, Queiroga acena ao bolsonarismo

Seis meses à frente da Saúde e infectado com Covid, o médico Marcelo Queiroga autorizou estudos sobre desobrigar o uso das máscaras, afastou da pasta nomes vetados por apoiadores do governo e usou argumentos frágeis ao tentar impedir a vacinação de adolescentes. **Cotidiano B1**

## Pfizer amplia até 20 vezes anticorpo após Coronavac

O reforço com a vacina da Pfizer aumentou em até 20 vezes o nível de anticorpos em pessoas imunizadas com o esquema completo da Coronavac. Os resultados preliminares foram revelados em estudo no Uruguai, onde 24% já receberam três doses contra a Covid-19. **Cotidiano B1**

## EDITORIAIS A2

**Contra o relógio**  
Sobre debate em torno da volta do horário de verão.

**Violência americana**  
Acerca de elevação da taxa de homicídios nos EUA.

## ATMOSFERA

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16°  
0h 6h 12h 18h 24h

	Hoje	Amanhã
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Brasília	17 30	16 30
Ribeirão	18 34	19 34

Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br

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Livia Villas Boas/CSF/Divulgação

## CORINTHIANS É TRI NO FEMININO

Victória, que marcou de bicicleta, festeja gol na vitória por 3 a 1 sobre o Palmeiras na final do Campeonato Brasileiro Feminino; clube confirmou hegemonia entre mulheres. **Esporte B7**

# Eleição acirrada na Alemanha deixa governo indefinido

Projeções apontam empate técnico entre conservadores e sociais-democratas, o que promete complicar coalizões

Pesquisas de boca de urna da eleição alemã deste domingo (26) indicam um empate técnico entre os sociais-democratas (SPD), liderados por Olaf Scholz, e os conservadores da União Democrata-Cristã (CDU), de Armin Laschet — este apoiado pela atual primeira-ministra, Angela Merkel. O SPD estaria com 26% dos votos, ante 24% da CDU, informa Ana Estela de Sousa Pinto.

O cenário não permite prever quem pode se tornar o sucessor de Merkel; aponta apenas o início de complexas negociações — que podem levar semanas — para a formação de uma coalizão. As duas siglas disseram que tentarão formar uma coligação para governar o país. Ambas compõem a aliança que dá sustentação a Merkel, que fica no cargo até a eleição do novo premiê.

As projeções sinalizam ainda que os Verdes tiveram o melhor desempenho em 40 anos de história: estão em terceiro, com 14%, seguidos pelos liberais da FDP (11%), de direita.

Os alemães votam em deputados, não no candidato a premiê — por isso, a formação de coligações é essencial. Números oficiais preliminares devem ser divulgados nesta segunda (27). **Mundo A10**

## Mathias Alencastro

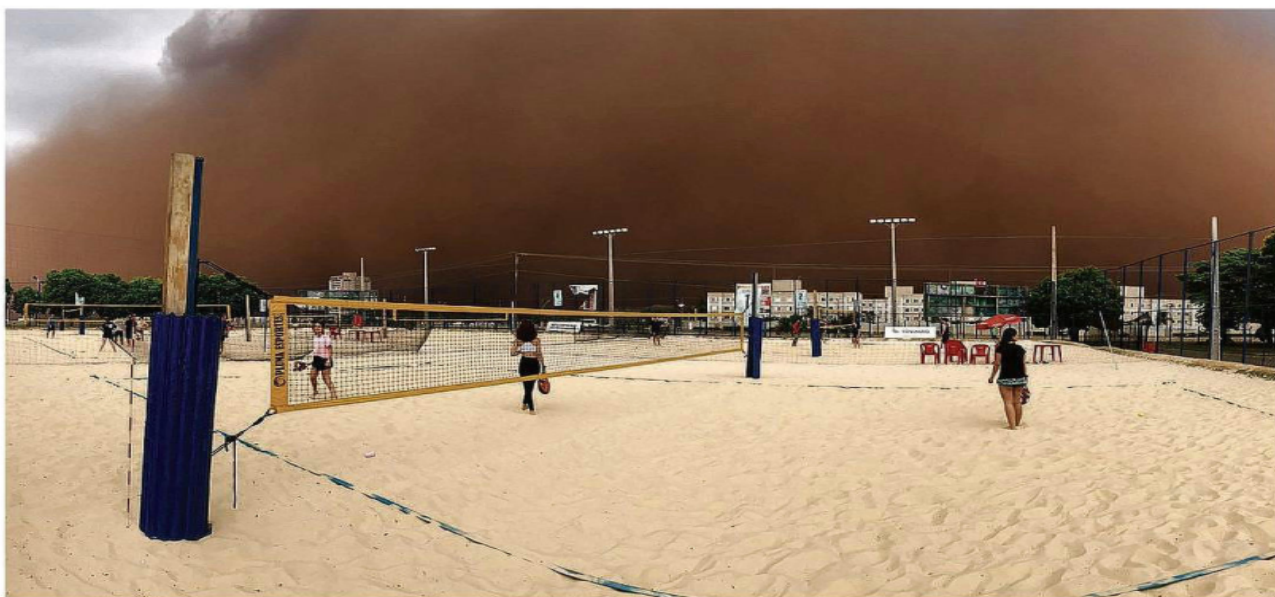
Pleito traz lições a democracias liberais com extrema direita

Mundo A14

## Catarina Rochamonte

Sob pressão, Merkel dizia: nós vamos conseguir

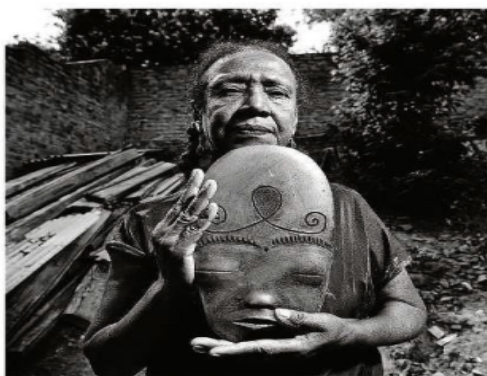
Opinião A2



José Flávio Moura

## TEMPESTADE DE POEIRA 'ENGOLE' FRANCA, NO INTERIOR DE SÃO PAULO

Cidade é tomada por nuvem escura e forte ventania; Sabesp recomendou que moradores não desperdicem água com limpeza das casas. **Cotidiano B2**



Maria Lira Marques, com uma de suas obras. Maurício Nahas

## Esporte B6

### Surfe caipira

Em Itupeva, interior de SP, piscina de ondas em condomínio simula esporte e atrai até campeões

## Ilustrada C1

Artista do Vale do Jequitinhonha usa solo da região para pintar bichos irreais

## Cotidiano B4

Boom do comércio online diversifica modelos de bicicletas em SP

## Dias Melhores B3

Médica leva enxada à formatura para homenagear pais lavradores em MG

## Folhainvest A12

Fique atento a cotação para compra de boas ações com a baixa na Bolsa

## STF trava investigação sobre 7/9 de Bolsonaro

O Supremo Tribunal Federal deixou parados pedidos para que o presidente Bolsonaro seja investigado pelos discursos golpistas do 7 de Setembro.

Também vem sendo adiado o julgamento sobre direito a foro especial do senador Flávio Bolsonaro (Patriota-RJ) no caso das rachadinhas. Procurada, a ministra Cármen Lúcia, responsável pelos casos, não se manifestou. **Poder A5**





**Pedro Galli destacó aporte de la ganadería para mitigar efectos de pandemia**

## ARP exige seguridad jurídica y fin de amenaza de criminales

Reclamaron al Gobierno no escatimar esfuerzos para conseguir la liberación de Óscar Denis, Félix Urbieta y Edelio Morínigo. Pidieron férreo combate a corrupción e impunidad.

PÁGINA 10

El jueves y viernes aplicarán la 2ª dosis  
**Salud aprueba el uso del lote de Sputnik que llegó al país el viernes**

PÁGINA 3

**Un coloso guapo'y que está de pie desde hace unos 500 años**



PÁGINA 15

## Movilización contra el cartismo

**Rechazo.** "CDE no es de HC", "No a la narcopolítica", fueron algunos de los carteles de los manifestantes.

PÁGINA 8



A dos semanas de las municipales tienen 43% de aceptación  
**Candidatos a concejales por la ANR tienen la preferencia en Asunción**

PÁGINAS 4 y 5

Trabajo de Ministerio Público fue cuestionado por jueces  
**Los fiscales cometieron llamativos errores en los juicios emblemáticos**

PÁGINA 36

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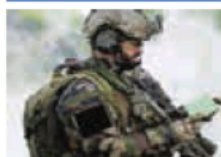




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LE FIGARO

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



**SAHEL**  
LA MORT DU CAPORAL-CHEF  
MAXIME BLASCO,  
UN HÉROS DISCRET **PAGE 8**

**LE FIGARO SANTÉ**  
L'ENVAHISSANTE CULPABILITÉ  
D'AVOIR TRANSMIS LE COVID  
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**DROITE**

Les Républicains  
en route pour  
le congrès **PAGE 6**

**ÉTATS-UNIS**

À Del Rio, au Texas,  
les migrants  
haïtiens ont mis  
à l'épreuve  
l'Administration  
Biden **PAGE 9**

**CYCLISME**

Julian Alaphilippe  
champion  
du monde pour  
la deuxième fois  
d'affilée **PAGE 16**

**FORMULE 1**

Lewis Hamilton,  
cent victoires  
en Grand Prix **PAGE 16**

**MODE**

À Milan, le défilé  
surprise de Fendi  
et Versace  
**PAGE 34**

**CHAMPS LIBRES**

- Un œil sur les « jeux de guerre » russes
- Quels sont les nouveaux horizons de la diplomatie turque ?
- Les tribunes du colonel Michel Goya et de Thierry Lentz
- La chronique de Nicolas Baverez
- L'analyse de Jean-Christophe Buisson

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**FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question de samedi :**  
Angela Merkel a-t-elle été une bonne chancelière allemande ?

**OUI 75% NON 25%**

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 140 010

**Votez aujourd'hui**sur **lefigaro.fr**

**Présidentielle 2022 :**  
Les Républicains ont-ils raison de désigner leur candidat lors d'un congrès réservé aux militants ?

FRANÇOIS BOUCHON / LE FIGARO;  
PHOTO FOURNIE PAR GÉRARD GUERRIER

# Bras de fer pour la Chancellerie

Le social-démocrate Olaf Scholz et son rival conservateur, Armin Laschet, sont presque à égalité à l'issue des élections allemandes. Alors que tous deux revendiquent un mandat pour gouverner, une bataille incertaine s'engage en vue de former une coalition.

PAGES 2, 4 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



Olaf Scholz, SPD.



Armin Laschet, CDU.

## Pourquoi les prix de l'immobilier s'envolent partout dans le monde

De la Nouvelle-Zélande au Royaume-Uni en passant par la Corée du Sud et la France, c'est partout le même cocktail. Des ménages qui cherchent plus d'espace, une de-

mande dopée par les taux planchers et un secteur de la construction qui peine à suivre le rythme. Résultat : les prix flambent et créent un risque de bulle. **PAGES 24 ET 25**



## Éric Dupond-Moretti : « C'est la société qui fait évoluer le droit »

Réformes, budget, places de prison... Le garde des Sceaux revient en détail sur l'actualité de la justice. En avant-première, il annonce au Figaro la création de l'avertissement

pénal probatoire, en remplacement du rappel à la loi. Dès le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 2023, il sera délivré par la justice, qui, pendant un an, placera les mis en cause sous surveillance. **PAGE 10**

**ÉDITORIAL** par Philippe Gélie [pgelie@lefigaro.fr](mailto:pgelie@lefigaro.fr)

## Après Merkel

L'Allemagne a voté, mais elle n'a pas - encore - tourné la page de l'ère Merkel. Au coude-à-coude, le social-démocrate Olaf Scholz et le conservateur Armin Laschet ont rivalisé durant la campagne pour incarner l'authentique héritier de la chancellerie. À l'arrivée, ils revendiquent tous deux un mandat pour gouverner, mais le mieux placé n'est peut-être pas le dauphin le plus « légitime ».

Il faudra de longues négociations pour mettre sur pied une coalition - possiblement à trois partis, formule inédite depuis les années 1950. La délicate recherche de compromis entre des positions idéologiquement éloignées semble promettre à l'Allemagne une coalition modérée, dans le prolongement des seize années de « merckélisme » - cette méthode qui consiste à arrondir les angles et à défendre les intérêts économiques du pays en le protégeant au maximum des secousses du monde. Les Allemands tiennent à ce confort, qui restera le principal legs de la chancellerie. L'alternative serait une instabilité que les pays voisins viendraient vite à regretter. Il est pourtant frappant de voir combien la po-

pularité d'Angela Merkel s'étiole au-delà des frontières de son pays. Les Européens se lassent du perpétuel ronronnement germanique. Ils voudraient voir la première puissance économique du continent prendre davantage de responsabilités dans une compétition internationale de plus en plus aiguë et dangereuse. L'art du compromis trouve ses limites quand il vire à la compromission, avec la Chine pour préserver des contrats d'export ou la Russie pour avoir accès au robinet de gaz.

En attendant de connaître les arbitrages concoctés à Berlin, l'Europe ne doit pas se contenter de gérer les affaires courantes. La France, qui prendra en janvier la présidence de l'UE pour six mois, entend peser à la marge sur les orientations de la future coalition, au risque de subir le reproche d'ingérence. La passivité serait toutefois plus dommageable encore si elle laissait des enjeux cruciaux, comme la défense européenne, à la merci de partis minoritaires outre-Rhin. ■

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# 'You have to be a control freak'

## Mike Leigh on 50 years of outsider film-making

➔ G2



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### 'An anxiety-inducing horror'



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# Petrol crisis: PM to rule on using army to deliver fuel

**Aubrey Allegretti**  
Political correspondent

Hundreds of soldiers could be scrambled to deliver fuel to petrol stations, which are running dry across the country because of panic buying and a shortage of drivers, under an emergency plan expected to be considered by Boris Johnson later today.

The prime minister will gather ministers to scrutinise "Operation Escalin" after BP admitted that a third of its petrol stations had run out of the main two grades of fuel, while the Petrol Retailers Association (PRA), which represents almost 5,500 independent outlets, said 50%-90% of its members had reported running out. It predicted that the rest would soon follow.

The developments led to growing fears that the UK could be heading into another "winter of discontent" and warnings that shelves could be emptier than usual in the run-up to Christmas.

In an attempt to stop the crisis deepening, ministers including the business secretary, Kwasi Kwarteng, the transport secretary, Grant Shapps, and the home secretary, Priti Patel,

*'I can remember the winter of discontent ... this feels very, very reminiscent'*

**David Morris**  
Conservative MP

gathered for a midday meeting yesterday to discuss options.

Operation Escalin was conceived years ago during the planning for a no-deal Brexit, and would involve the drafting of hundreds of soldiers to drive a reserve fleet of 80 tankers. It is understood it would take up to three weeks to fully implement, because some of those mobilised may already be on other deployments. Escalin was touted as an option last week - but government sources played down the chances of it being put into action.

Last night, Kwarteng announced that fuel firms would be temporarily excluded from the Competition Act. Officials said it would make it easier for firms to "share information, so that they can more easily prioritise the delivery of fuel to the parts of the country and strategic locations most in need".

# State ownership fans new Labour energy row

**Heather Stewart**  
Political editor

Labour's energy policy has been plunged into disarray after the party leader, Keir Starmer, blindsided the shadow business secretary, Ed Miliband, by ruling out nationalising the big six energy companies.

It is understood Miliband was frustrated by Starmer's comments, as he had been keen to keep open the option of nationalising parts of the energy sector to aid the economy's transition to net zero carbon.

Appearing on BBC One's Andrew Marr Show yesterday, hours before Labour conference delegates passed a radical motion calling for a "socialist green new deal", Starmer was asked directly whether he would consider nationalising the key energy providers to tackle



▲ Social Democrats cheer in Berlin after exit polls put them just ahead of the CDU/CSU, the party of the outgoing chancellor Angela Merkel **News Page 8** ➔

## Germany Tight exit poll gives SPD hope

## Sabina Nessa killing: new suspect arrested

Detectives are questioning a 36-year-old man on suspicion of the murder of the London schoolteacher, in what they called a 'significant development' in the case. **News Page 11** ➔

## Cop26 pledges won't meet 1.5C target, officials admit

Major leaders in climate diplomacy have privately shared fears that the vital talks - billed as one of the last chances to stave off climate breakdown - will not bring the required breakthrough. **News Page 2** ➔



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