



Reckoning With the Taliban

REVIEW

WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND



THE INNOVATORS ISSUE

WSJ MAGAZINE

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What's News

World-Wide

European officials accuse Belarus of abetting traffickers bringing migrants into their country and then of funneling the new arrivals toward the border. **A1**

◆ **Robert Califf**, a former FDA commissioner, is the Biden administration's choice to head the agency. **A3**

◆ **The U.S. and China** announced they would cooperate on accelerating a transition to cleaner energy. **A7**

◆ **Federal prosecutors** have charged Steve Bannon with criminal contempt of Congress for defying a Jan. 6 House panel subpoena. **A4**

◆ **Jon Gruden** sued the NFL and commissioner Roger Goodell, alleging that the league leaked emails that led to his resignation. **A3**

◆ **Sen. Lisa Murkowski** said she was running for re-election in Alaska. **A5**

◆ **Covid-19 vaccine** supplies for poor nations are ramping up, but many countries say they will struggle to distribute them. **A7**

◆ **A Moscow entrepreneur** faces extradition to the U.S. on charges that he helped a Russian ransomware group launder payments. **A8**

◆ **A 71-year-old Alabama** man admitted to stowing weapons in his truck parked near the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6. **A4**

Business & Finance

◆ **J&J plans** to break up into two companies, splitting off the \$15-billion-a-year division that sells Band-Aid bandages and Tylenol medicines. **A1**

◆ **U.S. companies** and their China affiliates are ramping up investments in Chinese chip makers, aiding Beijing's bid to dominate the sector. **A1**

◆ **Toshiba** said it plans to split into three parts by March 2024 in response to shareholder pressure for a more-focused structure. **B1**

◆ **U.S. indexes** rose Friday. The S&P 500, Nasdaq and the Dow gained 0.7%, 1% and 0.5%, respectively. **B2**

◆ **The U.S. economy** has had more than 10 million open jobs since June. **A1**

◆ **CyrusOne** is nearing an agreement to be sold to a private-equity buyer in a deal that could value the data-center operator at more than \$10 billion. **B1**

◆ **Deere** reached a third tentative contract agreement with the United Auto Workers union. **B3**

◆ **Human-rights groups** say Facebook is stifling an independent report it commissioned to investigate hate speech on its services in India. **A7**

NOONAN

Democrats need to face down the woke. **A13**

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As Summit Nears End, Bid for a Climate Pact Plods On



CLOSER: John Kerry, President Biden's climate envoy, attends a session at the COP26 climate summit in Glasgow on Friday as negotiators continued to push for a deal on combating global warming in the conference's final days. **A7**

U.S. Investments Aid China In Its Bid for Chip Dominance

U.S. firms and their China affiliates are ramping up investment in Chinese semiconductor companies, aiding Beijing's bid for chip-sector dominance and complicating Washington's efforts to preserve America's lead in the critical technology, a Wall

By Kate O'Keeffe, Heather Somerville and Yang Jie

Street Journal investigation has found. U.S. venture-capital firms, chip-industry giants and other private investors participated in 58 investment deals in China's semiconductor industry from 2017 through 2020, more than double the number from the prior four years, according to an analysis of deals data by New York-based research firm Rhodium Group done at the Journal's request.

Major chip company Intel Corp. is among the active investors, backing a Chinese company now called Primarius Technologies Co., which specializes in chip-design tools that U.S. companies currently lead in making, a separate Journal review of data from analytics firm PitchBook Data Inc. shows.

Beyond that, the China-based affiliates of Silicon Valley venture firms Sequoia Capital, Lightspeed Venture Partners, Matrix Partners and Redpoint Ventures have made at least 67 investments in Chinese chip-sector companies since the start of 2020, the Journal found. While the sums invested in many of the deals aren't disclosed, the investors participated in the deals.

◆ **Toshiba** to split into three parts..... **B1**

◆ **Consumer line** tackles growing self-care trend..... **A6**

◆ **How split** affects individual shareholders..... **A6**

◆ **Heard on the Street:** Breakup is no clean sweep..... **B13**

Record Quitting Fuels Tight Job Market

By GABRIEL T. RUBIN

The U.S. economy has had more than 10 million open jobs since June, an extraordinary stretch of imbalance in the labor market that also includes record numbers of workers quitting their jobs.

As of Nov. 5, there were a projected 11.2 million U.S. job openings, according to estimates from the jobs site Indeed, exceeding 7.4 million unemployed workers in the U.S. labor force last month.

The so-called quits rate—a measurement of workers' leaving jobs as a share of overall employment—was 3% in September, a record high, Friday's Labor Department data showed, a sign of worker confidence in the job market. To-date, which reflects the number of jobs that workers left voluntarily, hit another record, at 4.4 million.

Total job openings have been well above their pre-pandemic peak—about 7.5 million in November 2018—since February, when Covid-19 vaccinations initially ramped up and the U.S. economy started to more broadly reopen. Many of the open jobs are in warehousing, shipping and consumer-facing retail, a trend that is likely to be supercharged by the holiday shopping season and strong consumer demand.

“Even accounting for seasonality, we could see stronger demand for retail and logistics positions,” said Nick Please turn to page **A2**

◆ **Heard on the Street:** Finding workers won't be easy..... **B13**

Covid Changed Churches, And Many Aren't Going Back

Religious leaders deploy new tactics to stem decades of declines

By JANET ADAMY

PHILADELPHIA—The pews were only half full at St. Raymond of Penafort on a recent Sunday morning. At the height of lockdowns, that was OK as scores of parishioners grew accustomed to watching services online, hinting at what a post-pandemic future might look like.

But on this day, the church's high-speed internet connection was down. “If you want to text them,” Rev. Chris Walsh told the Catholic congregation, “tell them they can get in the car and drive here, and they’ll be here in no time.”

Across the country, Christian leaders are wrestling with how to keep their congregations going with fewer people showing up.

The number of churchgoers has steadily dropped in the U.S. over the past few decades. But Covid-19 and its lockdown restrictions accelerated that fall. In-person church attendance is roughly 30% to 50% lower than it was before the pandemic, estimates Barna Group, a research firm that studies faith in the U.S.

While religious leaders expect some rebound once the pandemic recedes, many don't expect attendance to return to previous levels. That has left churches looking for different approaches to connect with existing members and attract new ones.

In Catholic, mainline Protestant, evangelical and other congregations, many religious leaders are laying plans for a more hybrid future. Please turn to page **A10**

Natural Gas Prices Seesaw

Swings in natural-gas costs are expected to continue. **B12**

Natural-gas futures price, front-month contract



Source: Dow Jones Market Data

Noise of Bitcoin Mines Frays Nerves

Neighbors liken din to giant, nonstop dentist's drill

By VIPAL MONGA

The city of Sherbrooke, Quebec, 100 miles east of Montreal, got a big revenue lift when it welcomed Bitfarms, a company that makes cryptocurrencies. The 500 people who neighbor the company's computer center got something else: an inescapable drone that is driving many of them crazy. “It's comparable to torture,” Please turn to page **A10**

Europe Warns Belarus Is Weaponizing Migrants

By JAMES MARSON AND DREW HINSHAW

WARSAW—For years, thousands of U.S. and NATO troops have stood guard in Poland—a presence designed to deter an invasion by Russian troops and tanks.

This week, the Western alliance faced a less conventional challenge: At least 2,000 people from the Middle East trying to cross into Poland from Russia's closest ally, Belarus.

European officials accuse Belarus of abetting human traffickers bringing migrants into their country and then of funneling the new arrivals toward the border in an effort to provoke a crisis—things Belarus denies.

EXCHANGE



GIANT FALL
GE's breakup challenges the enduring myth of management magic **B1**

Tensions are rising. Poland has deployed more soldiers along the frontier to keep the migrants out, Russia says it views the troop movements as a threat and has responded by sending bombers to patrol over Belarus.

Alexander Lukashenko, Belarus's authoritarian president, noted in a press conference that the Russian warplanes were capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

“What we are dealing with is a new type of war,” Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki said in a Facebook post Thursday. “This is a war Please turn to page **A8**

◆ **U.S. briefs allies** on possible Ukraine threat..... **A8**



Staley swapped 1,200 emails with Epstein

- Exchanges with late sex offender include unexplained term 'snow white'
- Former boss of Barclays denies wrongdoing and use of code words

STEPHEN MORRIS AND CAROLINE BINHAM — LONDON

Jes Staley exchanged 1,200 emails with Jeffrey Epstein over a four-year period with content that included unexplained terms such as "snow white", according to people familiar with the correspondence between the former Barclays chief and the convicted sex offender.

Staley resigned from Barclays last week after seeing preliminary conclusions of an investigation by UK regulators, which examined whether he had mischaracterised his relationship with Epstein as purely professional. He has said he will contest the findings.

Central to the probe was a cache of emails first provided to US regulators by JPMorgan, where Staley worked for more than 30 years in roles including head of the private bank where Epstein was a client. Epstein died by suicide in 2019 while awaiting trial on charges that he sex-trafficked underage girls.

Neither the extent of the email traffic between the two men nor any of its content has been made public until now.

Many of the emails, sent between 2008 and 2012, were matter of fact — for

Before Barclays, Jes Staley had worked at JPMorgan in roles including head of the private bank where Jeffrey Epstein (inset) was a client

example, discussing news articles or arranging to meet for drinks — but showing a close relationship between the two men, according to the people familiar with the contents.

However, regulators have highlighted certain terms that do not have an obvious meaning. The "snow white" reference was written in a short, two-message exchange referring to a conversation the men had previously had in person, one of the people familiar with the matter said. Regulators at the Financial Conduct Authority and Prudential Regulation Authority are yet to draw conclusions over the phrase, a second person said.

Kathleen Harris, a lawyer for Staley, said: "We wish to make it expressly clear that our client had no involvement in any of the alleged crimes committed by Mr Epstein, and code words were never used by Mr Staley in any communications with Mr Epstein, ever," she said all the emails were innocuous.

Barclays pointed to an earlier statement that "the investigation makes no findings that Mr Staley saw, or was aware of, any of Mr Epstein's alleged

crimes". JPMorgan declined to comment.

Staley's ties to Epstein began in the early 2000s when Epstein, who managed money for billionaires, was a client of JPMorgan. They became sufficiently close that Staley visited Epstein while he was serving a prison sentence in Florida in 2009 for procuring a child for prostitution and soliciting a prostitute.

Staley said their relationship began to "taper off" after he left the US bank in 2015. However, just months before joining Barclays in 2015, Staley sailed his yacht to Epstein's private Caribbean island. He also allowed Epstein to mentor one of his daughters during her college application, the Financial Times has previously reported.

Staley said he had no contact with Epstein after the island visit and is contesting the regulators' findings.

While aware of Staley's connection to Epstein when he joined Barclays, the FCA and PRA opened a formal probe after receiving the emails from US regulators in 2019, people familiar with the matter told the FT. Barclays was first notified about the emails in December

2019, when chair Nigel Higgins was summoned to see Mark Carney, then Bank of England governor, they said.

Regulators were concerned that the emails contradicted an earlier letter sent by the bank, which described the relationship as professional. They urged the board to review the new information and check if the CEO had played down his links with the disgraced financier.

The bank spent the next two months scrutinising the large amount of documents with law firm Clifford Chance. At one point Staley considered resigning but was persuaded to stay, two people familiar with the decision said.

Barclays resolved to stand by Staley, deeming him to have been truthful about the relationship.

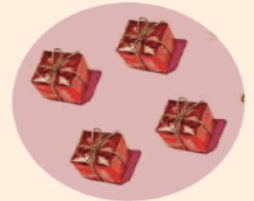
The FCA probe took 22 months to reach a conclusion, yet to be made public. Regulators focused on whether Staley was "full and frank" in his initial disclosures and subsequent interviews. Rules require a company to engage with the FCA in an "open and co-operative way".

Additional reporting by Joshua Franklin in New York

How To Spend It

Seasonal gift guide

MAGAZINE



Peer pressure

The fight to reform the House of Lords

LIFE & ARTS



Fox anchor Chris Wallace has Lunch with the FT

LIFE & ARTS



Top awards for the FT

The Financial Times has won both national and international newspaper of the year at the UK's Newsawards 2021



Migrants' hopes faded in freezing Belarus forest

Migrants huddled in freezing forest camps in Belarus have told the FT of their desperate bid to cross the border with Poland and find a new life in the EU. Pawns in a crisis that Brussels says is orchestrated by Belarusian dictator Alexander Lukashenko, they have paid thousands of dollars to agents for a visa and ticket to Minsk but now face barbed wire, cold and soldiers. "We can't sleep, because it's so cold," one woman says. "We're going to die here."

Political pawns — PAGE 3

Austria to lock down the unvaccinated in struggle against soaring Covid rates

SAM JONES — ZÜRICH

Austria's government plans to impose a strict lockdown on the unvaccinated to tackle soaring Covid-19 rates, in one of the most contentious measures in Europe to try to contain the pandemic.

Chancellor Alexander Schallenberg yesterday said the federal government was aiming to lock down those who had not been jabbed from Monday. "I don't see why two-thirds of the population should lose their freedom because another third hesitates," he added.

Infection rates are surging in Europe, deepening concerns over another pandemic wave this winter. Authorities in Germany have proposed tougher measures to tackle the virus while the Netherlands is set to impose a partial three-week lockdown from today.

Austrian state governors will meet federal government officials tomorrow to thrash out details of how a lockdown will work. Despite Schallenberg's insistence that it is necessary, the consensus among states is far from clear. Upper Austria and Salzburg have said they will enforce strict measures, but other state governors have been more equivocal.

Unvaccinated people are already banned from restaurants and bars in Austria, which this week recorded its highest infection rates of the pandemic.

More than 53 per cent of Austrians have yet to have a first dose of a vaccine, one of the lowest rates in the EU.

Officials in the chancellery said measures would mirror previous harsh lockdown restrictions in Austria when people were only able to leave their homes once a day for "essential" reasons, such as buying food.

Police would conduct spot checks in public, the interior ministry said, with rule breakers facing fines.

The Austrian announcement sparked a fierce backlash from Herbert Kickl, leader of Austria's far-right Freedom party, who accused the government of "corona fascism" and said "all forms of resistance... are now needed".

"The lockdown for the unvaccinated... is unconstitutional, inhuman, harassing, completely illogical and not based on any evidence," Kickl said.

The Netherlands' return to lockdown comes as infection rates soared after the government removed social restrictions in September. New measures include non-essential shops closing by 7pm, no more than four visitors in homes and the reintroduction of homeworking.

Additional reporting by Erika Solomon, Mehreen Khan and Richard Milne

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World Markets										
STOCK MARKETS			CURRENCIES			INTEREST RATES				
	Nov 12	prev	%chg		Nov 12	prev				
S&P 500	4691.22	4680.27	0.88	\$ per £	1.345	1.342	£ per \$	0.747	0.747	
Nasdaq Composite	15841.67	15704.28	0.87	\$ per €	1.340	1.339	€ per €	1.170	1.167	
Dow Jones Ind	39203.39	39202.23	0.48	€ per £	0.654	0.652	¥ per €	130.216	130.236	
FTSE Eurofirst 300	1883.54	1878.01	0.29	¥ per £	113.955	113.970	£/india	80.090	81.148	
Euro Stoxx 50	4372.03	4368.00	0.32	¥ per €	152.642	152.601	Sfr per €	1.235	1.232	
FTSE 100	7347.91	7384.18	-0.49	Sfr per £	1.056	1.056				
FTSE All-Share	4194.89	4212.38	-0.42	£ per \$	0.674	0.672				
CAC 40	7091.40	7059.55	0.45	COMMODITIES				price	yield	chg
Xetra Dax	16094.07	16003.11	0.57							
Nikkei	29595.97	29277.86	1.13	Oil WTI \$	80.82	81.59	-0.82			
Hang Seng	25327.97	25247.89	0.32	Oil Brent \$	82.24	82.87	-0.76			
MSCI World \$	3201.98	3201.57	0.01	Gold \$	1779.30	1779.00	0.03			
MSCI EM \$	1291.40	1274.39	0.55							
MSCI ACWI \$	752.02	751.46	0.07							

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Late Edition

Today, sunshine, then clouds, afternoon showers, high 60. Tonight, clearing, breezy, colder, low 39. Tomorrow, partly cloudy skies, high 50. Weather map is on Page B10.

DEADLINE PASSES, BUT CLIMATE PLAN REMAINS ELUSIVE

TALKS RUN INTO NIGHT

Debating Emission Goals and Assistance for the Developing World

This article is by Samini Sen Gupta, Lisa Friedman and Brad Plumer.

GLASGOW — The international climate talks went into overtime Friday evening, as negotiators wrestled behind closed doors over several sticking points in an agreement that could determine whether nations can prevent the planet from growing dangerously hot by midcentury.

A draft agreement released Friday morning called for a doubling of money to help developing countries cope with climate effects and said nations should strengthen their emission-cutting targets by next year. The document urged countries to accelerate a coal phaseout and eliminate subsidies for fossil fuels.

Negotiators from about 200 countries worked into Saturday morning, arguing over several aspects of the document, such as whether countries should be asked to return next year with stronger emission plans, whether wealthy countries should give financial help to developing countries experiencing the worst effects and how to structure a global market for carbon.

They even disputed whether the final agreement should mention the words "fossil fuels," which have never before appeared in a global climate agreement even though their combustion is the principal cause of climate change.

One of the most divisive questions involves whether industrialized countries that have prospered for by burning coal, oil and gas should pay developing countries for the irreparable harms they have caused.

The state of the negotiations reflected the intensifying pressure on polluter countries not only to reduce greenhouse gas emissions far more quickly than they have been willing to, but also to address the damage that those emissions have exacted on countries least responsible for the problem.

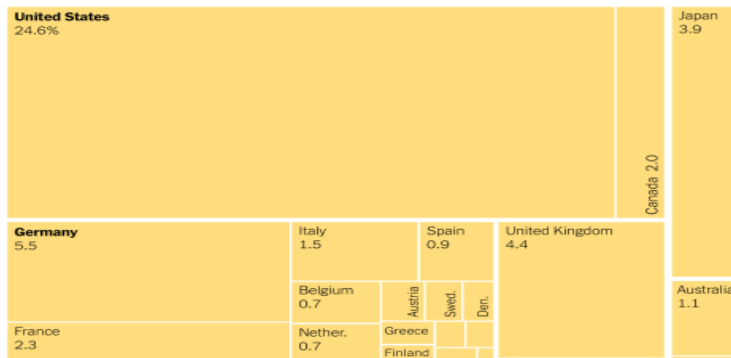
"There's a huge disconnect between where we are, where we will be based on current projections and where we need to be in terms of what science is telling us," said Saber Hossain Chowdhury.

Continued on Page A6

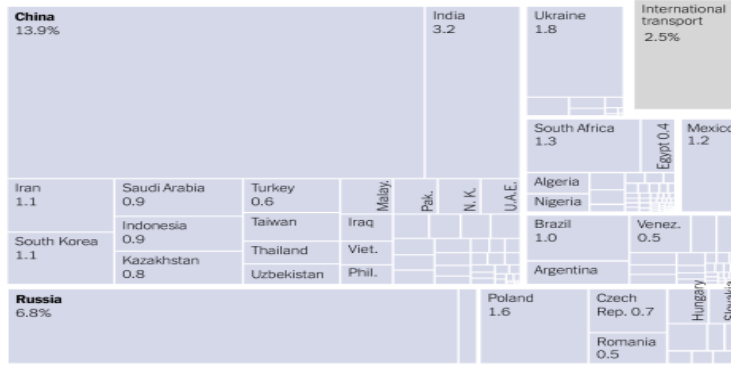
Who Has the Most Historical Responsibility for Climate Change?

A group of rich countries — just 12 percent of the global population today — produced half of all greenhouse gases in the past 170 years. A quarter of all emissions came from the United States. Page A7.

23 RICH COUNTRIES are responsible for half of all historical CO2 emissions:



MORE THAN 150 COUNTRIES are responsible for the other half:



It's a disproportionate responsibility:

Historical CO2 emissions



Source: Global Carbon Project | Note: The rich, developed countries group is based on the United Nations' Annex II definition, which requires them to provide financial resources that help developing nations adapt to climate change. International transport is not counted as part of either group's total emissions. The data reflects territory-based carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuels and cement but does not include land use and forestry. The graphic shows emissions from countries and territories.

Menace Grows Commonplace Among G.O.P.

Threats Are Embraced as Divide Widens

By LISA LERER
and ASTEAD W. HERNDON

At a conservative rally in western Idaho last month, a young man stepped up to a microphone to ask when he could start killing Democrats.

"When do we get to use the guns?" he said as the audience applauded. "How many elections are they going to steal before we kill these people?" The local state representative, a Republican, later called it a "fair" question.

In Ohio, the leading candidate in the Republican primary for Senate blasted out a video urging Republicans to resist the "tyranny" of a federal government that pushed them to wear masks and take F.D.A.-authorized vaccines.

"When the Gestapo show up at your front door," the candidate, Josh Mandel, a grandson of Holocaust survivors, said in the video in September, "you know what to do."

And in Congress, violent threats against lawmakers are on track to double this year. Republicans who break party ranks and defy former President Donald J. Trump have come to expect insults, invective and death threats — often stoked by their own colleagues and conservative activists, who have denounced them as traitors.

From congressional offices to community meeting rooms, threats of violence are becoming commonplace among a significant segment of the Republican Party. Ten months after rioters attacked the United States Capitol on Jan. 6, and after four years of a president who often spoke in violent terms about his adversaries, right-wing Republicans are talking more openly and frequently about the use of force as justifiable in opposition to those who dislodged him from power.

In Washington, where decorum and civility are still given lip service, violent or threatening language still remains uncommon, if not unheard-of, among lawmakers who spend a great deal of time in the same building. But among the most fervent conservatives, who play an outsized role in primary contests and provide the party with its activist energy, the belief that the country is at a crossroads that could require armed confrontation is no longer limited to the fringe.

Continued on Page A15

BANNON INDICTED AFTER REBUFFING HOUSE SUBPOENAS

2 COUNTS OF CONTEMPT

Meadows Defies Jan. 6 Panel Again, Risking Similar Charges

By KATIE BENNER
and LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — Stephen K. Bannon, a longtime senior aide to former President Donald J. Trump, was indicted by a federal grand jury on Friday on two counts of contempt of Congress, after his refusal to provide information to the House committee investigating the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol.

Mr. Bannon, 67, had declined last month to comply with subpoenas from the committee seeking testimony and documents from



CALLA KESSLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

him. The House then voted to hold Mr. Bannon in criminal contempt of Congress.

After holding Mr. Bannon in contempt, the House referred the matter to the U.S. attorney's office in Washington for a decision on whether to prosecute him.

Mr. Trump has directed his former aides and advisers to invoke immunity and refrain from turning over documents that might be protected under executive privilege.

A Justice Department spokesman said Mr. Bannon was expected to turn himself in to authorities on Monday, and make his first appearance in Federal District Court in Washington later that day.

A lawyer for Mr. Bannon did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

The politically and legally complex case was widely seen as a litmus test for whether the Justice Department would take an aggressive stance.

Continued on Page A15

Trusted Broadcaster Muzzled As Hong Kong Minds Beijing

By VIVIAN WANG

HONG KONG — Not long after Patrick Li took over as the general manager of Hong Kong's public broadcaster, a digital lock pad appeared outside his office entrance.

In the past, the director's office had been where staffers at the broadcaster, Radio Television Hong Kong, gathered to air grievances with management decisions: programming changes, labor disputes. Now, the lock pad signaled, such complaints were no longer welcome.

For many employees, the closed room was an emblem of the broader transformation sweeping through RTHK, the 93-year-old institution venerated by residents as one of the most trusted news sources in Hong Kong's once free-wheeling media landscape.

RTHK was once compared to the BBC for its fierce editorial independence. But under a sweep-

Hard-Hitting Coverage Is Out, Replaced by Historical Dramas

ing national security law that Beijing imposed last year to silence dissent, many say it now more closely resembles China Central Television, the propagandistic Chinese state broadcaster.

Since Mr. Li arrived in March, episodes featuring interviews with government critics have been dropped hours before they were to air. Historical dramas about the Chinese Communist Party fill prime-time slots. Whole shows have been eliminated — with hosts told this would be their last taping only after they recorded it.

New editorial guidelines issued in September order staffers to "as-

Continued on Page A9

After 13 Years, Spears Regains Right to Control Her Own Life

By JOE COSCARELLI
and JULIA JACOBS

Nearly 14 years after a Los Angeles court deemed the pop sensation Britney Spears unable to care for herself, stripping the singer of control in nearly every aspect of her life, a judge ruled on Friday to end the conservatorship that Ms. Spears said had long traumatized and exploited her.

"The conservatorship of the person and estate of Britney Jean Spears is no longer required," Judge Brenda Penny said, making her ruling less than half an hour into the brief hearing. "The conservatorship is hereby terminated."

The judge added that further psychological assessments of Ms. Spears were unnecessary, because the conservatorship was technically voluntary. But Judge Penny said that the current conservator of the singer's estate would continue working to settle



VALERIE MACON/AP — GETTY IMAGES

Britney Spears at a 2019 event.

financial concerns related to the case.

James P. Spears, Ms. Spears's father, who is known as Jamie, first petitioned the court for authority over his adult daughter's life and finances in early 2008, citing her very public mental health struggles and possible substance abuse amid a child custody battle.

Continued on Page A13

Tuition Aid Plan Leaves Out Thousands Who Require Help

By ERICA L. GREEN

WASHINGTON — When Megan Kern decided she wanted to enroll in Pima Medical Institute, in Phoenix last year, its tax status was the furthest thing from her mind.

The 37-year-old single mother was focused on finding a school that would prepare her for a stable career after struggling to raise her daughter on her own. She settled on Pima, a for-profit institution, after finding it a better match for her aspirations, and its staff more warm and welcoming, than the four-year and community colleges she had explored.

"Showing my daughter that even at 37 years old, you can still go out there, get a good education and follow your dreams, meant everything to me," said Ms. Kern, who is studying to become a surgical technologist. "I chose Pima because they were very concerned about what I wanted to do, where I

Students Pay Price for Abuses at For-Profit Colleges

wanted to go and how I could get there."

That choice may now come at a cost. Ms. Kern is one of about 900,000 low-income students attending for-profit colleges who get federal Pell Grants and could lose out on a \$550 increase that House Democrats have proposed in the latest version of the social spending and climate package making its way through Congress. In a little-noticed provision, lawmakers have stipulated that the increase proposed for the grants, the largest federal aid program for low-income students, can only be used at public and private nonprofit colleges and universities, covering

Continued on Page A13



Reinventing Powell's Books

A landmark bookstore in Portland, Ore., tries to keep its traditional aura in an internet age. PAGE B1

Johnson & Johnson to Divide

The 135-year-old company plans to split into a consumer-products business and a medical division. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A12-17, 20

A Familiar Face for F.D.A.

President Biden nominated Dr. Robert M. Califf, an academic and researcher who ran the agency in 2016 and also consulted for drug companies. PAGE A14

Republican Concedes

Ten days after polls closed, Jack Ciattarelli acknowledged that he lost the New Jersey governor's race to the incumbent, Phil Murphy. PAGE A17

Setback for Vaccine Mandate

A U.S. appeals court held that those challenging a mandate for employers were likely to succeed in the claim that it was an unlawful overreach. PAGE A20

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Uneasy Alliance for Russia

Last year Vladimir V. Putin helped save Aleksandr G. Lukashenko's Belarusian regime. But Russia now has an ever-more-erratic ally and risks entanglement in a dangerous crisis. PAGE A8

Myanmar Sentences Journalist

Danny Fenster, an American, was given the toughest possible sentence on three charges, in a signal that the country's military rulers would not bow to international pressure. PAGE A9

OPINION A18-19

Claire Bond Potter PAGE A19



SPORTS B6-8, 10

Murder Confession in a Book

Larry Miller, a Nike executive, has written a book revealing that at age 16, in 1965, he murdered someone. PAGE B6

The Key to Qualifying

The U.S. men's soccer team is counting on a teenage striker, Ricardo Pepi, to help it reach the World Cup. PAGE B8

ARTS C1-6

Candace Bushnell, on a Role

The writer discusses her stage debut in "Is There Still Sex in the City?" a one-woman show about her life, her work and the parties in between. PAGE C1

THIS WEEKEND

Sidesgiving Special Section

If turkey wasn't on your Thanksgiving table, would you miss it? Twenty recipes prove sides can be the stars.



0 554613 9

COLUMN ONE

An Oath Keeper's wife feels the sting of Jan. 6

After Capitol riot, estranged spouse of the group's founder reflects on her role.

By DEL QUENTIN WILBER
REPORTING FROM EUREKA, MONT.

Looking back at the Capitol riot, Tasha Adams ponders her time as an Oath Keeper's wife and asks: "What if I had not supported him?"

"Him" is her estranged husband, Stewart Rhodes, founder and leader of the Oath Keepers, an anti-government group whose members stand accused by federal authorities of having played a crucial role in the Jan. 6 insurrection.

During nearly 23 years of marriage, Adams says she devoted herself to Rhodes' aspirations. She worked as an exotic dancer to help put him through college, assisted in writing his papers and encouraged him to successfully apply to Yale Law School. When he was looking for direction in life — a cause — Adams helped him start the Oath Keepers.

Over the next few years, Adams became disillusioned by the far-right organization and her marriage. The Oath Keepers, she says, increasingly promoted conspiracy theories while engaging in extremist activities and rhetoric that demonstrated racial and ethnic biases. Meanwhile, her husband became emotionally and physically abusive, she says. In 2018, hoping to put Rhodes and the organization behind her, she left him and filed for divorce.

With congressional committees and federal investigators examining the threat posed by domestic extremists and their contribution to the insurrection, Adams has been conducting an exploration of her own life and culpability in the forming of the Oath Keepers. Her journey provides behind-the-scenes insights into how a Las Vegas car valet transformed into the leader of an organization that sought to overturn a presidential election.

"If I hadn't helped him start it, I mean, there would probably still have been an insurrection," Adams, 49, [See Adams, A6]



DENNIS JOHNSON, 60, douses himself with a bucket of water collected from a fire hydrant on a 92-degree day on L.A.'s skid row. California may rank heat waves much the way forecasters categorize hurricanes.

Hot and hotter: State may institute heat wave rankings

Move would raise awareness of deadly effects of extremely high temperatures.

By ALEX WIGGLESWORTH

California could become the first state in the nation to institute a ranking system for heat waves, much the way weather authorities categorize hurricanes, or how fire and air quality officials warn of wildfire and pollution risks.

The move, announced on the last day of the United Nations climate talks in Scotland, is intended to raise awareness of the deadly effects of extreme heat events, which experts say kill more people than any other climate-driven hazard and are increasing in frequency and intensity as the planet warms.

"Without a way to rank heat waves, we treat extreme heat more like a weather story when it's really a public health crisis," said California Insurance Commissioner Ricardo Lara, who will sponsor a bill to develop the ranking system. The bill was jointly written by Assemblymembers Luz Rivas (D-North Hollywood) and Eduardo Garcia (D-Coachella), who plan to introduce it after the Legislature reconvenes in January. Sen. Henry Stern (D-Malibu) will be a principal co-author.

"There are a lot of vulnerable people out there," [See Hotter, A8]



McKENNA INGRAM, right, and her sister Nya feel the 98-degree heat as they wait in line for coronavirus testing outside Northridge Middle School on Aug. 11.

'Dual dangers' for many Inequality worsens climate risks, county says

By HAYLEY SMITH

The Crenshaw sidewalks sizzled on Wednesday as Ang Flore worked to sell face masks, plastic toys and electronic gadgets to people passing by. There were few takers beneath the blazing sun.

A native of West Africa and a former resident of Las Vegas, Flore said she was

used to heat but that she moved to Los Angeles because she was initially drawn to its more temperate weather.

"But as the years go by, you feel the difference," said Flore, 40. "Us outside — we notice it a lot."

Crenshaw is one of at least 47 communities where the worsening effects of climate change will be felt most acutely, according to a new

L.A. County report that outlines in stark detail how some of the Southland's most vulnerable residents could bear the brunt of extreme heat, wildfires, drought and floods.

The Climate Vulnerability Assessment found that those communities face "dual dangers": an increased exposure to climate hazards combined with factors that [See Climate, A8]

Britney Spears freed from conservatorship

An L.A. judge returns her legal rights after 13 years. 'Best day ever,' the pop star declares.

By CHRISTIE D'ZURILLA

Britney Spears is finally free. An L.A. judge ruled Friday to terminate the controversial conservatorship that has been in place since early 2008, ending the oversight of two conservators who have supervised the pop star's person and her estate for nearly 14 years.

Judge Brenda J. Penny returned Spears' legal rights, effective immediately. The decision had seemed inevitable after a momentous hearing in September, though Penny gave no indication ahead of time about how she would rule.

The crowd of fans assembled on Grand Avenue out-

side Stanley Mosk Courthouse in downtown L.A. erupted in joyful cheers and confetti as the news spread. Then they sang and danced to Spears' hit "Stronger," hollering the lyrics, "Now it's nothing but my way / My loneliness ain't killing me no more."

"What's next for Britney — and this is the first time that this could be said for about a decade — is up to one person: Britney," said Mathew Rosengart, the singer's attorney since July, speaking at a news conference outside the courthouse. "I will say that Britney has been put into a position, through our collaboration and the work of my law firm, to succeed."

"We have a safety net in place for Britney, both on the personal side and on the financial side..." he continued. "But Britney as of today is a free woman and she's an [See Spears, A5]



#FREEBRITNEY SUPPORTERS sing, dance and hold up signs Friday on Grand Avenue outside the Stanley Mosk Courthouse in downtown Los Angeles.

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT? The ruling allows Spears to control her own life and spending, even to sue her parents, if she opts to. Her lawyer says it's her call. CALIFORNIA, B1

CDC shifts aim for ending COVID

Stopping pandemic with herd immunity through vaccination 'may not be possible,' health experts say.

By MELISSA HEALY

Since the earliest days of the pandemic, there has been a collective goal for bringing it to an end: achieving herd immunity. That's when so many people are immune to a virus that it runs out of potential hosts to infect, causing an outbreak to sputter out.

Many Americans embraced the novel farmyard phrase, and with it, the projection that once 70% to 80% or 85% of the population was vaccinated against COVID-19, the virus would go away and the pandemic would be over.

Now the herd is restless. And experts at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have set aside herd immunity as a national goal.

The prospects for meeting a clear herd-immunity target are "very complicated," said Dr. Jefferson Jones, a medical officer on the CDC's COVID-19 Epidemiology Task Force.

"Thinking that we'll be able to achieve some kind of threshold where there'll be no more transmission of infections may not be possible," Jones acknowledged last week to members of a panel that advises the CDC on vaccines.

Vaccines have been quite effective at preventing cases of COVID-19 that lead to severe illness and death, but none has proved reliable at blocking transmission of the virus, Jones noted. Recent evidence has also made clear that the immunity provided by vaccines can wane in a matter of months.

The result is that even if vaccination were universal, the coronavirus would probably continue to spread.

"We would discourage" thinking in terms of "a strict goal," he said.

To Dr. Oliver Brooks, a member of the CDC's Advisory Committee on Immunization Practices, it was a sobering new message, with potentially worrisome effects.

With just 58.5% of all Americans fully vaccinated, "we do need to increase" the uptake of COVID-19 shots, said Brooks, chief medical officer of Watts Healthcare in Los Angeles. Unfortunately, he said, Jones' unexpected admission "almost [See Herd immunity, A10]

Bannon indicted by grand jury

Trump ally faces criminal contempt of Congress charges for defying the House panel investigating the Jan. 6 attack. NATION, A4

Gymnast tells of racist attack
Olympian Sunisa Lee says she was pepper-sprayed from a passing car while in L.A. last month. CALIFORNIA, B1

Weather
Sunny, a bit less warm.
L.A. Basin: 89/63. B8
Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.



The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.



Partly sunny 56/36 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 53/42 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 2021 • B2



PHOTOS BY MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

After treatment, another struggle begins

For covid patients and others, an ICU stay can have debilitating effects

BY LENNY BERNSTEIN AND DAN KEATING

CONNELLSVILLE, PA. — When she finally made it home after 54 days in the UPMC Mercy intensive care unit, Brenda Markle was literally helpless. She could not sit, stand or speak. She could not feed herself or use the bathroom.

The occasional transfer from her bed to her motorized wheelchair required the arduous use of a Hoyer lift, when settled into the chair, she could operate the joystick with one hand or push a button with her head.

Once a robust 54-year-old nurse's aide, Markle was still plagued by erratic blood pressure, anxiety, depression and the metallic taste that many covid-19 patients complain of when they eat. She had an

SEE ICU ON A7



TOP: Brenda Markle, a covid-19 patient at UPMC Mercy hospital in Pittsburgh, gets a visit from physician Brad Butcher on Jan. 11 during her nearly eight-week stay in the ICU. ABOVE: Members of Markle's family — partner Neil Butler and their daughters, Breanna, center, and Brittany — visit her grave in Normalville, Pa., in September. Markle died on July 30.

Job market churn still at record pace

4.4 MILLION QUIT IN SEPT. AS OPENINGS SURGE

Virus fears, family needs, higher wages fuel mobility

BY ELI ROSENBERG

A record 4.4 million Americans quit their jobs in September, as workers took advantage of the surge in job openings across the country, a sign of how labor market imbalances continue to complicate the economic recovery 20 months into the pandemic.

The number of people quitting in September constituted 3 percent of the workforce, according to a monthly Bureau of Labor Statistics survey released Friday. That number is up from the previous record, set in August, when 4.3 million people quit their jobs — about 2.9 percent of the workforce. In February 2020, before the big wave of pandemic-related layoffs began, 2.3 percent of workers quit their jobs.

The new statistics reflect how severely in flux the labor market

remains after the pandemic upended the course of business and life across the country last year.

Businesses have hired millions of American workers since April 2020, continuing to add employees even during a surge in coronavirus infections in the late summer. But workers have remained remarkably mobile, quitting jobs for a variety of reasons and often with little notice. Many businesses are so strapped to find and retain workers that they are dipping into budgets to offer higher pay and bonuses, creating the most worker-friendly labor market in recent history.

A number of factors have led to the churn. The September data came during a period when coronavirus cases were spiking, creating child-care and safety pressures for many employees as they

SEE JOBS ON A14

White supremacists find platform in federal trial

Unite the Right civil case defendants use live audio to boast, woo supporters

BY ELLIE SILVERMAN

CHARLOTTESVILLE — Devin Willis testified for hours about the racist vitriol he endured as a young Black man while a torch-carrying mob marched on his college campus four years ago, surrounding him and his friends, spraying chemical irritants and making "monkey noises."

Now, one of those violent white supremacists, who is representing himself without an attorney in this trial, stood in front of Willis in

a federal courtroom, badgering him to name his friends in public proceedings that hundreds of people are listening in on each day.

"I'm hesitant to name them," Willis told Christopher Cantwell, a neo-Nazi defendant who is serving a prison sentence for extortion and threat charges from a separate case. "Some of them live here."

District Judge Norman K. Moon told Willis he had to answer the question.

Within minutes, the names of Willis's friends, and photos of at least one of their faces, spread to far-right chat rooms where extremist supporters were following the trial. One chat room was led by another defendant, who

SEE CHARLOTTESVILLE ON A6

Pop megastar Spears gains control of her life, finances

BY ASHLEY FETTERS MALOY AND SONIA RAO

LOS ANGELES — A California judge on Friday ended the conservatorship over Britney Spears, a 33-year arrangement

that had granted her father and others almost total control over the pop singer's personal life and finances. Judge Brenda

Penny's decision means Spears will regain control of her day-to-day life effective immediately, as well as her multimillion-dollar estate.

The conservatorship cast a pall over the life and career of the onetime chart-topper, who shot to stardom when she was a teen-

SEE SPEARS ON A2

Open arms in a new world for young Afghans

Across the U.S., refugees are enrolling in public schools that have been gearing up for their needs

BY DONNA ST. GEORGE

The first students of what are expected to be many thousands of Afghan refugees have begun arriving in the nation's schools, as educators and community groups around the country prepare to help with language classes, family support and trauma counseling.

Nearly 53,000 Afghan evacuees remain on eight military installations around the country — almost half of them 18 or younger. Some are learning English, but formal education in bricks-and-mortar schools typically comes with resettlement.

In Virginia, nearly 180 students have enrolled this fall in the public schools of Fairfax County, while 50 refugee children in Texas have started classes in Austin and 65 in California have started in Fremont.

Thousands of others will follow them as they move off mili-

SEE SCHOOL ON A4



From right, Carrie Keene waits with the Qaniz children, Aysha, Abdul Qadeer, Yousuf and Abdul Ahad while their parents register them for school in Dunn Loring, Va., on Nov. 5.

VALERIE FLESCH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Bannon indicted on 2 counts of contempt

BY DEVLIN BARRETT, JACQUELINE ALEMANY AND SPENCER S. HSU

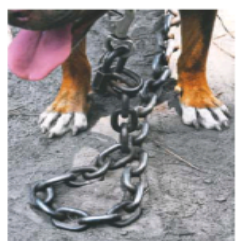
Former White House adviser Stephen K. Bannon was charged Friday with two counts of contempt of Congress after refusing to comply with a subpoena from the House committee investigating the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol.

He was indicted by a grand jury in Washington — a rare move by the Justice Department to escalate the consequences of a dispute involving Congress. Court records indicate only three such cases have been filed in D.C. since 1990.

The charges against Bannon each carry a maximum sentence of one year in jail and may serve as a warning to others seeking to

SEE BANNON ON A5

IN SUNDAY'S POST



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Bad, human Why are people cruel to dogs? To try to understand, a Post writer embedded with a team saving canines from the most heartbreaking conditions imaginable. Magazine

Ski Issue It's time to hit the slopes. Grab your jacket, pack your gear — and get ready to enjoy your own winter wonderland. Travel



DAVE TREE

What happened to Eric Clapton? For 56 years, the guitar icon remained silent about politics. But when coronavirus struck, he took a forceful stand, questioning scientists on anti-vaccine websites. Arts & Style

\$82 SUNDAY'S COUPONS

INSIDE

REAL ESTATE
Rising to the challenge
A multigenerational Capitol Hill family endured many renovation setbacks, but the effort paid off.

STYLE
Steele dossier reporting
The Washington Post corrects, removes parts of two stories in light of new developments. C1

BUSINESS NEWS A13
COMICS C5
OPINION PAGES A35
LOTTERIES B3
OBITUARIES B5
TELEVISION B9
WORLD NEWS A8

THE WORLD
Climate talks in overtime
Negotiators search for compromise and ways to slow warming, as critics push for bolder action. A10

THE REGION
GOP mapmaker is ousted
Virginia's highest court cast doubt on all three of the party's picks for redistricting, disqualifying one. B1

CONTENT © 2021 The Washington Post / Year 144, No. 343



espectáculos**Marcelo Longobardi.**
"El debate argentino me tiene harto"

Dice que se quiere dar "una nueva oportunidad" y explica las razones de su retiro de Radio Mitre.

**LAS SUBASTAS ONLINE SON FUROR Y SUMAN MÁS ADEPTOS**

—sábado

Los remates vía streaming potenciaron la cantidad de eventos y acercaron un público nuevo que busca oportunidades, desde arte y tecnología hasta vehículos.

LA GANADORA DEL CERVANTES HABLA DEL FEMINISMO Y EL EXILIO

—cultura

"Soy una francotiradora, la insumisa", se definió en una entrevista la uruguaya Cristina Peri Rossi, que obtuvo la máxima distinción de las letras en español. Página 32

LA NACION

SÁBADO 13 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

En la antesala de las elecciones, bajó el blue y el Central debió vender casi US\$300 millones

TENSIÓN CAMBIARIA. El paralelo cerró a \$200; fuerte intervención del BCRA en el mercado oficial

El clima de elevada incertidumbre política y económica se volvió a reflejar ayer en el mercado cambiario oficial en la última rueda antes de las elecciones legislativas. Pese al cepo extremo, operó el mayor volumen de negocios del gobierno de Alberto Fernández (US\$952,1 millones), lo que obligó al Banco Central (BCRA) a desembolsar por segunda vez en menos de 15 días más de

US\$290 millones de sus reservas. En el mercado informal, el dólar blue dio un gran paso atrás y se vendió en las "cuevas" y a través de los "arbolitos" de la City porteña a \$200, \$6,50 más barato que el cierre del jueves. De todas formas, el tipo de cambio paralelo llega a las urnas luego de haber marcado récords históricos en las dos ruedas anteriores. Este pequeño respiro

se dio luego de haber acumulado una suba de \$7,50 en la semana, \$5,50 de ellos el último miércoles. Ayer borró casi todo ese recorrido. Página 24

Preguntas para responder tras los comicios

Néstor O. Scibona
Página 26

EMPLEO

"El gran problema que genera la brecha con el dólar ilegal es la llegada del empleo blue", dice Sergio Kaufman, titular de Accenture. Comunidad de Negocios

Un golazo de Di María y medio pasaje a Qatar

deportes— La selección se llevó demasiado premio de Montevideo, pero con un golazo de Di María venció a Uruguay 1-0 y quedó casi clasificada para el Mundial 2022. Messi entró en los últimos 15 minutos. El martes próximo, con Brasil, en San Juan.



Di María clavó un zurdazo en un ángulo y le dio la victoria a la Argentina; lo festeja con Dybala, que le hizo el pase

AFP

Giro de la Argentina: condenó a Nicaragua en la OEA

SORPRESA. Apoyó la resolución que rechazó el resultado de la elección

Rafael Mathus Ruiz
CORRESPONSAL EN E.E.U.U.

WASHINGTON.— En un giro sorpresivo, el gobierno de Alberto Fernández condenó ayer formalmente por primera vez las violaciones de derechos humanos en Nicaragua. Lo hizo al respaldar en la Asamblea General de la Organización de los Estados Americanos (OEA) una resolución aprobada por una amplia mayoría de países, que rechazó las elecciones presidenciales en las que Daniel Ortega se adjudicó un cuarto mandato, al indicar que "no fueron libres, justas ni transparentes" y que "no tienen legitimidad democrática". Continúa en la página 4

El PJ activa un operativo para trasladar a los votantes

LEGISLATIVAS. Con autos particulares, remises y colectivos, el peronismo prepara para mañana su acatada logística, sobre todo en el conurbano bonaerense, con el desafío de elevar la participación electoral e intentar revertir la derrota de las PASO. Trabajan en el megaoperativo intendentes, dirigentes sociales y punteros políticos. El Gobierno informó ayer que los primeros resultados se difundirán entre las 21 y las 21.30. Página 12

EL ESCENARIO

La nueva CGT desafía al kirchnerismo

Nicolás Balinotti
—LA NACION—

Página 22

Vacaciones. Boom de ventas de pasajes de tren baratos

"Es muy barato. Es una opción excelente para ir a la costa", decía ayer en la estación Constitución Celina Ferrreira, que estaba por viajar a Mar del Plata en tren. Para eso, solo desembolsó \$660, alrededor de cinco veces menos que un boleto de ómnibus. No

fue la única: desde el viernes pasado hasta ayer, según la empresa Trenes Argentinos, se vendieron 360.000 tickets a distintos destinos turísticos. De hecho, ya para algunos no hay más pasajes para diciembre, enero y febrero. Página 29

Delitos: buscan alternativas contra la "puerta giratoria"

PROYECTOS. Piden bajar la edad de imputabilidad

El reclamo social frente al delito derivó en la reactivación de proyectos de ley para frenar la llamada "puerta giratoria" y mantener tras las rejas a sospechosos detenidos

en forma reiterada. Bajar la edad de imputabilidad y aumentar la pena por portación de armas son parte de las iniciativas que ingresaron en el Congreso. Página 33

Embaixador na Guiné-Bissau sairá por casos de racismo

O embaixador do Brasil na Guiné-Bissau, Fábio Franco, deixará o posto depois de uma investigação do Itamaraty mostrar que a mulher dele, Shirley Franco, interferia na embaixada mesmo sem ter vínculo formal com o ministério. Segundo relatos colhidos pela Folha, ela praticava assédio moral e proferia ofensas racistas a guineenses que trabalham na representação. **Mundo A16**

A pandemia em 12.nov

Dados das 20h

POPULAÇÃO VACINADA

No Brasil

Ao menos uma dose (dose única ou 1ª dose)

75,6 %

1ª dose vacinal completa (dose única ou 2ª dose)

58,2 %

Dose de reforço

5,4 %

Nos estados

	Ao menos uma dose	1ª dose completa	Dose de reforço
SP	83,5%	71,5%	7,4%
MS	77,5%	66,0%	10,2%
RS	79,0%	64,1%	6,9%

ESTÁGIO DA DOENÇA

Óbitos

Média móvel

260 ↓ -20,5 %*

Em 24 h

612

Total

610.935

Casos ↓ -1,6 %* (desacelerado)

*Variação em relação a 14 dias

Desmate recorde contradiz discurso do Brasil na COP

Índice do Inpe é o maior registrado para outubro; ministro disse ignorar dados

COP26

A área de alertas de desmatamento na Amazônia foi a maior para outubro desde que o levantamento começou a ser feito, em 2016, divulgou ontem o Inpe (Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas Espaciais). Foram derrubados 877 km² de mata, 5% acima do mesmo mês de 2020.

O número contradiz o discurso do governo Bolsonaro na COP26. Nas reuniões da conferência do clima da ONU, cujo encerramento oficial foi adiado para hoje, representantes brasileiros afirmaram que o desmate ilegal já estava sendo combatido com aumento de recursos e de patrulhamento.

O ministro do Meio Ambiente, Joaquim Leite, afirmou que se informaria sobre os dados do Inpe apenas quando voltasse ao Brasil. "Não acompanhei (...), estava focado nas negociações". Em vários painéis, Leite disse que viajava todas as semanas para monitorar ações contra desmatadores.

Um novo esboço de acordo foi publicado ontem, com avanços como a meta de dobrar o financiamento para iniciativas de adaptação às mudanças climáticas nos países em desenvolvimento até 2025, em comparação com os valores de 2019. O texto, porém, ainda estava sujeito a alterações. **Ambiente B1 e B2**

Verba de emenda para negociação pode cair à metade

O dinheiro para emendas parlamentares usadas em negociações políticas entre governo e Congresso deve ser menor em 2022, ano eleitoral, do que em anos anteriores, segundo projeções. Equipes atuantes na elaboração do Orçamento dizem que o valor chegaria a R\$ 7 bilhões, enquanto o Congresso busca R\$ 16 bilhões. **Poder A4**

Luís F. Carvalho Fº República e transparência pelo caminho

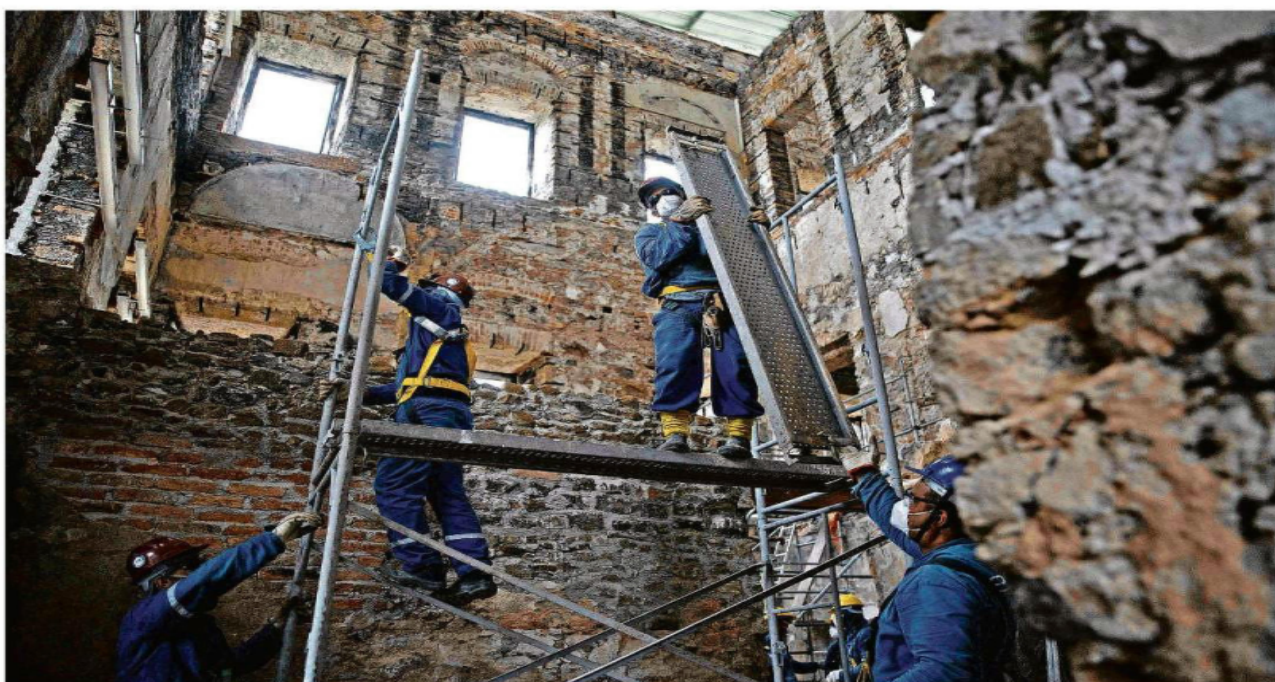
A reeleição de Jair Bolsonaro é crucial para que os vampiros de hoje, Arthur Lira et caterva, se mantenham com as rédeas do poder nas mãos. As emendas orçamentárias formam um perigoso passivo a ser, quem sabe, remexido, investigado. **Cotidiano B3**

Candidata vê OAB-SP omissa ante Bolsonaro

Poder A14

Alckmin não rechaça ser vice de Lula na corrida presidencial

Poder A13



Mauro Pimentel/AFIP

TRÊS ANOS DEPOIS DE INCÊNDIO, MUSEU NACIONAL INICIA RECONSTRUÇÃO NO RIO

Trabalhadores das obras da instituição, que atrasaram várias vezes devido à pandemia e a entraves em licitações e na obtenção de verbas **Cotidiano B5**

Inflação dispara no país em períodos de tensão política, dizem economistas

Mercado A21

Anvisa recebe pedido da Pfizer para vacinar crianças de 5 a 11

A Anvisa informou ter recebido o pedido da Pfizer para permitir o uso da vacina contra Covid em crianças de 5 a 11 anos e afirmou que fará a avaliação em até 30 dias. **Saúde B4**

Barroso anula medida e libera demissão de não imunizado

Luís Roberto Barroso, do STF, anulou trechos da portaria de Onyx Lorenzoni (Trabalho) que proibia empresas de demitirem quem não se vacinou contra Covid. **Mercado A24**

EDITORIAIS A2

Trabalho reformado

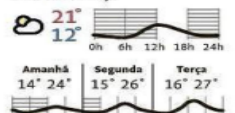
Sobre resultados do redesenho da CLT após 4 anos.

Picuinhas antivacinais

Acerca de portarias contra exigência de imunização.

ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br



A astronauta Wang Yaping (à direita), da missão Shenzhou-13 Guo Zhongzheng - 8.nov.21/Xinhua

Ciência B5

Astronauta pioneira

Chinesa de 41 anos se torna a primeira mulher a andar no espaço fora da nave

Esporte B6

CBF demite Gaciba

Chefe da Comissão de Arbitragem é desligado após sequência de erros

Folhinha C8

De mosquinhos a cachorros, conheça a saga dos animais que já viajaram para fora da Terra

Ilustrada C1

Obras de promessas da literatura discutem a solidão dos jovens negros

Guia C7

Confira seleção de bares com fliperama, jogos de tabuleiro e games em São Paulo



Tras advertencia de la Corte, la magistrada Ninfa Torres de Ramos retiró el oficio

Otra perla de nuestra Justicia: Sospechoso beneficio a narco

Jueza de Coronel Oviedo otorgó prisión domiciliaria a Chapalo, condenado a 26 años de cárcel por tráfico. Cayó en 2014 con más de 300 kilos de cocaína en su poder.

PÁGINA 48

Reiteran pedido de desafuero de legislador
Gracias a protección de
sus pares denuncia contra
Éver Noguera va al opareí

PÁGINA 4

Hay G. 5.900 millones en juego
La viuda de OGD pide la
extinción de causa, con lo
que evita comiso de bienes

PÁGINA 7

CON ESTA EDICIÓN	COMPRA OPCIONAL 1	COMPRA OPCIONAL 2
LIBROS CREATIVOS LT	NEUROCIENCIA Y PSICOLOGÍA LT	OFICINA PLÁSMICA LA MENTORA DE LA HISTORIA LT
	Libro + Regalo: G. 40.000	Libro + Regalo: G. 25.000

Compradores llenan tiendas en primer día de Black Friday

Ciudad del Este. Desde muy temprano los clientes abarrotaron locales. Evento es organizado por Última Hora y la Cámara de Comercio de CDE.

PÁGINA 16

Cobra fuerza la propuesta de llevar vacunas a las escuelas
Avanza rebrote de Covid y bajan a 18 años edad para recibir refuerzo

PÁGINAS 2 y 3

Hacienda se pronunció en contra y pedirá que Senado revierta
Cámara de Diputados infló USD 25 millones en salarios el PGN 2022

PÁGINA 12



LE FIGARO

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



BOUALEM SANSAL
FACE AU TERRORISME ISLAMISTE,
« FRAPPER VITE ET FORT, C'EST CELA QUE
MORTS ET VIVANTS RÉCLAMENT » PAGE 18

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LA MAISON INDIVIDUELLE N'EST
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• La chronique de
Mathieu Bock-Côté
• L'analyse
d'Hugues Maillot
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**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**
Réponses à la question
de vendredi :
Estimez-vous que
les nouvelles santé sont
trop chères en France ?
OUI 84% NON 16%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 91 670

**Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr**
L'Union européenne
doit-elle accueillir
les migrants bloqués à la
frontière de la Pologne ?

FABIEN CLAIREFOND - FRANÇOIS
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**DESTINATION
GRAND EST**

**DÉCOUVREZ
LE CAHIER SPÉCIAL
LORRAINE**

Une fin d'année
féérique en Lorraine
dans le Figaro Magazine
du 12 novembre.

PAGE 79

Migrants : l'Europe face au chantage de Minsk

L'Union européenne accuse la Biélorussie d'avoir organisé l'afflux de milliers d'exilés
à sa frontière avec la Pologne, en réponse à des sanctions occidentales. PAGES 2 À 5 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

PHOTO FOURNIE PAR LE MINISTÈRE POLONAIS DE LA DÉFENSE - REX DORZANSKI/DWOT/HANDOUT VIA REUTERS



L'avenir de la Nouvelle- Calédonie se jouera bien le 12 décembre

Le gouvernement a choisi de
maintenir la date du troisième
référéndum sur le sort de
l'archipel, malgré le boycott
des indépendantistes qui en-
tendent en contester les ré-

sultats. Alors que ce vote de-
vait clore un processus de
décolonisation de plus de
trente ans, ce bras de fer fait
craindre un interminable
feuilleton. PAGE 7



Les transporteurs de marchandises, grands gagnants de la crise

Avec la reprise post-Covid, le
commerce mondial explose
et le prix du fret atteint des
sommets. Les armateurs en-
grangent des milliards
d'euros de profits par mois.

Les compagnies aériennes en
profitent également. La de-
mande est si forte que
18 trains de marchandises
partent chaque jour de Chine
vers l'Europe. PAGES 24 ET 25

ÉDITORIAL par Patrick Saint-Paul psaintpaul@lefigaro.fr

« Guerre hybride »

La tentation était trop grande. Com-
ment le dernier dictateur d'Europe,
Alexandre Loukachenko, aurait-il
résisté à cette malsaine émulation
entre « hommes forts » tant
l'exemple offert par Recep Tayyip Erdogan
lui a ouvert les yeux sur la façon de déstabiliser
à bon compte un Occident « donneur de
leçons » ? Les jeux pervers du nouveau sultan
avec le robinet migratoire avaient mis à rude
épreuve les Européens. Le chantage aux mi-
grants de « Batka », le « père » du peuple bié-
lorusse, les place face à un défi d'une nature
plus inquiétante encore : une forme de
« guerre hybride » où l'on peut difficilement
ne pas voir la main de Vladimir Poutine.
Depuis la crise provoquée par la vague migra-
toire de l'été 2015 et la montée des populis-
mes qui s'ensuit, la question des migrants
est un brûlant sujet de divisions entre Euro-
peens. Erdogan tournait le mitigeur au gré de
ses difficultés internes, toujours dans le but
d'obtenir un gain. Accusé d'avoir volé les
élections en Biélorussie pour prolonger son
règne, n'hésitant pas à détourner un vol
commercial pour faire enlever l'un de ses op-
posants, Loukachenko, lui, est un voyou

d'autant plus dangereux qu'il doit sa survie à
Vladimir Poutine.

Comment imaginer qu'il est allé chercher ces
milliers de migrants dans leur pays d'origine,
pour mieux les projeter contre les barbelés
dressés par la Pologne, dans l'unique but
d'obtenir une très improbable levée des sanc-
tions européennes ? L'intolérable situation
humanitaire de ces enfants, femmes et hom-
mes jetés dans le froid
aux portes de l'Europe à
l'approche de l'hiver fi-
nira par déstabiliser les
Vingt-Sept, faisant le jeu
du maître du Kremlin.
L'est et l'ouest du conti-
nent, ainsi que les opi-
nions publiques, ne manqueront pas de se dé-
chirer sur la question de savoir s'il faut
accueillir les migrants et comment les répar-
tir. Ou encore sur l'opportunité d'ériger de
nouveaux murs pour les tenir hors de nos
frontières. Avec sa marionnette biélorusse,
Poutine tient une arme potentiellement dé-
vastatrice, tant la faiblesse de l'UE face au
problème migratoire est devenue le talon
d'Achille des Européens. ■

**Flux de
migrants,
le talon
d'Achille
de l'UE**



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'Playing the Queen was the most pressurised thing I've ever done'

Olivia Colman

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EMILY RATAJAKOWSKI the price of my body

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PM's holiday villa linked to Goldsmith tax evasion case

Family's property firms ordered to pay €24m in unpaid taxes and fines

Exclusive
Harry Davies
Marbella

The luxury villa where Boris Johnson stayed on holiday last month is linked to Costa del Sol property businesses owned by Zac Goldsmith's family that engaged in a multimillion-pound tax evasion scheme, according to Spanish courts.

Court papers obtained by the Guardian show tax inspectors ordered two property companies owned by the Goldsmith family to pay €24m (£20m) in unpaid taxes and



▲ The villa outside Marbella where Boris Johnson stayed last month is on a sprawling estate owned by the Conservative peer Zac Goldsmith's family

fines after investigating what they said was a suspicious property deal.

The tax authority's findings have been upheld by one of Spain's highest courts, with judges agreeing the companies in effect engaged in a deliberate effort to evade tax and committed "serious" violations of the law.

Documents indicate Spanish authorities are still seeking to recover the funds and could even seize parts of the family's land, which is spread across more than 600 hectares (1,480 acres) of private woodland about 10 miles from the Marbella coastline.

A Swiss lawyer for one of the companies denied the case amounted to a "tax evasion" issue, describing it as a dispute that resulted from a mistaken land valuation by Spanish tax authorities. She said **6** →

Tory treasurer to make millions in LV= sale

John Collingridge
Kalyeena Makortoff

The Conservative party's new treasurer is likely to make millions of pounds from the controversial takeover of the pensions and insurance company LV= by a US private equity

firm. The proposed buyout has enraged some Tory MPs - and could put them at odds with Malik Karim, an investment banker who in September was named Tory treasurer, responsible for building the party's election war chest.

Conservatives see the takeover as another sale of a cherished British

mutual institution, and it has drawn the wrath of the former Conservative deputy prime minister Michael Heseltine.

Karim is the founder and chief executive of the City investment bank Fenchurch Advisory Partners, LV='s longstanding financial adviser. Fenchurch is believed to have made

millions of pounds of fees by advising the member-owned firm on its gradual dismemberment in recent years.

Karim, a Tory donor who earns the lion's share of Fenchurch's profits, stands to make one last payday by advising LV= on its £530m sale to Bain Capital - a huge US private equity firm that was co-founded by the Republican politician Mitt Romney.

But the deal has provoked outrage because it will end LV= status as a member-owned **7** →

Cop26: still no deal as deadline passes

Delegates are warned supplies of water and food could be at risk by 2050, as negotiations over final details of an agreement continue into the weekend.

News Pages 14-15 →

Meghan's texts to adviser revealed

Duchess of Sussex wrote letter to father to protect Prince Harry, who was receiving 'constant berating' from royal family, texts reveal.

News Page 22 →