

What's News

Business & Finance

Facebook whistleblower Frances Haugen testified to Congress on internal documents showing harms from the company's products, adding fuel to efforts to pass tougher regulations on Big Tech. **A1, A2**

◆ **A simple technical mistake** caused a global outage Monday that left more than 2.9 billion internet users unable to access Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp and other tools, Facebook said. **B1**

◆ **Some banks are nudging** Visa to change the way it processes certain Apple Pay transactions, a change that would trim the fees that banks pay to Apple. **A1**

◆ **U.S. stocks rose** after Monday's tech-driven selloff, with the Nasdaq, S&P 500 and Dow gaining 1.3%, 1.1% and 0.9%, respectively. **B13**

◆ **The U.S. trade deficit** widened to a record in August as American consumers continued to show a strong appetite for imported goods such as pharmaceutical products, toys and clothing. **A2**

◆ **The president said** he has confidence in Fed Chairman Powell after Sen. Warren on Tuesday escalated her criticism of the central bank's leader. **A2**

◆ **Leahy said** he has a significant stake in Southwest Gas and is pushing the Nevada utility to abandon a planned acquisition and focus on improving its share price. **B1**

◆ **PepsiCo raised** its guidance for the full year as the snacks-and-beverage giant reported an increase in quarterly net revenue, though profit fell as costs rose. **B3**

World-Wide

◆ **Top Senate Democrats** and Republicans blamed each other for the failure of Congress to raise the nation's debt ceiling, with some Democrats floating possible changes to the Senate's filibuster rule to resolve the impasse, ahead of a possible default in as little as two weeks. **A4**

◆ **Democrats wrestled** with how to squeeze their wish list of programs and tax changes into a social policy and climate package whose size and scope centrists in the party are willing to support. **A4**

◆ **Top health officials** knew of complaints about a pedophile doctor abusing Native American boys at IHS hospitals years earlier than the agency has previously acknowledged, according to an internal investigation. **A1**

◆ **The Justice Department** is reviewing its decision not to prosecute the FBI agents who disregarded Olympic gymnasts' allegations that Nassar sexually assaulted them and later made false statements to cover their mistakes. **A3**

◆ **Johnson & Johnson** asked U.S. health regulators to authorize a booster dose for its Covid-19 vaccine. **A7**

◆ **The Nobel in physics** was awarded to three scientists for work that laid the foundation for computer models that explore how human activity is changing global climate. **A3**

◆ **An investigation** of the Catholic Church in France found that priests, church employees and volunteers sexually abused approximately 330,000 minors since 1950. **A8**

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Biden Hits Road as Negotiations Drag On in Washington



SALES JOB: President Biden went to a union training center in Howell, Mich., Tuesday to pitch his plans for infrastructure and social spending, but back in the capital, Democrats were still haggling over the size and shape of a key part of the agenda. **A4**

Banks Challenge Apple Pay Over Fees for Transactions

By ANNA MARIA ANDRIOTIS

Banks rushed to work with the Apple Pay mobile wallet when it launched in 2014. They have some regrets. When Apple Pay launched, the tech giant got big banks including JPMorgan Chase & Co., Capital One Financial Corp. and Bank of America Corp. to agree to pay fees that would allow their cardholders to pay by iPhone. But some banks have grown unhappy with the costs, especially after

Apple Inc. introduced its own new credit card in 2019, according to people familiar with the matter.

Some banks are pushing back, nudging card network Visa Inc. to change the way it processes certain Apple Pay transactions, according to some of the people. The change would trim the fees that banks pay to Apple.

Visa plans to implement the change next year, according to people familiar with the matter and a document viewed by

The Wall Street Journal. Apple executives have told Visa executives they oppose the change, the people said. The two companies are in discussions and it is possible the planned change won't kick in.

Currently, banks pay Apple a fee when their cardholders use Apple Pay. Under the planned new process, the fees wouldn't apply on automatic recurring payments such as gym memberships and streaming services.

The dispute reflects a long-

running tension between the giants of tech and finance. Companies such as Apple and Amazon.com Inc. have been expanding in consumer payments for years. The banks have often rushed into deals with them, afraid of being left behind. But the deals don't always work out: Alphabet Inc.'s Google, for instance, is abandoning plans to pitch bank accounts to users.

Apple said in a statement that "our banking partners are

Please turn to page A4

Facebook Hearing Fuels Call For Reins On Tech

Former employee says social network placed profit ahead of safety, singles out Zuckerberg

By JOHN D. MCKINNON AND RYAN TRACY

WASHINGTON—Facebook Inc. whistleblower Frances Haugen testified to Congress on Tuesday on internal documents showing harms from the company's products—from teenagers' mental-health problems to poisoned political debate—adding fuel to efforts to pass tougher regulations on Big Tech.

The documents gathered by Ms. Haugen, which provided the foundation for The Wall Street Journal's Facebook Files series, show how the company's moderation rules favor elites; how its algorithms foster discord; and how drug cartels and human traffickers use its services openly.

"I saw Facebook repeatedly encounter conflicts between its own profit and our safety. Facebook consistently resolved these conflicts in favor of its own profits," Ms. Haugen told a Senate consumer protection subcommittee. "As long as Facebook is operating in the shadows, hiding its research from public scrutiny, it is unaccountable. Until the incentives change, Facebook will

Please turn to page A2

◆ Facebook blames internal mistake for outage... **B1**

SEC Chief Maps Out Regulatory Objectives

By PAUL KIERNAN AND DAVE MICHAELS

WASHINGTON—Wall Street's top regulator has outlined an aggressive regulatory agenda that threatens to squeeze the financial industry's profit margins.

Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman Gary Gensler is working on tougher rules for high-speed trading firms, private-equity managers, mutual funds and online brokerages. Mr. Gensler, less than six months on the job, said he wants to make the capital markets less costly for companies raising money as well as for ordinary investors saving for retirement. His main targets are what he said are profits and salaries earned above what a purely competitive market would allow, known as economic rents.

"I hope that we address, and try to lower, the economic rents in our capital markets," Mr. Gensler said. He noted that finance as a share of U.S. economic output had more than doubled since 1950.

Please turn to page A6



JOANNA STERN
 Microsoft's Windows 11 is here, but should you hit the upgrade button? **A12**

INSIDE



BUSINESS & FINANCE
 An office romance is in the spotlight at the trial of Theranos founder Holmes. **B1**

HHS Officials Ignored Doctor-Abuse Reports

By CHRISTOPHER WEAVER AND DAN FROCH

Top health officials knew of complaints about a pedophile doctor abusing Native American boys at U.S. Indian Health Service hospitals years earlier than the agency has previously acknowledged, according to an internal investigation the agency released Tuesday after a legal effort by The Wall Street Journal's publisher,

Dow Jones & Co. The report shows that lawyers at the Department of Health and Human Services, which supervises the Indian Health Service, were notified of allegations against the doctor as early as 2009, and concludes that top regional officials also suspected him of abusing patients. In each instance, officials failed to act and protect children from further abuse.

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What's Better Than Watching 'Law & Order'?

For True-Crime Fans, Getting a Seat in a Real-Life Courtroom

By JENNIFER LEVITZ

BOSTON—The moment the tense crime drama concluded for the afternoon, the live audience began to argue the fine points of the plot.

Ruth Fisher, who is 77 and a retired sixth-grade teacher, praised the performance of a star character—a defense lawyer with a booming voice.

"Sometimes at the end, you kind of fall asleep," she said. "But he kind of woke us all up."

Her companion, Maryann

Hichar, who is 76 and also a retired elementary-school teacher, shook her head in disagreement. "Speak for yourself," she said.

The friends weren't critiquing a new hit show in the theater district but instead were in U.S. District Court in Boston,



How do you plead?

after the latest installment of the trial in the Varsity Blues college-admissions scandal. While others binge-watch Netflix, the retired teachers are part of a cadre of spectators who voluntarily—no summons needed—view real-life trials for fun or to keep more eyes on the justice system.

Trial watching is a long-standing pastime for true-crime fans and armchair legal analysts who prefer the authentic drama of live courtroom action

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Climate Change Tests Russia

Thawing permafrost cracks buildings, corrodes infrastructure

By ANN M. SIMMONS AND GEORGI KANTCHEV

YAKUTSK, Russia—Thawing earth once thought to be permanently frozen is springing to life and threatening a crucial chunk of Russia's economy.

The melting of the thick layer of the earth known as permafrost is a result of climate change, according to scientists and research from Russia's government. Two-thirds of the country sits on such soil, including much of its oil and gas infrastructure. Since 1976, Russia's average

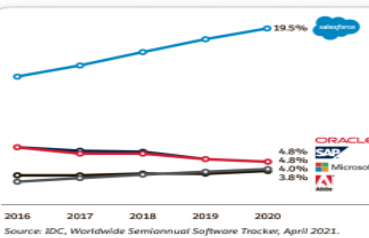
temperature has risen 0.92 degree Fahrenheit per decade, or 2½ times the global pace, government data shows.

Mines and plants are experiencing increasing corrosion leaks and cracks, stemming in large part from defrosting ground. In the pipeline industry, braces and other mechanisms, previously anchored into permafrost, often corrode, twist and bend when the earth below changes, according to ecologists and other researchers. Companies are

Please turn to page A10

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Ranked #1 for CRM Applications based on IDC 2020 Revenue Market Share Worldwide.



Source: IDC, Worldwide SaaS Revenue Market Share, April 2021.

salesforce.com/number1CRM

CRM market includes the following ITC-defined systems: Sales, Marketing, Customer Service, Contact Center, Advertising, and Digital Commerce Applications. © 2021 Salesforce.com, Inc. All rights reserved. Salesforce.com is a registered trademark of Salesforce.com, Inc., as are other names and marks.

Evergrande designs

China can capitalise on demise of property bubble — MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 17

French Fox

The news channel that put rightwinger Zemmour centre stage — BIG READ, PAGE 15



Silicon enhancement

Semiconductor supply chain needs a makeover — KATHRIN HILLE, PAGE 6

Gas squeeze hits bonds as investors fear wider damage

- European prices soar 23% to record
- UK gilts hit hard amid winter fears

DAVID SHEPPARD AND TOMMY STUBBINGTON — LONDON
HEEREN KHAN — LUXEMBOURG

European natural gas prices shot to record highs yesterday, dragging down bond markets in a sign that investors were expecting wider economic damage. European gas contracts for delivery in November leapt 23 per cent to €117.50 a megawatt hour, up from just €18 six months ago, amid the prospect of supply shortages over winter. UK prices also soared, breaching £3 a therm for the first time, with prices tripling in the past two months.

The latest price gains mean gas in the UK and Europe is trading at more than \$200 a barrel of oil equivalent — or almost three times the price of crude — with inflationary effects threatening to ripple through economies reliant on gas for heating and power generation.

Surging energy prices, which stem from a rapid increase in energy demand since lockdowns eased as well as government moves to cut reliance on highly polluting coal, have put pressure on governments and policymakers in Europe. Spain, Italy, France and Greece recently agreed subsidies to protect households from higher costs.

Ursula von der Leyen, head of the European Commission, said that Brussels would explore setting up common storage facilities for gas, warning about the continent's heavy dependence on Russia for imports, while praising Norway for taking steps to raise production. "We are very grateful Norway is stepping up but this does not seem to be the

case for Russia," von der Leyen said.

Russia, the largest supplier of natural gas to Europe, has restricted pipeline exports to long-term contracts, despite clear signs traders want more spot market sales to help fill storage facilities.

Russian president Vladimir Putin described the situation in Europe as one of "hysteria and confusion", blaming tight supplies on under-investment in fossil fuels as economies try to pivot towards renewable energy.

Ukraine and other eastern European countries have accused the Kremlin of attempting to "weaponise" natural gas supplies to secure quick approval to start up its Nord Stream 2 pipeline, which would carry Russian natural gas to Germany through the Baltic sea, bypassing Ukraine.

The gas price surge has added fuel to a recent drop in government bond prices, particularly in the UK where concerns about rising prices have been felt most acutely. Traders are pricing in a peak in the British consumer price inflation rate at nearly 6 per cent by next April.

UK 10-year gilt yields surged to 1.09 per cent, the highest since May 2019. Debt in the eurozone and the US also weakened, with 10-year US Treasury yields climbing close to last week's three-month high, as investors became increasingly concerned about inflation.

"Bond markets are trading off gas prices," said Mike Riddell, a portfolio manager at Allianz Global Investors. "The rise is so dramatic that it's forcing these concerns about stagflation."

Stagflation battle page 5

Shoot for the stars Mission possible as Russian film-maker makes space his set



Cosmonaut Anton Shkaplerov (bottom), actress Yulia Peresild (centre) and film director Klim Shipenko (top) wave as they board a Russian rocket before blasting off to the International Space Station from Kazakhstan yesterday.

The Russian film-maker will make movie history — and leave Hollywood in his trail —

when he shoots segments of *Challenge in Space*. In the film, a surgeon played by Peresild travels to the space station to save a crew member in need of an urgent operation in orbit.

Nasa said last year it was in talks with actor Tom Cruise and space aficionado Elon Musk about filming on the ISS with Space-X providing the lift.

Shipenko, who will complete the shooting on Earth after filming the movie's space episodes, said Shkaplerov and two other Russian cosmonauts now on board the station will all play parts in the new movie.

After 12 days on the space outpost, the movie duo are set to return to Earth with another Russian cosmonaut.

Briefing

► **Ireland near to joining global tax revamp**
Dublin has said it is "confident" of joining the rest of the world in setting a corporate tax floor, as a new OECD deal emerged. Ireland would drop the 12.5 per cent rate that is central to its economy. — PAGE 2

► **Gupta seeks to block aluminium move**
Tycoson Sanjeev Gupta's GFG Alliance has said it will start legal action to block a "predatory" attempt by US buyout group AIP to take control of Europe's biggest aluminium smelter "on the cheap". — PAGE 4

► **Prospect of Biden-Xi summit closer**
Meetings in Switzerland this week will include talks about a possible virtual summit between the US and Chinese presidents, a person familiar with the situation has revealed. — PAGE 4; FT VIEW, PAGE 16

► **IMF head calls for big push on vaccines**
Kristalina Georgieva, who is embroiled in a scandal over her previous role at the World Bank, has urged governments to step up vaccination rates and economic reforms. — PAGE 4

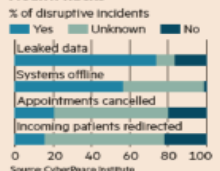
► **Climate scientists share Nobel Prize**
Klaus Hasselmann of the Max Planck Institute for Meteorology, Syukuro Manabe of Princeton and Giorgio Parisi of Sapienza University have taken the physics award for their climate work. — PAGE 3

► **Château purchase dogs Czech premier**
Revelations of Andrej Babis's secret \$22m purchase of a luxury property in France through offshore companies have added extra uncertainty to an already tight bid for a second term. — PAGE 2

► **Carmakers buy chips at record pace**
Semiconductor maker Infineon has said the level of car manufacturers' orders would be enough to build up to 120m vehicles a year once current supply constraints ease. — REPORT 6 INSIDE BUSINESS, PAGE 6

Datwatch

Health hacks



The health sectors of 34 countries have suffered 233 cyber attacks since June 2020. While their direct impact can be difficult to track, the attacks exposed more than 1m health records and took systems offline for up to 75 days.

Facebook chose to target engagement at users' expense, whistleblower says

KIRAN STACEY — WASHINGTON
TIM BRADSHAW — LONDON

Facebook repeatedly chose to maximise online engagement instead of minimising harm to users, as it struggled to keep staff and younger users, a whistleblower told Congress yesterday.

During testimony before the Senate commerce committee, Frances Haugen, a former Facebook employee, described how the company prioritised social interaction on its platforms, even when those interactions exacerbated addiction, bullying and eating disorders.

"Facebook knows that content that elicits an extreme reaction from you is more likely to get a click, a comment or reshare," she said. "They prioritise content in your feed, so you will give little hits of dopamine to your friends, and they will create more content."

Her testimony deepened the sense of crisis gathering around Facebook, just a day after a widespread outage made its popular apps inaccessible for hours, and strengthened calls from members of Congress from both parties for stricter regulation of its services. "Congress has to intervene," said Richard Blumenthal, the Democratic chair of the consumer protection subcommittee, who said the Securities and Exchange Commission and Federal Trade Commission should investigate Haugen's claims.

Haugen worked on Facebook's civil integrity unit until it was disbanded last year. She left the company this year, taking tens of thousands of pages of internal documents that she says show how the company hid the effect of its platforms on users, especially younger ones, such as teenage girls whose preoccupation with body image may be deepened

by viewing photos on Instagram.

During the hearing, she described how Facebook changed its algorithms in the run-up to the 2020 US election to make it less likely that harmful or false content would go viral, but then undid those changes immediately. She said the decision might have helped lead to the events of January 6, when rioters stormed the Capitol building.

In a separate complaint to the SEC, she alleged the company had concealed a years-long decline in younger users in the US. Haugen pointed to internal company projections that a drop in engagement from American teens could drive an overall decline in its US daily users by 45 per cent between 2021 and 2023. As a result, Haugen said Facebook tried to tempt more children on to its platforms.

Marjette Schaake page 17
Lex page 18

World Markets									
STOCK MARKETS					CURRENCIES				
	Oct 5	prev	5d chg		Oct 5	prev	Oct 5	prev	
S&P 500	4359.89	4300.46	1.30	\$ per £	1.159	1.162	\$ per €	0.734	0.735
Nasdaq Composite	14402.15	14235.49	1.45	\$ per ¥	1.382	1.380	€ per £	1.175	1.170
Dow Jones Ind	34433.13	34002.92	1.27	£ per €	0.851	0.855	¥ per €	129.308	128.658
FTSEurofirst 300	1764.68	1743.19	1.23	¥ per \$	111.540	110.855	€ index	81.468	81.217
Euro Stoxx 50	4034.65	3996.41	1.71	¥ per €	151.556	150.803	SFR per €	1.265	1.257
FTSE 100	7017.10	7011.03	0.94	SFR per £	1.076	1.074			
FTSE AEX Share	4044.05	4011.09	0.82	\$ per S	0.863	0.860			
CAC 40	6575.28	6477.06	1.52	COMMODITIES					
Stoxx 600	15191.48	15028.55	1.05		Oct 5	prev	5d chg		
Nikkei	27822.12	28444.09	-2.19	Oil WTI \$	78.89	77.62	1.64		
Hang Seng	24104.15	24036.32	0.28	Oil Brent \$	82.80	81.26	1.65		
MSCI World \$	2992.89	3022.83	-0.99	Gold \$	1754.55	1757.05	-0.14		
MSCI EM \$	1236.41	1246.00	-0.82						
MSCI ACWI \$	705.53	712.44	-0.97						

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A CLEANUP CREW works Tuesday off the coast of Orange County. A final determination for the cause of the oil spill may take months, but Coast Guard investigators believe a ship's anchor hooked the pipeline.

IRFAN KHAN Los Angeles Times

Did gridlock at ports have role in spill?

Pandemic bottleneck has meant more ships anchoring in waters around pipelines.

BY THOMAS GURWEN, RICHARD WINTON AND ANITA CHABRIA

In a year that has set records for the number of ships coming and going through the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach, Friday was not unusual. Winds were light, and the steady movement of traffic at sea was routine.

"I describe it as 'status quo,'" said Kip Louttit, executive director of the Marine Exchange of Southern California, the agency that directs local maritime traffic. But the status quo, compared with previous years, was extraordinary, given the heavy concentration of ships waiting offshore to deliver cargo. Container ship traffic has increased fivefold since 2019, and supply chains, affected by production slowdowns and high consumer demand related to the pandemic, are in an unprecedented bottleneck.

With Los Angeles and Long Beach harbors at near capacity, container ships and oil tankers have had to drop massive anchors in designated sites that place them near oil platforms and an undersea infrastructure of oil lines, sewage treatment pipes and communications equipment.

The combination of oil

production and global shipping in the same coastal area is now at the center of an investigation into the cause of a massive oil spill last week that sent crude onto Orange County beaches and sensitive wetland areas.

The U.S. Coast Guard is looking at the possibility that the crush of shipping traffic came into violent contact with this network of undersea infrastructure and triggered a spill that sent an estimated 144,000 gallons of oil into the ocean.

On Tuesday, diver reports and video from remotely operated submersibles showed that a 4,000-foot section of a nearly 18-mile oil pipeline had been displaced approximately 105 feet and had a 13-inch split along its length, according to the Joint Unified Command, which is overseeing the investigation.

The displacement, federal sources said, is best explained by a ship's anchor dragging across the ocean floor and hooking into the pipeline. There were multiple large cargo vessels in the immediate area of the leak before the oil was spotted.

A final determination for the cause of the spill may take months, but Coast Guard investigators have come up with no other explanation, federal sources said.

Marilyn W. Fisher, president and chief executive of the pipeline operator's parent, Amplify Energy Corp., described the force as pulling the pipe in an almost [See Anchor, A8]

Oversight failure nothing new

Oil platform regulation long dogged by problems, industry experts say

BY CONNOR SHEETS, ADAM ELMAHREK, ROBERT J. LOPEZ AND ROSANNA XIA

Government regulators have long failed to effectively oversee energy companies that rely on pipelines to transport large volumes of oil from offshore rigs, according to experts, environmental advocates and even reports by a federal watchdog agency.

Regulators admitted that inspection requirements for pipelines like the one that ruptured off the coast of Orange County in recent days are inadequate, records show, and environmentalists complain that federal authorities rely too heavily on oil companies to conduct their own checks of [See Oversight, A9]



OIL PLATFORMS Elly, left, and Ellen operate off Huntington Beach. Regulators admit that inspection rules for pipelines are inadequate, records show.

SEAN GREENE Los Angeles Times

Pipeline shutdown delayed 3 hours

Company knew of "possible failure" long before acting, federal regulators say. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Lawsuit is filed over oil's effects

The class action alleges lost wages and potential exposure to health hazards. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

COLUMN ONE

Miss Navajo must know the culture and wield a butcher knife

A mastery of tribal traditions is required at this days-long pageant

BY DAVID KELLY REPORTING FROM WINDOW ROCK, ARIZ.

The 69th annual Miss Navajo Nation Pageant began on a Monday just before 7 a.m. with three young women in long colorful dresses and aprons standing over a trio of trussed, bleating sheep.

The contestants patted the animals with small pine branches, blessing them. "Let's start the butchering," the emcee said.

The women drew knives, grabbed the sheep by their chins and slit their throats. Blood spilled into the dirt.

The pageant is a contest like no other. At a time when the traditional way of life is ebbing, the competition is meant to showcase a deep knowledge of Navajo culture, customs and language along with skills needed to thrive in the modern world.

After canceling the six-day pageant last fall because of COVID-19—which has killed more than 1,400 of the nearly 200,000 residents of the reservation here—tribal leaders resurrected it in early September, keeping the public out, but welcoming select journalists and a Navajo video crew that livestreamed the competition on YouTube and Facebook. [See Navajo, A7]

3 share Nobel physics award

Scientists found patterns in nature's apparent chaos, some crucial to climate forecasting. **PERSPECTIVES, A2**

Clearance sought for J&J boosters

Johnson & Johnson asks FDA regulators to allow additional doses of its COVID-19 vaccine. **NATION, A8**

New on TikTok: 'Slap a Teacher'

Educational leaders are warning school staff across the state about the disturbing challenge. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Weather Partly sunny and cool. L.A. Basin: 74/60. **B6**



BRIAN VAN DER BRUG Los Angeles Times

STRATFORD, a small farming town in the Central Valley, has seen its population shrink along with its water table, while temperatures rise.

Small town hollowed out by drought fights to survive

Stratford residents see a way of life worth saving

BY PRISCILLA VEGA

STRATFORD, Calif. — Ramon Chavez was a 7-year-old in Culiacán, Mexico, when his parents told him that they were traveling to the United States. He thought he was going to Disneyland.

They ended up in Stratford. Chavez spent his childhood and teenage years running around the small farming town in the Central Valley and swimming with his friends in the nearby canals. Everybody, as the saying goes, knew everybody. Small businesses, like gas stations and *mercados*, spoke to a self-sustaining life far from the conven-

iences of the big city.

"I fell in love with it ever since," said Chavez, now 39.

But like many rural towns in the American West, Stratford, about 40 miles south of Fresno in Kings County, is a shell of its humble heyday. It's fading amid ever-rising temperatures, years of drought and recession.

Westlake Farms, once the biggest employer in town, scaled down its 65,000 acres and had massive layoffs in 2000 to a bare-bones operation. U.S. census figures show Stratford's population shrank from 1,277 in 2010 to 901 in 2020.

Land sinks here, sometimes at nearly historic high [See Drought, A14]

L.A. adapts water sourcing to help other regions

The city will use more from the Colorado River, Garcetti says. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Afghans' Fulbright dreams slipping away

Coveted scholarships were almost theirs. But the Taliban came, and U.S. went silent.

BY DAVID PIERSON AND MARCUS YAM

KABUL, Afghanistan — Maryam Jami wanted to dedicate her life to helping Afghan refugees, one of the largest groups of displaced people in the world after more than four decades of war.

That ambition led the 23-year-old human rights advocate to apply for a Fulbright scholarship this year to earn a master of laws in the United States, a life-changing opportunity to bring much-needed international legal expertise back to her native Afghanistan.

She was told in April that she was one of only about 100 applicants in Afghanistan named a semifinalist for the prestigious U.S.-funded program. All Jami needed to do was sit for an online interview. Six months later, with her country in disarray and her safety in jeopardy as a woman living under Taliban rule, Jami is still waiting to hear about that interview.

She and many other [See Afghans, A4]

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

Shower 73/66 • Tomorrow: Mostly cloudy 75/66 BS

Democracy Dies in Darkness

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 2021 • \$2

Rift over Biden's agenda narrows

Liberal Democrats signal compromise on price tag of social spending bill

BY SEAN SULLIVAN, SEUNG MIN KIM AND MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR

HOWELL, MICH. — Democrats in a flurry of private talks are beginning to narrow their differences over the size of President Biden's sweeping safety-net bill, as liberals signal they are open to sizable concessions on the scope of what could be the most far-reaching social legislation in years.

The discussions, which remain highly fluid, suggest that Democratic leaders are pushing to move beyond a series of angry intraparty standoffs and focus instead on whether they can coalesce around a scaled-down package. The outcome of the talks will also decide the future of a bipartisan infrastructure bill that has been held hostage in the fight.

In a virtual meeting with about a dozen liberal Democrats on Monday, Biden suggested a package in the range of \$1.9 trillion to \$2.2 trillion for the safety-net bill, according to people with knowledge of the private discussion — significantly lower than his initial goal of \$3.5 trillion.

Rep. Pramila Jayapal (D-Wash.), leader of the influential Congressional Progressive Caucus, countered with a range of \$2.5 trillion to \$2.9 trillion, according to three of the people, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal deliberations. The gap between Biden's maximum and Jayapal's minimum marks a striking narrowing of differences from just last week.

Biden signaled another potential compromise when asked by reporters whether he would sign the bill if it includes the Hyde Amendment, a provision banning the use of federal funds for abortions, as some centrists want. "I'd sign it either way," said Biden, a position likely to anger liberals.

SEE DEMOCRATS ON A4

Domestic agenda: Democrats see reality and expectations collide. **A4**

PANDORA PAPERS | A GLOBAL INVESTIGATION



SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST

A late 12th-century statue of a standing Avalokitesvara is seen at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in May. The item was once owned by controversial antiquities dealer Douglas Latchford.

HUNT FOR LOOTED ART LEADS TO SECRET TRUSTS

Cambodia wants its religious artifacts. Leading museums hold dozens tied to indicted collector.

BY PETER WHORISKEY, MALIA POLITZER, DELPHINE RUYER AND SPENCER WOODMAN

For decades, Douglas Latchford cut a romantic figure: The genial Englishman was an explorer of jungle temples, a scholar and a connoisseur seduced by the exquisite details of ancient sculpture.

Helicoptering into remote Cambodia to visit Khmer Empire cities, he risked land mines to satisfy his curiosity. Beginning in the 1970s, he amassed one of the world's largest private collections of Khmer treasures, mostly Hindu and Buddhist sculpture, the remains of a civilization that flourished in Southeast Asia a thousand years ago. He co-wrote three glossy books on the subject.



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION

A Khmer Buddha head displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art that was a gift from Latchford in 1983.

U.S. sanctions harm Russian oligarchs
A rare look at the losses of Putin insiders — and how far they go to evade detection. **A15**

Political fallout from papers grows
Numerous probes have been announced, and many leaders face criticism. **A17**

Pandora Papers
Follow the investigation online
wapo.st/pandorapapers

SEE ANTIQUITIES ON A13

Hospital finances drained by delta

LESS-VACCINATED AREAS HIT HARDEST

Revenue fades, costs soar as stimulus funds run out

BY CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND

The ferocity of the delta variant surge has delivered a serious financial blow to hospital systems in parts of the country with low vaccination rates that are struggling to care for coronavirus patients, even as they combat plummeting income, reduced bailout funds and higher labor costs.

Many hospitals in Southern states and rural areas of the country — even in states with otherwise high vaccination rates — have been forced once again to temporarily curtail elective procedures such as hip replacements that bring in the most money.

Meanwhile, rates of burnout and nurse attrition have soared at institutions with overburdened ICUs and covid-19 wards, contributing to severe labor shortages that are driving up costs for replacement workers, hospital officials said.

Hospital officials had been hoping a semblance of normalcy would return as vaccines helped beat back the spread of the coronavirus. Instead, with huge swaths of the nation resistant to shots, and the delta variant driving a large wave of infection, they got what one administrator called a "triple whammy." Hiring temporary replacement workers drove extraordinary cost increases. Vital revenue from elective surgeries evaporated. And public taxpayer supporters to help providers through the crisis last year are drying up.

At Ballad Health, which runs 21 hospitals straddling eastern Tennessee and southwestern Virginia, the senior vice president and chief nursing executive, Lisa Smithgall, said the hospital system began the pandemic using fewer than 75 temporary contract nurses to fill holes in its roster of 3,500 acute-care nurses. That rose to 150 by August 2020, and to 450 in August 2021.

SEE VIRUS ON A7

Vaccine mandate: Businesses await details of federal rule. **A22**

Fallout continues as NWSL resumes

BY MOLLY HENSLEY-CLANCY

The National Women's Soccer League will return to the field Wednesday, but the fallout from allegations of player abuse is expected to continue, with players demanding widespread change from a league they say has failed to protect them.

On Tuesday, Washington Spirit CEO and controlling owner Steve Baldwin announced he would step down, ceding to a call from Spirit players that he resign following allegations of a toxic workplace and abuse by the team's former

Spirit CEO's resignation doesn't assuage players in women's soccer league

coach that were reported by The Washington Post.

But Spirit players pushed for even more, taking the remarkable step of issuing a unified call Tuesday night for Baldwin to sell his stake in the club to his female co-owner, Y. Michele Kang, and saying he had not gone far enough

in giving up control of the team by stepping down. He retained his seat on the team's three-person board of directors and appointed his successor, Ben Olsen, in a decision that players criticized given Olsen's lack of experience in the women's game.

"[Y]ou have always said you intended to hand the team over to female ownership. That moment is now," the players wrote.

The NWSL's commissioner, Lisa Baird, stepped down Friday. But protests from fans were held at several stadiums this weekend.

SEE SPIRIT ON A6

Congress urged to rein in Facebook

BY CAT ZAKRZEWSKI, CRISTIANO LIMA, ELIZABETH DWOSKIN AND WILL OREMUS



Frances Haugen said Facebook puts profits above user safety and views growth as its top priority.

Facebook whistleblower Frances Haugen on Tuesday told lawmakers that the company systematically and repeatedly prioritized profits over the safety of its users, painting a detailed picture of an organization where hunger to grow governed decisions, with little concern for the impact on society.

Her Senate committee testimony — based on her experience

working for the company's civic integrity division and thousands of documents she took with her before leaving in May — sought to highlight what she called a structure of incentivization, created by Facebook's leadership and implemented throughout the company.

By directing resources away from important safety programs and encouraging platform tweaks to fuel growth, these performance metrics dictated operations, Haugen said, a design that encouraged political divisions, mental health harms and even violence.

She pointed to Facebook chief executive Mark Zuckerberg as the enforcer of this system, arguing that he controls the most important decisions made at the company.

SEE FACEBOOK ON A21

The Critique: Whistleblower takes humanity's side over Facebook. **A2**

IN THE NEWS



MARIO TAMMA/GETTY IMAGES

Oil spill California lawmakers said they will push to block new drilling leases after the 144,000-gallon accident closed beaches. **A3**

Three winners The Nobel Prize in physics recognized one scientist's work on disorder and a pair's study of global warming. **A21**

THE NATION
A Texas board recommended a full posthumous pardon for George Floyd for a 2004 drug arrest made by a former Houston police officer. **A3**
Francis S. Collins, who has served for 12 years as director of the National Institutes of Health, announced he will step down. **A5**
The Justice Department is reviewing its decision not to charge FBI agents who failed to properly investigate sex abuse allegations against Larry Nassar, an official said. **A10**

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The United States has revived a mission to nab a retired general and alleged drug trafficker in Guinea-Bissau, but observers say his arrest could further destabilize that nation. **A12**
A report estimated that French Catholic clerics abused more than 200,000 minors over the past 70 years. **A18**
Under fire for abuses,

Egypt released a new human rights strategy to mixed reviews. **A19**

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Former president Donald Trump was left off the Forbes 400 list of the country's richest people for the first time in 25 years. **A20**
Social media sites have been inspiring bad financial decisions, columnist Michelle Singletary writes. **A24**
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A Loudoun County

parent organization sought the recall of five school board members over their alleged violation of Virginia open meeting laws. **B1**
In the tight Virginia gubernatorial race, Glenn Youngkin has been targeting critical race theory in schools, aiming to increase GOP turnout. **B1**
Roy C. McGrath, Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan's former chief of staff, was charged with defrauding a quasi-governmental agency he previously led. **B1**
The D.C. Council voted to expand the number of public-school students eligible for virtual learning. **B1**

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FOOD
The Korean Vegan
Joanne Lee Molinaro has overwhelmed social media with heartfelt stories of the dishes she makes. **E1**

STYLE
Cartoon chooser
At the New Yorker, Emma Allen brings a diverse array of talented artists to the magazine's venerated panels. **C1**

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Levantarán las restricciones para los vuelos internacionales

Regirá a partir del 19 de octubre; lo anunció la Administración Nacional de Aviación Civil, a partir de haber alcanzado el 50% de la población vacunada con dos dosis. **Página 20**



CLAVES DEL RETROCESO KIRCHNERISTA EN LAS VILLAS PORTEÑAS

—política

Los barrios populares eran bastiones muy fuertes del Frente de Todos, pero eso empezó a cambiar por un marcado desencanto social. **Página 14**

GUILLERMO CORIA: "EL PAÍS NO PUEDE TENER SOLO UNA COPA DAVIS"

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El nuevo capitán del equipo argentino desembarca con la intención de sumar a David Nalbandian en alguna de las funciones. **Página 15**

LA NACION

MIÉRCOLES 6 DE OCTUBRE DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

Renunció Elena Highton y se abren interrogantes sobre el futuro de la Corte Suprema

JUSTICIA. El retiro de la única mujer dará paso a un proceso de renovación del alto tribunal

La jueza Elena Highton renunció ayer a la Corte Suprema, una semana después de la elección de Horacio Rosatti como presidente del máximo tribunal en reemplazo de Carlos Rosenkrantz. Allegados a la única mujer que integraba ese cuerpo señalaron a LA NACION que la jueza

considera que ese cambio de autoridades marcó el fin de un ciclo en la Corte. Ahora se abrirá un período en el que el máximo tribunal deberá funcionar con cuatro miembros (como ya había ocurrido cuando renunció Raúl Zaffaroni) mientras se inicia un complejo proceso de nego-

ciaciones para cubrir la vacante que se producirá formalmente el próximo 1° de noviembre. A los miembros de la Corte los propone el Presidente, pero los debe avalar el Senado con dos tercios de los votos. El recambio podría modificar los equilibrios internos del tribunal. **Página 6**

EL ESCENARIO

Una salida que desafía a dos presidentes

Paz Rodríguez Niell
Página 6

Endurecen el cepo al dólar por la pérdida de reservas

MERCADO. Limitan el acceso a los financieros y el pago de importaciones

Cuando faltan menos de seis semanas para las elecciones y en momentos en que se alerta sobre las pérdidas de reservas del Banco Central (BCRA), el Gobierno anunció anoche medidas que restringen el acceso a los dólares financieros (MEP) e introdujo cambios en el pago de importaciones. Ayer, el Central debió vender US\$100 millones. **Página 15**

Nuevas revelaciones golpean más a Facebook

el mundo—WASHINGTON (De nuestro corresponsal).—Tras el apagón global de Facebook y sus plataformas, el gigante de internet recibió ayer otro golpe cuando la exempleada Frances Haugen denunció en el Senado norteamericano las malas prácticas de la compañía. **Página 2**



Frances Haugen testificó ayer contra Facebook ante un comité del Senado norteamericano

JABIN BOTSFOORD/AP

Máximo Kirchner no logró sesionar en Diputados

CONGRESO. El jefe de la bancada oficialista de Diputados, Máximo Kirchner, rechazó un acuerdo con la oposición y buscó imponer un temario propio con la ley de etiquetado de alimentos. No logró reunir el número para sesionar. **Página 12**

EL ANÁLISIS

El heredero que no aprendió nada

Joaquín Morales Solá
Página 13



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Santander

Los accionistas de Banco Santander Río S.A. no responden en exceso de su integración accionaria.

Ciência B6

Nobel de Física

Prêmio vai para estudo de sistemas complexos, com destaque para clima

Ciência B7

Maior cometa já descoberto viaja em direção à Terra, mas não colidirá com ela

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Estrela mundial da arte de rua, Shepard Fairey pinta mural em prédio de SP

Ilustrada C6

Restaurante A Casa do Porco fica em 17º lugar em lista de melhores do mundo

Não falta dinheiro para dar a pobres, diz Paes de Barros

COMO FUGIR DA POBREZA
Especialista em desigualdade, Ricardo Paes de Barros afirma ser "insensato" dizer que não há dinheiro para transferir aos mais pobres. Para ele, é preciso primeiro dar aos paupérrimos em vez de ampliar o Bolsa Família. Mercado A20

Militares recorrem a hierarquia para esconder punidos A12

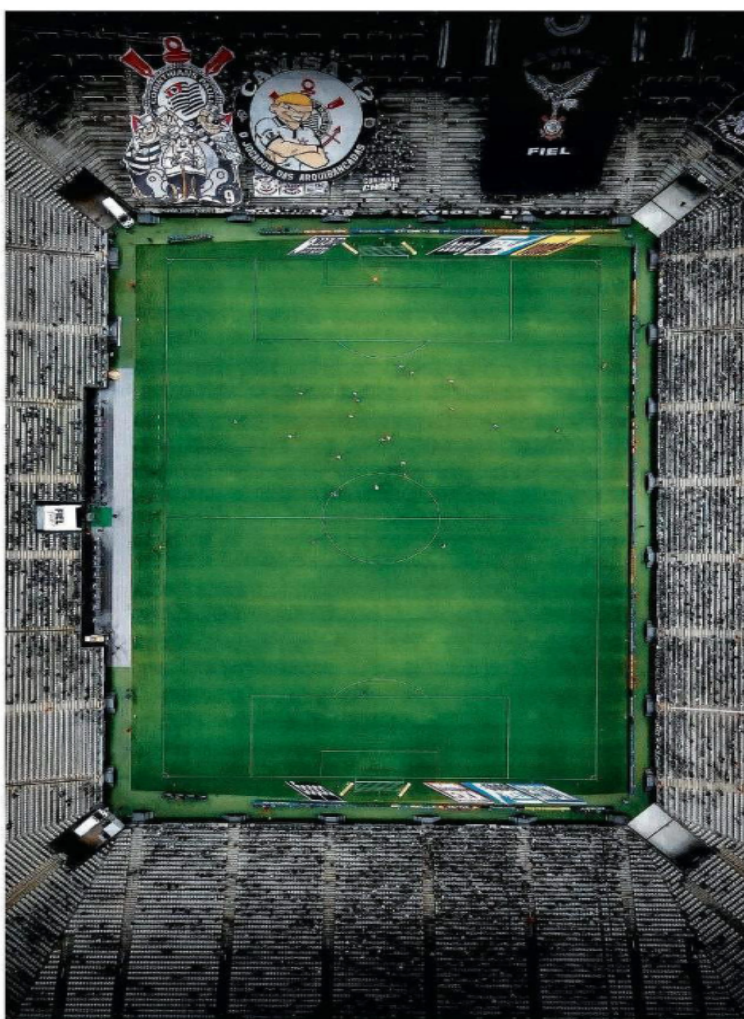
Padres na França abusaram de 200 mil crianças A15

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Por mais competição
A respeito de queda das plataformas do Facebook.

Fogo, terra, ar
Sobre tempestades de pó no interior de São Paulo.

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Eduardo Anzelli/Folhapress

CORINTHIANS VENCE NA VOLTA DA TORCIDA AO ITAQUERÃO

Com restrição de 30% da capacidade, estádio recebe 10,4 mil pessoas após 1 ano e 7 meses sem público por causa da pandemia; paulistas bateram Bahia por 3 a 1 pelo Brasileiro. Esporte B8

Facebook atribui apagão a uma mudança de configuração

Empresa afirma que pane global em suas plataformas ocorreu por falha de seu centro de dados. Mark Zuckerberg disse que o problema foi o pior em anos. Mercado A21

Ex-funcionária pede regulação de plataforma

Mercado A21

Procon ameaça multar WhatsApp em até R\$ 10,7 mi

Mercado A21

Lula e Bolsonaro priorizam Senado na disputa de 2022

Jair Bolsonaro e Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva devem priorizar a eleição de senadores aliados em detrimento dos governos estaduais. A ideia é dispor de uma bancada forte para ter sustentação no Congresso e reduzir a dependência de outros partidos. Poder A4

Prevent opera sete hospitais em São Paulo sem licença

Empresa, alvo da CPI da Covid, já foi multada e diz que prestará esclarecimentos às autoridades

Sete dos treze hospitais ou prontos-socorros da Prevent Senior, operadora de planos de saúde que se tornou alvo de questionamentos da CPI da Covid por supostamente testar medicamentos em pacientes sem seu consentimento, funcionam sem a devida licença na cidade de São Paulo.

A irregularidade, confirmada pela prefeitura paulistana, prevê pena de multas, fechamento administrativo e outras sanções. Em ações recentes, a empresa foi multada em R\$ 260,3 mil.

Operam sem aval as unidades de Santana, Santa Cecília, Liberdade, Mooca, Jardim Paulista, Pinheiros, e Vila Olímpia (esta, um hospital de campanha).

O prédio na Mooca (zona leste) também é alvo de investigação do Ministério Público por suposto envolvimento na chamada máfia do ISS, que cobra propina para reduzir impostos em obras recém-entregues, conforme a Folha revelou na sexta-feira (1º).

Segundo a Secretaria Municipal das Subprefeituras, a regularização do licenciamento deve partir da empresa. Procurada pela reportagem, a Prevent afirmou que desconhece as atuações e que todos os esclarecimentos serão prestados às autoridades. Saúde B1

Operadora reembolsa R\$ 1,9 mi a paciente após Justiça rejeitar recurso B1

Lira quer ICMS sobre média da gasolina dos últimos 2 anos

O presidente da Câmara, Arthur Lira (PP-AL), propôs a partidos um acordo segundo o qual o ICMS (imposto estadual) incidiria sobre o preço médio dos combustíveis nos últimos dois anos. O objetivo é tentar reduzir o valor da gasolina, pauta prioritária do Planalto.

Não houve consenso. Síglas de centro e de esquerda entendem que poderia haver perda de arrecadação aos estados. Mercado A17

PAINEL
Para Doria, alta de combustível não depende do imposto estadual A4

Vinicius Torres Freire Fome para pobre, gasolina para rico

A ideia de redução geral dos preços de combustíveis é bobagem econômica. Vai dar um sinal errado para consumo e investimento: o preço alto é sinal para a contenção do consumo ou também para investir em mais produção alternativa. Mercado A21

Câmara convoca Guedes para explicar offshore

Câmara e Senado aprovaram requerimentos para ouvir Paulo Guedes (Economia) e o presidente do BC, Roberto Campos Neto, sobre paraísos fiscais. Advogados do ministro disseram que ele não fez movimentação em offshore desde 2018. Mercado A19

TIGGO 8

O NOVO REI DOS SUVs.



VEJA NAS PÁGINAS 6 E 7

CHERY
QUALIDADE, TECNOLOGIA E DESIGN

No trânsito, sua responsabilidade salva vidas.

Preocupa que sectores particulares quieran inflar con aumentos el PGN 2022

Empresarios piden a Abdo manejo responsable de finanzas públicas

Deuda de la Caja Fiscal, contrabando y presión al Gobierno para ceder a los reclamos de reajuste de los gremios fueron parte de la agenda abordada con el presidente de la República.

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Recibió G. 6.600 millones
Los gastos de Nenecho en pandemia generan suspicacias y dudas

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Provoca indignación en ciudadanos
Candidatura de González Chaves perjudica a la República, dice concejal

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Facebook antepone lucro a seguridad de usuarios, denuncia ex empleada

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Armas para rescate de Samura salieron de Dimabel

Operativo. Fiscalía allanó Dimabel al sospechar que personal de esta unidad vendió armas a la banda del narco Samura, incautadas en otro procedimiento.

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Precio internacional sigue en alza
Combustibles aumentarían G. 600 la próxima semana

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Ambos sectores mantienen movilizaciones
Docentes y médicos suben la presión por reajustes

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« MOURIR PEUT ATTENDRE »,
LE DERNIER BAROUD
DE DANIEL CRAIG PAGES 30 À 32



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L'alliance surprise de Cartier et Kering sur les questions éthiques
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- La tribune de François-Xavier Millet
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FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de mardi :
L'Europe doit-elle considérer le nucléaire comme une énergie verte ?

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Abus sexuels : l'Église sous le choc de la vérité

Les chiffres révélés mardi par la Commission indépendante sur les abus sexuels dans l'Église donnent le vertige. Ils révèlent un mal qualifié par Jean-Marc Sauvé, son président, de « systémique ».

Après deux ans et demi de travail, la commission présidée par Jean-Marc Sauvé a publié, mardi, un rapport dont les révélations sont effroyables. Il en ressort que

216 000 mineurs auraient été abusés par des prêtres entre 1950 et 2020. Un chiffre vertigineux et une déflagration pour l'Église de France. « Il y a eu trahison de la confiance,

de la morale, de l'enfant, de l'innocence, de l'Évangile », a lancé François Devaux, le fondateur de l'association La Parole libérée, aux responsables de l'épiscopat français.

« Je suis profondément meurtri, humilié », reconnaît M^{re} de Moulins-Beaufort. Début novembre, le président de la Conférence des évêques de France réunira ses pairs à

Lourdes, avec pour mission de mettre en application les recommandations du rapport. « Ce serait un échec s'il n'était pas suivi d'effets », les avertit Jean-Marc Sauvé.

➔ JEAN-MARC SAUVÉ : « CE SERAIT UN ÉCHEC SI L'ESSENTIEL DE NOS RECOMMANDATIONS N'ÉTAIT PAS SUIVI D'EFFETS » ➔ FAMILLE, ÉGLISE, ÉCOLE... LA PART DES ABUS DÉVOILÉE PAR L'INSERM ➔ UN ENTRETIEN AVEC LE PRÉSIDENT DE LA CONFÉRENCE DES EVÊQUES DE FRANCE PAGES 4 À 6, 18 ET L'EDITORIAL



Panne informatique géante, méthodes controversées : Facebook dans la tourmente

Touché par une panne inédite qui l'a rendu inaccessible pendant plusieurs heures, le réseau social est mis en cause par une ancienne de ses cadres, qui dénonce des pratiques où la recherche du profit primerait sur la sûreté des utilisateurs. PAGES 19 ET 27

Pas de reprise attendue avant 2023 pour le tourisme international

Plages désertes, sites classés à l'abandon, aéroports et hôtels vides... Dans beaucoup de destinations touristiques, l'absence de voyageurs venus d'autres continents vire au cauchemar. Malgré la réouverture progressive des frontières grâce au progrès de la vaccination, les professionnels du secteur n'attendent pas de retour à la normale avant de longs mois. PAGE 22



ÉDITORIAL par Étienne de Montety edemontety@lefigaro.fr

Examen de conscience

On peut bien les disséquer, les comparer, les chiffres du rapport Sauvé sont insoutenables. Ils révèlent l'ampleur de la pédophilie dans l'Église catholique. Un long cortège de victimes crie justice à sa porte : qu'as-tu fait de tes enfants ? Depuis quelques scandales retentissants (affaire Preynat), l'institution porte sa croix : la croix de la honte, du chagrin, et de l'humiliation devant les crimes de quelques-uns qui rejaillissent sur tous. Trois mille prêtres ont excipé de leur statut d'adulte, de leur autorité d'éducateur, de leur état sacerdotal pour abuser de ceux qui leur avaient été confiés. Sous nos yeux, se déploie le récit d'une « tourmente infernale qui n'a pas de repos » (Dante). Depuis plusieurs années déjà, l'Église réfléchit à des réformes pour redevenir en urgence ce que le pape François a appelé une « maison sûre » : le travail de la commission Sauvé va l'aider. Le chantier est vaste, il ne se limite pas à des mots lancés hâtivement, cléricisme, mariage des prêtres, car la psychologie défailante des coupables doit être étudiée bien sûr à l'aune de l'Église et de sa culture, mais aussi à celle de notre corps social, de la place

que la sexualité a prise, avec son versant obscur, la pornographie. La formation des prêtres et religieux, leur ministère auprès des jeunes seront évidemment réexaminés. Mais les fidèles dans leur engagement au service de l'Église, et dans une juste relation avec le clergé, ne peuvent pas s'exonérer du travail à réaliser. Cette ténébreuse affaire est l'affaire de tous. Le rapport est accablant, l'Église y apparaît dépourvue, la faiblesse de ses membres, jusqu'à l'indignité de certains, est montrée au grand jour. Elle fait preuve aussi de courage, acceptant de procéder à un éprouvant examen de conscience. Ce faisant, elle montre le chemin à toute la société, à l'Éducation nationale, au monde du sport et des loisirs, eux aussi touchés par le mal. Atteinte dans son être, elle doit faire face, forte de l'exhortation d'un de ses plus grands pasteurs, saint Augustin : « Le commencement des œuvres bonnes, c'est la confession des œuvres mauvaises. Tu fais la vérité et tu viens à la lumière. » ■

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Pandora Papers Tory co-chair's firm indirectly benefited from £121k tax credits

British Virgin Islands company behind West Indies cricket team documentary raises questions for Ben Elliot and party

Simon Goodley, Rowena Mason, Luke Harding and Harry Davies

Ben Elliot, the Conservative party's embattled co-chair, jointly owned a secret offshore film financing company that indirectly benefited from more than £120,000 of UK tax credits.

The revelation that Elliot has a British Virgin Islands-based company - which he owns with Ben Goldsmith, the brother of the Tory peer and minister Zac - will raise fresh questions for the businessman, whose courting of ultra-wealthy but controversial political donors has already provoked widespread criticism.

On Monday, the Pandora papers - the largest leak of offshore data in history, which has been shared with the Guardian and other media by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists - helped expose how a series of Conservative party funders are facing allegations about links to offshore finance.

Today, the same leak shines a light on a BVI company Elliot and Goldsmith created to fund the making of *Fire in Babylon*, the pair's 2010 documentary film about the West Indies cricket team of the 1970s and 80s.

Analysis of financial disclosures suggests the duo's BVI company held a controlling

10 →

PM: food and fuel chaos just a 'change of direction'

**Heather Stewart
Julia Kollewe**

Boris Johnson will brush off the petrol queues and empty shelves as evidence of a "change of direction" towards a high wage economy today

as he closes a Conservative conference at which supply shortages have barely been acknowledged.

The prime minister channelled Margaret Thatcher yesterday to insist "there is no alternative" but to press ahead with the post-Brexit transition to a labour market less reliant on

immigration. Asked whether the UK was facing a crisis, Johnson said "no". He added: "It's not the job of government to come in and try to fix every problem in business and industry."

Despite warnings from business groups of rising prices and continued shortages of key products in the run-up to Christmas, he will tell the party conference in Manchester that a bright future lies ahead.

"That is the direction in which this country is going - towards a high wage, high skill, high productivity economy that the people of this

country need and deserve, in which everyone can take pride in their work and the quality of their work," he is expected to say.

"We are not going back to the same old broken model with low wages, low growth, low skills and low productivity, all of it enabled and assisted by uncontrolled immigration."

Downing Street sources insisted the prime minister's approach was not "Panglossian optimism", but a determination to ride out the disruption. Senior Conservatives said focus group and polling evidence

was so far telling them the public did not blame the government for the supply crunch, and was "giving them the benefit of the doubt" for the time being.

But one cabinet minister privately warned that if shortages persisted, support for the government could drain away rapidly. Another frontbencher said they were concerned about complacency, pointing out that the petrol shortage was still gripping their constituency.

In the US earlier this month, the prime minister

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A Guardian special investigation

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The ultra-rich Tory backers
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The owners hidden offshore
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Heritage
Relics stashed in tax havens
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Day 3
Data leak revelations continue



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