

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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Last week: DJIA 34326.46 ▼ 471.54 1.4% NASDAQ 14566.70 ▼ 3.2% STOXX 600 452.90 ▼ 2.2% 10-YR. TREASURY ▼ 1/32, yield 1.464% OIL \$75.88 ▲ \$1.90 EURO \$1.1594 YEN 111.07

What's News Business & Finance

Volvo, the Swedish auto maker owned by China's Geely, is completing plans for an IPO and is set to announce details of the listing as early as Monday, in a deal that could value the car maker at as much as \$25 billion. A1

U.S. companies have sold a record amount of junk-rated loans to raise money for dividends this year, powered by a recovering economy and investors' demand for higher-yielding assets. B1

U.S. securities regulators have started a countdown that will force many Chinese companies to leave American stock exchanges, after a long impasse between Washington and Beijing over access to the companies' audit records. B1

A consortium led by U.S. buyout firm CD&R won the bidding war for U.K. grocery chain Morrisons with an almost \$9.4 billion bid. B2

Tesla overcame snarled global supply chains to deliver a record number of vehicles in the third quarter. B3

Swiss police raided Credit Suisse offices last week, the bank said, as part of an investigation into collapsed finance firm Greensill Capital. B3

World-Wide

Beijing flew 93 military sorties near Taiwan over three days as China celebrated its National Day holiday, its largest such prodding in the past year, prompting the U.S. to warn against what it called provocative military activity. A1

Democrats, working to unite around a far-reaching social policy and climate bill, are weighing two different approaches to reduce its overall cost: eliminating proposed programs entirely or cutting their duration. A4

The cost of similar Covid-19 treatments can vary by tens of thousands of dollars a patient, even within the same hospital, according to a Wall Street Journal analysis of pricing data. A6

An Alaska hospital is rationing care as doctors try to cope with a crush of Covid-19 patients and requests for transfers to the facility. A6

A bomb attack targeting the funeral prayer service for the mother of the Taliban's chief spokesman killed several people outside Kabul's main mosque. A7

The Supreme Court returns to its courtroom Monday for its first in-person arguments since March 2020. A3

JOURNAL REPORT Investing in Funds: The best stock-fund managers. R1-10

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California Officials Try to Limit Damage From Oil Spill



CLEANUP UNDER WAY: One of the largest oil spills in recent Southern California history fouled popular beaches and killed wildlife while crews scrambled Sunday to contain the crude before it spread farther into protected wetlands. A3

China Puts Pressure on Taiwan With Surge of Military Flights

By LIZA LIN AND JAMES T. AREDDY

Beijing flew 93 military sorties near Taiwan over three days as China celebrated its National Day holiday, its largest such prodding in the past year, prompting the U.S. to warn against what it called provocative military activity.

On Friday, the Chinese sent 38 military aircraft, including J-16 jet fighters, H-6 strategic bombers and Y-8 submarine-spotting aircraft, flying into Taiwan's southwestern air-defense identification zone, more than in any other sortie over the past year. The next day, the People's Liberation Army broke that record by sending 39 more aircraft. On Sunday, China sent another 16 military aircraft,

Taiwan's Ministry of National Defense said.

Taiwan responded to the PLA deployment with combat aircraft to keep the planes at bay, issued radio warnings and deployed missile systems to track their activity, Taiwan's Air Force said. The Air Force also released a video on Saturday in response to such activities, declaring in the text accompany-

ing images of its jet fighters and pilots: "How can we let our enemy's aircrafts fly over us!"

The maneuvers coincided with China's National Day on Friday. Taiwan, the self-ruled island that China claims as its territory and has vowed to assimilate, celebrates its own National Day Oct. 10. The frequency of such aircraft

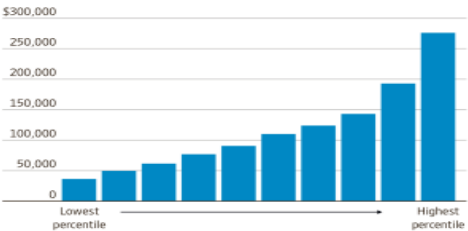
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Covid Treatment Costs Vary

A Wall Street Journal analysis indicates pandemic care hasn't escaped the complex economics of the health system. A6

Charges hospitals have negotiated with insurers for respiratory patients who spend more than four days on a ventilator—a common Covid-19 treatment—vary dramatically among hospitals and insurers.

Negotiated rate by percentile



Note: This chart excludes the top and bottom 5% of rates to eliminate obviously erroneous data. Charges are for Diagnosis Related Group code 207. Source: WSJ analysis of disclosures from 624 hospitals collected by Turquoise Health

Concerts Have a Winner From the Covid Era: The Roblox Avatar

Artists like The Weeknd, Twenty One Pilots reach fans via virtual performances

By ANNE STEELE AND SARAH E. NEEDLEMAN

Before kicking off a run of concerts in Denver at Bluebird Theater for Twenty One Pilots' post-pandemic return to live music, the rock duo made a stop in a videogame platform. Millions of fans logged on to Roblox over the span of a

weekend to watch them perform as avatars.

Isla Lohr was among the crowd, despite not being a huge Twenty One Pilots fan, and voted on for the set list based on which stage setting looked the coolest. The 12-year-old, who lives outside Seattle and has attended several

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Whistleblower Says Her Motive Is to Fix Facebook

By JEFF HORWITZ

The former Facebook Inc. employee who gathered documents that formed the foundation of The Wall Street Journal's Facebook Files series said she acted to help prompt change at the social-media giant, not to stir anger toward it.

Frances Haugen, a former product manager hired to help protect against election inter-

ference on Facebook, said she had grown frustrated by what she saw as the company's lack of openness about its platforms' potential for harm and unwillingness to address its flaws. She is scheduled to testify before Congress on Tuesday. She has also sought federal whistleblower protection with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

In a series of interviews,

Ms. Haugen, who left the company in May after nearly two years, said that she had come into the job with high hopes of helping Facebook fix its weaknesses. She soon grew skeptical that her team could make an impact, she said. Her team had few resources, she said, and she felt the company put growth and user engagement ahead of what it knew through

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INSIDE



U.S. NEWS Texas law makes it a felony to provide abortion drugs through the mail. A3



ENTERTAINMENT Netflix's hit drama from South Korea, 'Squid Game,' was rejected for years. B6

The Deadliest Ultramarathon

How a 60-mile race claimed the lives of 21 runners when a brutal cold front swept in

By WENXIN FAN

Huddling with a group of shivering runners on a naked rocky slope at 6,000 feet, Zhou Liting had to decide: Up, down, or stay?

Piercing winds and rain had swept across the Yellow River Stone Forest Ultramarathon in northwest China that May afternoon, catching runners by surprise. Confused and frightened, some had already turned back.

Others, including her friend Wen Jing, a newly married accountant, were pressing uphill towards the next checkpoint. The rest were waiting for a rescue that race staff told them would come in an hour,

or maybe two.

Over the rest of the afternoon, the 60-mile mountain trail would become one of the deadliest sites in modern sports history.

In all, 21 of 172 runners who started the race would die as a sudden cold front from Mongolia drove temperatures to as low as 23 degrees Fahrenheit, with snow pellets and wind gusts strong enough to tear apart foil blankets.

The scale of the tragedy has confounded the international running community. A review of findings from the official investigation, satellite data and interviews with survivors and family members of victims re-

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## Studies on Use Of Police Holds Are Challenged

### Face-Down Restraints Ignored in Autopsies

By SHAILA DEWAN  
GREENSBORO, Md. — It was a warm Saturday evening when Jennell Black heard a commotion outside her mobile home on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Outside her door, four men were holding her 19-year-old son face down, pinning his shoulder, legs and arms. One of them, who turned out to be an off-duty police chief from a nearby town, was lying on top of him.

"That's Anton," Ms. Black said in disbelief. Then she raised her voice: "Anton!"

She watched helplessly as Anton Black, a former star high school athlete with a nascent modeling career, struggled and then became unresponsive. The officers told Ms. Black that her son was having a mental health emergency and would be taken to a hospital, not to jail.

They assured her that he was breathing and had a pulse. But when they finally sat him up, she could tell something was gravely wrong. "He's turning dark," she said. He never regained consciousness.

It was 2018, two years before George Floyd was killed in Minneapolis after similar treatment, with two officers holding down his lower body and one with a knee on his neck. Mr. Floyd was pinned face down for nine and a half minutes, Mr. Black fog more than six.

An autopsy report released four months later blamed Mr. Black's death on congenital heart abnormalities. It classified the death as an accident and said there was no evidence that the police officers' actions had played a role. "It was horrible," said LaToya Holey, one of Mr. Black's sisters, adding that his sports physicals had never revealed any heart problems. "We didn't imagine at all that it would read the way it did."

The medical examiner's findings thrust the Black family into one of the most contentious issues in American policing today: unarmed people who die after being restrained. The debate, playing out in autopsy rooms, courtrooms and police training sessions.

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## Hungary Runs Vast Campaign For U.S. Sway

By KENNETH R. VOGEL  
and BENJAMIN NOVAK  
WASHINGTON — Former Vice President Mike Pence turned up in Hungary last month to speak to a conference on conservative social values hosted by the far-right government of Prime Minister Viktor Orban.

Jeff Sessions, the former attorney general, was another recent visitor. Tucker Carlson did his Fox News show from Hungary for a week this summer. The American Conservative Union is planning a version of its CPAC gathering in Budapest early next year.

Those are among the more visible recent fruits of a well-funded campaign by Mr. Orban in the United States that stretches back a decade and now stands as a case study in how governments around the world seek to shape policies and debates in Washington, sometimes raising concerns about improper foreign influence in U.S. politics.

Carried out by a network of government offices, Washington lobbyists, Hungarian diaspora groups, educational institutions and government-funded foundations, the effort's main impact has

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### INTERNATIONAL A4-12

#### Soldier Fights for Reputation

Ben Roberts-Smith, Australia's most decorated soldier, is suing three newspapers for defamation. PAGE A10

#### A Loss for Modern India

The Parsi community, which helped build many of the country's institutions, is shrinking at an alarming rate. PAGE A4



### NATIONAL A13-19, 22

#### Frolicking on California's Delta

The sprawling 1,250-square-mile system of water and farmland in Northern California is a four-season destination for watersport fans. PAGE A13

#### Floyd Statue Is Vandalized

A man rode a skateboard up to a statue of George Floyd in a New York City park on Sunday and splashed the face with paint, the police said. PAGE A22

#### Big Oil Spill Off California

A 13-square-mile slick extended from Huntington Beach to Newport Beach as dead fish and birds began to wash ashore in some areas. PAGE A16

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#### A Whistle-Blower Speaks Out

Frances Haugen, a former Facebook manager, said she had grown alarmed by the company putting its own interests before the public's. PAGE B1

#### Hunting a Dopamine Rush

One man's 10-year fascination with virtual reality delights and disappointments but continues to improve. PAGE B1

### OBITUARIES B5-6

#### He Documented Massacres

Mohib Ullah, 46, had a list of Rohingya who perished in the hope that the data could be used as evidence. PAGE B6

## Alaska Doctors Forced to Pick Who Is Treated

### Overwhelmed by Worst U.S. Covid Outbreak

By MIKE BAKER  
ANCHORAGE — There was one bed coming available in the intensive care unit in Alaska's largest hospital.

It was the middle of the night, and the hospital, Providence Alaska Medical Center in Anchorage, had been hit with a deluge of coronavirus patients. Doctors now had a choice to make: Several more patients at the hospital, most of them with Covid-19, were in line to take that last I.C.U. spot. But there was also someone from one of the state's isolated rural communities who needed to be flown in for emergency surgery.

Who should get the final bed? Dr. Steven Floerchinger gathered with his colleagues for an agonizing discussion. They had a better chance of saving one of the patients in the emergency room they determined. The other person would have to wait.

That patient died. "This is gut-wrenching, and I never thought I'd see it," said Dr. Floerchinger, who has been in practice for 30 years. "We are taxed to a point of making decisions of who will and who will not live."

Since that night, more grim choices have had to be made as Alaska confronts what is currently the nation's worst coronavirus outbreak. Nearly two years after the virus began circulating in the United States, some of the scenes here on the country's northern frontier echo the darkest early days of the pandemic: testing supplies are depleted, patients are being treated in hallways and doctors are rationing oxygen. With emergency rooms overwhelmed, the governor has asked hundreds of medical workers to fly in from around the country to help.

Through much of the pandemic, Alaska's natural isolation had shielded the state, with the early months defined by strict testing protocols for people arriving from the outside. Many villages locked down. When vaccines arrived, there was a legion of planes, ferries and sleds to bring doses to far-flung communities. The state has maintained some of the lowest death numbers in the country.

But with some pockets of the state wary of taking vaccines — only about half the state's residents are fully vaccinated — and Gov. Mike Dunleavy resisting restrictions to curtail the virus, the state's isolation has become a growing liability as the Delta variant.

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## Vietnamese Americans Mobilize To Aid the Newest War Refugees

By MADELINE NGO

In the middle of the night, Uyen Nguyen trudged through a grassy marshland with her mother and three siblings until they reached the edge of the ocean, where a small, dilapidated fishing boat was beached on the sand. It set off with 31 people packed on it.

It was 1985, a decade after Saigon had fallen, and their final attempt at fleeing Vietnam. Days later, the boat's engine sputtered out, stranding the passengers at sea for about a month and forcing them to catch rainwater to sustain themselves. Ten people died, including Ms. Nguyen's mother and two of her siblings. The others, including Ms. Nguyen, 10, and her 15-year-old brother, were rescued by fishermen and taken to a refugee camp in the Philippines.

Ms. Nguyen thought of that escape after seeing images of Af-

ghans crammed on U.S. military planes in August, desperate to leave a country ravaged by a decades-long war. The unmistakable parallel she saw, she had been compelled her to help Afghans whose situation is similar to what she experienced.

"We can't just sit back, especially since we're either refugees or children of refugees," said Ms. Nguyen, 46, an entrepreneur in Seattle who eventually immigrated to the United States with her brother as an unaccompanied minor. "I don't see an option not to do something."

The Vietnam War has long stood as a symbol of American failure, with thousands of Vietnamese left behind after American troops swiftly withdrew and Communist forces toppled Saigon.

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### SPORTS D1-7

#### A Yankees-Red Sox Showdown

Both teams won their regular-season finales to gain spots in the American League wild-card game. PAGE D1

#### Happy to Have the Saints Back

A team's first game in New Orleans since Hurricane Ida brought joy, if not a victory, to a hard-hit city. PAGE D1

### OPINION A20-21

#### Henry M. Paulson Jr.

PAGE A21



## Mexico's 100,000 Disappeared People

Across the country's deserts, mothers hunt for any scrap of their missing children. The New York Times photographer Fred Ramos documented their search and the clothing that was found with unidentified bodies. Even when remains are found, identifying the dead can be a long and arduous process. Page A8.

## Germany's Parliament Isn't Just New. It's Young.

By KATRIN BENNHOLD  
and MELISSA EDDY

BERLIN — Emilia Fester is 23 and has yet to finish college. Max Lucks is 24 and calls himself a militant cyclist. Ria Schröder is 29 and has the rainbow flag on her Twitter profile. Muhannad Al-Halak is 31 and came to Germany from Iraq when he was 11.

And all of them are now in the German Parliament.

The German election result was in many ways a muddle. The winners, the Social Democrats led by Olaf Scholz, barely won. No party

## A Generational Shift Is Led by Two Parties, Now Kingmakers

got more than 25.7 percent. Voters spread their ballots evenly across candidates associated with the left and the right.

But one thing is clear: Germans elected their youngest ever Parliament, and the two parties at the center of this generational shift, the Greens and the Free Demo-

crats, will not just shape the next government but are also poised to help shape the future of the country.

For now, the Greens, focused on climate change and social justice, and the Free Democrats, who campaigned on civil liberties and digital modernization, are kingmakers: Whoever becomes the next chancellor almost certainly needs both parties to form a government.

"We will no longer leave politics to the older generation," said Ms. Schröder, a newly minted lawmaker for the Free Democrats

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## Spelunking for Climate Hints

Scientists are exploring icy caves to study their relationships with glacial melting. Pages D4-5.

JASON GUILLY

ARTS C1-8

### Role of a Lifetime

Alessandro Nivola is a lead character in "The Many Saints of Newark," the "Sopranos" prequel. PAGE C1



### Tudor Queens Rule

An exuberant musical pageant about the wives of Henry VIII is back. Review by Jesse Green. PAGE C1

OPINION A20-21





**BIRDS FEED** at water's edge in this aerial view of the oil spill that left striations of crude on long stretches of sand in Orange County. ALLEN J. SCHABEN Los Angeles Times

## HUGE SPILL FOULS O.C. COAST

Pipeline leak creates a miles-wide slick, killing fish and birds and threatening sensitive wetlands.

By ROBIN ESTRIN, ANH DO, BRITNEY MEJIA AND JOE MOZINGO

Crews raced to contain a major oil spill off the Orange County coast Sunday as the leading edge of a miles-wide slick rolled onshore at Huntington Beach, leaving striations of crude on long stretches of sand, killing fish and birds and threatening ecologically sensitive wetlands.

The spill, first reported Saturday morning, originated from a pipeline running from the Port of Long Beach to an offshore oil platform known as Elly. The failure caused roughly 130,000 gallons of oil to gush into the Catalina Channel, creating a slick that spanned about 8,320 acres — larger than the size of Santa Monica.

Officials said Sunday afternoon that it appeared the pipeline had stopped leaking, but it was unclear what caused the spill and how long it had been flowing out of the system.

Currents in the area Sunday afternoon were moving southeast into the waters off Newport Beach. Officials expect the oil to continue washing up onshore over the next several days.

Lifeguards closed 5 1/2 miles of sand from Seapoint Street near the Bolsa Chica wetlands to the Newport Beach city line at the Santa Ana River jetty, and Dr. Clayton Chau, Orange County's health officer, issued a health advisory cautioning people contaminated by the oil to seek medical attention.

Sunday night, Laguna Beach closed city beaches, with projections showing the spill reaching Crystal Cove by 10 p.m.

Huntington Beach canceled the third and final day of the Pacific Airshow, which reportedly drew half a million visitors Friday and Saturday.

"In a year that has been filled with incredibly challenging issues, this oil spill constitutes one of the most devastating situations that our community has dealt with in decades," said Huntington Beach Mayor Kim Carr. "We are doing everything in our power to protect

[See Spill, A6]

## Justices to weigh abortion, guns in new term

In recasting laws, the Supreme Court could reveal how far the right has moved.

By DAVID G. SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court is set to expand gun rights and restrict abortion rights in a new term that begins Monday, one that could reveal how fast and how far the conservative majority will move the law to the right.

"This term will reveal whether it is a far-right or center-right court," said Aaron Tang, a UC Davis law professor and former clerk for Justice Sonia Sotomayor.

In addition to guns and abortion, college affirmative action will likely come before the court in the year ahead. All are areas in which conservatives have been eager to recast the law, and with a 6-3 majority, the justices are poised to do just that.

For a decade, gun rights advocates have grumbled as the court refused to hear challenges to laws in California, New York and other blue states that restrict who can carry firearms in public or prohibit sales of some rapid-

[See Justices, A8]

## Operation had turbulent record

Bankruptcy and pattern of federal violations preceded leak

By CONNOR SHEETS, ROBERT J. LOPEZ, ROSANNA XIA AND ADAM ELMHREK

The owner of an offshore oil operation that spewed at least 126,000 gallons of crude oil into the Pacific Ocean and fouled Orange County beaches had emerged from bankruptcy just four years ago and amassed a long record of federal noncompliance incidents and violations.

As divers for Houston-based Amplify Energy Corp. on Sunday searched for the location and cause of the massive leak, public records revealed a pattern of changing ownership and compliance warnings for the company. Amplify had also been working to upgrade its aging infrastructure and had plans to initiate new drilling near the leak site in the final three months of this year, according to company records. It remains unclear whether the drilling had commenced or whether the work was connected to the leak.

Government officials say the spill originated from a broken pipeline off the coast



**CREWS** work to clean up the oil spill along the Huntington Beach shore Sunday.

of Huntington Beach that runs from the Port of Long Beach to a production and processing platform called Elly, located in the Beta Field, an accumulation of oil nine miles from the California coast. Drilling in the Beta Field, which was discovered by a consortium led by Shell Oil Co. in 1976, began in 1980 and oil production started in January 1981.

The exact cause of the leak remains unclear. But the devastating scope of the spill is already renewing

[See Owner, A7]

## Residents question delay in public warning

By HANNAH FRY, JACLYN COSGROVE, RONG-GONG LIN II AND ANH DO

TK Brimer was getting ready to close up his surf shop, Frog House, Friday evening when he smelled

something like tar in the air. Brimer, who has owned the shop just steps from the sand on West Coast Highway for more than 40 years, is used to the unique odors that sometimes drift from the nearby coastline. But the aroma that hung outside his shop at 6:30 p.m. was

unique, he said. Around that time, the Newport Beach Police Department's phones started ringing with residents throughout the city reporting the smell of gas. Police received enough inquiries that the department sent out a community advisory about

7:45 p.m. saying authorities were checking it out.

But it was not until 24 hours later that authorities raised alarms that the Orange County coast was dealing with a massive oil spill with potentially catastrophic consequences.

[See Warning, A7]

**SURREAL SESSION:** The air smelled of exhaust, and the dolphins appeared to be frantic. Were they warning this surfer? CALIFORNIA, B1

### MY COUNTRY

## A quest for Puerto Rican statehood, racial justice

By Tyrone Beason

REPORTING FROM SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

Kemuel Delgado rolls his eyes as he drives down a highway and sees a sculpture featuring Christopher Columbus, called "Birth of the New World," looming over the Atlantic coastline. It stands taller than the Statue of Liberty.

This tribute to the explorer who landed in Puerto Rico in 1493 is just another reminder of how Delgado's people endured 400 years of Spanish rule before the U.S. took control in 1898, treating islanders as colonial subjects in its own way. "As someone who has lived colonialism," says Delgado, "I've never known freedom."

Though granted U.S. citizenship in 1917, Puerto Ricans who reside in the island territory aren't allowed to cast ballots for president, and

[See Puerto Rico, A14]



**KEMUEL DELGADO** didn't have race in mind when he joined the push for Puerto Rican statehood, but his awareness grew with his activism. GABRIELLA N. BAEZ For The Times

### San Francisco claims NL West

Dodgers' 106th win, over Milwaukee, is not enough to extend their eight-year divisional supremacy. **SPORTS, D1**

### Why China can't keep its lights on

Outages leave people frustrated and worried. Coal is part of the problem. **WORLD, A3**

### Garcetti, staff in holding pattern

L.A. mayor awaits Senate confirmation as U.S. ambassador to India. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

### Weather

Partly sunny. L.A. Basin: 86/62. **B6**





## Troubling holdouts in police, fire units

Resistance to vaccines among first responders worries health experts

BY MARK BERMAN

When the coronavirus vaccines were first rolled out, the national Fraternal Order of Police went to the federal government, pleading for law enforcement officers to have “expedited access” to the shots. Police, the group wrote, needed the vaccines “to keep them, and the public with whom they interact, safe from infection.”

But to the group’s surprise, officers did not rush to get the shot. And months later, with the vaccines widely available across the country, scores remain unvaccinated.

“We worked very hard, along with others, to ensure that police officers had early availability on a premise that they’d all want it,” said James Pasco, FOP executive director.

Nearly a quarter of Americans age 18 and older remain unvaccinated, according to a Washington Post analysis of federal data, frustrating officials and fueling bitter debates. Yet the continued resistance among the first responders included in those tens of millions is particularly troubling and creates a different kind of threat, experts say.

Given the nature of their jobs, first responders regularly have

SEE RESPONDERS ON A8

## Alabama’s legacies divided by funding

BY EMMANUEL FELTON

MOUNTAIN CREEK, ALA. — Down a country road, past a collection of ramshackle mobile homes, sits a 102-acre “shrine to the honor of Alabama’s citizens of the Confederacy.”

The state’s Confederate Memorial Park is a sprawling complex, home to a small museum and two well-manicured cemeteries with neat rows of headstones — that look a lot like those in Arlington National Cemetery — for hundreds of Confederate veterans. The museum, which director Calvin Chappelle said has about 30,000 visitors a year, seeks to tell an “impartial” history of the Civil War.

The museum’s exhibits explain what the White Alabamians who took up the cause of the Confederacy felt on the line — Alabama was 10th of the then 33 states in the value of livestock, seventh in peas and beans, and second in cotton production. The only hope

SEE ALABAMA ON A4

PANDORA PAPERS | A GLOBAL INVESTIGATION

# BILLIONS HIDDEN BEYOND REACH

Trove of secret files details opaque financial universe where global elite shield riches from taxes, probes and accountability

BY GREG MILLER, DEBBIE CENZIPER AND PETER WHORISKEY

A massive trove of private financial records shared with The Washington Post exposes vast reaches of the secretive offshore system used to hide billions of dollars from tax authorities, creditors, criminal investigators and — in 14 cases involving current country leaders — citizens around the world.

The revelations include more than \$100 million spent by King Abdullah II of Jordan on luxury homes in Malibu, Calif., and other locations; millions of dollars in



Clockwise from top left: Uhuru Kenyatta, King Abdullah II, Sebastián Piñera and Andrej Babiš

property and cash secretly owned by the leaders of the Czech Republic, Kenya, Ecuador and other countries; and a waterfront home in Monaco acquired by a Russian woman who gained considerable wealth after she reportedly had a child with Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Other disclosures hit closer to home for U.S. officials and other Western leaders who frequently condemn smaller countries whose permissive banking systems have been exploited for decades by looters of assets and launderers of dirty money.

SEE PANDORA PAPERS ON A11



JAEIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

King Abdullah II of Jordan at Capitol Hill in July. Secret documents obtained by a journalism consortium show that Abdullah used front companies to hide his acquisition of multimillion-dollar luxury properties in Britain and the United States.

## As his country struggles, King Abdullah of Jordan secretly splurges abroad

BY GREG MILLER

While billions of dollars in American aid poured into Jordan over the past decade, a secret stream of money was flowing in the opposite direction as the country’s ruler, King Abdullah II, spent millions on extravagant homes in the United States.

Using an extensive network of offshore accounts that disguised his transactions, Abdullah purchased lavish properties on both coasts with funds whose origin remains unclear, according to a trove of financial documents obtained by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICJI) and reviewed by The Washington Post.



Monte Carlo mystery  
Luxury apartment linked to woman allegedly involved with Putin. A15

Reaction to revelations  
World leaders respond to reports about offshore assets. A10

Pandora Papers  
Follow the investigation online:  
wapo.st/pandorapapers

Between 2014 and 2017, companies associated with the king spent nearly \$70 million on three adjacent homes overlooking the Pacific Ocean in Southern California, according to the files and other documents, forming one of the largest bluff-top complexes in the celebrity enclave of Malibu.

At the center is a 14,000-square-foot Mediterranean-style mansion that has seven bedrooms and nine baths and is outfitted with a gym, theater, outdoor spa and infinity swimming pool — all set on more than 3½ acres of prime coastal property.

The acquisition of these homes followed similar transactions in Washington, D.C., where documents show that

SEE ABDULLAH ON A12

## Distrust threatens Biden’s agenda

DEMOCRATS’ DIVIDE DEEPER THAN POLICY

Delivery deemed vital ahead of 2022 midterms

BY MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR

Many liberals don’t trust moderates. Key moderates no longer trust congressional leaders or the White House. And few in the House trust the Senate.

As Democrats embark this week on their latest effort to save President Biden’s agenda, they are dealing with more than policy differences among their razor-thin majority.

The rival factions sparring over when and how to pass an upgrade to the country’s roads, bridges and Internet connections as well as an expansion of health-care, education and climate change programs have made clear in recent days that the trust needed to get these policies into law has greatly eroded.

Democratic leaders’ ability to rebuild unity and get their two-pronged legislative strategy back on track will be paramount to whether they close out the year having delivered on the promises they made to voters as the party heads into what is expected to be a difficult 2022 midterm election.

“There’s no win for anybody until we get both of these bills done. Let’s all be clear about that. We have to be successful,” said Rep. Peter Welch (D-Vt.), who

SEE DEMOCRATS ON A6

## Navy hit by another bribery scandal

BY CRAIG WHITLOCK

Federal agents are investigating a new U.S. Navy corruption case that has strong echoes of the Fat Leonard scandal, with a defense contractor facing accusations that he delivered cash bribes and bilked the Navy out of at least \$50 million to service its ships in foreign ports, according to recently unsealed court records.

The Justice Department is trying to extradite the contractor — Frank Rafaraci, chief executive of Multinational Logistics Services, or MLS — from Malta, the Mediterranean island where he was arrested last week after an international manhunt.

Rafaraci, 68, is a dual U.S.-Italian citizen who splits his time between the United Arab Emirates and Sicily. Since 2010, the Navy and federal agencies have awarded MLS about \$1.3 billion in contracts to resupply and refuel U.S. warships in the Middle

SEE NAVY ON A7

## IN THE NEWS



MARIO TAMA/GETTY IMAGES

**Oil spill** Officials warned of a potential ecological disaster after over 120,000 gallons leaked from a rig off the California coast. A2

**MLB playoff field is set** The Yankees and Red Sox clinch spots on the season’s final day; they meet in a wild-card game Tuesday. D1

**THE NATION**  
**Four of the country’s** largest chain pharmacies face a federal trial that could serve as a litmus test for jurisdictions looking to hold them accountable for their role in the opioid crisis. A4  
**Ex-Facebook employee** Frances Haugen was revealed as the source behind leaked files that plunged the company into scandal. A5

**THE WORLD**  
**Portugal’s** nearly complete vaccination campaign has turned the nation into a place where otherwise hypothetical

questions about the coronavirus endgame can begin to play out. A18  
**The worst election result** in its history has triggered a reckoning for German Chancellor Angela Merkel’s party as she nears an exit. A20

**THE ECONOMY**  
**A number of tech firms** are convinced that sophisticated screens incorporated into wearables could represent the future of work. A22

**THE REGION**  
**Several hundred** hospital workers in Virginia have been suspended or lost their jobs because

they refused to get a coronavirus vaccine. B1  
**Inner Ear Studios**, a legendary punk studio in Arlington, is being razed to make way for an arts district. B1

### THE WEEK AHEAD

**MONDAY**  
**Secretary of State** Antony Blinken travels to Paris to chair a meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.  
**The Supreme Court** issues orders and kicks off days of hearing arguments.

**TUESDAY**  
**A Facebook** whistleblower testifies during a Senate Commerce sub-

committee hearing.  
**NATO** Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg speaks during a Brookings Institution forum.

**WEDNESDAY**  
**President Biden** is expected to travel across the country to discuss his “Build Back Better” agenda and promote the coronavirus vaccines.

**THURSDAY**  
**Jobless claims** are estimated at 348,000.

**FRIDAY**  
**Blinken**, U.S. Attorney General Merrick Garland and Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas hold security talks with Mexican leaders.

## INSIDE



**STYLE**  
**Visiting graves** David Chase, creator of HBO’s “The Sopranos,” discusses getting over his fear and returning to that world on the big screen. C1

**Sound familiar?** How the Wilhelm scream went from an in-joke to one of Hollywood’s most enduring effects. C1

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WORLD NEWS	A18

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## Más tensión en el sur: otro ataque en El Bolsón

Incendiaron el Centro de Informes Turísticos de esa localidad; para las autoridades locales, se trató de un atentado. **Página 24**



## A LA ARGENTINA SE LE ESCAPÓ EL MUNDIAL DE FUTSAL

—deportes

En el último segundo, el palo le negó el empate que habría llevado la final ante Portugal al alargue; cayó 2 a 1 y no pudo alcanzar el bicampeonato. **Página 6**

## CON EL DE MEDICINA, EMPIEZA LA DANZA DE LOS NOBEL

—cultura

Hoy se anuncia el primer galardón; una de las mayores expectativas está puesta en el de Literatura, que se conocerá el jueves. **Página 22**

# LA NACION

LUNES 4 DE OCTUBRE DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

## El Gobierno prevé subas en planes y recortes en salud

**ECONOMÍA.** El presupuesto para 2022 incluye aumentos para la Tarjeta Alimentar y el plan Potenciar Trabajo; disminuye partidas para asistencia a empresas y compras de vacunas

El presupuesto para 2022 diseñado por el ministro de Economía, Martín Guzmán, contempla importantes aumentos en los planes sociales que manejan La Cúmpora y el Movimiento Evita, y, por otro lado, una fuerte reducción en los gastos de salud, empleo y subsidios de distinto tipo.

Con el índice de pobreza por enci-

ma del 40%, el Ministerio de Economía mantuvo elevadas las partidas destinadas a los programas asistenciales de la Tarjeta Alimentar—a cargo de la secretaria de Inclusión Social, Laura Alonso, de La Cúmpora—, que suben 68%, y el programa Potenciar Trabajo—a cargo del secretario de Economía Social, Emilio Pérsico, del

Movimiento Evita—, que crece 43%. El año próximo también habrá bajas presupuestarias en programas de salud y en los planes destinados a dar auxilio financiero a las empresas afectadas por la pandemia. Según se refleja en el proyecto de presupuesto, el Gobierno no prevé una nueva ola de Covid-19 y, en línea con esa premisa,

redujo drásticamente algunos programas dispuestos en la emergencia, como el Repro. También reduce el presupuesto para compra de vacunas en relación con la inflación. **Página 8**

**Alto costo y pocos beneficios, el saldo de las medidas electorales**  
Camila Dolabjian. **Página 14**

### EL ESCENARIO

Máximo rompe y no construye

Claudio Jacquelin

—LA NACION—

A medida que se despeja el polvo de la implosión del primer gobierno frentedista emergen algunas certezas. En la Nación y en la provincia nadie duda de que Máximo Kirchner fue decisivo para demoler los edificios originales de Alberto Fernández y Axel Kicillof. Continúa en la página 9

## River festejó con más gente que la permitida

**deportes—** Una tarde inolvidable para River: con dos goles de Julián Álvarez, superó por 2-1 a Boca y saltó a la punta del campeonato. En el regreso de los hinchas a los estadios, y tal como se había observado también en otras canchas, en el Monumental se superó ampliamente el aforo del 50% que solo autorizaba 36.000 espectadores.



La emoción de Enzo Pérez de cara al público, que desbordó el aforo en Núñez, para celebrar uno de los goles de Álvarez

FABIÁN MARELLI

## La ocupación de camas UTI, en un mínimo

**COVID.** Ya se destinan a la atención de otras enfermedades. **Página 18**

### EL PULSO DEL CONSUMO

Aprendizajes en el regreso a la normalidad

Guillermo Oliveto

PARA LA NACION

**Página 15**

Los ciberdelitos crecieron 176% en la pandemia

**Página 26**



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## ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Sonia Guajajara

### Se vier, marco temporal vai aumentar conflitos

Para a coordenadora da Apib (Articulação para dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil), insegurança jurídica advém de deixar terras indígenas sem providência do Estado. A Apib levará à COP-26, em Glasgow, a defesa da demarcação como proteção ao ambiente. **A16**

## Marcia Castro

### Sindemia, ou quando 1+1 não é igual a 2

No Brasil, quase 600 mil vidas foram perdidas para a Covid-19, afetando desproporcionalmente os mais vulneráveis. Dinâmicas locais, descritas pelo conceito de sindemia, ampliam desigualdades. **Cotidiano B3**

Professora de saúde pública na Universidade Harvard estreia coluna.

### Médicos relatam pressão por kit Covid na Hapvida

Segundo profissionais, práticas como forçar prescrição do "kit Covid", mandar trocar receitas que não previam esses medicamentos e distribuir hidrócloroquina grátis eram comuns na rede, quarta maior operadora de saúde do país. **Saúde B1**

### Ensino remoto se torna desafio na rede privada de SP

Com mais de 90% dos alunos no modo presencial, rede particular tem dificuldades para manter prática a distância para os que optaram por seguir remotamente. Governo de SP estuda mudar regra e tornar presença obrigatória até o fim do ano. **Cotidiano B3**



Karlme Xavier/Folhapress

### RESTAURO DO COPAN É AUTORIZADO

Após dez anos, as obras para recuperar a fachada do edifício receberam aval do Conpresp, órgão municipal de patrimônio, e devem começar no segundo semestre de 2022. **Cotidiano B4**

# Marinha pune subalternos, mas poupa altos oficiais

Em 4 anos, não houve sanção para patentes mais altas; Exército e Aeronáutica alegam não ter dados consolidados

Dados obtidos pela Folha por meio da Lei de Acesso à Informação mostram que na Marinha é seguida uma rotina de punições a patentes inferiores e de blindagem a patentes elevadas. A distorção é motivo de insatisfação entre as tropas. Uma quantidade expressiva de casos é judicializada, com ações por reparação na Justiça Militar.

Entre 2017 e o início deste ano foram aplicadas 17 mil punições por transgressões de suboficiais, sargentos, cabos, marinheiros e soldados. Isso significa mais de dez ocorrências por dia, em média. A oficiais intermediários e subalternos, o número foi de 439 no período de pouco mais de quatro anos, ou uma a cada quatro dias.

Entre os oficiais superiores, houve somente 76 punições no mesmo período. Para os oficiais gerais, os de patente mais elevada, não houve nenhuma. Questionada sobre os números, a Marinha não respondeu. Já Exército e Aeronáutica alegaram que não dispõem de registros consolidados sobre o assunto. **Poder A4**

### Haitiano encara riscos para trocar Brasil pelos EUA

A combinação de recessão econômica no Brasil e mudança de governo nos Estados Unidos fez com que o fluxo de saída de haitianos daqui para lá explodisse a partir do início do ano. Muitos dos migrantes acreditaram erroneamente que a entrada em território americano seria facilitada com as políticas do presidente democrata Joe Biden. **Mundo A14**

### Empresa offshore de Guedes gera questionamento

O ministro da Economia, Paulo Guedes, e o presidente do Banco Central, Roberto Campos Neto, mantêm empresas em paraísos fiscais, situação em que pode haver conflitos de interesses, segundo especialistas. A existência desses investimentos foi revelada por veículos como a revista Piauí e o jornal El País, que participam de consórcio. **Mercado A18**

### STF pode liberar showmício na eleição de 2022

O STF (Supremo Tribunal Federal) julgará nos próximos dias ação em que pode liberar a realização de showmícios nas eleições de 2022. A ação, movida por PSB, PSOL e PT, questiona lei de 2006 que vetou as apresentações e pede a liberação de shows gratuitos, sem cachê. A jurisprudência do Judiciário sobre o tema se modificou nos últimos anos. **Poder A11**

### Senado indica que vai votar agenda econômica

Após rejeitar projetos como a MP da minirreforma trabalhista, senadores demonstram disposição em apreciar propostas consideradas prioritárias pela equipe de Paulo Guedes (Economia). **Mercado A17**

### Veículos apuram contas em paraísos fiscais

Investigação conduzida por mais de 140 veículos jornalísticos de 117 países começou a revelar a existência de contas e empresas em paraísos fiscais relacionadas a 35 líderes e ex-líderes mundiais. **Mundo A15**

### Ciro minimiza ataques e pede trégua a petistas

O presidencialista Jair Bolsonaro (PDT) minimizou os ataques que sofreu no ato pelo impeachment de Jair Bolsonaro, em São Paulo, e pediu uma trégua aos petistas em favor da deposição do presidente. **Poder A8**

### MPME A24

Arenas de beach tennis investem em serviços de clube para atrair clientes

### Esporte B6

Para viúvas da Chape corretor de seguros é grande responsável pela tragédia

### Ilustrada C1

Autor cult, chileno Alejandro Zambra tem novo romance e obra reunida no país

### Total da população vacinada

	ao menos uma dose*	totalmente vacinada**
<b>Brasil</b>	<b>71,1%</b>	<b>43,9%</b>
MS	75,9%	58,1%
SP	81,7%	52,9%
RS	74,7%	50,2%

### Números da pandemia

	Casos	Óbitos
<b>Total</b>	<b>21,5 mi</b>	<b>598 mil</b>
Méd. móvel	16,6 mil	500
Variação***	-51,5%	-10,4%
Em 24 h	9,2 mil	237

Dados das 20h de 3 out.  
\* Tomou dose única ou 1ª dose  
\*\* Tomou dose única ou 2ª dose  
\*\*\* Em relação a 14 dias

### EDITORIAIS A2

**Sem demagogia**  
Acerca de medidas contra inflação dos combustíveis.

**Sinecura militar**  
A respeito de salários pagos nas estatais federais.

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Del 16 al 23 de octubre, llega la mayor feria de la construcción, remodelación y decoración!

**Ulises Quintana y el hijo de OGD se postulan en comicios del domingo**

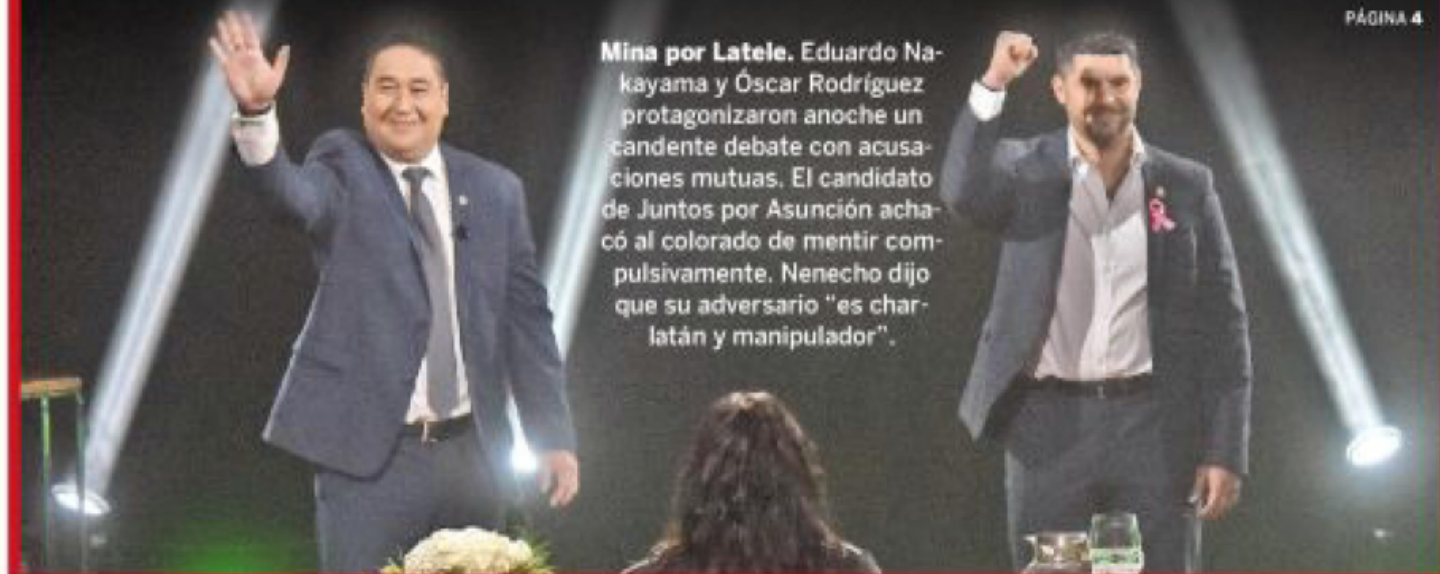
## A pasos de tortuga van las causas judiciales de políticos

Al menos cinco casos emblemáticos de corrupción están trabados en la Corte. Proceso a Camilo Soares se arrastra desde hace 11 años. Víctor Bogado chicanea con alevosía. **PÁGINA 44**

### Encendido debate entre intendentables de Asunción

**PÁGINA 4**

**Mina por Latele.** Eduardo Nakayama y Óscar Rodríguez protagonizaron anoche un candente debate con acusaciones mutuas. El candidato de Juntos por Asunción achacó al colorado de mentir compulsivamente. Nenecho dijo que su adversario "es charlatán y manipulador".



Ahora es Pandora Papers  
**Nuevo escándalo por paraísos fiscales afecta a Horacio Cartes**

**PÁGINAS 8 y 40**

En misa de Caacupé  
**Obispo pidió voto consciente para acabar con la corrupción**

**PÁGINA 7**

Negociados con limpieza  
**Tramas dudosas detrás de firmas con succulentos contratos**

**PÁGINA 11**

Flete caro, gran problema  
**Es casi un hecho que el precio del combustible tenga un nuevo ajuste**

**PÁGINA 12**

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## LE FIGARO

« Sans la littérature, il n'est point d'éloge flatteur » Beaumarchais

## LE FIGARO SANTÉ

ACCIDENTS : QUAND LA MAISON  
EST LE LIEU DE TOUS LES DANGERS  
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## JACQUES JULLIARD

« DROITE POLITIQUE  
ET GAUCHE CULTURELLE »  
PAGE 24PRÉSIDENTIELLE  
La majorité  
affiche son soutien  
à Macron

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ENTRETIEN  
Laurent Fabius :  
« Il faut pouvoir  
contrôler les lois sur  
l'état d'urgence »

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ROYAUME-UNI  
Après le Brexit,  
Boris Johnson  
se prépare  
à un « hiver du  
mécontentement »

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TÉLÉCOMS  
Semaine décisive  
pour l'avenir de  
Stéphane Richard  
à la tête d'Orange

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MODE  
Le show  
d'anthologie  
de Balenciaga  
au Théâtre  
du Châtelet

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**CHAMPS LIBRES**

- L'affaire Benalla, histoire d'une chute qui a fait trembler l'État
- Pourquoi la démocratie s'affaiblit-elle en Afrique francophone ?
- La chronique de Nicolas Baverez
- La tribune de Julien Denormandie

PAGES 22, 23 ET 25

FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NONRéponses à la question  
de samedi :  
Pensez-vous que la droite  
parviendra à désigner  
un candidat unique ?

OUI 27% NON 73%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 153 268

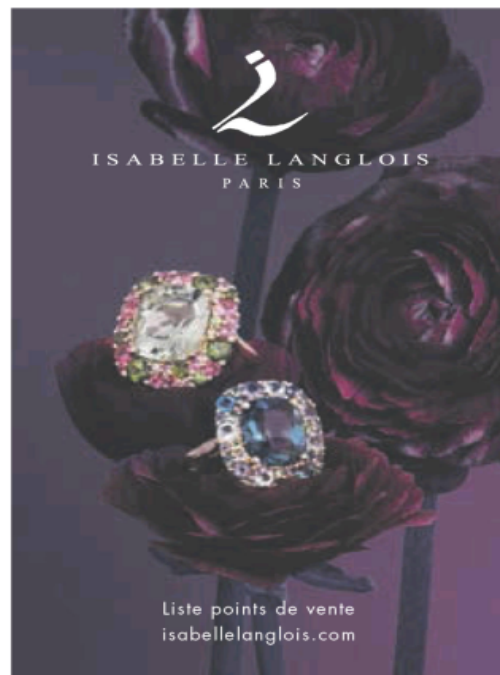
Votez aujourd'hui  
sur lefigaro.frLa crise diplomatique  
entre la France et l'Algérie  
vous inquiète-t-elle ?ILLUSTRATION : FABIEN CLAIREFOND -  
LUIGI MARIN/AFPBernard Tapie,  
la rage de vaincreL'homme d'affaires s'est éteint dimanche des suites  
d'une longue maladie. Adulé ou détesté, cet homme  
aux vies multiples aura marqué son époque.  
Le monde politique lui a rendu hommage. PAGES 2 À 7 ET L'EDITORIAL

ERIC CABANS/AFP

Les prix de l'énergie  
agitent le débat budgétaireLe projet de loi de finances  
2022 arrive à l'Assemblée  
alors que les prix du gaz et de  
l'électricité flambent. Les  
députés d'opposition prô-  
nent des mesures pour pré-  
server le pouvoir d'achat des  
Français, estimant que le« bouclier tarifaire » annoncé  
par le premier ministre, Jean  
Castex, est insuffisant. Mais  
les amendements des oppo-  
sitions risquent d'essuyer  
le refus d'une majorité  
qui, pour l'instant, fait  
bloc. PAGES 28 ET 29Nouvel accès de fièvre  
entre Paris et AlgerAprès des mois de tensions  
larvées, les relations entre Pa-  
ris et Alger dégénèrent en crise  
ouverte. En réponse à de ré-  
centes déclarations attribuées  
à Emmanuel Macron, les auto-  
rités algériennes ont décidé de  
fermer dimanche leur espaceaérien aux avions militaires  
français déployés dans le cadre  
de l'opération Barkhane. La  
veille, elles avaient appelé  
leur ambassadeur à Paris et  
dénoncé les « propos irrespon-  
sables » du président français.  
PAGE 12

ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thérard ythread@lefigaro.fr

## Fureur de vivre

Bernard Tapie est parti. Finalement,  
serait-on tenté d'ajouter. Il nous  
avait presque convaincus qu'il  
pouvait aussi décider de ne pas  
mourir ! Le propos est sans doute  
saugrenu, mais correspond à l'idée qu'il avait  
de l'existence. Même face au cancer, disait-  
il, rien n'est jamais déterminé à l'avance.  
Quand on veut, on peut, et on gagne. Alors  
pourquoi pas contre la mort ? Ainsi était cet  
homme, sans limites, toujours prêt à défier  
l'impossible, persuadé que la vie était un  
combat. Il lui fallait démontrer, d'abord à  
lui-même, qu'il était le meilleur, le plus fort,  
le plus rusé. En toutes circonstances, seule la  
victoire comptait.Cette rage de vaincre, obsessionnelle, lui te-  
nait lieu de philosophie. Elle lui a d'abord at-  
tiré nombre d'ennuis et de critiques, avant de  
susciter, ces dernières années, dans la dou-  
leur, beaucoup d'admiration et de respect.  
Même chez ses pires ennemis. Cet ultime re-  
tour de situation lui arrachait des lar-  
mes. Soudain, le prédateur était devenu vic-  
time ; le voleur, un bienfaiteur ; le bandit, un  
exemple à saluer. Sans doute était-ce là son  
plus beau trophée. Il savourait sa revanchealors que la maladie l'avait physiquement  
défiguré. Son honneur était sauf, sa dignité,  
reconnue, il pouvait donc tirer sa révérence.  
Polémiques et critiques ont, pendant des dé-  
cennies, accompagné les aventures de  
Bernard Tapie. Il en a joué autant qu'il en a  
souffert. Mitterrand, Le Pen, Marseille, OM,  
Adidas, arbitrage... Ces mots claquent, syno-  
nymes de fric, d'affairisme, de trucage. Le  
culot et la gouaille  
du beau gosse en  
irritaient certains,  
en ravissaient  
d'autres. Une his-  
toire bien française,  
somme toute, dans  
un pays où le succès  
est toujours un peu  
suspect, mais où les affranchis du système  
sont applaudis pour leur audace. Bernard  
Tapie était le miroir des contradictions et des  
fractures du roman national. Mi-Comte de  
Monte-Cristo, mi-Jean Valjean, il a su écrire  
sa légende. Il en a maîtrisé chacun des cha-  
pitres jusqu'au bout, car nul ne pouvait lui dic-  
ter sa conduite. Cet homme d'instinct  
n'obéissait qu'à sa fureur de vivre. ■Bernard  
Tapie était  
le miroir  
des fractures  
du roman  
nationalListe points de vente  
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## Tory party conference PM under fire over supply chain crisis

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## London Marathon Thousands return to streets of capital

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### Moscow to Monaco

Hidden riches  
of Putin's inner  
circle uncovered

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### King of Jordan

Global property  
empire worth  
more than \$100m

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**Blairs** How they saved  
£300,000 in stamp duty Page 7

**Day 1** The global picture  
How rich avoid scrutiny



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