



# WSJ

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND

Ring or Gadget?  
Wearable Tech  
Gets Chic  
OFF DUTY



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### What's News

#### World-Wide

Nearly 140 countries agreed to the most sweeping overhaul of global tax rules in a century, a move that aims to curtail tax avoidance by multinational corporations and raise additional tax revenue of as much as \$150 billion annually. **A7**

◆ **Former Trump adviser** Bannon said he wouldn't cooperate with the House panel probing the assault on the U.S. Capitol, while Biden rejected Trump's attempt to assert executive privilege over records related to the attack. **A5**

◆ **Texas's restrictive abortion law** is again in effect, at least temporarily, after a federal appeals court paused a recent ruling that blocked the state from enforcing it. **A3**

◆ **A federal jury found** two businessmen guilty in the nationwide Varsity Blues case, ruling that each conspired with a corrupt California college counselor to get his child admitted to USC. **A3**

◆ **The Justice Department** won't bring federal civil-rights charges against a police officer in the shooting of Jacob Blake in Kenosha, Wis., in August 2020. **A3**

◆ **The Nobel Peace Prize** was awarded to journalists Maria Ressa and Dmitry Muratov for their efforts to defend freedom of speech in the Philippines and Russia. **A8**

#### Business & Finance

◆ **U.S. job growth** fell to the slowest pace of the year in September, a sign that the Delta variant of the coronavirus and a persistent shortage of workers weighed on the economic recovery. **A1**

◆ **Global supply-chain** bottlenecks are feeding on one another, with shortages of components and surging prices of critical raw materials squeezing manufacturers around the world. **A1**

◆ **U.S. stocks fell**, with the S&P 500 and Nasdaq losing 0.2% and 0.5%, respectively, while the Dow shed less than 0.1%, but all three held on to weekly gains. **B1**

◆ **NFL viewership** is at its highest level in six years, an increase media executives attribute to competitive matchups and the return of spectators. **B1**

◆ **Apple told a federal judge** that it plans to appeal a verdict in its high-profile antitrust case against Epic Games. **B3**

◆ **Food-delivery giant** Meituan was fined more than \$533 million by China for engaging in anticompetitive practices. **B3**

◆ **Facebook said** some users had trouble accessing its products on Friday, a disruption that followed an hours-long outage earlier in the week. **B3**

**NOONAN**  
Progressives Hold  
The Capital Captive **A15**

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## Job Gains Hit Slowest Pace of Year

Payroll growth of just 194,000 comes as worker shortage, Delta variant crimp recovery

By JOSH MITCHELL

U.S. job growth fell to the slowest pace of the year in September, a sign the Delta variant of the coronavirus and a persistent shortage of workers weighed on the economic recovery.

The economy created

194,000 jobs in September, the smallest gain since December 2020 and down from 366,000 jobs added in August, the Labor Department said Friday. While the September payroll gains fell well short of economists' expectations, job growth in August was bigger than previously estimated.

Many workers gave up the job search and exited from the labor force last month, the data showed. The smaller pool of labor meant that despite the slowdown in hiring, the unemployment rate fell to

4.8% last month from 5.2% in August.

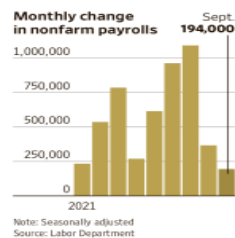
The economy is in an unusual position: Demand is strong. Households are flush with cash and have increased spending briskly this year on goods and services. But businesses are struggling to find workers to serve them, part of a broader supply squeeze that is being felt in the U.S. and globally.

"This was the time when a lot of people were expecting labor shortages to be getting better, but in fact they're get-

ting worse," said Michael Pearce, senior U.S. economist at Capital Economics. "It's a pretty worrying situation."

U.S. stocks reacted little to the report, with the Dow Jones Industrial Average slipping 8.69 points and the S&P 500 edging down by 8.42 points. Employers added jobs at a robust pace earlier this year as vaccination rates rose and consumers ventured back out into the public. But growth slowed sharply this summer as the Delta variant, a highly con-

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## ISIS Claims Responsibility for Deadly Afghan Mosque Blast



**CARNAGE:** Members of the Taliban inspect the scene of a bomb blast that targeted a Shiite mosque in the city of Kunduz on Friday. Dozens were killed in the bombing, the deadliest Islamic State attack in Afghanistan since U.S. forces withdrew. **A5**

## Financial Red Flags Were Ignored In Evergrande's Rapid Expansion

China Evergrande Group's path to the brink of default was littered with financial red flags. The property giant car-

By Brian Spegele,  
Julie Steinberg  
and Elaine Yu

ried heavy debt loads, grew at breakneck pace and made it hard for outsiders to understand the company's financial situation.

But a combination of financial regulators, local Chinese

governments, yield-hungry investors and insiders kept the critics at bay. Ultimately, the only pressure that Evergrande couldn't resist came from Beijing.

The company recently reported more than \$300 billion of total liabilities, including \$89 billion of debt. It obscured its financial liabilities with complex financing arrangements and did extensive share buybacks despite the debt levels, a review of financial filings shows. The buybacks

helped boost the share price, making it risky to bet against the stock.

Evergrande could avoid defaulting on its debt with asset sales, capital injections or a government bailout, although the latter appears unlikely. An Evergrande property-management subsidiary said Monday that it was the target of a takeover bid, signaling a possible new deal that could bring in billions of dollars of much-needed cash for the parent company. So far, Evergrande

isn't engaging with the bondholders' advisers, a person familiar with the matter said Friday.

Evergrande was the subject of several critical financial research reports over the past decade. In 2012, Andrew Left, a prominent American short seller, claimed the company

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◆ **Creditors of Evergrande** remain in the dark..... **B11**  
◆ **Developer Fantasia vows** to improve its finances..... **B11**

### Dial H for Horror, Movie Buff Answers

Streaming service phone hotline offers scary suggestions

By JOHN JURGENSEN

Samuel Zimmerman hops on the phone every Friday afternoon in October with people hunting custom movie recommendations.

"Hey, this is the Shudder Halloween hotline," he said last week. "Who's calling?"

Mr. Zimmerman, head of programming at Shudder, a streaming service specializing in horror, suggested an Australian flick about a killer boar, "Razorback," for a caller seeking an underrated relic. He pointed a woman in need of a respite from

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### INSIDE



#### SPORTS

Jon Gruden used a racial trope to describe the NFLPA's chief in a 2011 email. **A12**



#### EXCHANGE

Smaller cities make their pitch to America's remote workforce—with cold, hard cash. **B1**

## Car Insurer Lobbies to Pin Pricing On Tracking Driver Skills

By LESLIE SCISM

Many consumers are unhappy that car insurers use their credit histories in setting premium rates. Now an alternative is in sight—and some might like it even less: Insurers would be able to track how, when and where they drive.

Since late summer, car insurer Allstate Corp. has been talking to state regulators about helping to lead an industrywide effort to transition in the coming years from sizing up risk in applicants with factors including credit scores to largely using telematics to

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## Scores of Ship Crews Are Abandoned

Seafarers stranded without food, pay

By DREW HINSHAW  
AND JOE PARKINSON

CONSTANTA, Romania—An engineer stuck on a cargo ship abandoned in a Black Sea port has waited four years to get paid and go home.

Off the coast of Somalia, a crew awaiting pay languishes on a pirate-trawled stretch of the Indian Ocean while their ship slowly takes on water. Another 14 seafarers, stuck on a cargo ship off the coast of Iran, have run out of food and fuel. Some contemplated suicide.

"We cannot survive here," said an engineer aboard the MV Aizdihar, abandoned off the Iranian port city of Ban-

dar Abbas. "Please help us." He spoke via video earlier this year, his face drawn.

The \$14 trillion shipping industry, responsible for 90% of world trade, has left in its wake what appears to be a record number of cargo-ship castaways. Abandonment cases are counted when ship-owners fail to pay crews two or more months in wages or don't cover the cost to send crew members home, according to the International Maritime Organization, a United Nations agency.

Last year, the number of such cases reported to the agency more than doubled to 85 from 40 in 2019. This year is on track to be worse.

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## Autumn design special



## HOW TO SPEND IT

Norman Foster  
Michelle Ogundehin  
Ryan Gosling

SEPARATE MAGAZINE

# OECD agrees global deal on corporate tax

- 136 nations sign up to 15% floor
- \$150bn in extra annual revenues

CHRIS GILES — LONDON  
EHMA AGYEMANS — COPENHAGEN  
AIME WILLIAMS — WASHINGTON

More than 130 countries have signed up to a groundbreaking corporate tax reform that the OECD hopes will eliminate tax havens and bring in \$150bn more a year from multinationals.

The 136 nations also agreed to a two-year ban on imposing new taxes on tech groups such as Google and Amazon while the Biden administration tries to ratify the deal in the US.

The agreement — the biggest corporate tax reform for more than a century — includes a 15 per cent global minimum effective corporate tax rate, plus new rules to force the world's multinationals to declare profits and pay more in the countries where they do business.

The number of nations prepared to sign up fluctuated yesterday, according to those close to the negotiations, with India agreeing at the last moment, and China and Brazil also reluctant signatories. Only Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nigeria and Kenya held out.

The difficulties in implementing the deal became apparent when Janet Yellen, US Treasury secretary, urged Congress to "swiftly" enact the proposals by using the so-called reconciliation process, which allows bills to pass the

Senate with a simple majority. She said the agreement was a "once-in-a-generation accomplishment for economic diplomacy".

The stakes remain high for the US and countries such as India that have levied digital services taxes on the big tech groups. If US Congress fails to implement the deal, those countries may go ahead with digital taxes, sparking trade disputes with the US.

However, the deal gives the US space to ratify the agreement, specifying that "no newly enacted digital services taxes or other relevant similar measures will be imposed on any company from October 8 2021" for two years.

The agreement is a triumph for the OECD, which has sought to curb corporate tax avoidance over many years of complex negotiations. Mathias Cormann, secretary-general, said the deal would make the international corporate tax system "fairer and work better".

But he acknowledged the difficulties in getting the agreement put into law, and urged countries to "work swiftly and diligently to ensure the effective implementation of this major reform".

The deal contained concessions enabling all G20 and EU countries to sign up to the minimum 15 per cent corporate tax rate.

## How future of Newcastle United was decided on the banks of the Red Sea



Financier Amanda Staveley pitched a deal to buy the English football club to the Saudi wealth fund boss in 2019, on a megayacht owned by crown prince Mohammed bin Salman Page 10

## The \$10tn man Larry Fink's rise to become king of Wall Street

LIFE & ARTS



## Is this the #MeToo moment for music?

LIFE & ARTS



## Return of the renters Bidding wars are back

HOUSE & HOME



## Burgundy 2021 Jancis Robinson

LIFE & ARTS



## London feels heat from Gulf princess's court fight

The bitter battle between Princess Haya and estranged husband Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid al-Maktoum was laid bare in court rulings made public in London this week. But the findings, setting out how Dubai's ruler was prepared to wage a "campaign of intimidation", have wider implications. The Sheikh has been a guest of the Queen at Ascot, and the affair has embroiled high-profile figures and comes as Britain seeks closer Gulf ties. Analysis — PAGE 3

# China orders boost in output from coal miners to counter energy crunch

EDWARD WHITE — BUSAN  
HUDSON LOCKETT — HONG KONG

China has ordered coal miners to boost production as President Xi Jinping races to combat an energy crisis threatening to slow the world's second-biggest economy and force his administration to backtrack on climate change promises.

Energy officials in Inner Mongolia, one of China's largest coal-producing regions, instructed 72 local miners to expand capacity by 100m tonnes, according to a report by Securities Times, a state-controlled newspaper.

A recovery in the world economy, the shift away from fossil fuels and interruptions to the production of natural gas and coal have combined to unleash a global scramble for energy supplies.

The power shortages in China, which

relies on coal for more than half its energy consumption, have forced high-tech manufacturing plants to halt or reduce operations and raised fears that critical industries such as food production could be hit.

"Global coal markets have become extraordinarily tight because of multiple supply issues and strong demand," said Christopher LaFemina, an analyst at Jefferies.

Coal prices in China have soared this year, while prices for delivery into Europe hit a record this week and are up more than threefold since January. A dearth of coal for power generation has prompted China to step up purchases of natural gas, exacerbating a squeeze on supplies of the commodity in Europe and the UK ahead of winter.

China premier Li Keqiang announced a series of measures to support coal pro-

duction yesterday, including an acceleration in the construction of new mines.

The energy crunch has piled pressure on China's economic planners, who are grappling with the potential wider fallout from the crisis at Evergrande, the highly indebted property group.

Gavin Thompson, an analyst at Wood Mackenzie, said China "must perform a balancing act" of using coal to keep the lights on while also showing commitment to decarbonisation targets.

"This looks uncomfortable as China prepares for [international climate conference] COP26 and comes just weeks after President Xi announced that China will no longer build coal plants overseas. But the short-term reality is that China and many others have little choice but to increase coal consumption to meet power demand," he said.

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## World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Oct 8	prev	%chg		Oct 8	prev	%chg		price	prev	%chg
S&P 500	4397.13	4398.76	-0.06	\$ per €	1.157	1.156	0.234	US Gov 10 yr	148.90	1.96	0.04
Nasdaq Composite	14599.68	14654.02	-0.37	\$ per £	1.364	1.363	0.234	UK Gov 10 yr	1.06	0.06	0.06
Dow Jones Ind	34756.85	34754.94	0.01	€ per £	0.849	0.848	0.234	Jpn Gov 10 yr	115.29	0.08	0.01
FTSEurofirst 300	1771.80	1776.40	-0.26	¥ per \$	112.040	111.525	0.234	US Gov 30 yr	114.19	2.18	0.04
Euro Stoxx 50	4078.65	4088.34	-0.48	Sfr per €	1.072	1.072	0.234	Ger Gov 2 yr	105.17	-0.70	0.01
FTSE 100	4066.55	4078.94	-0.25								
FTSE All-Share	4046.71	4058.83	-0.20								
CAC 40	8569.90	8600.19	-0.31								
Xetra Dax	15206.13	15250.86	-0.29								
Nikkei	29540.94	29678.21	1.24								
Hang Seng	24827.65	24701.73	0.56								
MSCI World	3048.57	3015.95	1.02								
MSCI EM	1253.28	1227.13	2.13								
MSCI ACWI	717.83	708.69	1.15								

## TRANSACTIONAL POWERHOUSE

A Nikkel Company





Melissa Robertson with her son Soren at preschool. She and her wife pay twice as much for child care as they pay for their mortgage.

## Tobacco Battle Lends Example As Tech Falters

By CECILIA KANG

WASHINGTON — "Facebook and Big Tech are facing a Big Tobacco moment," Senator Richard Blumenthal, Democrat of Connecticut, said this week when a whistle-blower testified about how the social media company's products harmed teenagers.

"I think that that's an appropriate analogy," Senator Cynthia Lumis, Republican of Wyoming, added later. The whistle-blower's testimony, and the thousands of internal documents she shared with lawmakers, generated unusual bipartisan bonhomie in a divided Washington. Senators said it was time for Congress to coalesce around new regulations to rein in the company and perhaps the technology industry as a whole.

But if what faces Big Tech is anything like what happened to Big Tobacco — a reckoning over the industry's harms to society, and children in particular — what lies ahead is likely to be a years-long, complicated path toward new rules and regulations, with no guaranteed result.

Washington is weighing numerous proposals to curtail the industry and hold it more accountable. Some lawmakers have urged reworking a law that shields tech companies from lawsuits, changing it so that the firms could be held responsible if their software amplifies harmful speech. Another idea would force social media companies to share far more insight about their software, which is often a black box, and data on how people interact with their services.

Lawmakers have proposed creating a new federal agency dedicated to oversight of the tech companies, or expanding the power of the Federal Trade Commission. They have pushed stronger laws for child privacy and security and to regulate the behavioral advertising business models of Facebook and Google. And a handful of bills to overhaul antitrust laws, with an eye toward making the public less reliant on a small number of tech companies, have progressed out of a House committee.

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## The Child Care Paradox Democrats Aim to Fix

By JASON DEPARLE

GREENSBORO, N.C. — To understand the problems Democrats hope to solve with their super-sized plan to make child care better and more affordable, consider this small Southern city where many parents spend more for care than they do for mortgages, yet teachers get paid like fast food workers and centers cannot hire enough staff.

With its white pillars and soaring steeple, the Friendly Avenue Baptist Church evokes an illusory past when fathers left for work, mothers stayed home to mother, and education began when children turned 5. But its sought-after preschool illuminates the dilemma of modern family life.

### Crippling Expenditure for Families, Yet Low Pay for Teachers

Until their elder son started kindergarten this fall, Jessica and Matt Lolley paid almost \$2,000 a month for their two boys' care — roughly a third of their income and far more than their payments on their three-bedroom house. But one of the teachers who watched the boys earns so little — \$10 an hour — that she spends half her time working at Starbucks, where the pay is 50 percent higher and includes health insurance. The center's director wants to

raise wages, but has little room to pass along costs to parents who are already stretched. She has been trying since February to replace a teacher who quit without warning; four applicants accepted the job in turn, but none showed up.

"I've been an administrator for 30 years, and I've never seen anything like this," said the director, Sandy Johnson. "It's very difficult to maintain a level of quality. Directors are at the point where they're willing to hire anyone who walks through the door. The children deserve far more than that, and the families deserve far more than that."

Democrats describe the problem as a fundamental market failure.

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Annisssa Essaibi George, in Hyde Park last month, is playing up her Boston roots in her mayoral run.

## Candidate for 'Mayah' Puts Patois on the Ballot

By ELLEN BARRY

BOSTON — The mayoral candidate Annisssa Essaibi George was amping up her supporters, who had gathered in an Italian restaurant on the waterfront, a little punchy after a long day of getting out the vote.

As she built toward the climax of her speech, a pledge to be "the teacher, the mother and the mayor" the city needs, her accent un-

furled like a banner. Those in the crowd were in high spirits, so they chanted it together a second time, then a third.

"I will be the teachah!" they shouted, to raucous celebration. "The mothah!" (Cheers.) "And the mayah!" (sustained cheers) "to get it done!"

In that catch phrase, which she also featured in two television advertisements, Ms. Essaibi George makes several things clear: that though she identifies as Arab

American, she was born and bred in the heart of Irish American Boston; that amid an influx of affluent professionals, she would stand up for Boston's working class — not just police officers and firefighters, but electricians and construction workers; and that her neighborhood, Dorchester, is stamped in her DNA.

Boston is a city that cherishes its accent — one that ignores R's in some places, inserts them in others.

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## China Military Taunts Taiwan, Testing the U.S.

### Fear of Conflict as the Power Balance Shifts

By CHRIS BUCKLEY  
and STEVEN LEE MYERS

The 25 Chinese fighter jets, bombers and other warplanes flew in menacing formations off the southern end of Taiwan, a show of military might on China's National Day, Oct. 1. The incursions, dozens upon dozens, continued into the night and the days that followed and surged to the highest numbers ever on Monday, when 56 warplanes tested Taiwan's beleaguered air defenses.

Taiwan's jets scrambled to keep up, while the United States warned China that its "provocative military activity" undermined "regional peace and stability." China did not cover. When a Taiwanese combat air traffic controller radioed one Chinese aircraft, the pilot dismissed the challenge with an obscenity involving the officer's mother.

As such confrontations intensify, the balance of power around Taiwan is fundamentally shifting, pushing a decades-long impasse over its future into a dangerous new phase.

After holding out against unification demands from China's communist rulers for more than 70 years, Taiwan is now at the heart of the deepening discord between China and the United States. The island's fate has the potential to reshape the regional order and even to ignite a military conflagration — intentional or not.

"There's very little insulation left on the wiring in the relationship," Danny Russel, a former assistant secretary of state, said, "and it's not hard to imagine getting some crossed wires and that starting a fire."

China's military might has, for the first time, made a conquest of Taiwan conceivable, perhaps even tempting. The United States wants to thwart any invasion but has watched its military dominance in Asia steadily erode. Taiwan's own military preparedness has withered, even as its people become increasingly resistant to unification.

All three have sought to show resolve in hopes of averting war, only to provoke countermeasures that compound distrust and increase the risk of miscalculation.

Continued on Page 8

## MODERNA LEAVES POOREST NATIONS WAITING FOR SHOT

### IRE FROM WHITE HOUSE

### Orders Unfilled as Other Makers Send Doses Across the Globe

By REBECCA ROBBINS

Moderna, whose coronavirus vaccine appears to be the world's best defense against Covid-19, has been supplying its shots almost exclusively to wealthy nations, keeping poorer countries waiting and earning billions in profit.

After developing a breakthrough vaccine with the financial and scientific support of the U.S. government, Moderna has shipped a greater share of its doses to wealthy countries than any other vaccine manufacturer, according to Airfinity, a data firm that tracks vaccine shipments.

About one million doses of Moderna's vaccine have gone to countries that the World Bank classifies as low-income. By contrast, 8.4 million Pfizer doses and about 25 million single-shot Johnson & Johnson doses have gone to those countries.

Of the handful of middle-income countries that have reached deals to buy Moderna's shots, most have not yet received any doses, and at least three have had to pay more than the United States or European Union did, according to government officials in those countries.

Thailand and Colombia are paying a premium. Botswana's doses are late. Tunisia could not get in touch with Moderna.

Unlike Pfizer, Johnson & Johnson and AstraZeneca, which have diverse rosters of drugs and other products, Moderna sells only the Covid vaccine. The Massachusetts company's future hinges on the commercial success of its vaccine.

"They are behaving as if they have absolutely no responsibility beyond maximizing the return on investment," said Dr. Tom Frieden, a former head of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Moderna executives have said that they are doing all they can to make as many doses as possible.

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## With DNA and Friend's Help, A Dying Son Finds His Father

By REID J. EPSTEIN

FALLS CHURCH, Va. — Three weeks before he died, Sam Anthony, 52, mailed his last wishes to a man he had never met.

He was dying, he wrote in a letter postmarked Aug. 2, of an aggressive cancer in his mouth and throat that he had been struggling with since 2005. He enclosed a copy of a college alumni magazine article about his high-ranking job at the National Archives. He was writing, he explained, because the two men shared ancestors, a fact he had learned from DNA matches and public records.

He had recently learned that his biological father's name was Craig Nelson.

"I am wondering," Mr. Anthony wrote, "if you are that Craig."

In Green Valley, Ariz., on Aug. 9, Mr. Anthony's letter found its way into the hands of a 78-year-old retired airline worker.

Craig Nelson's first thought,



Sam Anthony, left, with his biological father, Craig Nelson.

holding the envelope and seeing the return address, was that he didn't know anybody in Falls Church, Va. Then he read the contents.

And started to tremble. It had been decades since Mr. Nelson had given up hope of finding the biological son he fathered.

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### INTERNATIONAL 4-12

#### Uncertainty and Fear

Worried about their future under a Taliban-controlled government, five Afghans reflect on the end of 20 years of fighting.

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### INTERNATIONAL

#### Austria's Chancellor Resigns

After insisting he would stay in office amid accusations that public money was used to produce favorable polling, Sebastian Kurz said he would go.

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### ARTS & LEISURE

#### Oh, to Dance Again

We talked to three New York City Ballet dancers in the months leading up to their return to the stage after the long hiatus caused by the pandemic.

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### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### Where the Suburbs End

A single-family home in San Diego from the 1950s is now a rental complex. The building also serves as a vision of California's future.

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### SUNDAY REVIEW

#### Ezra Klein

PAGE 4







**DESERT HOT SPRINGS, 97°** On a sweltering July day, Diane McLindon and her dog, Frankie, try to stay cool in their trailer.

## Heat waves: A hidden killer

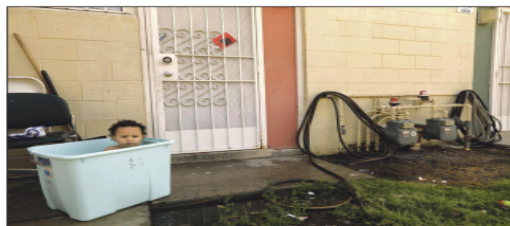
Deaths from hot weather are vastly undercounted, and the state's readiness lags, a Times investigation shows

Reporting by Anna M. Phillips, Tony Barboza, Ruben Vives and Sean Greene  
Photography by Genaro Molina

**I**t was the hottest August on record in California. For more than three weeks in 2020, back-to-back heat waves settled over the Southwest, claiming dozens of lives and leaving tens of millions of people sweltering in triple-digit temperatures. The days brought suffering and the nights offered little relief. On maps of the record heat, Southern California glowed like an ember, its normally temperate coast shaded orange, its inland cities and desert towns a deep, smoldering purple.

Seventy-three-year-old Jorge Valerio-Santiago went to work on Aug. 20 digging cable trenches at a mobile home park outside Desert Hot Springs in Riverside County. After several hours, he began to feel ill and returned home to a trailer that lacked air conditioning. His nephew found him that evening, lying still in the dirt driveway where he had gone into cardiac arrest. The paramedics pronounced him dead at the scene.

When a second heat wave bore down roughly two weeks later, Anne Gacambi Methu's family hoped she would be safe inside her assisted living facility in Riverside. But on that 117-degree day, she was outside for hours, according to a coroner's report, and last seen by staff while walking around the facility's courtyard. It was only after a shift change that employees found her lying on the ground. [See Heat, A12]



**PACOIMA, 96°** Kylian Lopez, 2, cools off in a container filled with water that was prepared by his mother.

**AC is vital:** As extreme heat events become the norm, air conditioning can be a matter of life or death. **CALIFORNIA, B1**  
**On Tuesday:** Part two of this investigative series.

## Aging oil rigs pose major risks

More spills likely as fossil fuel use declines and companies put off upgrades, experts say.

By ROSANNA XIA,  
SUSANNE RUST  
AND ANITA CHABRIA

Amid a week of horror and heartbreak, outrage and demands for greater accountability, many Californians couldn't help but question all the other oil platforms that have rusted and churned for decades just a few miles offshore.

Take Platform A, perhaps the most notorious rig of them all: On the morning of Jan. 28, 1969, this looming complex of metal off the Santa Barbara coast had ruptured the seafloor and boiled the sea black. Thousands of birds, drenched in oil, struggled to take flight. Sea otters flailed in the water. The spill became the "environmental shot heard round the world" — galvanizing the nation and forever sealing California's distaste for offshore drilling.

Now, more than 50 years later, memories may have faded but this platform has not. Platforms A, B and C, along with more than a dozen other rigs, continue to operate — often under questionable conditions. [See Oil rigs, A8]

## Surfing to find some answers

Key questions about O.C. oil spill remain as crews clean up and surfers sneak a dip.

By ROBIN ESTRIN AND  
MARISA GERBER

Small, glassy waves rolled up on shore Saturday morning, one week after an oil spill sent black tar clumps onto the sand in Huntington Beach, raising fears of long-term damage to fragile ecosystems in the area and cutting off ocean access to residents, visitors and fishermen.

But that didn't stop a dozen or more surfers in wetsuits from running into the water for a morning session. They caught a few good waves before a warning blared down from a blue tower.

"Attention, surfers. Attention, surfers," a lifeguard's voice bellowed through a bullhorn. "The water is currently closed due to hazardous conditions."

Huntington Beach resident Brett Simpson, 39, and Long Beach resident Ralph Rodriguez, 62, lugged their boards out of the water and across the sand, where they convened near the shower by the parking lot.

"Water's cleaner than tap water," said Rodriguez. "There's no oil out there. If there was oil out there I would have been the first one out of the water. I'm old, man."

In the week since the [See Oil spill, A10]



**LUPIN**, the Lazarus family's latest foster kitten, stays close to Teddy as he explores his new domain.

**COLUMN ONE**

## Tugging at purr strings: the fine art of kitten fostering

DAVID LAZARUS

Oh, please, not another dead kitten. My wife, Ikuko, and I exchanged looks. No words were necessary.

The roughly 1-week-old kitten we'd just picked up from a Los Angeles shelter was much smaller than we expected from the online photo, about the same size as our last foster kitty.

And that one, despite our best efforts, didn't survive. It never got the hang of bottle feeding [See Lazarus, A16]



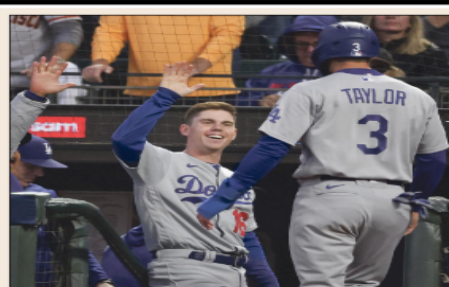
## Tyndall accusers call for scrutiny of USC

By PAUL PRINGLE

In their sprawling sexual assault inquiry focused on USC, Los Angeles police detectives traveled the country to interview scores of people about a campus gynecologist accused of abusing young women for decades, a scandal that eventually cost C.L. Max Nikias the school presidency and the university more than \$1.1 billion in legal settlements.

But there was at least one prominent person detectives never approached for an interview, The Times has learned: Nikias himself.

Many of Dr. George Tyndall's accusers have expressed outrage over USC's handling of complaints against the physician. They are demanding an investigation [See USC, A17]



ROBERT GAUTHIER Los Angeles Times

## DODGERS EVEN IT UP

Chris Taylor is greeted after scoring in L.A.'s 9-2 win over the Giants in Game 2. **SPORTS, D1**

## U.S. commander in Iraq war dies

Raymond T. Odierno, who also served as Army chief of staff, was 67. **CALIFORNIA, B6**

## More cost woes for bullet train

Project faces \$1 billion in new overruns at time of complex finances. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

## Utah rolls over USC defense

Trojans struggle to slow down Utes' offense in 42-26 rout at the Coliseum. **SPORTS, D3**

## Weather

Sunny. L.A. Basin: 81/56. **B10**





Climate crisis  
Long-shot  
solutions just  
might be all we  
have left **OUTLOOK**



Respect the grind  
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Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington. Breezy, shower 75/65 • Tomorrow: Cloudy, humid 75/65 C12 Democracy Dies in Darkness SUNDAY, OCTOBER 10, 2021 • \$3.50

## Pandemic toll leaves vast hole for kids

About 140,000 have lost a primary caregiver, putting them at risk

BY ARIANA EUNJUNG CHA

Ten months after James Vance, a former Marine and retired policeman in Princeton, W.Va., died of covid-19, his two young children are still reeling from his death.

Julia, 12, a middle-schooler who used to do everything with her father, is withdrawn. Her sister, Jamie, 7, still talks about him in the present tense. As for Mom, Jerri, a third-grade teacher, she is struggling to keep up with bills and maintain a sense of normalcy for her daughters while still processing the devastation of losing the love of her life.

"All three of us are in therapy," Jerri Vance said. "Every time we go out, everything is about covid. We have to see that daily and deal with people who say it isn't real when it's beyond real to us."

Throughout the pandemic, public health experts and other observers have often noted that children have been largely spared the worst because they are less likely to develop severe illness from the virus. The fact that many of the dead are parents or caregivers has been largely left out of the conversation.

A new study published Thursday in the journal *Pediatrics* attempts to quantify the vast hole left by these deaths, estimating that roughly 140,000 children under 18 may have lost parents or caregivers from March 2020 to June 2021 due to covid or other causes classified as pandemic-related. Those numbers take into account both official covid deaths and deaths from other causes, such as homicides and drug overdoses, beyond those expected in a typical year before the pandemic.

The consequences are life-changing: Losing a parent or other primary caregiver is one of the most stressful things that can happen in a child's life — putting them at risk of a trajectory of depression and post-traumatic stress, as well as physical manifestations of grief, such as heart problems.

The data also reveal vast disparities by race and ethnicity even more skewed toward an overrepresentation of minority

SEE VIRUS ON A18

## Emotions flare over Trump, covid and race

BY MARC FISHER

Bruce Carlson considers himself mainly a Democrat. He voted for Bill Clinton and Barack Obama for president and for Terry McAuliffe for governor back in 2013. But he won't be voting to make McAuliffe Virginia's governor for a second time.

Carlson, a retired hospital administrator, is switching over to the Republican, Glenn Youngkin, because he believes public schools are pushing a radical agenda in

In a scramble for votes, McAuliffe and Youngkin press the hottest of buttons

down of the year. Virginians are deciding whether to return McAuliffe to office, making him only the second governor in state history to serve a second term, or turn to Youngkin, a wealthy political neophyte. The outcome, strategists from both parties agree, will hinge on which candidate best generates enthusiasm from his base, overcoming the traditionally sharp falloff in voting in the year following a presidential election.

SEE VOTERS ON A12

**VIRGINIA ELECTION**



STEVE HELBER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Former Virginia governor Terry McAuliffe, a Democrat.



PATRICK SEMANSKY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Virginia GOP nominee for governor Glenn Youngkin.

## McAuliffe tests whether state's blue streak can last

BY GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER

NORFOLK — Music and beer are stoking up the tailgaters outside Old Dominion University's football stadium. Terry McAuliffe, candidate for governor, plunges into the crowd like the king of the biggest fraternity on campus. There's no hand he won't shake, photo he won't snap, jig he won't dance — until suddenly, head looking left and arm flailing right, he smacks into a foam dinner plate.

The plate falls from the hand of a very large man, staining his white shirt. McAuliffe apologizes, cracks a joke, but the man just glares. For an uncomfortable few seconds, it seems like he might take a swing at the 64-year-old former governor.

Then, his face flushed and angry-looking, the man says, "I'm gonna vote for you anyway," and disappears into the crowd.

SEE MCAULIFFE ON A10

## Man of mystery: The many faces of Youngkin

BY LAURA VOZZELLA

RICHMOND — As a candidate for Virginia's highest office, Republican Glenn Youngkin has sidestepped or straddled many thorny issues — from the perennial flash points of abortion and guns to matters as fundamental as whether President Biden legitimately won the White House or the state's elections system can be trusted.

For all his shape-shifting, Youngkin has managed to run a tight race against the best-known gubernatorial candidate that Virginia has seen in nearly a half-century: Democrat Terry McAuliffe, a former governor seeking a rare comeback in the lone state that bars its chief executives from serving consecutive terms.

If the polls are right, Virginians are narrowly split between the governor they know and this 6-foot-5 Mystery Date.

SEE YOUNGKIN ON A8

## Biden is under a deadline crunch

**DEBT-LIMIT FIGHT, KEY VOTES LOOM**

President takes soft approach on crucial bills

BY JEFF STEIN AND SEUNG MIN KIM

At one point during a private 90-minute Zoom call with liberal lawmakers on Monday, Rep. Ro Khanna (D-Calif.) asked President Biden why he had not simply locked Sens. Joe Manchin III (D-W.Va.) and Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) in a room and forced them to cut a deal on the Democrats' economic package.

Smiling back at Khanna, Biden said, "Ro, that would be like asking for a homicide," according to two people on the call who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe the private exchange.

Biden's joking response underlined a serious fact: He faces daunting difficulties now that the recent dramas over his economic plans have left him just a few weeks to salvage his agenda, right his presidency and tackle problems that in some cases were years in the making.

Democrats are pushing to pass his infrastructure bill by month's end, following recent setbacks on Capitol Hill, along with a broad safety net package. The two bills include major climate provisions that Biden wants to tout at a global climate summit next month, and Democrats also want something to show Virginia's voters before their Nov. 2 vote for governor.

"If we don't pass one of those before the gubernatorial election, it's a huge, huge mistake," said Sen. Mark R. Warner (D-Va.), referring to the infrastructure bill and a separate measure, to boost U.S. science and research, both of which have passed the Senate but not the House. "We've got two major wins — two major bipartisan wins ... Let's get at least one if not both of those wins for the president on the board."

A recent deal with Senate Republicans, meanwhile, staved off a disastrous government default until December, but at the cost of ensuring that a politically explosive debt-limit fight will unfold as the White House is struggling to

SEE BIDEN ON A4

## Haiti faces a crisis as kidnappings skyrocket

Growing desperation and political instability fuel rise in gang activity

BY WIDLORE MÉRANCOURT AND ANTHONY FAOLA

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI — Four days after the August earthquake that devastated the south of Haiti, Walkens Alexandre, a physician, was traveling to treat victims at a hospital when a motorcycle blocked his white Ford Ranger. Two men hopped off, pulled guns, commandeered his truck and hauled him to the outskirts of the capital.

He was held for three days while the kidnappers negotiated

by phone with his family. He'd be set free for 30 times his monthly salary. Loved ones pleaded with relatives and friends to contribute to the ransom.

"Now I'm traumatized, fearful of people, and reminded of this every time someone slams a door, or I hear a motorcycle," said Alexandre, 43. "We don't feel safe in Haiti. There is always panic, always fear."

The most troubled nation in the hemisphere is now being held hostage by a surge in kidnappings. With victims spanning all social classes and ransoms ranging from as little as \$100 to six figures, Haiti now holds the tragic title of highest per capita kidnapping rate on Earth. Recorded kidnappings so far this year have spiked sixfold over the

SEE KIDNAPPING ON A24



SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Bitter sugar**

Francisco Jose, 77, has worked in the Dominican Republic for the sugar company Central Romana for more than 20 years. Inside, The Post explores how money has flowed from Dominican sugar fields to the burgeoning tax haven of South Dakota as part of its reporting from a vast trove of documents that expose a secretive financial universe that benefits the wealthy and powerful.

Visual story, A16-17

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## Un clásico para que la selección certifique el camino a Qatar

Desde las 20.30, en el Monumental, recibirá a Uruguay, con un aforo del 50 por ciento; Scaloni se declaró admirador del equipo charrrúa; volvería Lautaro en ataque.



## SOBREVIVIR AL DÍA. EL DRAMA DE CONSEGUIR UN PLATO CALIENTE

—comunidad

Durante la pandemia, las familias que en Mendoza dependían de trabajos informales en la cosecha o hacían changas se quedaron sin ingresos de un día para el otro. Página 26

## LA NACION, EL MEJOR SITIO DE NOTICIAS DE AMÉRICA LATINA

—cultura

Fue elegido en la máxima categoría de los Premios Digital Media Latam 2020, que otorga la Asociación Mundial de Editores de Noticias (WAN-IFRA). Página 28

# LA NACION

DOMINGO 10 DE OCTUBRE DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

## Sin éxito en la lucha contra la inflación, Fernández relevó a la secretaria de Comercio

**CRISIS.** Paula Español fue reemplazada por el kirchnerista Roberto Feletti; el Gobierno admite que ya no puede controlar el aumento de precios y que eso diluye sus esfuerzos electorales

El presidente Alberto Fernández decidió reemplazar a la secretaria de Comercio Interior, Paula Español, por la imposibilidad de controlar la suba de los precios, que en septiembre volvieron a mostrar un alza. Su lugar será ocupado por otro kirchnerista, Roberto Feletti, conocido por su línea dura, cercana a la del extitular del área Guillermo Moreno. Sin embargo, en el entorno del jefe de Gabinete, Juan Manzur, aseguran que la intención es conformar una mesa

de diálogo con los empresarios y cambiar la estrategia ante la falta de resultados. Español, una figura referenciada en el gobernador Axel Kicillof, pasará a trabajar en el Ministerio del Interior, bajo el ala del camporista Wado de Pedro.

El cambio expresa una mayor preocupación oficial porque la falta de resultados en materia de inflación diluye todos sus esfuerzos por volcar dinero a la calle para tratar de revertir en las elecciones la derrota en las PASO. Página 12

### EL ESCENARIO

## Al rescate del Presidente

Martín Rodríguez Yebra

—LA NACION—

Las urnas le mostraron el abismo. Alberto Fernández soportó enseguida el zarandeo furioso de Cristina Kirchner, que le impuso una tutela y se regodeó en la exhibición

pública de la relación de poder invertida entre ellos. Un mes después, aún aturrido, el Presidente ensaya una reconstrucción de sí mismo. Continúa en la página 14

### EL ANÁLISIS

## Una Justicia vip para Cristina Kirchner

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

En la tarde del jueves último sucedió la segunda muerte de Alberto Nisman. Este crimen intelectual y jurídico lo perpetraron jueces de la misma Justicia a la que pertenecía el fiscal asesinado. Poderosa y perdida al mismo tiempo, Cristina Kirchner logró una Justicia a su medida con tres jueces que se olvidaron las razones por las que sirven a la república. Nadie puede decir con certeza que la expresidenta es culpable del delito de encubrimiento de los autores del atentado contra la AMIA, pero existe una certidumbre peor: nadie estará seguro nunca de su inocencia si otra instancia de la Justicia no cambia el curso de las cosas. Continúa en la página 39

## En busca de los votos perdidos en el conurbano

—política

La maquinaria oficial se puso en marcha para tratar de contener la fuga que sufrió en las PASO; relevan a los que no votaron, activan a la militancia y apelan al clientelismo tradicional

Página 16



Militantes de Barrios de Pie recorren La Matanza casa por casa para preguntar a los vecinos si fueron a votar y qué necesitan

SILVANA COLOMBO

## Redes sociales. Crece la ofensiva para regularlas

Las revelaciones sobre Facebook avivaron el debate

WASHINGTON (De nuestro corresponsal).—La audiencia en el Congreso norteamericano que tuvo como protagonista a Frances Haugen, la

informante que reveló los secretos de Facebook, provocó un terremoto en Estados Unidos y arraigó la sensación de que se viene una era

de más controles y límites gubernamentales a los gigantes de internet. De hecho, el debate respecto de qué hacer con Facebook y las redes mutó: la discusión ya no pasa por si las empresas deben ser reguladas o no, sino por cómo hacerlo. Algunas de las opciones que se barajan en el Congreso van desde alentar la competencia y quitarles poder a las big tech hasta crear un nuevo ente regulador para controlarlas. Página 4

## Mar del Plata se reactiva y se alista para un verano récord

**TURISMO.** Luego de la crisis del sector, registra nuevas inversiones. Página 22

## Intentan frenar el poder de los narcos en las cárceles

**AMENAZA.** Fiscales analizan medidas contra jefes de bandas. Página 33





Lanchas com turistas fazem passeio na represa de Furnas, em Capitólio (MG) Joel Silva/Folhapress

## Brasil não deve voltar a ritmo pré-pandemia até o final de 2025

Crescimento levará quatro anos para retomar trajetória no cenário otimista, prevê FGV; desemprego é maior freio

O Brasil deve levar ao menos até o fim de 2025 —no cenário otimista— para retomar o ritmo econômico anterior à chegada da pandemia, no início do ano passado, mostram cálculos feitos pela coordenadora do Boletim Macro do FGV Ibre, Silvia Matos, a pedido da Folha. Ainda assim, será preciso que o país praticamente dobre a taxa de crescimento atual a partir de 2023.

Tal quadro deixaria a atividade brasileira atrás do restante do G20, que em média deve recuperar o patamar anterior ao surgimento do novo coronavírus no último trimestre de 2022, estimou a OCDE em seu relatório mais recente para o grupo das maiores economias. O maior obstáculo para a retomada é a lenta recuperação do nível de emprego, muito abaixo do pré-Covid.

Embora o PIB do Brasil se equipare ao do fim de 2019, a tendência é inferior ao momento anterior à crise, de crescimento médio trimestral de 0,45%. E a lacuna deve se alargar no próximo ano —para o qual se prevê crescimento medíocre.

Com avanço médio de 0,1% desde o início de 2020, o país deve chegar a 0,2% no fim do ano e a 0,4% em 2022, precisando acelerar. Mercado A12

## TSE vê elo de disparo em massa e Bolsonaro, mas punir é difícil

Embora integrantes do tribunal enxerguem laço da campanha do presidente com o esquema de mensagens falsas, a incerteza do efeito torna a cassação improvável. Poder A4

## Toffoli arquiva pedido para investigar Guedes

Mercado A13

## Renan diz que CPI apontará 11 crimes do presidente

Poder A8

## União paga por máscara R\$ 193 mi e ignora se recebeu

Auditoria da CGU aponta que o Ministério da Saúde pagou R\$ 193,4 milhões antecipados a uma empresa pelo fornecimento de máscaras chinesas, mas não comprovou que as tenha recebido. A pasta afirma que responderá às recomendações da CGU no prazo determinado. Saúde B1

## A pandemia em 9.out Dados das 20h

### POPULAÇÃO VACINADA

No Brasil	
Ao menos uma dose (dose única ou 1ª dose)	72,1%
1º ciclo vacinal completo (dose única ou 2ª dose)	46,3%
Dose de reforço	1,1%

### ESTÁGIO DA DOENÇA

Óbitos	
Média móvel	447
	-15,4%*
Casos	-3,9%*
	(desacelerado)
	*Variação em relação a 14 dias.

## Reforço de vacina freia nova onda de casos nos EUA

Desde agosto, os EUA vivem o segundo pico de casos de Covid desde o início da pandemia, mas a ampliação da vacinação fez recuar os números em setembro. Mundo A10

## Cotidiano B4

## Em busca de água

Capitólio (MG) atrai visitantes mesmo na crise hídrica. Por estar perto da barragem de Furnas, é uma das menos atingidas pela estiagem, o que favorece o turismo náutico.

## Esporte B6

Pedro Barros sugere idade mínima para skatista profissional

## MÔNICA BERGAMO

Há diversas formas de censura no país hoje, diz Gagliasso C2

## ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



**ilus trada emis Split sn!**

Usar o termo negacionista indistintamente é erro, diz Kallás C6

Para professores, Prevent Senior repete práticas nazistas C5

**Black Friday está ameaçada por crise dos contêineres**

Mercado A14

Alex Kidd

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**Reformar o social**  
Sobre a agenda nacional para o combate à pobreza.

**600 mil mortes**  
A respeito de marca trágica da pandemia no país.





**TSJE espera una participación del 60% y confía en que comicios serán limpios**

## Municipios eligen autoridades y ponen a prueba desbloqueo

Hoy, 261 distritos decidirán a través de las urnas quiénes serán sus administradores. Por primera vez se utilizará el voto preferencial. La mayor puja electoral será en Asunción.

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Tanto dentro de la ANR como del PLRA  
**Los clanes políticos**  
buscan ampliar su poder  
en estas elecciones

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Suba de precios devora los rendimientos  
**Consultora considera que**  
la elevada inflación hará  
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**Futuro.** De la elección de autoridades responsables depende una ciudad mejor.



**Piense en las necesidades de  
su ciudad para decidir su voto**

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**Lucha por control dentro del PCC se  
cobra 4 vidas en Pedro J. Caballero**

PÁGINA 36

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**ENQUÊTE**  
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FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question de vendredi :**  
Faut-il lever l'obligation du port du masque dans les lieux clos ?

**OUI 46% NON 54%**

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 122 092

**Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr**  
Faut-il généraliser la limitation à 30 km/h dans tous les centres-villes ?

MICHEL EULER/AP ;  
VINCENT GRIER DUFOURNIER ;  
KENZO TRIBOUILLARD/AFP

## Irak, l'autre bournier de l'Amérique au Moyen-Orient

C'est un pays plus fracturé que jamais qui est appelé aux urnes dimanche. Alors que les forces combattantes américaines préparent leur retrait au 1<sup>er</sup> janvier, notre reporter a sillonné le « corridor chiite » tracé par l'Iran. **PAGES 6, 7 ET L'ÉDITORIAL**



MAL JASON SWEENEY / 40TH COMBAT AVIATION BRIGADE / US ARMY

## 30 km/h : une mesure controversée mais qui s'impose dans les villes

Paris, Grenoble, Angers, Bègles, Nantes... Pas moins de 250 communes sont déjà passées aux 30 km/h, et bien d'autres comptent prochainement adopter cette vitesse.

Au grand dam de nombreux usagers ou spécialistes du droit routier qui fustigent son application sans discernement et son inefficacité contre la pollution. **PAGES 10 ET 11**



## Crise de confiance entre la Pologne et l'Europe

Jamais un État membre n'avait à ce point défié les fondements de l'Union. Jeudi, le Tribunal constitutionnel polonais a balayé la primauté du droit communautaire, faisant valoir que plusieurs de ses disposi-

tions sont contraires à la loi fondamentale du pays. « Nous ferons respecter les principes fondateurs de l'ordre juridique de notre Union », a prévenu la présidente de la Commission européenne, Ursula von der Leyen. **PAGE 5**

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

## Les maux de Bagdad

Comme l'Afghanistan, l'Irak subit la malédiction d'être martyrisé même par ceux qui prétendent se porter à son secours. En le débarassant de la dictature brutale de Saddam Hussein - sous le double prétexte de sa prétendue allégeance à Ben Laden et d'armes de destruction massive inexistantes -, les Américains l'ont accablé d'autres maux depuis deux décennies : réveil des divisions confessionnelles, terrorisme d'al-Qaïda, califat moyenâgeux de Daech, gangrène des milices pro-iraniennes. L'habillage constitutionnel, taillé pour empêcher la domination d'un seul camp, permet à la même clique de se partager indéfiniment les profits du pouvoir. Les élections de dimanche n'y changeront rien. Le scrutin a été avancé sous la pression des manifestants qui, depuis octobre 2019, demandent des emplois, la fin de la corruption et la mise au pas des factions armées. Mais ce mouvement populaire a été si sauvagement réprimé - 600 morts, près de 10 000 blessés, sans compter 43 assassinats ciblés de militants et de journalistes recensés par l'ONU - que la jeunesse épuisée est tentée par le boycott des législatives. Face aux soupçons de fraude, les

Occidentaux ont dépêché une armada d'observateurs, mais la confiance a disparu. Comme en Afghanistan avant la prise des talibans, le théâtre de démocratie installé par les Américains à Bagdad se réduit à un jeu de chaises musicales entre seigneurs de guerre.

Voilà le pays que laissent les États-Unis sur le point de rapatrier, le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier prochain, leurs dernières forces combattantes - à l'exception de quelques formateurs et commandos de l'ombre. Un territoire morcelé, passé en grande partie sous la coupe de l'Iran, qui y a démultiplié son pouvoir de nuisance en traçant un « corridor chiite » jusqu'à la Syrie et au Liban. Un État défaillant assis sur une manne pétrolière qu'il se garde de partager, entretenant la pauvreté et l'instabilité sociale. Une plaque tournante des rivalités au Moyen-Orient, où des centaines de djihadistes restent en embuscade. En un mot, une autre défaite, dans un pays ni conquis ni ami. ■



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