



What's News

World-Wide

The U.S. has plenty of Covid-19 vaccines but retail pharmacies, which face surging demand and staffing shortages, are struggling to quickly administer them in some places. **A1**

◆ **The FDA is laying the groundwork for the rapid review of Omicron-targeted vaccines and drugs if they turn out to be needed.** **A6**

◆ **Lilly's monoclonal antibody drug has been cleared for emergency use in children under 12, the FDA said.** **A6**

◆ **Michigan prosecutors charged the parents of the high-school sophomore accused of killing four classmates with four counts of involuntary manslaughter.** **A3**

◆ **Putin is amassing a force expected to total 175,000 troops near Russia's border with Ukraine, giving him the capability for a potential invasion by early 2022, U.S. officials said.** **A7**

◆ **Talks to revive the Iran nuclear deal stalled Friday, with Western allies saying the effort was a step closer to collapse after Tehran's negotiators barely inched from their tough stance.** **A8**

◆ **The U.S. will levy sanctions next week against foreign-government officials and people it accuses of corruption and human-rights abuse, and urge other nations to join its pressure campaign.** **A4**

Business & Finance

◆ **Hiring slowed last month amid Covid-19 uncertainties, but people returned to the labor force in droves. The U.S. economy added a seasonally adjusted 210,000 jobs in November, the smallest gain since last December.** **A1, A2**

◆ **Markets ended a tumultuous week with a broad tech selloff sending major U.S. stock indexes sharply lower and Treasury yields falling at a pace not seen since some of the worst days of the pandemic last year.** **A1, B11**

◆ **Investors punished shares of Chinese companies traded in the U.S. as Didi searched for ways to back out of its New York stock listing.** **A1**

◆ **Chinese authorities said they would step in to help Evergrande deal with its crisis after the company sought assistance from its provincial government.** **B1**

◆ **American Express Global Business Travel is merging with a blank-check company backed by Apollo to go public with a roughly \$5.3 billion valuation.** **B1**

◆ **Twitter's newly appointed chief executive is shaking up the company's leadership team less than a week into the job.** **B10**

◆ **China has approved the creation of one of the world's largest rare-earths companies.** **B3**

NOONAN

Will the Justices
Let Go of Abortion? **A13**

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Hiring Slows, but More Seek Work

U.S. adds just 210,000 jobs, but labor force participation surges; unemployment is 4.2%

By DAVID HARRISON

Hiring slowed last month amid Covid-19 uncertainties, but people returned to the labor force in droves in a sign the tight labor market could be loosening.

The U.S. economy added a seasonally adjusted 210,000

jobs in November—the smallest gain since December 2020 and a marked slowdown from an upwardly revised increase of 546,000 in October, the Labor Department said Friday. Almost 600,000 people joined the workforce, and the unemployment rate fell to 4.2% from 4.6%.

The payrolls number, which comes from a Labor Department survey of businesses, offered an unusually large divergence from data from a separate survey of households also released Friday that

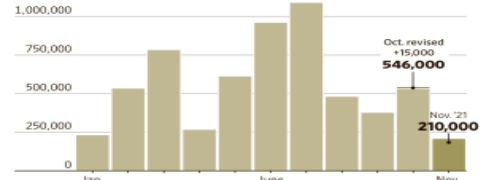
showed strong progress in employment.

That survey showed that 1.1 million more people were employed in November than in October. The labor-force participation rate rose to 61.8%, the highest level since March 2020 at the start of the pandemic.

The November payrolls figure “doesn’t really change what we thought about the labor market,” said Aneta Markowska, Please turn to page A2

◆ **Hear on the Street: Report gets participation trophy...** B12

Nonfarm payrolls, monthly net change



Note: Seasonally adjusted. October and November are preliminary. Source: U.S. Labor Department



Members of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey protest in Ankara on Friday for a higher minimum-wage increase in 2022 because of the falling lira and worsening economic situation under President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

Turkey's Economy Slides Into Turmoil

President Erdogan fires central bankers, the lira plunges in value and inflation soars

By JARED MALIN

ISTANBUL—The two-decade economic boom that lifted millions of Turks into the middle class is beginning to unravel, threatened by a currency crisis that has people lining up for subsidized bread, cutting back on meat and fleeing for a better life in Europe.

The Turkish lira has lost as much as 45% of its value this year, making ordinary Turks poorer. The pandemic-era consumer-price increases that have plagued economies across the world are super-sized in Turkey, where inflation stands at more than 21%. People here are rushing to trade their shrinking wages for dollars and gold, are eating out less and are having more trouble finding imported

goods, including medicine.

The crisis largely stems from President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's own economic policies, say economists both inside and outside Turkey. After nearly two decades in power, Mr. Erdogan has fired nearly every economic official who had stood in the way of his unorthodox views, and has steered the country down a path few, if any, economists the size of Turkey have charted.

After years in which he has weakened Turkish institutions and centralized power, Mr. Erdogan has now assumed broad control over the economy, with no one within the government to oppose him, former Turkish officials say.

Mr. Erdogan has successfully pressured the central bank to slash interest rates

despite rapid inflation. Normally, central banks raise rates to encourage saving, discourage borrowing and cool off inflation. But Mr. Erdogan has called for lower interest rates and blamed rising costs on foreign interests.

Turkey, a G-20 economy and a leader among emerging markets, is a North Atlantic Treaty Organization ally and a key security partner for the U.S. Financial instability there could ripple through the Middle East. It could also threaten Ankara's ambitions to become a power broker in the region, where it has acted as a counterweight to Russia while intervening in conflicts in Libya, Syria and Iraq.

The free-falling lira has also fueled concerns that the crisis could tip over Please turn to page A9

Markets' Fall Caps Volatile Week

By GUNJAN BANERJEE

Markets ended a tumultuous week on an ominous note, with a broad technology-sector selloff sending major U.S. stock indexes sharply lower and Treasury yields falling at a pace not seen since some of the worst days of the pandemic last year.

After a relatively placid stretch across financial markets, investors have been confronted with several fresh worries that have triggered volatility in markets around the globe.

Many investors expect the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates next year after a prolonged period of keeping them near zero, a policy that has propelled the market to record after record over the past year. Federal Reserve Chairman Jerome Powell said this week that the central bank was prepared to pare its easy-money policies at a quicker pace, opening the door to raising interest rates in the first half of 2022.

Some investors said that the prospect of rate increases comes at a precarious time. New monthly jobs figures, released Friday, highlighted how sluggish job growth has been even though the unemployment rate dwindled in November to the lowest level since February 2020, stoking a wild session of trading.

And the new Omicron variant of Covid-19 has emerged, injecting further volatility into the stock market as investors

Please turn to page A2

◆ **Oil prices recover some losses** B11

EXCHANGE



MUSK IN CHINA
How the Tesla CEO became one of the Chinese government's biggest cheerleaders. **B1**

Demand for Covid-19 Shots Strains Pharmacies

The U.S. has plenty of Covid-19 vaccines but retail pharmacies are struggling to quickly administer them in some places.

By Sharon Terlep, Tarini Parti and Sarah Nassauer

Vaccine seekers in some states face waits of days or weeks for doses as local health officials hustle to improve access to meet surging demand. CVS Health Corp., Walgreens Boots Alliance Inc. and Walmart Inc., which are facing staffing shortages, now say they may not be able to accommodate people without appointments. Millions of Please turn to page A6

◆ **FDA aims for rapid review of Omicron vaccines, drugs** A6

Chinese Shares Rocked As Didi Seeks to Delist

By JING YANG AND KEITH ZHAI

Investors punished shares of Chinese companies traded in the U.S. on Friday as Didi Global Inc. searched for ways to back out of its New York stock listing months after the initial public offering drew Beijing's ire.

The Chinese ride-hailing company's decision to delist its American depository shares from the New York Stock Exchange and pursue a listing in Hong Kong marked a new stage in the decoupling of Chinese companies from U.S. markets.

Declines cascaded broadly through U.S.-listed Chinese firms, with stock in Alibaba Group Holding Ltd. falling 8.2%, slashing some \$27 billion off the company's market value. Pinduoduo Inc. retreated 8.2%, Baidu Inc. declined 7.8%, and JD.com Inc. fell 7.7%. Didi's beaten-up stock fell

further, dropping 22% to \$6.07—below its \$14-a-share IPO price.

Didi didn't give any rationale for the delisting, which it said has received support from its board and would later require a shareholder vote. The company ran into trouble with Beijing almost immediately after its \$4.4 billion initial public offering. The IPO blindsided Chinese regulators, who launched a data-security review, pulled Didi products from Chinese app stores and began a broader overhaul of the framework for international listings by Chinese companies.

Washington has been taking a hawkish stance on Chinese companies listed in the U.S. and Beijing is calling its companies to return home. On Thursday, the U.S. Securities Please turn to page A4

◆ **Hear on the Street: Didi's bumpy ride isn't over** B12



Women of the year

Mary Barra, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, Scarlett Johansson

25 global leaders and influencers

LIFE & ARTS

China's Didi to drop NYSE listing

◆ Taxi app plans switch to HK ◆ Beijing accelerates US decoupling ◆ Tech shares decline

RYAN MC MORROW — BEIJING
TOM YU — SHANGHAI
TON MITCHELL — SINGAPORE

Chinese ride-hailing group Didi Chuxing is delisting from the New York Stock Exchange, accelerating China's decoupling from US capital markets as Beijing cracks down on the country's leading technology groups.

The company, which has been hit by increased regulatory scrutiny in China, yesterday said it would begin delisting and prepare to go public in Hong Kong.

Didi said that its board had authorised the delisting in New York of its American depositary shares while ensuring they would be "convertible into freely

tradable shares... on another internationally recognised stock exchange."

Didi's shares fell nearly 17 per cent by midday in New York yesterday. Hong Kong's Hang Seng Tech index fell as much as 2.7 per cent after the news and Alibaba by as much as 5.4 per cent.

"This is the nail in the coffin for decoupling in equity markets between the US and China," said Andrew Collier at Orient Capital Research in Hong Kong. "[Regulators] are being pushed to do this because Xi Jinping has clearly taken a very nationalist tone in terms of capital flows, particularly from the US."

Didi launched its \$4.4bn New York initial public offering in June, making it

the biggest listing by a Chinese company in the US since Alibaba in 2014.

Days later, regulators ordered Didi's app to be taken off Chinese app stores. It was also banned from signing new users and subjected to a government investigation into its cybersecurity practices.

The group's shares have nearly halved from the June IPO price of \$14 to \$7.80 at the New York close on Thursday.

While big Chinese state-owned enterprises listed in the US have been targeted by the Biden and Trump administrations with investment bans, New York remained an attractive destination for China's private-sector tech groups.

In the immediate aftermath of Didi's



Didi Chuxing launched its \$4.4bn New York IPO in June and days later Beijing ordered its removal from Chinese app stores

IPO, Chinese regulators signalled that other companies hoping to follow suit would be subject to more stringent procedures, especially if they managed data that was deemed sensitive by Beijing.

Didi's IPO, which was completed the week before the Chinese Communist party celebrated its centennial, angered party and government officials who believed the group had brushed aside concerns related to national security.

"After this high-profile listing turned out to be a huge mistake, all Chinese companies will think twice about going to New York," said Chen Long at Penum, a Beijing-based consultancy.

Lex and The Long View page 18

Learning curve

Hunt is on for Omicron data

Pupils line up at the Kgotho Academy on "Spirit Day" in Johannesburg's Alexandra township this week. The Omicron variant of coronavirus, first discovered in South Africa, has been linked to a substantial rise in reinfections in the country compared with previous waves, according to the first detailed study into the heavily mutated strain.

Policymakers and the public around the world are still desperate for more information about the new variant and whether vaccines will still work.

Rise in reinfections page 2

Big Read page 6

FT View page 8

South Africa diary Life & Arts



Jerome Delaport



Maxwell's lawyers adopt a risky strategy in MeToo era

The full-blooded attacks by Ghislaine Maxwell's lawyers on the credibility of her accusers are by no means a new strategy in such cases. But in a MeToo era, where society's ideas of how to respond to women's complaints of abuse are being revised, it is a risky approach. It's also probably the only strategy Ghislaine Maxwell has, if the jury credits and believes these women, she's cooked, says a former prosecutor who has handled sexual abuse cases.

Pulling no punches — PAGE 3

US job growth slows sharply as Fed considers a speedier end to stimulus

COLBY SMITH — NEW YORK

US job growth slowed in November while the unemployment rate fell to its lowest since the pandemic began, painting a complex picture of the workforce's recovery as the Federal Reserve considers whether to speed up its withdrawal of stimulus support.

Employers in the world's largest economy added just 210,000 jobs for the month, a steep drop-off from the 546,000 positions created in October and well below economists' forecasts of 550,000. Since the start of the year, monthly gains have averaged 555,000.

Despite the slow pick-up last month, the unemployment rate fell significantly, dipping 0.4 percentage points to 4.2 per cent. Less than six months ago, it hovered closer to 6 per cent.

"With this report, we get more evidence that the economy has re-accelerated from a bit of a slowdown in the third quarter," said Ellen Case, an economist at PGIM Fixed Income.

She pointed to the discrepancy in the two surveys that comprise the jobs report, with one measuring households and the other employers. The "establishment" survey suggested a sharp slowdown in hiring, while the "household" survey showed a gain of 1.1m.

President Joe Biden yesterday said the unemployment rate's decline was a sign that the job market was rebounding, despite slower job creation. But he also noted the anxiety around the US about the cost of living amid high inflation.

"It's not enough to know we're making progress," Biden said. "You need to see it and feel it in your own lives around the kitchen table and in your cheque

books." The US president also said the recent drop in oil prices was a sign that cost pressures would start to abate.

The data released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics yesterday, which included substantial upward revisions to September and October's job gains for a combined 82,000 additional positions, showed modest improvement in the number of people looking for a job.

The latest jobs report, which showed 5.9m more Americans still out of work than before the pandemic, came days after Fed chair Jay Powell said the central bank was assuming a more aggressive stance to combat inflation.

He signalled this week that he may support speeding up the central bank's withdrawal of its enormous stimulus programme — a process it began just a few weeks ago at a pace that would end bond-buying altogether in June.

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS					CURRENCIES					INTEREST RATES				
	Dec 3	prev	%chg		Dec 3	prev		Dec 3	prev		price	yield	chg	
S&P 500	4039.72	4037.92	-1.47	\$ per £	1.128	1.132	£ per \$	0.758	0.752	US Gov 10 yr	147.76	1.30	-0.05	
Nasdaq Composite	14953.66	15081.32	-2.72	\$ per €	1.322	1.331	€ per \$	1.172	1.176	UK Gov 10 yr		0.67	-0.05	
Dow Jones Ind	34079.93	34039.79	-0.75	¥ per \$	0.853	0.851	\$ per ¥	122.719	122.848	Ger Gov 10 yr		-0.39	-0.02	
FTSE100	1793.29	1803.21	-0.55	₹ per \$	113.225	112.905	₹ index	81.488	81.371	Japan Gov 10 yr	112.77	0.05	0.00	
Euro Stoxx 50	4099.25	4108.02	-0.94	\$ per €	1.48683	1.50327	Sfr per \$	1.218	1.223	US Gov 30 yr	122.07	1.71	-0.08	
FTSE 100	7122.32	7129.21	-0.10	Sfr per €	1.038	1.040				US Gov 2 yr	104.79	-0.74	0.00	
FTSE All-Share	4058.32	4063.89	-0.11	₹ per \$	0.887	0.884								
CAC 40	6795.52	6795.75	-0.44											
Xetra Dax	15109.98	15263.11	-0.61											
Nikkei	28229.57	27753.37	1.00											
Hong Kong	23268.89	23784.93	-0.89											
MSCI World \$	3111.17	3087.98	0.75											
MSCI EM \$	1236.19	1228.01	0.76											
MSCI ACWI \$	730.10	724.05	0.75											

COMMODITIES				
	Dec 3	prev	%chg	
Oil WTI \$	86.80	86.50	0.45	
Oil Brent \$	70.38	69.67	1.02	
Gold \$	1789.25	1804.40	-0.84	



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A clinic in Kandahar. A U.N. report says starvation is threatening 22.8 million Afghans this winter — over half the population.

Hunger Catastrophe Looms in Afghanistan

Aid Groups Fear Millions May Die as Calls Grow to Ease U.S. Sanctions

By CHRISTINA GOLDBAUM

SHAH WALI KOT, Afghanistan — One by one, women poured into the mud brick clinic, the frames of famished children peeking out beneath the folds of their pale gray, blue and pink burqas.

Many had walked for more than an hour across this drab stretch of southern Afghanistan, where parched earth meets a washed-out sky, desperate for medicine to pump life back into their children's shrunken veins. For months, their once-daily meals had grown more sparse as harvests failed, wells ran dry and credit for flour from shopkeepers ran out.

Now as the crisp air grew colder, reality was setting in: Their children might not survive the winter.

"I'm very afraid, this winter will be even worse than we can imagine," said Lalak, 40, who like many women in rural Afghanistan goes by only one name.

Nearly four months since the Taliban seized power, Afghanistan is on the brink of a mass starvation that aid groups say threatens to kill a million children this winter — a toll that would dwarf the total number of Afghan civilians estimated to have been killed as a direct result of the war over the past 20 years.

While Afghanistan has suffered from malnutrition for decades, the country's hunger crisis has drastically worsened in recent months. This winter, an estimated 22.8 million people — more than half the population — are expected to face potentially life-threatening levels of food insecurity, according to an analysis by the United Nations World Food Program and Food and Agriculture Organization. Of those, 8.7 million people are nearing famine — the worst stage of a food crisis.

Such widespread hunger is the most devastating sign of the economic crash that has

Continued on Page 10

Anchor Is Fired As CNN Reviews Cuomo Scandal

This article is by Michael M. Grynbaum, John Koblin and Jodi Kantor.

The star anchor Chris Cuomo was fired by CNN on Saturday, completing a stunning downfall for the network's top-rated host amid a continuing inquiry into his efforts to help his brother, Andrew M. Cuomo, then the governor of New York, stave off sexual harassment accusations.

The anchor was suspended on Tuesday after testimony and text messages released by the New York attorney general revealed a more intimate and engaged role in his brother's political affairs than the network said it had previously known.

On Wednesday, Debra S. Katz, a prominent employment lawyer, informed CNN of a client with an allegation of sexual misconduct against Chris Cuomo. Ms. Katz said in a statement on Saturday that the allegation against the anchor, which was made by a former junior colleague at another network, was "unrelated to the Gov. Andrew Cuomo matter."

It was not fully clear what role the allegation played in CNN's decision to dismiss Mr. Cuomo. Ms. Katz is also the lawyer for Charlotte Bennett, a longtime aide to Andrew Cuomo who accused the former governor in February of sexual harassment.

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A screen at the Los Angeles Coliseum celebrated the new football coach at Southern California.

On Colleges' Coaching Carousel, Rewards Soar

By ALAN BLINDER

The contract terms for Louisiana State University's new football coach promise an unusually enormous payout for mediocrity: If the Tigers win just half of their regular-season games, de rigueur for a program with three national championships since 2003, Brian Kelly will receive \$500,000 — on top of at least \$9 million a year in other compensation.

And every July, no matter his record, Kelly will earn a \$500,000 "longevity" bonus if he remains in charge in Baton Rouge.

The line items for middling achievements are helping to mark the pathway for college football's era of \$10-million-a-year coaches. And they are part of the latest blur of coaching contracts and buyouts, collectively worth hundreds of millions of dollars, at a time when the college sports industry is facing accusations that it is ex-

ploiting the athletes who cannot earn salaries for actually playing the games.

"If you equate it to college education, it's insane," Jackie Sherrill, the retired Texas A&M University football coach and athletic director, said of the industry and its soaring coaching deals. "If you equate it to business, it makes sense."

A perk-loaded agreement that Sherrill signed in 1982, when he

Continued on Page 36

A Variant Hunt From the Labs To Dirt Roads

Why Covid Mutations
Rise in South Africa

By STEPHANIE NOLEN

NTUZUMA, South Africa — A few months ago, Sizakele Mathe, a community health worker in this sprawling hillside township on the edge of the city of Durban, was notified by a clinic that a neighbor had stopped picking up her medication. It was a warning sign that she had likely stopped taking the antiretroviral tablet that suppresses her H.I.V. infection.

That was a threat to her own health — and, in the era of Covid-19, it might have posed a risk to everyone else's. The clinic dispatched Ms. Mathe to climb a hill, wend her way down a narrow path and try to get the woman back on the pills.

Ms. Mathe, as cheerful as she is relentless, is part of a national door-to-door nagging campaign. It's half of a sophisticated South African effort to stanch the emergence of new variants of the coronavirus, like Omicron, which was identified here and shook the world this past week.

The other half takes place at a state-of-the-art laboratory 25 miles down the road. At the KwaZulu-Natal Research Innovation and Sequencing Platform in Durban, scientists sequence the genomes of thousands of coronavirus samples each week. The KRISP lab, as it is known, is part of a national network of virus researchers that identified both the Beta and Omicron variants, drawing on expertise developed here during the region's decades-long fight with H.I.V.

This combination of high tech and grass roots represents one of the front lines in the world's battle against the evolving coronavirus. On Friday, the research network in South Africa reported to a world waiting anxiously for new information that the new variant appeared to spread twice as quickly as Delta, which had been considered the most contagious version of the virus.

The researchers at KRISP are global leaders in viral phylogenetics, the study of the evolutionary relationship between viruses. They track mutations in the coronavirus, identify hot spots of transmission and provide crucial data on who is infecting whom — which they deduce by tracking mutations in the virus across samples — to help tamp down the spread.

Since the start of the pandemic, Continued on Page 12

G.O.P. VOTING BILLS RAISE THE STAKES FOR RACES IN 2022

FLURRY OF RESTRICTIONS

Democrats Vow to Fight,
but Are Outmatched
in Many States

By NICK CORASANTI

A new wave of Republican legislation to reshape the nation's electoral system is coming in 2022, as the G.O.P. puts forward proposals ranging from a requirement that ballots be hand-counted in New Hampshire to the creation of a law enforcement unit in Florida to investigate allegations of voting fraud.

The Republican drive, motivated in part by a widespread denial of former President Donald J. Trump's defeat last year, includes both voting restrictions and measures that could sow public confusion or undermine confidence in fair elections, and will significantly raise the stakes of the 2022 midterm elections.

After passing 33 laws of voting limits in 19 states this year, Republicans in at least five states — Florida, Tennessee, South Carolina, Oklahoma and New Hampshire — have filed bills before the next legislative sessions have even started that seek to restrict voting in some way, including by limiting mail voting. In over 20 states, more than 245 similar bills put forward this year could be carried into 2022, according to Voting Rights Lab, a group that works to expand access to the ballot.

In many places, Democrats will be largely powerless to push back at the state level, where they remain overmatched in Republican-controlled legislatures. G.O.P. state lawmakers across the coun-

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Stacey Abrams pledged to keep voting rights front and center.

He Ran Without Firing a Shot And Ended Up on Death Row

By DAN BARRY and ABBY ELLIN

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — He cradled his infant grandchild for the first and final time. He picked at some food. He posed for family photographs that captured smiles as strains as the conversation. Then someone in charge said it was time.

The center of attention, Nathaniel Woods, assured his heavy-hearted father that everything would be all right. Dad, I love you, he said. But when you walk out this gate today, I'm gonna walk out with you, but you're not going to know it.

It was late afternoon on March 5, 2020, the overcast day chosen by the State of Alabama to be Mr. Woods's last. He had been convicted 15 years earlier in connec-

tion with the shooting deaths of three Birmingham police officers — and ever since had been christened Cop Killer Nathaniel Woods.

But Mr. Woods never killed anyone. He was unarmed when the officers were gunned down while rushing into a cramped drug house to execute a warrant for his arrest on a misdemeanor.

Alabama — one of 26 states where an accomplice can be sentenced to death, according to the American Civil Liberties Union — argued that Mr. Woods had intentionally lured the officers to their deaths. It did not have to prove that he actually killed anyone in

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INTERNATIONAL 4-13

The Return of 'Dirty Foot' Bars

A cross between a dive bar and a greasy spoon, Rio de Janeiro's beloved (and proudly filthy) hole-in-the-wall joints are back.

PAGE 4

NATIONAL 14-28

School Under a Microscope

Legal experts are asking why Oxford High School, the site of a shooting, let a student whose behavior had raised red flags back into a classroom.

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SPORTS 33-37

Alabama Defeats No. 1 Georgia

In giving the Bulldogs their first loss, the Crimson Tide regained their championship form heading into the College Football Playoff.

PAGE 36

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Amazon's Troubled Bookstore

Third parties can sow confusion on the site, turning it, in some ways, into "an e-commerce bucket that any seller can put their stuff into."

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SUNDAY REVIEW

Amy Littlefield

PAGE 4



Holidays

Happy New Year's Holidays

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Family photo

COLUMN ONE

Chaos to start, chaos to end: Bookends to our longest war

Cody Prosser was the first Californian killed in Afghanistan. For many, his death by friendly fire set the stage for the 20 years of combat that followed.

By Thomas Curwen

The 2,000-pound bomb followed its instructions as it raced through the cold December sky above the small Afghan village of Shawali Kowt.

At more than 1,000 mph, it pierced the northwestern slope of a small hill. Cody Prosser had seen a contrail coming out of the northeast and for a split second heard a roar, then an explosion. His eardrums ruptured.

A wind exceeding a tornado's strongest gust blew him off his feet as the air around him caught

fire. Airborne, he floated through an avalanche of sand and earth. A shard of fragmenting steel struck his head.

He crumpled to the ground.

Twenty years later, the life and memory of U.S. Army Staff Sgt. Brian Cody Prosser are still mourned. The first Californian to die in Afghanistan, he lies in Arlington National Cemetery.

Cody, 28, had boarded a helicopter for a predawn flight into Afghanistan on Dec. 5, 2001. He and 13 other soldiers and

[See Cody, A10]

BRIAN CODY PROSSER died from a U.S. bomb Dec. 5, 2001, in Shawali Kowt, Afghanistan.

Small businesses hit by inflation and supply snags

After wading through COVID, owners face quandary of passing costs on to consumer.

By MARGOT ROOSEVELT AND SAMANTHA MASUNAGA

For Vivian Bowers, owner of a South Los Angeles dry cleaner, inflation hit home when her wholesale cost for hangers soared by 48% in six months.

Tom Bock, who runs an electric bike dealership in Huntington Beach, has had to pay his workers 25% more, on top of a boost in commissions.

Hagop Berberian, owner of an auto repair shop in Inglewood, is afraid to fully pass on the escalating cost of tires, motor oil and Freon. "Either you keep the customer happy or you lose the customer," he said.

Skyrocketing inflation is slamming many of California's 1.6 million small businesses, which employ more than half the state's workforce. Supply chain snafus make it harder and costlier to restock inventory. Workers are seeking higher pay amid a labor shortage. And

small firms are less able to navigate the challenges than larger competitors.

In October, the 6.2% rise in U.S. consumer prices was the biggest year-over-year jump in 31 years. Torrid surges in the cost of housing, gasoline, cars and food continue to capture headlines. For many small stores selling goods from furniture to footwear, and for providers of services from haircuts to home care, it is a nerve-racking time: Do they charge more and risk losing clients?

"Larger firms can absorb higher costs for supplies," said Holly Wade, research director of the National Federation of Independent Business, an advocacy group with more than 300,000 members. "And when it comes to supply chain disruptions, they're at the top of the pecking order as far as deliveries, given their volume of purchases. For small firms, it's a different ballgame."

As the economy, consumers who stopped traveling, dining out, getting their hair cut and going to movies during the COVID-19 pandemic amassed trillions of dollars in savings collectively. Rising vaccination rates enable shoppers to feel

[See Businesses, A12]



CAROLYN COLE Los Angeles Times

HAGOP BERBERIAN, owner of an auto repair shop in Inglewood, is paying more for tires, oil and supplies.

Mater Dei football parent says school 'failed my child'

By BILL PLASCHKE

He didn't want his Mater Dei teammates to soak his locker in urine.

The 170-pound football player told his parents the fear of retribution prompted him to agree to fight a more experienced 235-pound teammate in the middle of a Mater Dei locker room.

The smaller player, who had yet to play a game for the Monarchs, had been publicly challenged by a



third player to compete in the brutal initiation game known as "Bodies," an organized fight between two players with punches supposedly limited to the torso. The smaller player knew what could happen if he refused to participate.

He had seen the bullying, the teasing, the name-calling and, worst of all, he had seen the lockers of outcasts drenched in urine. He didn't want to risk enduring that abuse. This was his ticket to acceptance.

"He felt if he didn't do it, he wouldn't fit in, he wanted to fit in, he wanted to feel like he belonged,"

[See Plaschke, A14]

Biden, Putin set video call Tuesday

Presidents to speak as tensions between U.S. and Russia escalate over Ukraine conflict. **WORLD, A3**

CNN fires host Chris Cuomo

Outside inquiry finds he crossed a line by helping brother navigate scandal. **NATION, A14**

Teen suspect's parents arrested

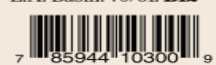
Bond is set at \$500,000 each for their alleged role in Michigan school shooting. **NATION, A16**

Riley leaves mad fans in his wake

New USC coach strikes emotional chord among Oklahomans. **SPORTS, D1**

Weather

Mostly sunny. L.A. Basin: 70/51. **B12**



CAROLYN COLE Los Angeles Times

CARA FERRARO, left, is anxious about COVID-19 and works remotely from the apartment she shares with her partner, Jack Shain, a drug and alcohol counselor.

'Weird COVID tension' as some return to the office

Circumstances sow inequality within families

By MARIA L. LA GANGA

He's a certified drug and alcohol counselor who opened a sober living house at the peak of last winter's deadly COVID-19 surge and is on-site at least six days a week.

She works for a production company, colonized their kitchen table for her two outside computer monitors and has stayed largely locked up in their 600-

square-foot Mar Vista apartment, where they now dine on TV trays.

"When L.A. was, like, the worst place on Earth for COVID, I was going out and looking at three houses a day," scouting locations for Hyperion Sober Living, said co-owner Jack Shain. "Cara was very anxious. That's a light way of saying it."

Shain's job means he's out in the world nearly every day, where it's impossible to tell the vaccinated from the

sick. Cara Ferraro's allows her to stay home with the cats, her anxiety and the ever-present pile of dishes in the sink.

The pandemic has changed the fabric of life in many households, especially in those where members' work circumstances are vastly different. It has raised questions of privilege and equity within families and forced difficult conversations about responsibility.

[See Families, A15]

Mexico's leader puts job on line

Why the president is trying to give voters a chance to kick him out of office early.

By LEILA MILLER

MEXICO CITY — Standing before thousands of cheering supporters in downtown Mexico City's central square, President Andrés Manuel López Obrador saved his most striking comment for the end of his speech.

"None of. 'They chose me for six years and I can do whatever I want,'" López Obrador said at the rally Wednesday to mark his midterm. "If one who governs is not up to the task and obeying the people, revoke their mandate and oust."

The president, 68, likely believes he has nothing to worry about. Recent polls show that about two-thirds of the public

[See Mexico, A4]



The Washington Post

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Fear and grief grip Oxford residents

After Michigan shooting, anger directed at school and suspect's parents

BY KARIN BRULLIARD,
JENNIFER HASSAN,
TIMOTHY BELLA,
AND MARIA LUISA PAUL

OXFORD, MICH. — This small town awoke Saturday to sunny skies, a chilly breeze and one tiny stitch of closure in the gaping chasm of grief ripped opened here days before: The parents of Ethan Crumbley, the 15-year-old accused of fatally shooting four students at the local high school Tuesday, had been taken into custody overnight in nearby Detroit.

But Oxford was also adjusting to the awful new reality that it had become the latest host of an American school shooting, the deadliest since the spring of 2018. The deep sense of peace and safety in this close-knit village has been at least temporarily shattered, residents said, while anger at the accused and questions about how the school handled Crumbley's behavior ripple through the community.

The nerves were vivid Friday night in downtown Oxford, where hundreds of people held candles in honor of the slain students and seven others wounded in the shooting. The county executive was speaking from a stage about the other victims of the tragedy —

SEE SHOOTING ON A21

Unsecured guns: More states weigh laws to charge parents. A21

GOP effort on abortion took twin tracks over decades

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

The Supreme Court's oral arguments over the future of abortion restrictions put into sharp relief the twin forces that appear to have brought the high court to the edge of either overturning or dramatically curtailing the landmark 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision, which gave women nationwide a right to most abortions.

Decades of political organizing by abortion opponents have transformed the Republican Party into a force for remaking courts, and a separate revolution in law schools has created the intellectual foundation to make it possible.

The political fruits of those efforts were on display Wednesday in the form of a clear conservative majority on the court, including three appointments by President Donald Trump. But the argument made to the justices by Mississippi Solicitor General Scott Stewart was tailored to appeal not to politics but a legal revolution that prized the original intent of the nation's founders.

"I think the concern about appearing political makes it absolutely imperative that the court reach a decision well grounded in the Constitution, in text," he said.

SEE ABORTION ON A7

The Sunday Take: The bitter fight might turn even more intense. A2

An already vulnerable South Sudan falls further into hunger, disease and displacement amid recent record rainfall



Floods beset a nation on edge

A pained look flashed across Nyapuoka Ruot's eyes each time her infant daughter reached hungrily for her breast.

The girl had been born amid historic floods in South Sudan that wiped out crops, killed livestock and left Ruot eating only one meal a day and unable to produce milk.

Sitting on a thin bamboo mat on the dirt floor of her family's hut, she allowed the daughter she named Nyamuch, or "Gift," to nurse, even though all that came out was a watery mixture. She rocked her as the emaciated little girl's cries turned to coughs that wracked her body. She brushed away flies from her face. A few dozen feet away, a

STORY BY
RACHEL CHASON
PHOTOGRAPHS BY
ADRIENNE
SURPRENANT
IN OLD FANGAK,
SOUTH SUDAN

Martha Nyakoang and her family, after an hour's walk in waist-high water to get to church, in Old Fangak, South Sudan, on Oct. 3.

relative's dead cow floated in the tide, the most recent example of what the water had taken.

"I blame myself," Ruot said. "I blame God. I blame the floods."

Every year, South Sudan has a rainy season. But floods driven in part by climate change have since 2019 set records. This year, the water displaced more than 700,000 — about 1 in every 15 people in this country.

The rising waters are contributing to what the World Food Program says is the biggest hunger crisis to hit South Sudan since it became independent from Sudan in 2011. More than 60 percent of the population is

SEE SOUTH SUDAN ON A14



Twitch streamer Tyler Steinkamp prepares for his daily broadcast from his home in New London, Mo. He plays video games 50 hours a week with 4.6 million followers watching online.

Up all night with a Twitch millionaire

NEW LONDON, MO. — Just before midnight, six hours into his 10-hour Twitch livestream, Tyler Steinkamp's rage begins to erupt.

He's just scarfed down a dinner of cold chicken fingers over the sink during a three-minute ad break and raced back to his computer, where he is playing the "battle arena" game "League of Legends" as 28,762 people watch.

His face is broadcast onto the screen, alongside convulsions of

The Internet's new rock stars face rage and loneliness as they stream for hours a day

BY DREW HARWELL

neon warfare and a raucous chat box overflowing with 280 messages a minute. An anonymous audience is demanding his attention and unloading on him for every mistake. He has four hours of on-

camera time to go.

"It's going to be a terrible day," he tells a Washington Post reporter before turning back to his screen to read one chat message aloud: "Does 'League' make y'all depressed? Yeah, it does."

As "loltyler1," his Twitch audience expects him to be tirelessly brash and dominant. But Tyler is trapped in a losing streak, and he's been reeling from too little sleep. He dies in an in-game brawl and snaps: "I'm so over

SEE STREAMING ON A6

Assad resorts to seizing businesses to stay afloat

Syria's cash-strapped leader is targeting even his onetime inner circle

BY GREG MILLER
AND LIZ SLY

The five Syrians pulled from their homes by secret police on the same night last year were not insurgents, spies or suspected of being disloyal to the country's president, Bashar al-Assad.

Instead, they were targets in a desperate new phase of Assad's battle to survive: the hunt for cash.

All five were executives at Syria's second-largest cellphone company, MTN Syria, according to individuals familiar with the episode. Their arrests were part of a ruthless campaign by the president to seize MTN's assets, along with almost every other meaningful source of revenue in Syria's shattered economy.

MTN was ultimately brought to its knees four months ago after protracted pressure in which those arrests were followed by demands for multimillion-dollar payments, threats to revoke the company's operating license and a dubious court ruling that put an Assad loyalist in charge of the company.

The South Africa-based corpo-

ration announced in August that it was abandoning the Syrian market under conditions that its chief executive called "intolerable." MTN's cellphone towers are still working, its 6 million subscribers still paying their monthly bills.

"But where that money is going, no one knows," said a Syrian executive who spoke on the condition of anonymity out of fear of retaliation. "Honestly, no one knows."

Similar events have played out repeatedly over the past two years, as Assad and his financially strapped regime have raided or outright seized dozens of businesses, including foreign corporations and locally enterprises that rode out Syria's decade-long war in government-held territory, according to U.S. and other Western officials, as well as Syrians with firsthand knowledge of the regime's actions. Neither the Syrian government nor the Syrian presidency responded to requests for comment.

Companies that had survived the war have been raided by teams of regime "auditors" and agents, who scour their accounts for supposed tax and customs violations or other pretexts for hefty fines. Business leaders who stuck by Assad have been detained and pressured to cough up money to supposed charities that are widely seen as Assad slush

SEE SYRIA ON A18

CUBA festejó un inolvidable triunfo y es finalista

El equipo de Villa de Mayo, con un try en los últimos minutos, derrotó a Newman por 16-15 en un partido electrificante y disputará la definición del Top 12 de la URBA. Deportes



GERARDO VIERCOVICH

“LA REGIÓN ESTÁ EN EL PEOR MOMENTO DE LOS ÚLTIMOS 30 AÑOS”

—el mundo

Lo dice José Miguel Vivanco, director para las Américas de Human Rights Watch, que en una entrevista con LA NACION anunció su salida de la organización. Página 6

LA NACION

DOMINGO 5 DE DICIEMBRE DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

Por investigar a Cristina, Báez y López, la AFIP desplazó a 40 funcionarios

CORRUPCIÓN. Fueron degradados o marginados de sus tareas en los últimos meses

Hugo Alconada Mon
LA NACION

Al menos 40 funcionarios y empleados de la Administración Federal de Ingresos Públicos (AFIP) fueron desplazados de sus cargos, reasignados a funciones menores o, incluso, humillados. ¿Motivo? Haber investigado a la familia Kirchner, al holding de Cristóbal López, a Lázaro Báez o al extitular del organismo Ricardo Echegaray, y en ciertos casos haber

testificado sobre ellos ante la Justicia, según confirmaron a LA NACION seis fuentes al tanto de lo ocurrido durante el último año. Las represalias abarcaron a personal de la AFIP en la ciudad de Buenos Aires, La Plata, Santa Fe, Mar del Plata, Bahía Blanca, Mercedes, Comodoro Rivadavia y Río Gallegos. Continúa en la página 10

El Gobierno impulsa un proyecto para reformar el Consejo de la Magistratura. Página 21

EL ANÁLISIS

Los daños de una bomba nuclear

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

“Aquí explotó una bomba nuclear. Ahora estamos tratando de achicar los daños”. Uno de los principales magistrados del país hizo esa descripción de lo que sucedió en la

Justicia después de que dos jueces de un tribunal oral, Daniel Obligado y Adrián Grünberg, sobresyeran sin juicio previo a Cristina Kirchner. Continúa en la página 39

EL ESCENARIO

La misión imposible de ajustar sin que se note

Martín Rodríguez Yebra

—LA NACION—

Alberto Fernández llega dos años tarde al punto de inicio de su gobierno. Una pandemia después, con su palabra devaluada y la coalición peronista casi sin energía para disimular sus múltiples recelos, se levantan encima los problemas que adquirió con el cargo de presidente: trazar un programa de orden económico avalado por la comunidad internacional y edificar un liderazgo con cierta autonomía respecto de la figura todopoderosa que lo propuso para gobernar. Continúa en la página 14



Multitudinaria celebración por los 200 años de la UBA

—cultura

En las escalinatas de la Facultad de Derecho hubo rock, tango y música clásica. Página 31

Elena Roger, Pedro Aznar, Abel Pintos, Soledad, Jairo, Juan Carlos Baglietto, Marcela Morelo y Mora Godoy, entre otros, participaron en el festejo

SANTIAGO FILIPUZZI

Analizan las señales de maltrato a Lucio Dupuy

HOMICIDIO. Expertos consideran que falló la alerta sanitaria. Página 32

Un año de vacunación. Desafíos y claves de una inédita campaña global

Hace casi un año, Margaret Keenan asistió al Hospital Universitario de Coventry, en el Reino Unido, para hacer historia. La mujer, que estaba próxima a cumplir 91 años, fue la primera persona en ser vacunada

contra el coronavirus, y aquel 8 de diciembre de 2020 marcó el inicio de una inédita campaña mundial de inmunización. En la Argentina, el plan empezó el 29 de diciembre, con la Sputnik V. Mientras que hasta ahora

se suministraron más de 8140 millones de dosis en el mundo, los expertos advierten sobre la desigualdad en la distribución de dosis, la aparición de nuevas variantes y la población que se resiste a vacunarse. Página 24

Aún hay en el país más de 230 colegios no mixtos

EDUCACIÓN. Algunos evalúan integrar mujeres y varones en el aula. Página 28

Esporte B6

Talento de família

Sophia Medina, 16, repete feitos do irmão e acelera trajetória no surfe

ilustrada

Com garimpo e omissão, Yanomamis revivem ameaça de extermínio c4

Cartas traduzidas pela 1ª vez mostram visão indígena sobre formação do país c5

Livro gera polêmica em Portugal ao ironizar as heranças do colonialismo c6



Cisternas na zona rural de Petrolina distribuídas pelo prefeito Miguel Coelho, filho do senador Fernando Bezerra Coelho, sobretudo a aliados Karine Xavier/FolhaPress

A pandemia em 4.dez

Dados das 20h

POPULAÇÃO VACINADA

No Brasil

Ao menos uma dose (dose única ou 1ª dose) **77,0%**
1º ciclo vacinal completo (dose única ou 2ª dose) **64,1%**
Dose de reforço **8,3%**

ESTÁGIO DA DOENÇA

Óbitos Média móvel **196** Em 24 h 152
Total 615.606
Casos ↑ +3,4%* (desacelerado)

*Variação em relação a 14 dias

Emendas de líder do governo alimentam 'toma lá dá cá'

Em Petrolina, recursos bancaram distribuição de cisternas a aliados por prefeito filho de senador

O líder do governo Bolsonaro no Senado, Fernando Bezerra Coelho (MDB-PE), destinou recursos de emendas para implementar mil cisternas na zona rural de Petrolina, cidade governada por seu filho, Miguel Coelho (DEM).

Moradores do local, onde há estiagem, dizem que a distribuição é contaminada por "politicagem". A entrega das caixas-d'água não contempla necessariamente quem precisa, e sim a quem atende ou é próximo aos políticos.

A verba foi destinada à Codelvasf, órgão federal, por meio das emendas de relator. A modalidade incluída no Orçamento de 2020 deu ao Congresso o controle de quase o dobro da verba federal de anos anteriores.

O toma lá dá cá, criticado por Jair Bolsonaro na campanha de 2018 mas abraçado por seu governo, criou em Petrolina um cenário insólito: aliados têm até mais de uma cisterna, e quem não adere não tem nenhuma.

Desde 2020, Planalto e aliados usam os recursos dessas emendas como moeda para ampliar sua base de apoio. Neste ano, são R\$ 16,8 bilhões, e não há base de dados pública que liste os legisladores beneficiados. Poder A4

À espera do STF, Bolsonaro trava passaporte vacinal

O pedido da Anvisa de cobrar o certificado de vacinação para liberar a entrada no Brasil esbarra no negacionismo de Jair Bolsonaro (PL). Aliados do presidente não querem desagrada-lo e avaliam que o STF acabará decidindo sobre a questão. Saúde B4

Paes cancela festa de Réveillon no Rio

O prefeito do Rio, Eduardo Paes (PSD), afirmou neste sábado (4) que as comemorações de Réveillon na cidade estão canceladas. O anúncio aconteceu após o avanço da variante ômicron do coronavírus. B2

Beco sem saída, diz paulista retida na África do Sul

Karen Rozembrá, 35, tenta há uma semana deixar a África do Sul, onde fez intercâmbio de inglês. Com o país fechado por causa da variante ômicron, ela pediu auxílio ao governo brasileiro. "Precisamos de um voo de repatriação o quanto antes." Mundo A16



A psicóloga Loise Lorene, 26, que ingressou na graduação na UERJ por meio de cota racial, em 2014. Tércio Teixeira/FolhaPress

Cota social falha em incluir negro na faculdade, aponta estudo

Cotas que reservam vagas para egressos de escola pública, sem recorte racial, falham em elevar a inclusão de negros no ensino superior, mostra estudo que avaliou mudanças no perfil de alunos nas universidades federais. B1

Projeto de reforma trabalhista libera expediente dominical

A19

Samuel Pessôa Dilma, China e a inflação da Covid

Na China, não houve auxílio emergencial. O custo da quarentena e da perda de renda com a epidemia foi jogado nos ombros das famílias. Fico curioso em saber a opinião de Dilma Rousseff sobre essas características do modelo chinês. Mercado A23

Carro caro deve se tornar o novo normal no país

O carro popular de R\$ 45 mil em 2020 hoje sai por R\$ 70 mil, e montadoras anunciam reposicionamento de marca ante escassez de peças e alta do dólar. Segundo consultoria, o preço do zero-quilômetro subiu 30% nos últimos 12 meses. Mercado A22

Moro atrai ex-bolsonaristas e abre espaço na direita

Sergio Moro busca construir algo parecido com o que fez Jair Bolsonaro em 2018, quando foi um ponto de encontro para conservadores, liberais, lavajatistas e antipetistas. O ex-juiz tem demonstrado que quer ser uma espécie de guarda-chuva tanto para a direita decepcionada com o presidente quanto para centristas. Poder A8

Disputa empresa julgamento sobre juiz das garantias no STF

A14

EDITORIAIS A2

Esqueleto fiscal Acerca de aprovação da PEC do Calote no Senado.

Aids, 40

Sobre sucessos e fracassos no combate à doença.



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El 60% de las cámaras están averiadas y los botones de pánico no funcionan

Licitan a las apuradas insumos para 911 para no perder rubro

El Ministerio del Interior llamó a concurso el 29 de noviembre, el plazo para presentar ofertas vence el 7 de diciembre y la adjudicación debe ser antes del 31 de diciembre.

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La Contraloría no ubicó su local

La mayor proveedora de Nenecho fue una empresa de maletín

PÁGINA 28

Jóvenes exigen en Caacupé la defensa de los intereses del país en Itaipú

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Demanda de RGD dificultó a deudor el tratamiento de su salud

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Objetivo, inmunidad de rebaño

Falta vacunar a 1,8 millones de personas para frenar el Covid

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Espectacular levantada. En tiempo adicional Cerro Porteño remontó un 0-2 para empatar con Guaraní y coronarse campeón del Clausura.

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Sociólogo alerta del poder esclavizador de las redes sociales

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LE FIGARO

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

SYLVAIN TESSON

« FAIRE L'UNITÉ DE LA FRANCE PAR LA MÉMOIRE, LA LANGUE ET LE RÊVE »

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LE CHARIOT À FROMAGES FAIT DE LA RÉSISTANCE

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du chef Frédéric
Anton **PAGE 32**

CHAMPS LIBRES

- À Paris, la première école au monde 100 % dédiée à la mode
- La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté
- La tribune de Françoise Bettencourt Meyers et du Pr Hugues de Thé

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**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**

Réponses à la question de vendredi :
Ciotti-Pécresse : êtes-vous satisfait du résultat du premier tour du congrès LR pour l'élection présidentielle ?

OUI	NON
67%	33%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 212 514

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr
Êtes-vous favorable à l'indépendance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie ?

ILLUSTRATION FABIEN CLAIREFOND ;
RELAIS BERNARD LOISEAU

Nouvelle-Calédonie : un référendum sous tension

L'archipel tranchera dimanche 12 décembre l'épineuse question de son indépendance. Un vote boycotté par les indépendantistes et qui pourrait déclencher une vague d'agitations.

Un référendum explosif pour tenter de clore trente ans d'incertitude. Dimanche 12 décembre, les Néo-Calédoniens sont appelés aux urnes pour la troisième fois pour se pronon-

cer sur l'indépendance de l'archipel. Un vote qui se déroule dans un climat tendu, sans la participation des indépendantistes. À moins de cinq mois de la présidentielle, et alors que

la colère gronde en outre-mer, le référendum s'invite dans le débat national. L'opposition reproche à Emmanuel Macron de ne pas s'être suffisamment investi pour défen-

dre une Nouvelle-Calédonie française. Les enjeux sont de taille. Géostratégique, d'abord, la Nouvelle-Calédonie constituant la dernière présence française dans cette zone indo-

pacifique confrontée à l'expansionnisme chinois. Économique, ensuite, l'archipel disposant de ressources minières et halieutiques qui attirent les convoitises.

➔ « ON SERA TOUS GAGNANTS, OU TOUS PERDANTS » ➔ UN VOTE SUIVI AUSSI PAR L'ÉTAT-MAJOR ➔ LE NICKEL, UN TRÉSOR LOCAL QUI ATTISE LES CONVOITISES ET LES TENSIONS **PAGES 2, 4 ET L'EDITORIAL**



Contrat historique pour le Rafale aux Émirats arabes unis

À l'occasion de la visite d'Emmanuel Macron dans le Golfe, Dassault Aviation a signé la vente de 80 avions de combat. « Le Rafale, c'est la France qui gagne », explique Éric Trappier, le PDG du groupe industriel, dans un entretien au Figaro.

PAGES 24 ET 25

En moins d'un an, Joe Biden a déçu les Américains

Il avait promis le retour de la compétence et l'apaisement des divisions partisans. La chute a été rapide. Dix mois après son entrée à la Maison-Blanche, Joe Biden n'a pas convaincu et les Américains restent plus divisés que jamais. Le président démocrate est presque aussi impopulaire que Donald Trump à la même période, avec à peine plus de 40 % de soutiens. Certains sondages le donnent même perdant face à son prédécesseur, qui attend son heure en embuscade. **PAGES 10 ET 11**

ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thérard yththread@lefigaro.fr

De Nouméa à Pointe-à-Pitre

L'absence de suspense n'empêche pas l'existence d'un climat tendu à Nouméa. Dimanche, la Nouvelle-Calédonie restera française. Les partisans de son indépendance ont décidé de boycotter le troisième et dernier référendum d'autodétermination. Ils invoquent l'impossibilité de mener campagne pendant la pandémie, qui a déjà causé la mort de nombreux Kanaks. On ajoutera qu'ils n'étaient pas sûrs de gagner... Quoi qu'il en soit, l'avenir de ce territoire, situé au cœur du Pacifique, reste posé. Tout comme celui de toutes les possessions ultramarines françaises. Celles-ci ne font l'actualité en métropole que lorsqu'une crise y couve ou y surgit. Et, à chaque fois, c'est pour dresser le même constat de faillite sur place, ou presque : chômage endémique, coût de la vie élevé, économie sous perfusion d'aides publiques ou aux mains de quelques monopoles, insécurité galopante... Ainsi vont la Guadeloupe et la Martinique, qui vivent leur enième accès de fièvre, mais aussi Mayotte, département à la dérive, alors que La Réunion voisine voit affluer avec inquiétude des migrants

de tout l'océan Indien. À 17 000 kilomètres de Paris, la Nouvelle-Calédonie, qui a un statut beaucoup plus autonome, n'échappe pas à ce sombre tableau. S'y greffent des rivalités communautaires plus vives encore qu'ailleurs.

Bien sûr, sur toutes les mers, la France a des intérêts géostratégiques à défendre. Et c'est pour cette raison, capitale, qu'elle doit gar-

L'avenir des possessions ultramarines françaises reste posé

der Nouméa dans son giron. Son retrait permettrait à l'ogre chinois de faire main basse sur l'archipel, riche en ressources halieutiques et en nickel, et de régner sur le Pacifique Sud. Pékin, qui fait miroiter beaucoup de choses aux militants et élus kanaks, n'attend que cela. L'indépendance étant écartée dimanche, ce ne sera pas pour demain. Pour autant, à Nouméa comme partout dans ses outre-mer, Paris gagnerait à mettre sur pied une politique qui ressemble à autre chose qu'à de l'improvisation dans l'urgence. ■

DOLCE & GABBANA

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