



## 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.

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

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

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

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

## 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.

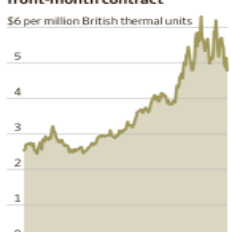
While religious leaders expect some rebound once the pandemic recedes, many don't expect attendance to return to previous levels. That has left churches looking for different approaches to connect with existing members and attract new ones.

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.

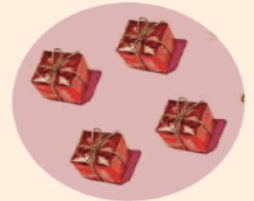
Barclays resolved to stand by Staley, deeming him to have been truthful about the relationship.

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 — ZURICH

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

## World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Nov 12	prev	%chg		Nov 12	prev	%chg		price	yield	%chg
S&P 500	4691.22	4680.27	0.88	\$ per £	1.345	1.342	0.24	US Gov 10 yr	150.36	1.57	0.02
Nasdaq Composite	15841.67	15704.28	0.87	\$ per €	1.340	1.339	0.07	UK Gov 10 yr	0.83	-0.01	
Dow Jones Ind	39203.39	39202.23	0.48	€ per \$	0.654	0.652	0.30	Japan Gov 10 yr	-0.26	-0.03	
FTSE Eurofirst 300	1883.54	1878.01	0.29	¥ per \$	113.955	113.970	-0.01	US Gov 30 yr	124.83	1.94	0.03
Euro Stoxx 50	4372.03	4368.00	0.32	Sfr per £	1.056	1.056	0.00	German Gov 2 yr	104.99	-0.75	-0.01
FTSE 100	7347.91	7384.18	-0.49	€ per \$	0.874	0.872	0.23				
FTSE All-Share	4194.89	4212.38	-0.42								
CAC 40	7091.40	7059.55	0.45								
Xetra Dax	16094.07	16003.11	0.57								
Nikkei	29595.97	29277.86	1.13								
Hang Seng	25327.97	25247.88	0.32								
MSCI World \$	3201.98	3201.57	0.01	Oil WTI \$	80.82	81.59	-0.92				
MSCI EM \$	1291.40	1274.38	0.55	Oil Brent \$	82.24	82.87	-0.76				
MSCI ACWI \$	752.02	751.46	0.07	Gold \$	1779.30	1778.00	0.67				

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## CLIMATE SUMMIT REACHES ACCORD AMID CONTENTION

**Urging More Help for Vulnerable Nations  
and Delaying Details on Emissions**

By BRAD PLUMER and LISA FRIEDMAN

GLASGOW — Diplomats from nearly 200 countries on Saturday struck a major agreement aimed at intensifying global efforts to fight climate change by calling on governments to return next year with stronger plans to curb their planet-warming emissions and urging wealthy nations to "at least double" funding to protect poor nations from the hazards of a hotter planet.

The new deal will not, on its own, solve global warming, despite the urgent demands of many of the thousands of politicians, en-



John Kerry and his Chinese counterpart, Xie Zhenhua.

vironmentalists and protesters who gathered at the Glasgow climate summit. Its success or failure will hinge on whether world leaders now follow through with new policies to cut greenhouse gas emissions. And the deal still leaves vulnerable countries far short of the funds they need to cope with increasing weather disasters.

The talks underscored the complexity of trying to persuade scores of countries, each with its own economic interests and domestic politics, to act in unison for the greater good.

But the agreement established

a clear consensus that all nations must do much more, immediately, to prevent a harrowing rise in global temperatures. And it set up transparency rules to hold countries accountable for the progress they make or fail to make.

John Kerry, the U.S. climate envoy, entered the plenary hall Saturday evening with his arm around the shoulder of Xie Zhenhua, China's chief climate negotiator. Last minute deal-making could be seen taking place on the floor as Mr. Xie and Mr. Kerry huddled, mask to mask, with Alok Sharma, the British politician who led the U.N. summit.

Architects of the agreement hoped it would send a powerful signal to capitals and corporate boardrooms around the globe that more ambitious action on climate change is inevitable, which could in turn would empower civil society groups and lawmakers working to shift countries away from burning oil, natural gas and coal for energy in favor of cleaner sources like wind, solar and nuclear power.

The train is moving, and all countries need to get on board," said Ani Dasgupta, president of the World Resources Institute. "If the world is going to beat back the climate crisis, no one can sit on the sidelines."

Yet many others said the deal failed to meet the moment, in a year of deadly heat in Canada, devastating floods in Germany and New York and raging wildfires in Siberia. At the start of the summit, leaders, including President Biden and Prime Minister Boris Johnson of Britain, framed the meeting as the world's last, best chance to save the planet.

The final deal is "not in line with

Continued on Page 14

## How the U.S. Hid a Devastating Airstrike



An airstrike on the village of Baghuz on March 18, 2019, during the final days of the fight against the Islamic State in Syria.

### Military Skirted Rules Protecting Civilians in Syria Attack That Killed Dozens

By DAVE PHILLIPS  
and ERIC SCHMITT

In the last days of the battle against the Islamic State in Syria, when members of the once-fierce caliphate were cornered in a dirt field next to a town called Baghuz, a U.S. military drone circled high overhead, hunting for military targets. But it saw only a large crowd of women and children huddled against a river bank.

Without warning, an American F-15E attack jet streaked across the drone's high-definition field of vision and dropped a 500-pound bomb on the crowd, swallowing it in a shuddering blast. As the smoke cleared, a few people stumbled away in search of cover. Then a jet tracking them dropped one 2,000-pound bomb, then another, killing most of the survivors.

It was March 18, 2019. At the U.S. military's busy Combined Air Operations Center at Al Udeid Air Base in Qatar, uni-

formed personnel watching the live drone footage looked on in stunned disbelief, according to one officer who was there.

"Who dropped that?" a confused analyst typed on a secure chat system being used by those monitoring the drone, two people who reviewed the chat log recalled. Another responded, "We just dropped on 50 women and children."

An initial battle damage assessment quickly found that the number of dead was actually about 70.

The Baghuz strike was one of the largest civilian casualty incidents of the war against the Islamic State, but it has never been publicly acknowledged by the U.S. military. The details, reported here for the first time, show that the death toll was almost immediately apparent to military officials. A legal officer flagged the strike as a possible war crime that required an investigation. But at nearly every step, the mili-

tary made moves that concealed the catastrophic strike. The death toll was downplayed. Reports were delayed, sanitized and classified. United States-led coalition forces bulldozed the blast site. And top leaders were not notified.

The Defense Department's independent inspector general began an inquiry, but the report containing its findings was stalled and stripped of any mention of the strike.

"Leadership just seemed so set on burying this. No one wanted anything to do with it," said Gene Tate, an evaluator who worked on the case for the inspector general's office and agreed to discuss the aspects that were not classified. "It makes you lose faith in the system when people are trying to do what's right but no one in positions of leadership wants to hear it."

Mr. Tate, a former Navy officer who had worked for years as a civilian analyst with

Continued on Page 10

## Belarus Using Iraqi Migrants As 'Weapons'

By JANE ARRAT  
and ELIAN PELTIER

SULAIMANIYA, Iraq — The sudden surge of migrants to Belarus from the Middle East that is now the focus of a political crisis in Europe was hardly an accident.

The government of Belarus loosened its visa rules in August, Iraqi travel agents said, making a flight to the country a more palatable journey to Europe than the dangerous sea crossing from Turkey to Greece.

Increased flights by the state-owned airline, and then actively helped funnel migrants from the capital, Minsk, to the frontiers with Poland, Latvia and Lithuania.

And Belarusian security forces gave them directions on how to cross into the European Union countries, even handing out wire cutters and axes to cut through border fences.

These moves, which European leaders have characterized as a cynical ploy to "weaponize" migrants in an effort to punish Europe, opened the gates to people desperate to flee a region plagued by instability and high unemployment.

Now, thousands of people are



"I have to go because there is no life here," said Amar Karwan, an Iraqi trying to travel to Belarus.

stranded or hiding along the border in freezing conditions, not wanted by the European Union countries or, circumstances are making clear, by the country that lured them there in the first place.

The human tide has turned cities like Sulaimaniya, in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, into bustling ports of departure for migrants eager to take an expensive and risky journey for the chance of a

better life in Europe.

As word went viral on social media that Belarus offered a route into Europe, the number of migrants snowballed.

Mala Rawaz, a travel agent in Sulaimaniya, said he had been selling about 100 packages a week for trips to Belarus. The packages included airfare through a third country, transit accommodation and a Belarusian visa.

At the city's bazaar, Bryar Muhammad, 25, was doing a brisk business on Thursday selling warm clothes.

"Good clothes for Belarus!" he shouted, holding up thick acrylic sweaters and winter jackets pulled from a cardboard box. "For the snow of Belarus!"

Even as young families in Iraq

Continued on Page 12

## Trials Spotlight The Fault Lines In Self-Defense

By SHAILA DEWAN

As two closely watched murder trials played out in two different states this past week, juries heard strikingly similar stories: men took up guns in the name of protecting the public, and when they wound up killing unarmed people, they claimed self-defense.

In one case, Kyle Rittenhouse fatally shot two men and wounded a third in the unrest following a police shooting in Kenosha, Wis. In the other, Ahmaud Arbery, a Black man, was shot after a pursuit by three white men who said they suspected him of a series of break-ins in the neighborhood. In both cases, the defendants claim they were entitled to start shooting because the victims were trying to take their guns.

"In other words, their own decision to carry a gun became a justification to use it, lest it be wrested away from them," said Eric Ruben, an expert on the Second Amendment at the S.M.U. Dedman School of Law in Dallas.

For legal experts like Mr. Ruben and others, these two cases expose deep fault lines in the legal and moral concept of self-defense.

Continued on Page 18

## District's Focus On Bias Ignited Fury in Virginia

By STEPHANIE SAUL

LEESBURG, Va. — Long before the father was tackled by sheriff's deputies at the school board meeting, before there was shouting to reopen classrooms and before "parents matter" became the central slogan of the most closely watched campaign in the post-Trump era, Loudoun County was just another American suburbia taking a hard look at its schools.

The county, at the edge of the Virginia sprawl outside Washington, had grown much more diverse. White students were no longer in the majority, and educators were trying to be more aware of how racism could affect their students' education.

The district hired a consulting firm to help train teachers about bias. It tried to hire more teachers of color. And a high school changed its mascot from the Raiders, named for a Confederate battalion, to the Captains.

But there were rumblings of resistance.

Vocal parents protested the district's antiracism efforts as Marxism.

Some teachers disliked the

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### INTERNATIONAL 4-14

**Green Acres Are the Place to Be**  
Young city dwellers in Canada are flocking to its Atlantic provinces, drawn by cheaper housing prices and a yearning for small-town living. PAGE 4

### NATIONAL 16-28

**Tribal Lands Made Toxic**  
The government approved a dam that floods a reservation in Minnesota and allowed nuclear waste to be stored nearby. The tribe wants help. PAGE 16

### ARTS & LEISURE

**Move Over, Pinocchio**  
In "The Walk," a 12-foot-tall refugee puppet named Little Amal journeyed for four months and 5,000 miles, looking for a home and for her mother. PAGE 8

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

**Creating a Crypto Kingdom**  
Cryptocurrency companies were drawn by Ukraine's laissez-faire attitude. Now, the country is seeking to mainstream its thriving crypto trade. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY REVIEW

**Anne-Marie Slaughter** PAGE 4

COMPANY RETURNS TOMORROW.

# EVERYBODY RISE!

"THE WORD ANTICIPATED DOESN'T QUITE CAPTURE THE FREAK-OUT AROUND THIS MUSICAL."

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ALLEN J. SCHAREN Los Angeles Times  
**MODESTI COOPER**, 35, an Afghanistan war veteran, looks out from the fourth-story balcony of her house next to Interstate 10 near downtown Houston. The home is now slated for destruction.

**A TIMES INVESTIGATION**

# Freeways forcing out residents of color — again

U.S. Interstate Highway System is one of the nation's greatest public works projects, but it's come at an enormous social cost

By Liam Dillon and Ben Poston  
REPORTING FROM HOUSTON

Modesti Cooper first spotted the patch of land from 8,000 miles away.  
The tree-studded lot with a "For sale" sign zoomed into focus on Google Earth seven years ago as Cooper sat at a computer inside her U.S. Air Force office in Afghanistan.  
After six overseas deployments, the civilian IT worker was finally ready to settle down and had been scouring for properties in her hometown of Houston. She bought the land and built a four-story home with a pool, the letter "M" engraved in the tile.  
Today, the house is slated for destruction to make way for a planned widening of Interstate 10.  
Fifty years ago, Cooper's predominantly Black neighborhood in Houston's Fifth Ward was dev-

astated to build the freeway. Now, another cycle of dislocation looms.  
"Everything I put into the house is me," said Cooper, 35, who is Black. "I lived all my 20s out of a suitcase. I wanted a dream home."  
Cooper's story echoes across generations. The U.S. Interstate Highway System — built from the 1950s to the early 1990s — is one of the country's greatest public works achievements, but it came at an enormous social cost. More than 1 million people were forced from their homes, with many Black neighborhoods bulldozed and replaced with ribbons of asphalt and concrete.  
Some negative effects of the freeway building boom, including examples of intentional racism, are widely acknowledged today.

## Nations reach contentious climate deal

In a late change, India tempers language on cutting coal emissions, upsetting small island states and others.

**Analysis:** Summit inspired a flurry of new pledges. A look at what was achieved, what's left unresolved.

By SETH BORENSTEIN AND FRANK JORDANA

By ANNA M. PHILLIPS

GLASGOW, Scotland — Almost 200 nations accepted a controversial climate compromise Saturday aimed at keeping a key global warming target alive, but it contained a last-minute change that watered down crucial language about coal.  
Several countries, including small island states, said they were deeply disappointed by the change promoted by India to "phase down," rather than "phase out," coal power, the single biggest source of greenhouse gas emissions.  
Nation after nation had complained earlier on the final day of two weeks of United Nations climate talks that the deal did not go far or fast enough, but they said it was better than nothing and provided incremental progress, if not success.

WASHINGTON — Global leaders can point to signs of real progress in the climate agreement reached Saturday. But the Earth is still headed for a dangerous level of warming.

The point of these talks was for countries to announce ambitious carbon-cutting pledges that would prevent the world from warming more than 1.5 degrees Celsius (2.7 degrees Fahrenheit) above preindustrial levels.

That did not happen. Despite some new promises, and old promises repackaged as new ones, an analysis by the independent group Climate Action Tracker found that with all the short-term pledges added together, the world is likely to heat up by 2.4 degrees Celsius (4.3 degrees Fahrenheit) this century.

That's better than the path the world was on before the Paris agreement six years ago, when scientists predicted nearly 4 degrees Celsius (7.2 degrees Fahrenheit) of warming. But the consequences would still be dire.



ALASTAIR GRANT Associated Press  
**U.S. CLIMATE ENVOY** John F. Kerry said, "It's got a few problems, but it's all in a very good deal."

**COLUMN ONE**

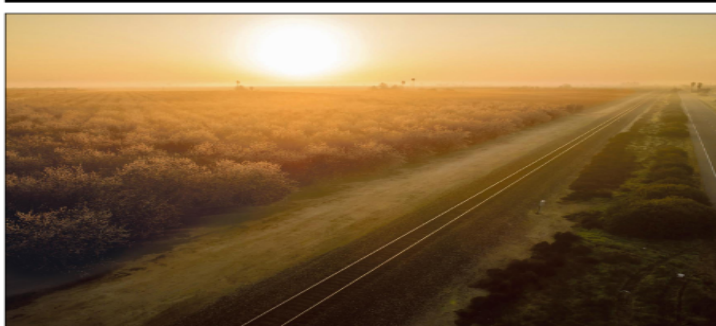
## Forensic training to name Mexico's dead

Crews are sent to dig up new techniques at a U.S. facility known as the Body Farm.

By KATE LINTHICUM  
REPORTING FROM KNOXVILLE, TENN.

On a chilly fall morning here in western Tennessee, Raul Robles crouched alongside an open grave, surveying the bones his team had just unearthed.  
He was unusually relaxed, bobbing his head to salsa music playing from his cellphone as he helped

measure and map the assemblage of dirt-stained ribs and vertebrae.  
Robles, 41, is used to much more harrowing conditions. Back in the Mexican state of Sinaloa, where he has excavated at least 500 clandestine graves during his 15 years as a crime scene investigator, he sometimes digs under surveillance from a drug cartel.  
"The lookouts come on their motorcycles with no plates, with their lights turned off, and say, 'You have two more hours to finish, or else,'" he said.  
When that happens, he has little choice but to scoop the contents of the gravesite onto a tarp, throw it in his truck and finish his work.



TOMAS OVALLE For The Times  
**THE RURAL**, agricultural San Joaquin Valley has been a perpetual hot spot for the virus — the land of the eternal COVID-19 surge. Above, State Route 99.

## Here, the surge never ended

In rural California, hospitals are pushed to the brink

By HAILEY BRANSON-POTTS

This is what the COVID-19 pandemic looks like in the part of California where the Delta variant surge refuses to let up.  
In Fresno County, understaffed hospitals have been so clogged that ambulance crews stopped transporting people unless they have a

life-threatening emergency.  
In Tulare County, a Visalia hospital — which has been treating more COVID-19 patients in recent days than any other medical facility in the state — declared an internal disaster this month on a day 51 patients in the emergency room waited for a bed to open up.  
And last week, sparsely populated Kings County,

which has one of California's lowest vaccination rates, had one of the state's highest per capita COVID-19 hospitalization rates.  
Over the last year and a half, the rural, agricultural San Joaquin Valley has been a perpetual hot spot for the virus — the land of the eternal COVID-19 surge.  
Case numbers and hospitalizations — plus

## A symbol of joy in Houston, marred

Astroworld deaths hit at city's 'great pride' in rap artists, iconic park.

By MOLLY HENNESSY-FISKE

HOUSTON — Playwright ShaWanna Renee Rivon was speaking at her alma mater — the University of Houston — a few months ago when a student told her he wouldn't be able to attend her upcoming writing workshop: He was going to Travis Scott's Astroworld Festival.  
"He was expecting something historical. I saw it on his face. It was just a sense of pride," Rivon said.  
When news broke that the Nov. 5 concert had turned deadly, ultimately claiming nine lives, Rivon scrambled to check on the student. He survived, she said, but was shaken. So were many Houstonians who had taken pride in Scott and his re-imagining of the Space City's urban theme.

### Jump in abortion pills sent by mail

Amid legal uncertainties, more people are seeking medications to end their pregnancies at home. **NATION, A8**

**Weather**  
Sunny and warm.  
L.A. Basin: 88/60. **B6**

### Students press for more support

L.A. pupils, still stressed about the pandemic, say they want mental health help. **CALIFORNIA, B1**







# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

SU V1 V2 V3 V4

Sunny and cloudy 52/41 • Tomorrow: Sunny and windy 51/36 C12 Democracy Dies in Darkness SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 2021 • \$3.50

## Biden's approval hits a new low

Agenda items remain popular amid economic discontent, poll finds

BY DAN BALZ, SCOTT CLEMENT AND EMILY GUSKIN

Majorities of Americans support President Biden's \$1.2 trillion bipartisan infrastructure package and a pending bill that would spend nearly \$2 trillion on social programs and climate initiatives. Yet despite the backing for these measures, Biden's approval rating has ticked down to a new low, driven largely by more negative views among Democrats and independents, according to a Washington Post-ABC News poll.

Overall, the survey offers a set of harsh judgments about the president's performance and the state of the economy. Together, they send a stark warning to Democrats about their prospects in the 2022 midterm contests.

Recent losses in the Virginia elections and a close call in the New Jersey gubernatorial race have put Democrats on edge, with reason. The Post-ABC poll finds that, if elections were held today, 46 percent of adults overall would back the Republican candidate for Congress and 43 percent would support the Democrats.

SEE BIDEN POLL ON A18

**Road deaths:** Federal officials are set to overhaul highway safety. A17

**The Sunday Take:** The parties are further apart on racial attitudes. A2

## Migrants in dire plight as Belarus plays border games

BY LOVEDAY MORRIS

SOKOLKA, POLAND — It was mid-morning when the messages started pinging on the phone of a group assisting migrants along the Poland-Belarus border — the focus of Belarus's latest gambit to use some of the world's most vulnerable people in its battle with the European Union.

"Hello."

"We need help."

It was from a group of Syrians stuck in the forest. They tapped out their appeals, sometimes in broken English: They hadn't eaten for days; they needed water; some needed a doctor.

"Do not bring us to Bilarussia please."

"They are very bad people."

The missives reaching activists with Fundacja Ocalenie, a Polish group that offers humanitarian aid and legal aid to refugees, offer a glimpse of the desperation of those caught inside a treacherous game of international brinkmanship by Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko. The migrants' accounts also expand claims that Lukashenko's military and others have key roles in moving people to the border — and can punish those who don't manage to cross or are sent back.

Lukashenko's regime — which is under E.U. sanctions — has eased entry requirements for arrivals from the Middle East and

SEE BELARUS ON A14

## Nations strike deal to speed climate action



ROBERT PERRY/EPA-EF/Shutterstock

U.S. climate envoy John F. Kerry, center left, with Frans Timmermans, vice president of the European Commission, after a discussion at COP26, where a deal was reached to push countries to strengthen near-term climate targets and move away from fossil fuels faster.

## In Glasgow, once-absent U.S. reclaims the stage

BY STEVEN MUFSON AND MICHAEL BIRNBAUM

GLASGOW, SCOTLAND — In the sprawling encampment that has housed the United Nations climate talks over the past two weeks, delegates from around the world have praised the United States, but one thing they could not do was ignore the United States.

The Americans, including 13 Cabinet members, seemed to be everywhere: speaking on public panels, disappearing into windowless plenary rooms and huddling in

American delegation flexes diplomatic muscle in final stretch for climate deal

hallways and hotel bars to shape the outcome of the talks to protect the planet — and U.S. interests.

"We believe that this is existential," said U.S. climate envoy John F. Kerry on Friday in a passionate speech on the floor of a plenary meeting. "And for many of you it's

existential today. People are dying. Today. All around the world, the impacts are being felt. Today."

Throughout the closing debates on Saturday, Kerry worked the massive room, his 6-foot-4 figure easy to spot towering over the other delegates.

A year ago, the United States formally withdrew from the climate accord. President Donald Trump had mocked the deal as pleasing Paris rather than Pittsburgh. Biden signed an executive order the first day of his presidency to rejoin.

Now the United States is once again, if

SEE U.S. ROLE ON A25

## PACT FALLS SHORT OF WARMING LIMIT

Hard-hit nations warn existential threat remains

BY BRADY DENNIS AND SARAH KAPLAN

GLASGOW, SCOTLAND — Exhausted negotiators from nearly 200 nations struck a deal Saturday intended to propel the world toward more urgent climate action, but without offering the transformative breakthrough scientists say must happen if humanity is to avert disastrous planetary warming.

Two weeks of high-profile talks yielded a package that pushes countries to strengthen near-term climate targets and move away from fossil fuels faster. It insists that wealthy countries fulfill a broken promise to help vulnerable nations cope with the rising costs of climate change. And it cracks open the door to future payments developed nations might make for damage already done.

Saturday's agreement, however, does not achieve the most ambitious goal of the 2015 Paris accord — to limit Earth's warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius (2.7 Fahrenheit) above preindustrial levels. Instead, delegations left Glasgow with the Earth still on track to blow past that threshold, pushing toward a future of escalating weather crises and irreversible damage to the natural world.

And representatives from hard-hit nations feared that the deal still leaves their people facing an existential threat.

"The difference between 1.5 and 2 degrees is a death sentence for us," Aminath Shauna, the Maldives' minister of environment, climate change and technology, told the summit. "What is balanced and pragmatic to other parties will not help the Maldives adapt in time. It will be too late."

Organizers acknowledged that the hard-fought agreement

SEE DEAL ON A24



NADIA SABLIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

After returning from Iraq in 2004, Korey Rowe helped his best friend produce "Loose Change," a popular video series that made fantastical claims about the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

## Putting a viral past behind him

After spreading 9/11 conspiracy theories, a veteran tries to start over

BY JOSE A. DEL REAL

ONEONTA, N.Y. — Korey Rowe was always trying to salvage something good from something bad, and this time that took shape as a literal renovation: He wanted to transform the abandoned karate dojo on Main Street into a full-service video production studio, and perhaps transform himself into something else along the way, too.

But around late summer, as he mapped out his

next steps, he began to receive emails and phone calls from journalists and podcasters. They had questions about the past, not the future.

The callers wanted to know about the conspiracy theories Korey helped spread in the mid-2000s while he was serving as an infantryman in the Army, the ones about the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

They wanted to know whether he believed, as some of them did, that the viral films he helped

SEE VETERAN ON A10

SAM HUFF 1934–2021

## Hall of Fame linebacker was defensive star with 'ferocity'

A standout player in New York and D.C., he later had long run on air

BY MATT SCHUELE

As one of football's most feared middle linebackers of the 1950s and 1960s, Sam Huff of the New York Giants starred in one of the most thrilling championship games of all time and became the first defensive player to become a superstar in the National Football League. The Hall of Famer, who also played for Washington and spent more than 30 years as a broadcaster for the team, died Nov. 13 at a hospital in Winchester, Va. He was 87.

The death was announced by his daughter, Catherine Huff Myers. He had been diagnosed with dementia in 2013.

Mr. Huff, who grew up in a coal-mining camp in West Virginia, spent 13 years in the NFL as a menacing figure on defense, racing sideline-to-sideline to make tackles and intercept passes as he helped define the key position of middle linebacker. Wearing his familiar No. 70, the handsome, affable and fierce Mr. Huff acquired the visibility and



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Football superstar Sam Huff in Washington in October 2011.

fame previously reserved for quarterbacks, running backs and wide receivers.

"I had an enviable job," he said in 1968. "We made defense famous."

During his eight seasons in New York, Mr. Huff helped lead his team to one NFL title and to five other championship games in which the Giants fell short. He became known for his rugged one-on-one battles with the top running backs of the era, Jim Brown of the Cleveland Browns and Jim Taylor of the Green Bay Packers.

In describing how to stop Brown, often considered the

SEE HUFF ON A26



## Historia en el polo: debut precoz y un triunfo inolvidable

Poroto Cambiaso, hijo del crack, jugó su primer partido en Palermo con 15 años; Chapaleufú, que llegó de la clasificación, derrotó a La Natividad, uno de los candidatos. Deportes



## LOS JÓVENES QUE INSPIRAN EL ACTIVISMO GLOBAL

—el berlinés

Con edades que oscilan entre los 12 y los 22 años, encabezan iniciativas ciudadanas de avanzada, ligadas al activismo, el género y la no violencia.

## EL PACTO CLIMÁTICO DE LA COP26, ENTRE AVANCES Y CRÍTICAS

—el mundo

El acuerdo, para muchos "imperfecto" e "insuficiente", constituye un paso más hacia mayores esfuerzos en la lucha contra el calentamiento. Página 6

# LA NACION

DOMINGO 14 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

### ELECCIONES 2021

# El voto redefine el mapa de poder y los límites que tendrá el Gobierno

Fernández intenta mejorar el resultado de las PASO, en medio de fuertes tensiones internas y urgencias económicas

Después de que las PASO desataron un terremoto en el Gobierno, las elecciones legislativas que se celebran hoy en todo el país adquieren una inmensa relevancia institucional porque definirán con qué poder cuenta el presidente Alberto Fernández para los dos próximos años de mandato, plagados de urgencias económicas.

El Frente de Todos desplegó una batería de medidas distributivas y acciones proselitistas para revertir el resultado del 12 de septiembre. Ansía recortar los 9 puntos de ventaja que le sacó a nivel nacional Juntos por el Cambio y mantiene la expectativa de retener el quórum propio en el Senado, para lo cual debería ganar al menos en dos de las provincias que perdió hace dos meses.

La provincia de Buenos Aires, bastión principal del kirchnerismo, vuelve a ser un foco estratégico para la lectura política del resultado. La oposición se impuso allí por 4 puntos y espera ratificar un triunfo de alto simbolismo. El Gobierno apuesta a mejorar gracias a una suba significativa de la participación. Página 12

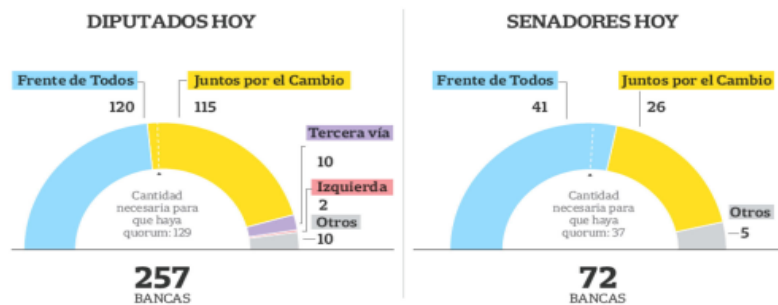
### TRES DATOS DECISIVOS

**SUMA NACIONAL**  
La oposición ganó en las PASO por 9 puntos. Es un indicador clave para proyectar el escenario de 2023

**EL SENADO**  
¿Retendrá el Gobierno la mayoría propia? Necesita dar vuelta al menos dos provincias en las que perdió

**PROVINCIA DE BUENOS AIRES**  
Es el mayor bastión del kirchnerismo. El resultado tendrá un impacto especial en la interna oficialista

### LA COMPOSICIÓN DEL CONGRESO



### PROYECCIÓN DE BANCAS SEGÚN LAS PASO



Fuente: Congreso de la Nación Argentina / Dirección Nacional Electoral / LA NACION

### EDITORIAL

Lo más necesario es lo más difícil

En la Argentina de hoy lo más necesario es también lo más difícil. En un contexto de fragmentación y división que parece no tener límites, el diálogo y el acuerdo político entre los principales dirigentes argentinos para superar la crisis son, posiblemente, la única esperanza, la única carta que podemos jugar para crear un futuro que se aleje de la devastación material, institucional y de capital humano en la que vivimos. Continúa en la página 36

### EL ESCENARIO

La triple crisis del sistema político

Jorge Liotti

—LA NACION—

Página 14

### EL ANÁLISIS

Cuando están en peligro las libertades

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

Página 39

## Pulseada. La turbulencia vuelve a Cuba con otro desafío al régimen

El gobierno multiplica acciones para sofocar las protestas cívicas de mañana

Daniel Lozano  
PARA LA NACION

BOGOTÁ.— "Estamos preparados para enfrentar cualquier acción", clamó el presidente cubano, Miguel

Díaz-Canel, en la cuenta regresiva del que podría ser uno de los mayores desafíos para la revolución en sus más de 60 años de historia. El régimen castrista se ha lanzado a una estrategia de múltiples acciones

para enfrentar el reto de los jóvenes rebeldes, que empieza hoy en La Habana y que seguirá durante las marchas cívicas de mañana contra el régimen, pero que ya se adelanta en las redes sociales. Continúa en la página 4

## Mueren dos menores en un tiroteo con policías

LA MATANZA. Los jóvenes abatidos tenían 15 y 16 años

Dos adolescentes de 15 y 16 años fueron abatidos anoche por la policía bonaerense tras un raid delictivo realizado en la localidad bonaerense de González Catán, en La Matanza. Fueron arrestados,

además, tres menores, entre ellos, un chico de 14 años.

El enfrentamiento se registró mientras vecinos exigían, frente a una valleda municipalidad, medidas contra el delito. Página 32



## cop26

### Evento acaba e conclui Acordo de Paris, mas traz frustração

A reunião do clima da ONU concluiu as regras do Acordo de Paris, após cinco edições. A falta de compromissos de financiamento dos mais ricos, porém, barrou a disposição do resto do mundo de ir além com metas para emissões.

O texto final optou por reduzir em vez de eliminar a matriz energética do carvão, em uma vitória de Índia e China. **Ambiente B1**

**Análise Igor Gielow**  
Avanço político foi acordo EUA-China **Ambiente B1**

**Encontro evidencia divisão do Brasil na agenda do clima** Pág. 4

**Ativista ugandense Vanessa Nakate desvia holofotes de Greta** Pág. 6

**A pandemia em 13. nov**  
Dados das 20h

**POPULAÇÃO VACINADA**

**No Brasil**

Ao menos uma dose (dose única ou 1ª dose) **75,6 %**

1º ciclo vacinal completo (dose única ou 2ª dose) **58,6 %**

Dose de reforço **5,5 %**

**ESTÁGIO DA DOENÇA**

**Óbitos**

**Média móvel**

**262** ↓ -16,4 %\*

Em 24 h

Total

611.255

Casos ↑ +0,7 %\* (desacelerado)

\*Variação em relação a 14 dias

**Ricardo A. Pereira**

**Cuidado, vem aí o gerúndio!**

Crianças portuguesas começaram a falar português do Brasil, por causa da exposição a vídeos de um youtuber brasileiro na pandemia, e os pais afligiram-se. Estão preocupados, porém, não por ele ser brasileiro, mas por ser youtuber. **Ilustrada C8**

**Procura por festas dispara, mas falta mão de obra**

**Mercado Pág. 7**

**EDITORIAIS A2**

**A farsa se desvela**

Sobre anunciada filiação de Jair Bolsonaro ao PL.

**A era de Xi**

Acerca de consolidação do líder na ditadura chinesa.

ISSN 1413-5723 33828  
9 771414 572018



Nicolas Witzel/Folhapress

**ATAFONA, NO NORTE FLUMINENSE, PERDE SUA HISTÓRIA ENGOLIDO PELO MAR**

Escombros em praia no distrito pertencente a São João da Barra (RJ); mais de 500 casas já foram destruídas pelo avanço da água desde os anos 1960 **Especial Pág. 8**

## Liberação de verba teve picos em pautas-chave do governo

Suspensas pelo STF, emendas foram mais usadas em negociações como a da PEC dos Precatórios

A distribuição de verbas ligadas às emendas de relator, consideradas o principal capital político para a maior parte dos congressistas, registrou picos durante negociações estratégicas para o governo Jair Bolsonaro e para o presidente da Câmara, Arthur Lira (PP-AL).

Dos R\$ 19 bilhões destinados para esse mecanismo em 2020, cerca de metade foi empenhado (reservado para gasto, no jargão orçamentário) no último mês daquele ano, quando avançaram as articulações para a eleição de Lira na Casa, com apoio do presidente.

No fim de outubro e início deste mês, o Planalto se esforçava para aprovar a PEC dos Precatórios, essencial para bancar o Auxílio Brasil e conseguir melhorar os índices de aprovação de Bolsonaro. Apenas nas duas semanas que antecederam a votação foi distribuído R\$ 1,4 bilhão.

A execução desses recursos está suspensa desde o dia 5 por decisão do Supremo Tribunal Federal. Relatora de ação sobre o caso, a ministra Rosa Weber defende não haver transparência nos repasses. A decisão foi acompanhada por 8 dos 10 atuais integrantes da corte.

Procurado, o Ministério da Saúde, principal beneficiário dessas verbas neste ano, não comentou sobre o veto do STF. Já a Economia disse depender da posição final da corte — o mérito da ação ainda não foi analisado — para se manifestar sobre "potenciais impactos". **Poder A4**

### Valor de auxílio foca eleitor que dá triplo de vantagem a Lula

O Auxílio Brasil perseguido pelo governo mira eleitores que não querem reeleger Jair Bolsonaro: os mais pobres, os nordestinos e os desempregados. Eles ainda sinalizam quase o triplo de intenções de voto em Lula. **Mercado Pág. 1**

### Pleito legislativo na Argentina deve impor derrota a Fernández

Argentinos escolhem hoje 127 de 257 deputados e 24 de 72 senadores; pesquisas indicam vitória da oposição de centro-direita, o que deve levar a novas mudanças no governo peronista do presidente Alberto Fernández. **Mundo A14**

**Esporte B6**

Com perfis opostos, Verstappen e Hamilton rivalizam hoje no GP de SP

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**o**  
**Brasil**  
**Slit**  
**sn!**

**Do kitsch ao cult**

Desprezado por arquitetos nos anos 1950, Artacho Jurado vira alvo de culto **C4**

Para historiador, nos EUA oportunismo da direita amplia rejeição à vacina **C7**

**MÔNICA BERGAMO**

Galera da lacração se comporta como fascistas, diz criador do Flow Podcast **C2**



Edifício Viadutos, localizado em São Paulo, em ilustração exposta na mostra 'Artacho Jurado, Arquiteto?' **Neco Stöckel**





**Gobierno debe invertir más para mantener navegable el Paraguay-Paraná**

## Hidrografía: Principal canal para exportaciones está en riesgo

Por esta zona se mueven al año unas 11 millones de toneladas de productos nacionales. 2.875 embarcaciones se hallan registradas con bandera paraguaya.

PÁGINAS 20 y 21

**Preocupación.** Las épocas de estiaje o de caudal mínimo de los ríos ponen en peligro a la más importante fuente de ingreso de divisas del país.



**Respuesta a remoción de magistrada Atacan al JEM por estar politizado y actuar como un órgano extrajudicial**

PÁGINA 56

**En puertas de intervención a Gobernación Pese a procesamiento por malos gastos, Hugo Javier sigue adjudicando millones**

PÁGINA 10

**En inauguración de la Expo Guairá La Rural advierte que el contrabando está matando a la producción nacional**

PÁGINA 22

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- REVISTA FOLIO
- ESPECIAL DE FOLIO

**COMPRA OPCIONAL**

LA CINEMA

LIBRO: C. 25.000

**DOMINGO**

**Victor Rios Ojeda**, ministro de la Corte  
"No me veo 25 años en la Corte y no creo que piense distinto en 5 años"  
PÁGINAS 14 y 15

**Gloria Bonilla**, directora en Rutgers de EEUU  
"La universidad debe abrirse a la sociedad para generar cambios"  
PÁGINA 29

**UNA INDESTRUCTIBLE SIEMPRE DESPIERTA TU LADO INDESTRUCTIBLE**

**TOYOTA**

TOYOTASHI



# 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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POUR LES FRANÇAIS,  
LA MAISON INDIVIDUELLE N'EST  
PAS UNE « IMPASSE » PAGE 17



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Congrès LR :  
un débat pour  
confirmer PAGE 6

**UKRAINE**  
L'avertissement  
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à la Russie PAGE 8

**IMMIGRATION**  
L'Intérieur  
dans le bourbier  
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**RURALITÉ** Quand  
l'école maternelle  
s'installe à la ferme  
PAGE 11

**TECHNOLOGIE**  
L'État promeut  
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in France » PAGE 28

**CHAMPS  
LIBRES**  
• La chronique de  
Mathieu Bock-Côté  
• L'analyse  
d'Hugues Maillot  
PAGE 19

**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 ?

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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 troisiè-  
me référendum 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 »

**L**a 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 déstabi-  
liser 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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