# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

DJIA 35754.69 ▼ 0.06 0.0002%

NASDAO 15517.37 ¥ 1.7%

STOXX 600 476,99 ▼ 0.1%

10-YR.TREAS. (Re-opening) yield 1.486%

OIL \$70.94 V \$1.42

GOLD \$1,774,60 ▼ \$8,80

FURO \$1 1293

# What's News

### Business & Finance

A merican Airlines said it would trim its sched-ule of international flights next summer because of Boeing's delays in deliver-ing new 787 Dreamliners. A1

- A strong economic re-covery and persistent la-bor shortage pushed job-less claims to their lowes level in more than half a century last week. A1
- Company founders and leaders are unloading their stock at historic levels, with some selling shares in their businesses for the first time in years as valuations soar. A1
- ◆ Starbucks baristas in Buffalo, N.Y., voted to form the first labor union at one of the coffee giant's own U.S. cafes in its 50-year history. B1
- SEC chief Gensler took aim
- ◆ Fitch said Evergrande and a second big Chinese prop-erty developer, Kaisa, had defaulted after missing U.S. dollar bond payments. B1
- ◆ The Nasdaq and S&P 500 fell 1.7% and 0.7%, respec-tively, as stocks continued tively, as stocks continue to trade fitfully. The Dow ended little changed. **B11**
- fined Amazon \$1.28 billion, saying it harmed competi-tors by favoring third-party sellers that use the com-pany's logistics services. B2
- ◆ Volkswagen CEO Diess has survived a monthslong battle with labor leaders but will now lead the auto maker on a shorter leash. B1

### World-Wide

- ◆ The Covid-19 pandemic last year drove the biggest ◆ The Covid-19 pandemic last year drove the bigges increase in death benefits paid by U.S. life insurers since the 1918 influenza epidemic, an industry trade group said. A1
- U.S. health regulators cleared the Covid-19 booster from Pfizer and partner BioNTech for use in 16- and 17-year-olds. A6
- The sand Integration of the biggest hurdle to raising the debt ceiling, with more than a dozen Republicans joining Democrats to help clear legislation crafted to avert a government default. A4
- Biden laid the ground-work Thursday for talks with Moscow to de-escalate the crisis over the massing of Russian forces near the Ukrainian border. A9
- ◆ A federal appeals court rejected Trump's request to deny the special House com-mittee investigating the Cap-itol riot access to records from his presidency. A5
- ◆ New York City lawmakers approved a bill that will let more than 800,000 residents who aren't U.S. citizens vote in municipal elections. A5
- \*Actor Jussie Smollett
  was found guilty of lying to
  police when he reported being the victim of a hate crime
  near his Chicago apartment in January 2019. A3
- A trailer truck carrying Central American migrants crashed into a pedestrian bridge in southern Mexico, kili-ing at least 53 migrants and injuring over 50 others. A10



21 Dow Jones & Compan

# Ex-Senator and Presidential Candidate Dole Lies in State



FAREWELL: Former Sen. Elizabeth Dole rests her head on the casket of her husband, Bob Dole, as he lies in state at the Capitol on Thursday, Mr. Dole, a former senator and Republican presidential candidate, died Sunday at age 98, A4

# **Corporate Leaders Cash Out** As Company Valuations Climb

Company founders and leaders are unloading their stock at historic levels, with some selling shares in their businesses for the first time in years, amid soarning market valuations and ahead of possible changes in U.S. and some state tax laws.

So far this year, 48 top executives have collected more than \$200 million each from stock sales, nearly four times the average number of insiders

from 2016 through 2020, according to a Wall Street Journal analysis of data from the research firm InsiderScore.

The wave has included super sellers such as cosmetics billionaire Ronald Lauder and Google co-founders Larry Page and Sergey Brin, who have sold shares for the first time in four years or more as the economic recovery fueled strong growth in sales and profit. Other high-profile insiders—including the Walton family, heirs to the Walmart

Inc. fortune, and Mark Zucker-berg, chief executive of Face-book parent Meta Platforms Inc.—have accelerated sales inc.—have accelerated sales event records for the number of shares they have sold. Across the S&P 500, insiders have sold a record \$63.5 billion in shares through November, a 50% increase from all of 2020, driven both by stock-market gains and an increase in sales by some big holders. The tech-nology sector has led with \$41 billion in sales across the en-

out a services.

"What services are the seeing is unprecedented" in recent years, said Daniel Taylor, an accounting professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School who studies trading by executives and directors. He said 2021 marks the most sales he can recall by insiders in a decade, resembling waves of sales during the twilight of the Please turn to page A10

# American To Trim **Flights** On Boeing Delays

Schedule cuts come as production woes keep plane maker from delivering Dreamliners

By Andrew Tangel

BY ANDREW TANGEL

American Airlines Group Inc. said it would trim international flights next summer because of Boeing Co.'s delays in delivering new 787 Dreamliners.

A schedule cut by the world's largest carrier by passenger traffic is the latest sign of broader fallout for Boeing's prolonged Dreamliner production problems that have largely prevented it from handing over the popular wide-body jets to airlines for more than a year.

American won't fly to Edinburgh; Shannon, Ireland; or Hong Kong next summer, and will reduce the frequency of flights to Shanghai, Beijing and Sydney, according to an internal airline memo viewed by The Wall Street Journal. The carrier isn't bringing back seasonal flights to Prague or Dubrovnik, Croatia, and it is delaying the launch of certain routes, such as from Seattle to Bangalore, India, which it had announced before the Covid-19 pandemic hit.

"Without these wide-bodiet, we simply won't be able to fly as much internationally as word in the memo, which American released after it was reported by The Wall Street Journal.

A Boeing spokesman said the plane maker deeply regrees "the impact to our cusplease turn to page 44

# Pandemic Triggers Surge in Insurance **Payouts**

By LESLIE SCISM

The Covid-19 pandemic last year drove the biggest increase in death benefits paid by U.S. life insurers since the 1918 influenza epidemic, an industry trade group said.

Death-benefit payments rose 15.4% in 2020 to \$90.43 billion, mostly due to the pandemic, according to the American Council of Life Insurers. In 1918, payments surged 41%.

The hit to the insurance industry was less than expected early in the pandemic because many of the victims were older people who typically have smaller policies. The industry paid out \$78.36 billion in 2019, and payouts have typically in and payouts have typically in supposed to the country paid out \$78.36 billion in 2019, and payouts have typically in supposed to the country paid out \$78.36 billion in 2019, and payouts have typically in the part of the country paid out \$78.36 billion in 2019, and payouts have typically in the part of the country paid out \$78.36 billion in 2019, and payouts have typically in the part of the country paid to the country paid to the country paid out \$78.36 billion in 2019, and payouts have typically in the part of the country paid to the country payout the country payout the country payout the typically in the payout the country payout the country payout the country payout the payout the country payout the payo

paid out \$78.36 billion in 2019, and payouts have typically increased modestly each year.

Covid-19 also spurred the fastest rise in sales of insurance policies in 25 years, an industry research group said. Combined with good returns on some of insurers' investments, industry assets increased 7.7% to \$8.2 trillion in 2020, the ACLI's figures show. Don E. Lippencott, a long-time agent for New York Life Insurance Co. on Long Island, said he aims to deliver death-benefit checks in person to cli-

said he aims to deliver death-benefit checks in person to cli-ents. He couldn't do that dur-ing the pandemic.

"It was gut-wrenching and excruciating." Mr. Lippencott said. Twenty-three of his cli-ents died in 2020, roughly double the 10 to 12 deaths he has experienced in other years, with 10 of the deaths tied to Covid-19.

\*\*Please turn to page A6\*\*

Booster cleared for 16- and 17-year-olds.......A6

# TOMORROW



WS.I. MAGAZINE

# Tight Labor Market Sends Jobless Claims to New Low

A strong economic recovery and persistent labor shortage pushed jobless claims to their lowest level in more than half a century last week, just 18 months after the pandemic prompted six million workers to file for unemployment in one week.

one week. First-time claims for unem-First-time claims for unemployment benefits, a proxy for layoffs, fell to 184,000 in the week ended Dec. 4, the lowest level since September 1969, the Labor Department said Thursday. The previous prepandemic low of 194,000 was recorded late last month.

Unemployment claims have

been steadily falling all year as the labor market has tightened amid a shortage of available workers. While the Omicron variant of Covid-19 represents another threat from the pandemic, economists expect labor market conditions to remain tight. Claims have now fallen below where they were in the year before the pandemic, when they averaged 218,000. The steady decline in filings is an indication that employers are reluctant to lay off workers as jobs are plentiful, consumer demand is high and the pool of prospective work. consumer demand is nigh and the pool of prospective work-ers remains lower than before the pandemic.

The labor market is unusually tight, with workers in high demand and jobs going unfilled. In October, there were two unemployed workers for every three job openings.

The unemployment rate last month fell to 4.2% from 4.6% in October, the Labor Department said last week, but hiring slowed. While almost 600,000 joined the workforce, there are still 2.4 million fewer people in the labor force than before the pandemic hit is expected to keep unemployment filings close to their prepandemic level, said Nancy Please turn to page A2

# A Hue and Cry Breaks Out Over Color of the Year

Very Peri is 2022 pick, but others choose Cream Moonstone, Guacamole, Cosmos

BY ALEX JANIN

Who determines the color of the year? These days, who doesn't?

of the year? These days, who doesn't?
For years, Pantone, a company based in Carlstadt, N.J., has reigned as the defect color authority.
The period of the year, based on design trends it sees in various industries. Pantone has pronounced a color of the year since year years and years of the year since of years of yea

with "violet-red undertones."
But now, other colorful entities, including forecasting firms, paint companies and others, are asking: Why not us? And they're not afraid to pick a fight about it.
London-based WGSN, which predicts trends in fashion, interior design and electronics, fired shots at rivals in a recent rivals in a recent email touting its own choice, with the headline "Color of the Year: Confirmed by Trend and Color Experts, Not a Paint Company."

WGSN's selection for 2022

WGSN's selection for 2022 wossn's selection for 2022 is a rich pink with purple un-dertones called Orchid Flower. (The color is reminiscent in name and shade of Pantone's Please turn to page AII

# Schools See Rise in Student Misbehavior

Districts respond with more counselors. increased patrols, fewer suspensions

School districts across the School districts across the U.S. say they are seeing a surge of student misbehavior in the return to in-person learning, after months of closures and disruptions due to the nandemic.

closures and disruptions due to the pandemic.

In the hallway between classes one afternoon this fall at Southwood High School in Shreveport, La, two boys exchanged words. All at once, they jumped at each other, witnesses said. Dozens of other students joined and they all fell into a heap, kicking and punching, until teachers pulled them apart.

The fight was one in a series of brawls in South-

wood's courtyards and hall-ways on three subsequent days that led to 23 students being arrested and expelled. School officials say they had never seen anything like it before at Southwood, known for its Cowboys foot-ball team, its biotechnology program and its scenic loca-tion on a former cattle ranch. The academically strong school has a 99% graduation rate for its stu-dent body of more than 1,600.

"We knew it was going to be a problem with kids tran-sitioning back from virtual, because they haven't been in school for a couple of years," said Southwood's principal, Please turn to page A11

# Meme's the word

How social media mania took over the markets — GILLIAN TETT, PAGE 17

# Super fast fashion

The Chinese challenger dominating US shopping malls — BIG READ, PAGE



# Against the flow

Liquidity is high but there are pools of concern - mohamed el-erian, page 11

# US blacklists China tech group over role in Uyghur oppression

◆ SenseTime IPO priced in HK ◆ Biden focus on human rights ◆ Sanctions on individuals

DEMETRI SEVASTOPULO — WASHINGTON HUDSON LOCKETT — DALLAS RYAN MCMORROW — BELLING

The US is set to put SenseTime, the Chinese artificial intelligence company that specialises in facial recognition software, on an investment blacklist today — the same day the company prices its Hong Kong initial public

offering.
The action against SenseTime, which washington says enables human rights abuses against Muslim Uyghurs in Xinjiang, will be part of a package of sanctions to mark Human Rights Day, according to three people familiar with the decision.

The move to blacklist SenseTime coincides with the last day of the Sum-mit for Democracy that President Joe Biden has convened with more than 100

Biden has convened with more than 100 countries.

The US Treasury will place Sense-Time on a list of "Chinese military-industrial complex companies". In June, Biden signed an executive order barring Americans from investing in companies on the list, following his predecessor bonald Trump's policy intended to tackle national security threats.

The US president held a virtual meeting last month with XJ Jinping, his Chinese counterpart, in which they discussed ways to ensure that tensions between the countries did not veer into conflict. But Biden has stressed that he will not stop criticising China over

will not stop criticising China over human rights abuses. The White House declined to com-

ment on SenseTime or the sanctions. The Treasury declined to comment. SenseTime did not respond to a request

The US state department also used the Summit for Democracy to place individuals across Africa, Latin America and eastern Europe under "Global Mag-nitsky" sanctions.

Prime among them was Isabel dos antos, Africa's richest woman and the daughter of Angola's former president.



The US-led Democracy was a virtual more than 100 Antony Blinken, secretary of state, said Dos Santos had been placed under visa restrictions "for her involvement in significant corruption by misappropri-ating public funds for her personal ben-off:" Undervise postrictions that is conefit". Under visa restrictions, the US can deny entry to foreign officials it suspects of involvement in significant corrup-

of involvement is assessed to the control of the US placed two other Angolan power-brokers who were close to the former president under sanctions that prevent US entities from dealing with them. Leopoldo Fragoso do Nascimento and Manuel Helder Vieira Dias, known as Dino and Kopelipa respectively, were censured for alleged corruption.

Dos Santos, Nascimento and Dias Junescould not be reached for comment.

equity firm that has a 3 per cent stake, has agreed to lock up some of the shares has agreed to lock up some of the shares for six months after the IPO. Fidelity and Qualcomm own smaller stakes.

and Qualcomm own smaller stakes.

HSBC is the only western investment bank involved in the listing, Others avoided it after SenseTime was placed on a US commerce department blacklist, knowns at the entity list, in 2019.

The sanctions against SenseTime mark the latest effort to punish China for the repression of more than 1 m Uyghurs and other ethnic minorities who have been subjected to detention and forced labour in camps in the north-western Xinjiang region. China denies the claims and says the sites are education camps.

ced a diplomatic boycott of the Beijing Winter Olympics. The UK, Australia and Canada followed suit. Meanwhile, the US House of Repre-

sentatives passed a bill by 428-1 barring companies from importing goods from Xinjiang unless they could prove that no forced labour was used in the manufac-

with grades about we seek in the manuac-turing process.

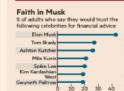
Wendy Sherman, deputy secretary of state, told the Financial Times that Biden would continue to look at targets for Xinjiang-related sanctions. Asked if the US would try to prosecute Chinese officials implicated in the policy, she said: "We should consider every option that males seems."

- > Fitch declares Evergrande in default Fitch has become the first rating agency to declare that overseas bonds of the world's most indebted developer, with liabilities exceeding \$500 bn, are in default after it failed to make a key payment. PAGE 6
- Biden set for Nato talks on Russia Joe Biden is to meet Nato European states that fe that he is open to negotiating with Russia over it demand for the alliance to curb expansion.— RE AND GLOBAL INSIGHT, PAGE 3; ELISABETH BRAW, PAGE
- Austrians face big fines if not vaccinated Amid a European shift to crack down on vaccine besitancy, Austria will from February impose fines of upto 45,600 on anyone over the age of 14 who refuses to be vaccinated against coronavirus.— PAGE 2

The carmaker's investment in the electric transition will jump from e359th to 6 e250th and it will build more battery models at its German plants, as the group seeks to mollify unions... PAGE 8



- ➤ Credit Suisse chair broke Covid rules
  The lender has said that António Horta-Osório, its
  chair, who has vowed to clean up the scandal-hit
  bank, broke Switzerland's quarantine rules to fly in
  and out of the country within three days.— page 6
- US rejects Iberdrola's \$8.3bn PNM bid US regulators have rejected a showpiece acquisition by Iberdrola, the world's third-biggest utility, in a sign of the far-reaching impact of a criminal probe in the group's home country of Spain.— PAGE 8
- ► Nubank valued over \$40bn at NY listing The lossmaking Brazillan fintech backed by Warren The lossmaking Brazilian fintech backed by Warren Buffett and Tencent has hit a valuation above \$40bn in its New York IPO. The digital lender raised \$2.6bn with the sale of a minority stake.— PAGE 10



### Bitcoin miners sidestep China ban as output soars

China ban as output soars. The computing power dedicated to pumping out bitcoin units is close to an all-time high as cryptocurrency miners shift their operations to new countries after China's clampdown in May on the energy-intensive practice. The rise suggests that "miners' are shiftling more computing resources to crack complex puzzles, for which they are rewarded with new bitcoin. It also shows the difficulties authorities face in regulating the mobile crypto sector. in regulating the mobile crypto sector Miners shrug off Beljing > PAGE 10

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# SEC's Gensler signals tighter oversight of Spacs to put stop on 'plain old hype'

STEFANIA PALMA — WASHINGTON NIKOU ASGARI — NEW YORK

Gary Gensler has signalled that the US financial watchdog is to heighten its scrutiny of blank-cheque companies as authorities launch a flurry of cases against the vehicles.

The Securities and Exchange Commission chair called for action to ensure investors in special purpose acquisition companies received the same protections they would in a traditional listing. "Currently, I believe the investing public may not be getting like protections between traditional IPOs and Spacs," he saldy esterday.

His remarks to the Healthy Markets Association, conference were made

Association conference were made amid a rush of investigations into com-panies that have chosen to list on stock markets via Spacs, listed shell compa-

nies that take private companies public through a merger. Regulators are con-cerned that the deals have bypassed the scrutiny applied to traditional initial

cernieu data die edeas have typossed die scrutiny applied to traditional initial public offerings.

This week, Digital World Acquisition Corp—a Spac that is merging with Donald Trump's entertainment start-up, Trump Media and Technology Group—said the SEC was seeking information on dealings between the two entities before they revealed their plans in October.

Lucid Motors, an electric-car group that listed in one of the largest Spac deals, is also being investigated by the SEC over its blank-cheque merger.

Critics of Spacs have long questioned the tendency of young companies seeking Spac mergers to present rosy projections to investors, which carry a lower legal risk than in a traditional IPO.

Gensler is focused on how to clarify

# various parties" involved in those deals. He pointed as an example to retail investors potentially not receiving "adequate information" on their shares' dilution. He also raised concerns over Spac sponsors "priming the market" with Insufficient statements to "back up their claims" before merging with their target. "Investors may be making decisions based on incomplete information or just plain old hype," Gensler said. Spacs soared in popularity to become Wall Street's hottest investment product over the past vear but the market.

Wall Street's hottest investment prod-uct over the past year but the market has cooled recently. Last week, digital media group BuzzFeed said investors withdrew 94 per cent of their money from its Spac fund ahead of listing, inside Business page 6

# World Markets

	Dec 9	prev	%chg		Dec 9	prev		Dec 9	prev		price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4684.46	4701.21	-0.36	\$ per €	1.129	1.133	£per\$	0.757	0.757	US Gov 10 yr	147.71	1.48	-0.04
Nasdaq Composite	15664.26	15786.99	-0.78	\$ per £	1.321	1.322	€per£	1.170	1.166	UK Gov 10 yr		0.68	-0.03
Dowr Jones Ind	35714.69	35754.75	-0.11	£ per €	0.855	0.857	¥ per €	128.029	129.083	Ger Gov 10 yr		-0.36	-0.05
FTSEurofirst 300	1849.96	1852.76	-0.15	¥ per \$	113.445	113.905	£ index	80.813	81.285	Jpn Gov 10 yr	112.81	0.05	0.00
Euro Stoxx 50	4207.59	4233.09	-0.60	¥ per £	149.832	150.543	SFr per £	1.222	1.219	US Gov 30 yr	121.80	1.86	-0.02
FTSE 100	7321.26	7337.35	-0.22	SFr per €	1.044	1.045				Ger Gov 2 yr	104.71	-0.71	-0.02
FTSE All-Share	4167.39	4177.78	-0.25	€ per \$	0.886	0.882							
CAC 40	7008.23	7014.57	-0.09										
Xetra Dax	15639.26	15687.09	-0.30	сомисс	NTIES						price	prev	chg
Nikkei	28725.47	28860.62	-0.47							Fed Funds Eff	0.08	0.08	0.00
Hang Seng	24254.86	23996.87	1.08				Jec 9	prev	%chg	US 3m Bills	0.07	0.06	0.01
MSCI World \$	3196.39	3184.17	0.38	Oil WTI \$			71.42	72.36	-1.30	Euro Libor 3m	-0.60	-0.61	0.01
MSCI EM \$	1241.01	1235.56	0.44	Oil Brent 2	\$		74.85	75.82	-1.28	UK 3m	0.09	0.09	0.00
MSCI ACWI \$	748.11	745.21	0.39	Gold \$		178	33.80	1781.35	0.14	Prices are latest for edition	Deta pro	rvided by Mo	mingstor
													_





Soldier, Senator, Husband

ator Bob Dole's wife, Elizabeth, paying her respects on Thursday as his body lay in state at the U.S. Capitol. Page A12.

# Appeals Court Blocks Trump Bid To Keep Jan. 6 Documents Secret

WASHINGTON — A federal appeals court ruled on Thursday that Congress is entitled to see White House records leaked to the Capital attack on Jan. 6, rejecting former President Donald J. Trump's claim that he still has the power to keep the material secret. In a 68-page ruling, a three-judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia held that Congress's oversight powers, backed by President Biden's decision not to invoke executive privilege over the material, outweighed Mr. Trump's residual secrecy powers. Invoking the aphorism attributed to Benjamin Franklin that the founders had given the country a republic "if you can keep it," Judge Patricia A. Millett wrote that Jan.

6 "exposed the fragility of those democratic institutions and traditions that we had perhaps come to take for granted," against which Mr. Trump's arguments for secrecy were "not close to enough."

Fromer Passident Trump has override President Biden's judgment and the agreement and accommodations worked out between the political branches over these documents," she wrote. "Both branches agree that there is a unique legislative need for these documents, and that they are directly relevant to the committee's inquiry into an attack on the legislative branch and its constitutional role in the peaceful transfer of power."

Continued on Page A16

# James Exits Race for Governor Of New York, in Lift for Hochul

### By KATIE GLUECK and NICHOLAS FANDOS

By KATIE GLUECK ar Letitia James, the attorney gen-eral of New York, announced on Thursday that she was ending her campaign for governor and run-ning instead for re-election, a sur-prising move that upended the high-profile governor's race and further solidified Gov. Kathy Hochul's atanding.

Hochul's standing.

Ms. James had just entered the race in late October, on the heels of her office's devastating report on sexual harassment claims against former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, which led to his resignation. She was immediately treated as a top contender, buoyed by her record and her historic bid to become the first Black female governor in the country.

But recent opinion polls had shown Ms. James trailing Ms.

HICHOLAS FANDOS
Hochul, the state's first female governor, by double digits among Democratic primary voters. She was significantly behind the governor in fund-raising, according to many party strategists and donors, and had struggled to secure high-profile endorsements from the politicians and labor unions who typically help crown winners in New York, despite her years in city and state politics, have come the conclusion that must continue my work as attorney general," Ms. James, a Democrat, wote in a statement,

TRUMP SUBPOENA Letitia James was said to be seeking to question the former president. PAGE AI7

# How Nursing Homes Hide Their Most Serious Lapses

# Secretive Appeals Process Conceals Severe Offenses Flagged by State Inspectors

This article is by Robert Gebeloff, Katie Thomas and Jessica Silver-Greenberg

Katie Thomas and Jessica Silver-Greenberg.

In Arizona, a nursing home resident was sexually assaulted in the dining room.

In Minnesota, a woman caught Covid-19 after workers moved a coughing resident into her room.

And in Texas, a woman with dehome's parking lot, lying in a pool of blood.

State inspectors determined that all three homes had endangered residents and violated federal regulations. Yet the federal government didn't report the incidents to the public or factor them into its influential ratings system.

The homes kept their glowing grades.

dents to the public or factor them into its influential ratings system. The homes kept their glowing A New York Times investigation found that at least 2,700 similarly dangerous incidents were also not factored into the rating system run by the federal Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, or C.M.S., which is designed to give people reliable information to evaluate the safety and quality days to the control of the co

Medicare's rating system. The re-ports that inspectors produce give the public an unvarnished view in-side facilities that house many of the country's most vulnerable citi-

the country's most vulnerable citizens.

On the rare occasions when inspectors issue severe citations, nursing homes can fight them through an appeals process that operates almost entirely in secret. If nursing homes don't get the desired outcome via the informal review, they can appeal to a special federal court inside the executive branch. That process, too, is hidden from the public.

Even when the citations are upheld by this federal court, some never make their way onto the Medicare website, known as Care



Compare. In November, for example, the court sustained a major punishment against Life Care Center of Kirkland, Wash.— the nursing home that faced the first

Center of Kirkland, Wash. — the nursing home that faced the first coronavirus outbreak in the United States — yet the citation is absent from the Medicare site. The facility has a five-star rating. The pattern gives nursing homes a powerful incentive to powerful incentive to the powerful incentive to the powerful incentive to damaging information ever becoming public.

"There is every advantage to the facility not to have an opinion issued for as long as they could possibly delay, and there's no advantage to the public for that to oc-Continued on Page A18

Continued on Page A18



Ukrainian soldiers in a trench near the eastern front last week

# As Russia Flexes at the Border, Ukraine Fears a Quick Knockout

# By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ

KYIV, Ukraine — On the 30th anniversary of the founding of Ukraine's armed forces, President Volodymyr Zelensky donned a helmet and flak jacket to tour the trenches this week and announced with great fanfare the delivery of new tanks, armored vehicles and ships to frontline units engaged in fighting Russian ratists.

prevailed for years. But neither they nor anything else the Ukrainian military can now muster would be sufficient to repel a full-ion Russian assault that Ukrainian and Western officials say Moscow might be preparing.

With nearly 100,000 troops now massed across Ukraine's eastern, northern and southern borders and more on the way, even the Ukrainian officials responsible for their country's defense acknowledge that without a significant in-Continued on Page A6

# Smollett Guilty In Fake Report Of Hate Crime

By JULIA JACOBS and MARK GUARINO

A jury in Chicago found the actor Jussie Smollett guilty on Thursday of falsely reporting to the police that he had been the victim of a racist and homophobic assault in 2019, an attack that investigators concluded was a hoax directed by the actor himself.

With its finding, after more than nine hours of deliberation, the 12-person jury indicated it had chosen to believe the accounts of two brothers who testified that Mr. Smollett had asked them to mildly injure him as part of a publicity stunt.

injure him as part of a publicity stunt. Mr. Smollett, wearing a dark gray suit and a blue shirt, sat up-right in his blue hands clasped, the state of the class of the state of the ter the verdict was read. Daniel K. Webb, the special prosecutor who handled the case, said afterward that Mr. Smollett only made matters worse by con-tinuing to stand by his account at trial.

trial.
"This jury worked so hard,"
Mr. Webb said, "and for Mr.
Smollett to come up before them
and lie for hours and hours and
hours — that really compounded
Continued on Page A22



"The idea is meant to be so preposterous," said Peter McIndoe, 23, who started Birds Aren't Real.

# A Gen Z 'Conspiracy' With Wings, and a Wink

### By TAYLOR LORENZ

By TAYLOR LORENZ
In Pittsburgh, Memphis and
Los Angeles, huge billboards recently popped up declaring,
"Birds Aren't Real."
On Instagram and TikTok,
Birds Aren't Real accounts have
racked up hundreds of thousands
of followers, and YouTube videos
about it have gone viral.
Last month, Birds Aren't Real

### Parody That Pokes Fun at Misinformation

adherents even protested outside Twitter's headquarters in San Francisco to demand that the company change its bird logo.

The events were all connected by a Gen Z-fueled conspiracy the-

ory, which posits that birds don't exist and are really drone replicas installed by the U.S. government to spy on Americans. Hundreds of thousands of young people have joined the movement, wearing Birds Aren't Real T-shirts, swarming rallies and spreading the slogan.

gan.
It might smack of QAnon, the conspiracy theory that the world Continued on Page A22

# Voting Rights for Noncitizens New York City moved to the forefront of a heated national debate after passing legislation allowing legal residents to cast ballots in local elections. PAGE A20

# Remote Learning on Fridays

Desperate to keep teachers, some school districts have online classes one day a week — and sometimes more. Parents are furious. PAGE Al3

# Breakthrough on Debt Ceiling

Senators from both parties approved legislation that should allow Congress to steer the federal government away from its first-ever default. PAGE A15



### INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Truck Crash Kills 49 in Mexico Most of the dead in an accident near the Guatemala border appeared to be mi-grants from Central America. PAGE All

As President Biden began a two-day virtual summit on protecting democracy, critics questioned the guest list. PAGE A6

# China Evergrande Defaults

A ratings agency confirmed what investors had been fearing. Next up for the real estate giant: a restructuring plan overseen by Beijing. PAGE

## Starbucks Store Gets a Union

Workers at a shop for the coffee chain in the Buffalo area voted to unionize ir a symbolic victory for labor. PAGE

### A Trailblazing Italian Auteur

Lina Wertmüller was the first woman to be nominated for a best director Acad-emy Award. She was 93. PAGE B12

# How the Other Half Lives

Forget the six-figure deals for high-profile stars. For many college athletes, new rules allowing them to profit from their status mean modest paydays that keep them in books and pizza. PAGE 89

# Explaining Olympic Boycott

David Brooks



WEEKEND ARTS C1-20

### The Jug Band Is Back

Emmet Otter, above right with Ma, takes his jug band to a theater in Manhattan. In 1978, the band starred in a Jim Henson TV special. PAGE CS





ANDREW HARNIK Pool Photo

### TRIBUTE AT CAPITOL

Elizabeth Dole attends a service Thursday honoring her late husband, Bob Dole. The former Senate leader and GOP presidential contender was "a giant of our history," President Biden said. **NATION, A5** 

# Virus fuels another deadly trend

Jump in traffic deaths blamed on recklessness in reaction to pandemic

By Emily Baumgaertner and Russ Mitchell

It was a tally that shocked the experts: 38,680 deaths on U.S. roadways last year, the most since 2007, year, the most since 2007, excutions had remaiteally reduced driving.

"This was completely unprecedented," said Ken Kolosh, a researcher at the nonprofit National Safety Council. "We didn't know what was happening."

One possibility was that stressed-out Americans were releasing their anxieties on the wide-open roads. He guessed that fatal



BOB SELF (Jacksonville) Florida Times-Uni THE AFTERMATH of a Jacksonville, Fla., crash in July, part of an unprecedented rise in road deaths

accidents would decline in 2021 when traffic returned.

He was wrong. The latest evidence suggests that after decades of safety gains, the pandemic has made U.S. drivers more reckless — more likely to speed, drink or use drugs and leave their seat belts unbuckled.

"I fear we've adopted some really unsafe driving habits, and they're going to persist., Kolosh said. "Our roads are less safe than they were pre-pandemic."

pads are less safe than they ere pre-pandemic." Experts say that this evaluation on the road is likely reflection of widespread telings of isolation, loneli-ess and depression. [See Traffic deaths, A6]

COVID-19 BOOSTERS: U.S. authorities open third dose of Pfizer's vaccine to 16- and 17-year-olds. NATION, AS

# A summit to help shore up democracy

Effort proves awkward for U.S., given doubts about nation's ideals.

By Eli Stokols

WASHINGTON — President Biden has framed his agenda broadly as an endeavor to show the world that democracies can deliver.

But as he convened leaders from more than 100 countries in a virtual "Summit for Democracy" on Thursday, there are growing questions about the stability of America's own democracy — and the credibility of a president proselytizing to others democratic values that no country.

country.
Acknowledging the awk-wardness of the U.S. hosting such a summit when its own

democratic institutions are

democratic institutions are under assault, an administration official told reporters that "the United States is approaching the summit from a place of humility."

"The Biden-Harris administration has made clear that efforts to bolster democracy globally begin by working diligently and transparently to strengthen its foundations at home," the official said Tuesday, speaking on condition of

anonymity to preview the event. The official added: "No democracy is perfect, ourselves included."

Opening the summit Thursday morning, Biden expressed that same humility, saying that preserving democracy is "the defining challenge of our time," while framing the two days of meetings as a chance for a range of nations to "lock arms" and strengthen [See Summit, A4]

# Much-admired Miami schools chief chosen to lead LAUSD

Alberto Carvalho. praised for steady academic gains in Florida, faces huge challenges here.

By Howard Blume, Melissa Gomez and Paloma Esquivel

Alberto Carvalho, who has led Miami-Dade County Public Schools since 2008 and is among the nation's most experienced and admired school district leaders, was named Thursday the next superintendent of the Los Angeles Unified School District, bringing a reputation for stability and improved student achievement in Florida to the nation's second-largest school district, bringing a reputation for stability and improved student achievement in Florida to the nation's second-largest school district of the Los Angeles Board of Education unanimously approved his selection Thursday morning, a high-stakes

decision at a pivotal mo-ment for the school district, which is undertaking a monumental pandemic re-covery effort for its 450,000

covery effort for its 450,000 students.
In coming to L.A. Unified, Carvalho, 57, moves from heading the fourth-largest K-12 public school system to take on one of the highest-profile and most challenging

take on one of the highestprofile and most challenging
posts in public education.

He'll jump into a school
system in which many students have long struggled to
achieve and were further set
back — academically and
emotionally — by the
COVID-19 pandemic. The
district also is facing sharply
declining enrollment and a
long-term structural deficit.
The financial risk has receded, for now, because of
billions of dollars in coronavirus relief aid and state
tax surpluses that Carvalho
must spend quickly and
wise remarks broadcast in
Miami, Carvalho said long[See LAUSD, A7]

# Coronavirus cases rising in California

Early indications of an upturn related to Thanksgiving have officials worried about another winter surge.

By Rong-Gong Lin II and Luke Money

Health officials from a number of California counties say they're seeing early signs of a rebound in coronavirus cases related no seeing early signs of a rebound be the beginning of the state's fifth COVID-19 surge.

It's still far from clear whether California will see a significant spike in cases this winter or if the combination of relatively high vaccination rates and various safety rules limit the scope of a surge.

safety rules limit the stope of a surge.

But there are already warning signs.

Statewide, the daily average of newly reported infections has risen more than 30% since before Thanksgiving. The number of Califor-

nians hospitalized with COVID-19 also has climbed during that time, interrupt-ing weeks of mostly steady declines.

ing weeks or mostly declines.

And though the emergence of the heavily mutated Omicron variant of the recent pandemic discourse, officials say they're still contending with the highly infectious Delta variant, which continues to account for virtually all new cases statewide.

tually all new cases state-wide.

Officials and experts have often said it takes weeks for the scope of a par-ticular activity's effect on coronavirus transmission to become clear.

become clear.

In Los Angeles County, weekly coronavirus case rates have climbed by 33% over the last two weeks, sending the nation's most populous county back into the worst coronavirus transthe worst coronavirus trans-mission tier, colored red on maps published by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Also rising are COVID-19 hospitalizations, which just before Thanksgiving hit a [See Cases, A6]

# Former 'Empire' actor is guilty

Jussie Smollett is con-victed on charges he staged an anti-gay, racist attack on him-self. NATION, A7

### UCLA faces new ex assault suit

An ex-student alleges painful, unnecessary touching by gynecolo-gist. CALIFORNIA, BI

State to phase out gas mowers Regulators OK new requirement for zero-emission landscape tools. CALIFORNIA, B1

# For youths, a life ban on smoking

New Zealand will keep raising age require-

# Weather Cool, mostly sunny. L.A. Basin: 61/44. **B6**



### COLUMNONE

# Her outreach moved needle on vaccinations

The dedication of this Eritrean-born activist helped ensure Black and Latino people received COVID shots in South L.A. For that, she's hailed as 'Mama Tsega.'

By Donovan X. Ramsey

sega Habte was so determined to recruit people to her first COVID-19 vaccination clinic that she put her personal cellphone number on the event filer.

When the day finally arrived, she seemed in constant motion, bouncing from station to station, at motion to undersome calls from strangers about the clinic argeting the East African community, switching effortlessly between English, Amharic and Tigrinya. She was like the White Rabbit in "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" — but on time and minus the dithering — at the March event at Kedren Community Health Center in South Los Angeles. Habte would appear in one place, in her crisp white lab coat and with her large purse on her shoulder, then suddenly reappear in another.

One minute, she was sitting with an Eritrean elder. The next, she was helping arrange a plate of bagels for volunteers and



JASON ARMOND LOS Angeles Time CLINICS ORGANIZED by Tsega Habte, a community activist from Eritrea who has worked with L.A. mayors, helped at least 3,000 people get vaccinated.

BUSINESS INSIDE: A rare real-time glimpse into how hospitals mark up their prices. A8

# Citizen or not, a say in NYC elections

City Council gives voting rights to legal immigrants; court challenges likely

### BY MARIA SACCHETTI

BY MARIA SACCHETTI

NEW YORK — The City Council here on Thursday approved a measure that will allow immigrants who are not U.S. citizens to vote for mayor and other key municipal positions, a historic move that is igniting threats of legal challenges from Republicans and hopes from Democrats that other cities will follow suit. The council voted 35 to 14 with two abstentions, and the measure grants noncitizens significant leverage over a broad array of elective offices, including the mayor, city council, comptroller, the public advocate and the leaders of the city's five boroughs who oversee issues such as zoning.

The next election will be in mid-2023, officials said.

Approximately 1 million adult nonetitizens live in New York City, which amounts to 20 percent of current registered voters, though it remains to be seen how many would be eligible to vote, according to census figures and acadenic estimates. To register, oncitzens maters, and have at least a work permit.

Those in the United States illegally cannot vote in New York Sity.

Those in the United States illegally cannot vote in New York's municipal elections. Noncitizens remain ineligible to wote for state and federal elections. Anyone who violates the New York measure could face up to \$500 in fines and a year in jail.

"The New York City Council is making history," said council

# Farewell to a longtime GOP leader



Elizabeth Dole, with a military escort, watches as the casket of her husband, former U.S. senator Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), arrives in the Capitol Rotunda. The longtime senator and 1996 GOP presidential nominee, who died Sunday at 98, will lie in state until Friday morning, followed by services at Washington National Cathedral.

# Unlike in Oxford, this family heeded the red flags

She had seen her grandson's She had seen her grandson's red, spiral-bound notebook be-fore that night, but now, as Catherine O'Connor sifted through its pages for the first time, what she read astonished her. "School Shootings," Joshua O'Connor had titled the first page, above a reconstruction of

the Columbine High School massacre that left 13 people dead. In the pages that followed, Joshua, who'd just turned 18, described a detailed plan to carry out his own massacre: the shotguns, pistols, assault rifle and ammunition he would buy and the bombs he would build; the doors he would zip-tie "so bitches can't escape"; the spot by the bleachers where he would set off the first explosion; the route he would take on his killing spree; the moment,

when it was over, that he would end his own life.

"I Need to make this shooting/ bombing... infamous," he wrote in early 2018. "I Need to get the biggest fatality number I possibly can."

biggest fatality number I possibly can."
Catherine O'Connor, a retired probation officer who was Joshua's guardian, showed the journal to her husband, who was equally disturbed. The next day, after O'Connor dropped her grandson off at school, she searched his

room and found a semiautomatic rifle in a guitar case. Then she did what many par-ents of school shooters never do: called the police to report that a child she loved posed a threat to his classmates, his community and himself.

child suehis classmates, his commendate
his classmates, his commendate
Last week's shooting at Oxford
High School in Michigan, which
left four students dead and seven
other people wounded, has focused unprecedented attention
SEE PARENTS ON A18

# Clock ticks on child payouts

DEMOCRATS RACE TO EXTEND BENEFIT

Monthly checks are set to end after next week's

BY TONY ROMM

A new federal program that provides monthly payments to an estimated 35 million families with children is set to expire at the end of December, putting fresh pressure on Congress if it hopes to preserve an initiative that President Biden sees as criti-cal to combating poverty.

hopes to preserve an initiative that President Biden sees as critical to combating poverty.

The aid is the result of an expanded, retooled child tax credit, which Democrats approved this past spring as part of their sprawling coronavirus relief package. Lawmakers increased the amount of the benefit, ensured lower-income Americans could claim it fully on their taxes and allowed parents for the first time to collect the money in the form of monthly checks.

Democrats hope to extend each of those elements as part of their latest, roughly \$2 trillion economic initiative known as the Build Back Better Act, which more broadly aims to overhaul the country's health care, education, climate and tax laws. They say they intend to finalize their work in the Senate before Christmas, eventually sending the bill to Biden's desk after the House adopted the measure in November.

SEE TAX CREDIT ON A15

SEE TAX CREDIT ON A15

# Hard-to-get test kits latest issue in saga of stumbles

This article is by Yasmeen Abutaleb, Lena H. Sun, Laurie McGinley, Dan Diamond and Tyler Pager.

Tyler Pager.

President Biden announced last week that rapid coronavirus tests were a pillar of his plan to fight the new and potentially more transmissible omicron variant, now confirmed in at least 21 states.

But nearly a year into his administration, the availability of low-cost coronavirus tests that return results in as little as 15 minutes remains an oft-promised but still unrealized capability in large swaths of the country—a far cry from the situation in countries such as Britain and Singapore, where the government purchased the kits last spring and distributed millions of them free or at low cost.

# After covid, he has new lungs. That isn't the hard part.



Just when he finally got himself together, Nathan Foote's life clock is all borrowed time

BY ANNIE GOWEN

The lungs arrived in a char-tered jet, hooked up to a ma-chine to keep them warm and pumped with blood on their way to a transplant recipient. Two surgical fellows deliv-ered the fragile organs to Ste-phen Huddleston, atransplant surgeon at the University of Minnesota Medical Center, who won't even begin remov-ing a patient's old lungs until the new ones are safely in his hands.

the new ones are sarety in ms hands.

Nathan Foote was motion-less on the operating table, already under anesthesia, his chest cut open in a clamshell incision. His lungs were so scarred from covid-19 that

doctors back home in Sioux Falls, S.D., told him he was going to die. The amateur rapper had posted a farewell video on his Facebook page, worried that he would die forgotten and alone in his hospital room. His wife brought their children to say their goodbyes. That was December. But Foote, then 42, got lucky. On Jan. 17, he was accepted as a candidate for a double lung transplant for a double lung transplant at the University of Minnesota Medical Center, one of about 200 covid-19 survivors nationwide to receive new lungs since the coronavirus pandemic began.

SEE TRANSPLANT ON A4 SEE TRANSPLANT ON A4

Third shots: FDA allows Pfizer boosters for kids ages 16 and 17. A9

Travel costs: Virus tests needed for trips abroad can be pricey. A12

# IN THE NEWS



Actor convicted A jury finds Jussie Smollett guilty of falsely reporting that he had been the victim of a hate crime in Chicago in 2019. A8

Database in peril An FBI program to collect data on police use of force may end for insufficient law enforcement participation. A2

THE NATION
New York's attorney general is seeking to depose former president
Donald Trump as part of a civil probe into whether the Trump Organization committed financial fraud with its property valuations. A2 Trump White House records can be released to the House Jan. 6 committee pending a Supreme Court review, a federal appeals court ruled. A6
In a Starbucks first,

In a Starbucks first. ed 19 to 8 to unionize their corporate-owned shop. A7

THE WORLD Tigrayan refugees traveled hundreds of miles to escape the w in Ethiopia. Now they fear that wasn't far

enough. A10 **Amid fears** of a Amid fears of a Russian invasion of Ukraine, President Biden stressed support for Kyiv in a call with President Volodymyr Zelensky, Au Former Israell secu-rity officials are publicly faulting their govern-ment for opposing the 2015 Iran nuclear deal, Ai2

deal. A12 A tractor-trailer carmigrants crashed in outhern Mexico, killing at least 53 people, authorities said. A13

THE ECONOMY THE ECONOMY
Embattled home
builder China Evergrande Group defaulted
on its debts, a ratings
agency said. Ata
Fourteen Senate
Republicans joined
Democrats in approving a deal that avoids a
filibuster and allows
lawmakers to raise the
debt ceiling, Ata

THE REGION Georgetown students pressed the university to act more quickly to help descendants of en-slaved people sold in

debt ceiling. A16

the 19th century. Bi Metro officials intro-

Metro officials intro-duced a plan to add back rail cars after the defect-related side-lining of nearly 750 cars in October. Bi Virginia's newly pro-posed congressional map sent candidates scrambling to rethink their campaigns. Bi A D.C. rabbi is plan-ning a center for tradining a center for tradi-tional Torah study in the city — but targeting diverse, untraditional

awerse, untraditional students. B1 D.C. has plans to bol-ster its violence preven-tion and mitigation strategies after homi-cides surpassed 200 for the first time since 2003. B3

# INSIDE



A 4-star revival Steven Spielberg's film version is vibrant, urgent and beautiful, critic Ann Hornaday writes.

sulk and the city The HBO Max sequel "And Just Like That . . ." lacks the zip and charm of the original series. **C1** 

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# **espectáculos Marcelo Tinelli** Se despide de un año para olvidar

Con un rating esquivo y sin liderar, el conductor hoy le pone fin a este ciclo de ShowMatch.



# REABREN LOS PASOS FRONTERIZOS CON URUGUAY Y CON BRASIL

—coronavirus

Migraciones anunció que se podrán usar los puentes Colón-Paysandú y Gualeguaychú-Fray Bentos; el gobierno de Bolsonaro levantó las restricciones. Página 20

# BIENALSUR EN ROMA: HOMENAJE DE CUATRO ARTISTAS A LOLA MORA

-cultura

En la muestra Espacios inesperados, Marie Orensanz, Daiana Martinello, Marcela Sinclair y Eugenia Calvo celebran a la gran escultora, que vivió en la Ciudad Eterna, Página 24

# LA NACION

VIERNES 10 DE DICIEMBRE DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR



Los senadores aplauden de pie a Bullrich, tras su conmovedor mensaje junto a su esposa, María Eugenia Sequeiros

## SANTIAGO FILIPUZZI

# Flexibilizan el cepo a la exportación de carne, pero no de los cortes populares

GANADERÍA. Lo anunció Domínguez y regirá desde enero; el campo apoyó con reservas

El ministro de Agricultura, Julián Domínguez, anunció ayer una flexibilización del cepo a las exportaciones de carne vacuna desde el 1º de enero próximo. Además, informó el lanzamiento de créditos a tasa subsidiada por \$100.000 millones para la producción ganadera. Estas medidas, entre otras, se dieron a conocer tras una reunión del ministro

con los dirigentes de la Mesa de Enlace, a la que se sumaron gobernadores y funcionarios de provincias donde la ganadería es importante

donde la ganadería es importante. Según loanunciado, se mantendrá la prohibición de exportar siete cortes parrilleros (asado, falda, matambre, tapa de asado, cuadrada, paletay vacío), pero se podrá vender, sin cuotas, el resto de los embarques. La Mesa de Enlace valoró el fin de los cupos, que venía reclamando desde que empezó el cepo, pero pidió seguir analizando la apertura de las exportaciones de carne de animales más jóvenes. "Vemos que se avanzó. El Gobierno escuchó, empezó atomar medidas. No hay más cupos", dijo Nicolás Pino, presidente de la Sociedad Aural Argentina (SRA). Página 16

EL ESCENARIO

La oportunidad de comenzar un círculo virtuoso

> Cristian Mira Página 16

# Nueva vida. Más jóvenes viajan al exterior a estudiar

Apuestan a formarse en Estados Unidos o Europa

Estudiar en el exterior es una tendencia que crece en todo el mundo, y en la Argentina ese fenómeno está impulsado por la inestabilidad económica y la dificultad de proyectar a futuro. Según la Unesco, de 2015 a 2019 un 23% más de estudiantes argentinos buscaron cursar su carrera universitaria en el exterior. Página 23

# Buscan prohibir las visitas en la cárcel a jefes narco

SANTA FE. Endurecerían las condiciones de detención

Frente al aumento de la violencia en Rosario, el gobierno de Santa Fe busca endurecer las condiciones de detención de los jefes de bandas de narcotraficantes, incluso con la prohibición de visitas. Apunta a cortar la línea de transmisión de órdenes que transformó los calabozos en lugares de comando y control de los clanes. Página 26

# Señales ambiguas del Gobierno hacia EE.UU.

EXTERIOR. Se sumó a una cumbre de Biden, pero rechazó un boicot a China

El gobierno de Alberto Fernández mostró ayer gestos contradictorios hacia EE.UU. Por un lado, el Presidente participó en la Cumbre de la Democracia, impulsada por Joe Biden, que excluyó a países como China. Y, al mismo tiempo, rechazó el boicota los Juegos Olímpicos de Invierno de Pekín que impulsa EE.UU. por las violaciones de los derechos humanos. Página 6

Fernández intenta evitar otro enojo de Bolsonaro

Jaime Rosemberg Página 7

# Prorrogan por seis meses las trabas a los importadores

DÓLAR. El Banco Central (BCRA) prorrogó ayer por otros seis meses la norma por la que hace un año y medio estableció un férreo control del mercado de cambios, al fijar una serie de requerimientos a las empresas que demanden divisas, a la vez que estableció restricciones para el pago de importaciones y otros giros al exterior. Se trata de la emblemática circular 7030, que rige desde el 1º de junio de 2020, y que ahora tendrá vigencia hasta mediados de 2022, según lo dispuso ayer el directorio de la entidad. Página17

# DESDE ADENTRO

Las trampas que acechan a Martín Guzmán

Florencia Donovan

Página 18

# FOLHA DE S.PAULO

HÁ 100 ANOS



UM JORNAL A SERVIÇO DA DEMOCRACIA

ANO 101 \* Nº 33.854

SEXTA-FEIRA, 10 DE DEZEMBRO DE 2021

R\$ 5.00



Obra 'Gravitação Magnética', de Tunga Eduardo Knapp/ Folhapress

### Ilustrada C1

Tunga é tema de retrospectiva com 300 itens e obras monumentais

## Ilustrada C3

Morre italiana Lina Wertmüller, 1a diretora indicada ao Oscar, aos 93 anos

Esporte B6 Grêmio vence, mas é rebaixado do Brasileiro pela 3ª vez

em sua história

# Guia C9

Com opções veganas, casas paulistanas têm ceia de Natal para encomenda

# Redução das chuvas custa ao Brasil R\$ 80 bi por ano

Perda desde 2012 chega a 17% do PIB; aquecimento global prolonga estiagem

A escassez de chuvas, cada vez mais frequente no Brasil, causa ao país uma per-da anual estimada em cerca de R\$ 80 bilhões no PIB com seus efeitos na produção de energia e alimentos. Apesar de o cenário ter se agravado ao longo deste ano, as pre-cipitações têm ficado abaixo do esperado desde 2012.

Autor do cálculo, Bráulio Borges, da LCA Consulto-res e do Ibre/FGV (Institu-to Brasileiro de Economia, da Fundação Getulio Var-gas), aponta a baixa inten-sidade de chuvas como um dos fatores "que contribu". dos fatores "que contribuí-ram para a década perdida do PIB", embora costumasse ser ignorado, afirma.

O economista conclui que a falta de chuva teve impac-to acumulado equivalente a

17% do PIB de 2012 a 2021. O Banco Mundial projeta que, com o aquecimento glo-bal, o Brasil deve continuar mais seco, com chuvas 10% abaixo da média nos próxi-mos anos. O painel do clima da ONU traça quadro similar.

A maior perda (R\$ 50 bi-lhões anuais) resulta de efei-tos diretos da estiagem: mai-or custo da energia e infla-ção dos alimentos. O res-tante vem de fatores como a queda no consumo por mai-or uso dos rendimentos das famílias para comida e luz e as consequências no turismo e no transporte. Mercado A15

# Polícia prende 16 no caso dos meninos de Belford Roxo

A Polícia Civil do Rio desencadeou operação para prender suspeitos de envolvimento na morte de três meninos que desaparece-ram na comunidade do Cas-telar, em Belford Roxo (RJ), em 2020. Ao todo, 16 pessoas foram presas. Outros 15 alvos já estavam detidos.

De acordo com os investigadores, Lucas Matheus da Silva, 9, seu primo Alexan-dre da Silva, 11, e o amigo deles Fernando Henrique Soares, 12, foram assassina-dos por terem furtado pas-sarinhos de traficantes. As mães dos garotos contesta-ram essa versão. Cotidiano B1

### Senado prorroga desoneração da folha por dois anos

O Senado aprovou ontem projeto que prorroga a de soneração da folha de pa gamento para 17 setores da economia até dezembro de 2023. A medida di-minui custos de contratação para empresas, mas também reduz a arrecadação federal. Mercado A18

### Nelson Barbosa Vêm aí 2 meses de debate sobre juro

As apostas atuais são que. para a inflação cair em 2022 e retornar à meta do governo em 2023, a Se-lic ainda terá de subir para algo entre 11% e 12%. Porém, muita coisa pode acontecer até 2 de fevereiro, quando o Copom volta-rá a se reunir. Mercado A24



# NO CENTRO DE SÃO PAULO, VACA MAGRA AMARELA TOMA LUGAR DO TOURO DE OURO DA BOLSA DE VALORES

Escultura colocada ontem em frente ao prédio da B3, mesmo local onde havia sido instalada réplica do 'Charging Bull', de NY; intervenção representa a fome, segundo autora Mercado A24

## **EDITORIAIS A2**

Sem leniência Sobre aumento de juros e fatores de acomodação.

Ainda a 2ª instância Acerca de PEC em deba-te politizado na Câmara.

# Só 9 capitais vacinaram mais de 70% da população

Levantamento da Folha aponta que só as 4 capi-tais do Sudeste, as três do Sul, Fortaleza e Belém superaram 70% da popu-lação com esquema vaci-nal completo. Em 8 delas, não se chegou a 60%. **B4** 

# A pandemia em 9.dez Dados das 20h

POPULAÇÃO VACINADA

No Brasil		Nos	estados		
Ao menos uma dose (dose única ou 1ª dose)	77,1%		Ao menos uma dose	1º ciclo completo	Dose o
1º ciclo vacinal completo	65,1%	SP	84,3%	76,9%	13,4
(dose única ou 2ª dose)	03,270	MS	80,6%	71,3%	15,9
Dose de reforço	9,3%	RS	80,3%	69,7%	12,0
and an initial	-1010	SC	82,3%	69,4%	7,9

### ESTÁGIO DA DOENCA

Óbitos	
Média móvel	Em 24 h
183 V -15,9%*	206
	616.504

Ritmo	Média móvel (variação*)	
desacelerado	984 (-17,0%)	SP
desacelerado	831 (+5,8%)	PR
desacelerado	674 (-11,2%)	RS
acelerado	569 (+16,1%)	PA

# ATMOSFERA

Amanha Domingo Segunda 15° 31° 18° 32° 20° 26°



### Grupos agiram por Bolsonaro em enquete da Time

Redes digitais bolsonaristas deram nas últimas se-manas uma demonstra-ção de força ao organizar uma bem-sucedida campanha em grupos para que Jair Bolsonaro fosse esco-lhido em votação popular a "Personalidade do Ano" da revista Time. Mundo A14

# Mendonça comemora vaga no STF em culto com Malafaia

Na igreja do líder evangélico, André Mendonça deu ares messiânicos a ingresso no Supremo: "Estamos preparados para a cruz". Em NY, Luiz Fux, presidente da corte, disse que juiz pode crer no que quiser, mas "Estado é laico". A12

# Economia veta projeto para dividir universidades federais B2

### Total de jornalistas presos é recorde no mundo, diz ONG

O número de jornalistas presos no mundo por ra-zão profissional bateu re-corde, passando de 280 em 2020 para ao menos 293 neste ano, aponta o Comi-té para a Proteção dos Jor-nalistas. A alta está associada à expansão de regimes autoritários. Mundo A13

# Cúpula não terá declaração final sobre democracia

As dificuldades enfrentadas pela democracia atu-almente são o desafio defi-nidor do nosso tempo, disse Joe Biden ao dar início à Cúpula da Democracia. Com discursos genéricos, o encontro organizado pelos EUA não terá um documento final, Mundo A13

# ULTIMAHORA

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Diplomático insta a la población paraguaya a combatir este flagelo

# Lucha contra corrupción es la prioridad de EEUU en Paraguay

Afecta a todos y a cada uno de los aspectos de la relación bilateral, sostuvo Joe Salazar, encargado de Negocios de la Embajada.

RGD: Día clave para el juicio que está en la mira de Norteamérica

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# CHANTAJE CRIMINAL

Pobladores de la Chacarita no aceptarán los víveres de la banda del Norte

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Con el secuestro de Reimer el Gobierno está ante un nuevo fracaso, dicen hijas de Óscar Denis

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Del 10% bajan al 1%
Hacienda reduce
IVA para ayudar
al comercio en
zonas fronterizas

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Precio de energía de Itaipú Cancillería ve inaceptable la propuesta de tarifa de Brasil

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Condena por secretaria vip El ex contralor Rubén Velázquez se presentó para ir a Tacumbú

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# LE RIGAIRO



**ENOUÊTE** DANS LES UNIVERSITÉS FRANÇAISES, LE WOKISME CONTINUE DE PROSPÉRER PAGES 12 ET 13

SERGE GAINSBOURG À PARIS, LA MAISON DU CHANTEUR BIENTÔT OUVERTE AU PUBLIC PAGE 40



Europe, présidentielle: Macron avance à pas de loup

VIOLENCES L'insécurité sévit en moyenne à moins de cina kilomètres du domicile

RECHERCHE La justice annule une recherche sur la PMA «à trois parents»

ÉTATS-UNIS Biden appelle les démocraties au sursaut PAGE 20

INTERNET L'Europe renforce les droits des travailleurs des plateformes numériques PAGES 28 ET 29

GASTRONOMIE Les dix livres gourmands du «Figaro»

 Poutine n'a jamais accepté le départ de l'Ukraine

 Un entretien avec Gaël Brustier

 La tribune de Jérémie Peltier

 Le bloc-notes d'Ivan Rioufol

L'analyse de Tanguy Berthemet

Réponses à la question de vendredi : Faut-il boycotter diplomatiquement les JO de Pékin ?

TOTAL DE VOTANTS: 155725

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr

Approuvez-vous la décision des mairies qui interdisent le foie gras dans les réceptions officielles?

SORIANO/LE FIGARO-DESMAZES/AFP

# À quatre mois de l'élection, la gauche dans l'impasse

Rejetée par ses concurrents, la proposition d'une primaire émise par Anne Hidalgo illustre les divisions et la faiblesse de la gauche française, dont l'électorat ne cesse de se réduire.

Implacable et unanime fin de non-recevoir. L'idée d'une primaire à gauche, proposée mercredi par la candidate socialiste Anne Hidalgo, a été immédia-

tement enterrée par ses concurrents écologistes, Insou-mis et communistes. Tous ont dénoncé la manœuvre tactique d'une candidate aux abois engluée dans des sondages qui lui prédisent entre 3 et 7 % des voix. Le candidat d'EELV, Yannick Jadot, a raillé chez la maire de Paris « la volonté de sortir de

l'impasse par une idée surprise, un tour de passe-passe». Mais au-delà d'une proposition qui a déjà fait pschitt, c'est la survie d'une gauche éclatée, divisée

qui est en jeu, quand ses sept candidats rassemblent désor-mais moins de 25 % des intentions de vote à quatre mois de la

→ LE PARI FOU D'ANNE HIDALGO POUR SAUVER SA CAMPAGNE → 9 H 13, TGV POUR LA ROCHELLE... DANS LES COULISSES D'UNE INCROYABLE VOLTE-FACE → LA PRIMAIRE POPULAIRE, DERNIÈRE TENTATIVE POUR UNE CANDIDATURE UNIQUE À GAUCHE → LE LOURD BILAN PARISIEN DONT ANNE HIDALGO PEINE À SE DÉFAIRE PAGES 4, 6, 8, 24 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



afflux de malades du Covid. Sept régions se préparent à des déprogrammations d'opérations non vitales. PAGES 16 ET 17

# Boris Johnson en pleine tempête politique

Le premier ministre britannique est rattrapé par le scandale des «Christmas parties». Les médias britanniques, y compris dans le camp conser-vateur de «BoJo», sont outrés par ces fêtes au cœur de l'exécutif et les mensonges les accompagnant, alors que le Royaume-Uni était due le Royaume-Om était strictement confiné et privé de réunions de famille lors du pic de l'épidémie de Co-vid en décembre 2020. Ce n'est que la dernière en date d'une série d'affaires qui l'ont grandement fragilisé politiquement. PAGE 18

# ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thréard ythreard@lefigaro.fr

# Pathétique et riquiqui

e demi-tour d'Anne Hidalgo en gare de Poitiers restera dans les an-nales comme un symbole du nau-frage actuel de la gauche française. Partie la fleur au fusil à la conquête du pays pour s'ouvrir les portes de l'Élysée, la du pays pour s'ouvrir les portes de l'alysée, la maire de Paris est revenue au bercail, consciente qu'elle n'avait aucune chance d'accéder au trône. Pas plus elle d'ailleurs que Jean-Luc Mélenchon, Yannick Jadot, Arnaud Montebourg et tous les autres, à qui elle propose désormais une primaire pour faire l'union derrière un candidat unique. Tous trainent des scores à un chiffre dans les profondeurs des sondages. Et rien ne dit que l'addition de leurs faiblesses – addition par ailleurs impossible tellement les ego sont enflés – ne constitue une force. Arithmétique et politique font rarement bon ménage.

ponitque font rarement oon menage.

La main tendue d'Anne Hidalgo n'est pas
seulement un acte de désespoir, c'est aussi
un geste pathétique qui explique en partie
que les électeurs de gauche sont tentés
aujourd'hui par l'abstention. La socialiste n'a cessé de dire cet automne qu'elle ne voterait jamais pour Jean-Luc Mélenchon et qu'elle ne partageait rien du projet des éco-

long sur ses convictions. Mais, au-delà des postures, des renonce ments et des trahisons, qui sont, somme tou-te, classiques en politique, la déroute annon-cée de la gauche à la présidentielle de 2022 trouve ses racines dans son incapacité à pro-La gauche poser aux Français

La gauche française est aux abois car elle n'est plus populaire

des solutions à leurs des solutions à leurs interrogations les plus quotidiennes. Ou elle se regarde parler pour ne rien dire, comme Jean-Luc Mélenchon lors de son meeting de dimanche dernier. dimanche dernier,

ou bien elle s'égare, comme ces maires éco-logistes qui partent, ces jours-ci, en guerre

contre le foie gras.

La gauche française est aux abois car elle n'est plus populaire. Elle est devenue atrabilaire. Et, à force de caresser les minorités dans le sens du vote, elle est de plus en plus riquiqui. Elle ne peut s'en prendre qu'à ellemême à l'heure où un social-démocrate vient de succéder à Angela Merkel en Allemagne. ■



dinh van



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1210



# Johnson accused of misleading watchdog over flat redecoration

Discrepancies could expose PM to potential Commons suspension

Jessica Elgot Aubrey Allegretti Peter Walker

Boris Johnson was accused of misleading his own ethics adviser last night, exposing him to a potential suspension from the House of Commons as MPs demanded a fresh investigation into his personal donors

With pressure mounting following a disastrous series of mistakes and scandals, the prime minister's integrity was once again under the spotlight after an official report suggested he gave differing accounts to investigators looking into the redecoration of his Downing Street flat.

Their calls were provoked by a report yesterday from the Electoral Commission, which spent eight months investigating the funding of the redecoration. It fined the

Conservative party £17,800 for serious donation reporting failures. But documents released by the commission also revealed Johnson sent a WhatsApp message to the Tory donor Lord Brownlow in November 2020 seeking more money for the work.

In an earlier inquiry into the matter, Johnson had assured Lord Geidt. the independent adviser on ministers' interests, that he did not know who had given money for the work until it was revealed by the media in February. Though No 10 denied any inconsistency, Labour's deputy

leader, Angela Rayner, said Johnson "must now explain why he lied to the British public". She accused him of 'taking people for fools".

The Labour MP Margaret Hodge has urged the parliamentary standards commissioner, Kathryn Stone, to investigate whether Johnson had misled Geidt, who had cleared him of breaching the ministerial code. In a letter seen by the Guardian, Hodge said it "appears that the prime minister may have lied" to Geidt's inquiry about when he became aware of the donations. "If these allegations are

true, then this would be an egregious case of dishonesty." Rayner also wrote to the commissioner.

Geidt is said to be expecting an explanation from Johnson about the potential discrepancy between what he was told and what the Electoral Commission report found.

Should Stone launch an investigation, it would set Conservative MPs up for another clash over the regulation of MPs, with many still wounded from an attempt to change the rules over sanctions for the Tory MP Owen Paterson, who



Sienna Miller: tabloid 'nearly ruined my life'

Sienna Miller said the Sun's discovery that she was pregnant in 2005 forced her to make decisions "about my body that I live with every day". Yesterday she accepted substantial damages. News Page 17 →

# **Dozens of Tory MPs** to revolt over plan B

### Peter Walker Aubrey Allegretti

Downing Street is facing a damaging revolt over planned Covid restrictions after dozens of Tory backbenchers threatened to rebel or abstain in fury over plan B and Boris Johnson's handling of the Christmas party scandal.

With at least 30 Conservative MPs expected to vote against regulations on masks, home working and vaccine passports, and many more vowing to stay away from Tuesday's vote, the prime minister could be forced to rely on Labour support to win.

"The whips will be doing a lot of work this weekend," one Tory said. "It's all about saving the prime minister's blushes."

Johnson is battling with the fallout from days of



