



Pictures of the year

G2 special issue

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Poll reveals widespread concern over state of NHS

Amid delays and staff shortages, one in four Britons fear they would not get adequate care

Exclusive
Denis Campbell
Health policy editor

One in four Britons do not believe the NHS can care for them properly, new research into the public's attitudes to the health service reveals.

When asked "how confident are you, if at all, in the NHS's ability to give you the care you need", a quarter (26%) said they were not confident.

While only 15% of voters think that the NHS is not coping well with treating coronavirus patients, many more - 41% - believe that it is not coping well with providing other services.

Experts said that increasingly long delays for operations and GP appointments, the disruption caused by Covid to normal NHS services and longstanding staff shortages were probably to blame for the widespread lack of confidence in the health service's ability to provide timely and effective medical treatment.

Sally Warren, the director of policy at the King's Fund health thinktank, said that the pandemic had added to the pressure already being felt in the NHS and had forced it to prioritise who received care.

"The impact of this reprioritisation has been clear for all to see through

regular reports of NHS services struggling to cope. Once again this is at the forefront of many people's minds as the Omicron variant brings back the threat of services being overwhelmed," said Warren.

"But it's not just media reports that change people's perceptions of the health service, and many people have personal experience of struggling to access their GP or being stuck on a hospital waiting list," she added.

The findings, by the pollsters Ipsos Mori, are based on questions it asked 1,032 adults aged 18 to 75 across Britain between 16 and 18 December. When the 41% who think the NHS is not coping well with providing non-Covid care were asked who they thought was responsible, 48% said the government, 18% blamed patients and 8% identified the general public as the culprits.

The survey also found that people who are on a waiting list for routine hospital care themselves or who have a relative on one are more likely to be "not confident" in the NHS's ability to provide care.

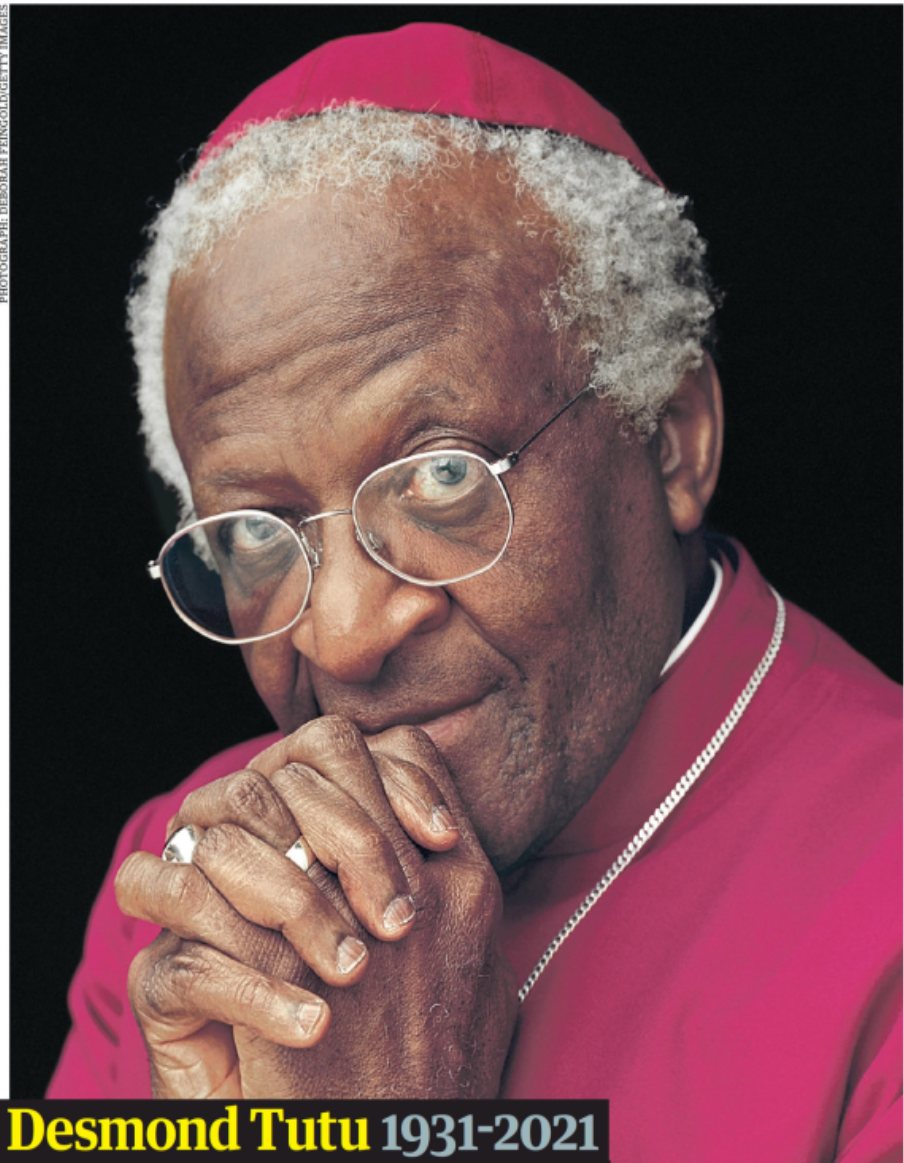
Labour said that the findings showed the effects of persistent and unaddressed staff shortages.

"The pandemic has put enormous pressures on the NHS. But the health service went into the pandemic hugely understaffed, with patients already waiting too long for care. With record waiting lists, 100,000 NHS staff shortages and 112,000 vacancies in social care in 2019, the Tories left our health service criminally ill-equipped for Covid," said Wes Streeting, the shadow health secretary.

"None of this is the fault of our heroic health and social care workers, who are getting Britain through this pandemic.

"For our NHS to be able to provide the care patients

PHOTOGRAPH: DEBORAH FEINGOLD/GETTY IMAGES



Desmond Tutu 1931-2021

World loses champion of universal human rights

Jason Burke
Cape Town

Desmond Tutu, the South African cleric and social activist who was a giant in the struggle against apartheid, has died at 90, prompting tributes from religious leaders, politicians and activists around the world.

Tutu, described by observers as

home and abroad as the moral conscience of the nation, died in Cape Town yesterday, weeks after the death of FW de Klerk, the country's last white president.

"The passing of archbishop emeritus Desmond Tutu is another chapter of bereavement in our nation's farewell to a generation of outstanding South Africans who have bequeathed us a liberated South Africa," said Cyril

Ramaphosa, the country's president. "From the pavements of resistance in South Africa to the pulpits of the world's great cathedrals and places of worship, and the prestigious setting of the Nobel peace prize ceremony, the Arch distinguished himself as a non-sectarian, inclusive champion of universal human rights."

Tutu was diagnosed with prostate cancer in the late 1990s and was admitted to hospital on several occasions to treat infections associated with his treatment. Relatives said he died peacefully in the early hours of Boxing Day.

The Queen said Tutu



What's News

Business & Finance

American consumers spent at a brisk pace over the shopping season, as an early rush to stores amid worries about supply and delivery problems muted the effects of a Covid-19 surge that disrupted some businesses and crimped spending before Christmas. **A1**

◆ **Professionals** toward the end of 2021 saw their compensation jump at the fastest rate in nearly 20 years, federal data show. **A1**

◆ **Flight cancellations** marred Christmas weekend for many travelers, as Covid-19 left carriers short-staffed to operate busy schedules over the holiday. **B1**

◆ **"Spider-Man: No Way Home"** continued its dominance in ticket sales for a second week, collecting an estimated \$81.5 million in the U.S. and Canada. **B1**

◆ **A Credit Suisse** fund accused SoftBank of orchestrating transactions that rendered worthless a \$440 million investment the fund had made to finance a SoftBank-backed company. **B3**

◆ **Colin Kaepernick's** SPAC deal to buy lender Change collapsed after the former quarterback balked at promoting the merger on live TV. **B5**

◆ **Ant's** consumer-finance arm is undertaking a \$3.5 billion capital increase, with China's state-owned Cinda providing a big chunk of outside funding. **B9**

◆ **China's securities** regulator said domestic companies seeking to sell shares abroad would have to follow domestic rules. **B9**

World-Wide

◆ **The Omicron** variant pushed Covid-19 daily cases in the U.S. to the highest level in nearly a year, leading to the cancellation of more than 2,000 flights over the holiday weekend and signaling the different kind of threat that the surging new strain poses to the economy and everyday life. **A1**

◆ **School administrators** are working through an array of evolving data on the Omicron variant in an effort to determine whether to keep schools open after the holiday break. **A3**

◆ **South Africans** mourned the death of Desmond Tutu, the Anglican archbishop who led a global campaign to end the country's racist policies and later became a moral compass for a nation struggling to navigate the political ravages and social inequalities of the post-apartheid era. **A8**

◆ **At least 38 people** were killed in an attack by Myanmar's military in a region of the country where resistance groups have been fighting forces from the junta, according to aid group Save the Children and a local militia. **A8**

◆ **Dozens of cities** and states are enacting new laws to protect tenants facing eviction, aiming to stem a tide of new cases and offer renters more ways to settle conflicts with property owners. **A3**

◆ **Lawmakers** say 2022 is shaping up as a pivotal year in their efforts to tighten regulations on social media and other internet platforms and are pushing Biden to come off the sidelines. **A4**

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South Africa Mourns Archbishop Who Fought Apartheid



IN MEMORY: Mourners left flowers at St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town, South Africa, on Sunday, following the death of Desmond Tutu, the Anglican archbishop who led a global campaign to end South Africa's racist policies. **A8**

Holiday Shopping Rebounds With Biggest Gain in 17 Years

By SUZANNE KAPNER AND PAUL ZIOBRO

U.S. consumers spent at a brisk pace over the shopping season, as an early rush to stores amid worries about supply and delivery problems muted the effects of a Covid-19 surge that disrupted some businesses and crimped spending before Christmas. U.S. retail sales rose 8.5% between Nov. 1 and Christmas Eve compared with the same

period last year, according to Mastercard SpendingPulse, which tracks sales in the Mastercard payments network coupled with survey-based estimates for cash and checks. That is the strongest growth in 17 years, but slightly below Mastercard's estimate of 8.8% growth that it published in September. Compared with 2019, sales were up 10.7%. The tally includes online purchases and spending in restaurants but excludes automotive sales.

Shoppers returned to bricks-and-mortar stores, driving big increases in categories like apparel that suffered a year ago when people were sheltered at home early in the pandemic. Sales at physical stores rose 8.1% compared with 2020 and 2.4% compared with 2019. E-commerce sales remained strong, as shoppers in areas where the Omicron variant was surging appeared to shift purchases online rather than scale

back overall spending, said Stephen Sadove, a senior adviser to Mastercard and the former CEO of Saks Inc. E-commerce sales increased 11%, compared with a year ago and jumped 61% compared with 2019. "The consumer is extremely healthy and has held up really well," Mr. Sadove said. Some of the rising sales were due to higher prices. Inflation jumped to a nearly four-decade high in November. *Please turn to page A10*

INSIDE



PERSONAL JOURNAL
A look back at some 'My Ride' favorites and the stories behind them. **A13**



SPORTS
Alabama, Cincinnati, Georgia and Michigan take precautions ahead of semifinals. **A16**

Churches Target New Members, With Help From Online Data

Gloo mines personal details for those who might respond to evangelizing

By KHADEEJA SAFFAR

Struggling with grief? Too much debt? On the verge of divorce? Churches are ready to deliver a digital intervention, with help from Big Data.

A small company called Gloo has put itself at the forefront of an effort to analyze Americans' personal data and online activities to help churches reach people most likely to be open to their messages and join their congregations.

The more surgical method of evangelization borrows techniques long used by businesses and political campaigns, which rely on data to

target consumers. In this realm, however, the focus is on more personal data, and analysis is organized around trying to identify some of the most difficult moments of people's lives.

Just as retailers or political candidates send out online ads to groups of people with particular characteristics—including demographics, browsing activity, purchasing behavior and other factors that advertising platforms allow clients to choose—churches can use Gloo to show ads to groups of people they believe are most receptive to becoming members, or they think they could help.

People facing a personal crisis are most

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Long, Strange Trip Chasing Jerry Garcia

Deadhead on yearslong quest for backup singers

By JUSTIN SCHIECK

SAN RAFAEL, Calif.—Joe Jupille was burning with anticipation.

It was early December. He was driving over San Francisco Bay, chasing a mystery. He had been chasing it for two decades, since his kids were small and life's big questions seemed like they would have easy answers.

Now Mr. Jupille was middle-aged, and he was heading to a garbage dump in Marin County with high hopes and \$1,500. It was his third trip there. It had a whiff of desperation. Also of trash.

It was worth the bad smell. Mr. Jupille believed that across the bridge, hard by the dump, a source would answer the ques-

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White-Collar Workers Snap Up Hefty Raises

By LAUREN WEHER

Salaried employees are joining hourly workers in getting hefty raises as a result of the hot job market and inflationary pressures that are also boosting pay for workers including waiters and warehouse staff.

U.S. professionals toward the end of this year saw their compensation jump at the fastest rate in nearly 20 years, federal data show. Hanging over bigger paychecks is the specter of inflation running near an annual rate of 7%, the highest in 39 years, meaning rising prices will cut into and in some cases decimate the real value of wage gains.

Wages for all private-sector workers grew 4.6% year over year in the third quarter, according to federal data, with the biggest gains going to workers in service occupations and industries such as retail and hospitality.

For management, business and financial occupations, wages rose 3.9% in the quar-

Quarterly wages and salaries, change from a year earlier



*Includes food and personal service, among other service jobs
Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

ter, slower than overall wage growth but still the fastest pace on record since 2003 for this bucket of workers.

A survey from the Conference Board earlier this month found that employers are setting aside an average 3.9% of total payroll for wage in-

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AT&T Cuts Hit Retiree Benefits

By THEO FRANCIS AND DREW FITZGERALD

When Dean Allison left his job as a property manager at AT&T in 1998, the company offered an incentive to retire: a payment of at least \$63,000 upon his death.

He took the deal, figuring the money would someday help his wife cover funeral expenses, pay outstanding bills and have more to live on.

Early in 2021, AT&T told Mr. Allison it would pay no more than \$15,000 if he dies after Dec. 31.

AT&T's decision to cut life insurance and death benefits as of Jan. 1 for many of the 220,000 retirees eligible for the benefits has roiled a generation of workers who say their former employer is renegeing on a promise.

The cuts don't apply to top executives, who have life insurance under a separate company-paid program, which the company can't reduce without

their permission. AT&T may pay heirs of Randall Stephenson, who left as chief executive in 2020, \$3.6 million under a life-insurance plan reviewed by the board last year, securities filings show.

AT&T said that the cuts for other retirees will bring their benefits more in line with benefits at other large employers, and that the change will increase payouts at death for more than 1,000 retirees. It said only a handful of Fortune 100 companies still offer most employees life insurance that continues after retirement.

"We are working hard to responsibly balance the needs of the business and our taking care of our current 200,000 employees and 500,000 retirees and their dependents," said an AT&T spokesman, Fletcher Cook. "It is admittedly a balancing act—one that many companies have not successfully navigated."

That's little comfort to Mr. Allison.

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Omicron Pushes Daily Cases to Near High

More than 2,000 flights are canceled over holiday weekend amid staff shortages

The Omicron variant pushed Covid-19 daily cases in the U.S. to the highest level in nearly a year, leading to the cancellation of more than 2,000 flights over the holiday weekend and signaling the different kind of threat that the surging new strain poses to the economy and everyday life.

By Chad Day, Allison Sider and James Hookway

Evidence so far suggests the Omicron variant generally leads to less severe disease than earlier strains of the virus. But the travel cancellations show how even a milder but rapidly spreading version of Covid-19 can disrupt business activity and people's plans.

The flight cancellations also raise questions about government policies, potentially putting added pressure on authorities to ease the Covid-19 quarantine guidelines so that workers who aren't seriously ill can return to their jobs sooner.

This weekend, the seven-day average of Covid-19 cases eclipsed the peak set during the Delta variant's earlier march. *Please turn to page A2*

- ◆ More places are requiring booster shots. **A3**
- ◆ Schools seek ways to remain open. **A3**
- ◆ Airlines set back by cancellations. **B1**



Mykhailo Hiraldo-Ramires, center, leading a training course near Kyiv, Ukraine. The program is part of the country's defense plan.

NEW VARIANT RISK IN NURSING HOMES

Boosters Lag in New York
Amid Omicron Surge

By SHARON OTTERMAN
and JOSEPH GOLDSTEIN

At Sea Crest Nursing and Rehabilitation, a large nursing home that looks out on the Coney Island boardwalk, more than 100 residents have died of Covid-19 since the pandemic began.

Yet as a more contagious variant of the coronavirus surges to a new high in New York, the nursing home is struggling to provide what medical experts believe is one of the strongest forms of protection against this latest wave of the virus: a booster shot.

Of the 274 residents of the nursing home, only 52 — fewer than one in five — had received a booster, according to state data from this past week.

Vaccine hesitancy among residents or their families, and residents being ineligible because they recently received second vaccine doses or monoclonal antibodies are among the causes of the low booster rates at Sea Crest and other nursing homes.

But as Omicron spreads, health experts point to an additional problem: New York, like much of the country, was slow to push boosters before the new variant arrived a few weeks ago, and has largely left administering third doses to the long-term care facilities themselves, some of which are struggling with the task.

Now, with the new variant spreading rapidly in almost every region, health experts are calling on the city and state to do more to ensure that the most vulnerable — particularly nursing home residents — get boosters quickly.

New York reported 49,708 new cases on Dec. 24 and 36,454 on Christmas, more than any other state in the country, as Omicron continued to spread across the nation, with infections also spiking in Washington, D.C., New Jersey, Puerto Rico and Florida.

"The city and state should be working together to try to make sure everyone in nursing homes is boosted," said Dr. Tom Frieden, a former city health commissioner and former C.D.C. director. He called nursing homes "ground zero for Covid."

Boosters for nursing home residents are considered vital during the Omicron surge because nursing

Continued on Page A17

Ukraine's Civilians Staff a Resistance in Waiting

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — In a pine forest not far from Ukraine's capital, a mock battle raged. Commanders barked orders. Figures in camouflage huddled behind trees. A soldier fell to the ground, yelling for help.

His cries provided the cue for Anastasia Biloshitska, 25, to run into the line of fire, kneel in the mud and open a medical kit. "People who are prepared won't panic," Ms. Biloshitska said.

Ms. Biloshitska is one of thousands of Ukrainian civilians who have signed up to learn combat skills in training programs created and run by the government and private paramilitary groups. The programs are part of the country's strategic defense plan in the event of a potential invasion by Russia — to foster a civilian resistance

Teachers, Accountants and Waitresses Prep for an Insurgency

that can carry on the fight if the Ukrainian military is overwhelmed.

There is no indication that President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia has made up his mind whether to launch an attack. But if one should come, even Ukraine's own generals say their regular military stands little chance in a full-fledged invasion.

So Ukraine has drawn a lesson from the United States' wars in Iraq and Afghanistan of the past two decades, when guerrillas provided enduring resistance in the face of vastly superior American

firepower. "We have a strong army, but not strong enough to defend against Russia," said Marta Yuzkiv, a doctor working in clinical research, who signed up for training this month. "If we are occupied, and I hope that doesn't happen, we will become the national resistance."

Government-sponsored training for civilians has underpinned Nordic and Swiss military strategies for decades, and is gaining traction as a military doctrine in Eastern Europe.

Spurred on by Russian threats, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania all have programs encouraging rifle ownership for some civilians and formal training to fight as partisans after an occupation.

Nearly every weekend in Estonia, for example, the Defense League, a self-defense organiza-

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DESMOND M. TUTU, 1931-2021

Archbishop Whose Voice Helped End Apartheid

By MARILYN BERGER

Desmond M. Tutu, the cleric who used his pulpit and spirited oratory to help bring down apartheid in South Africa and then became the leading advocate of peaceful reconciliation under Black majority rule, died on Sunday in Cape Town. He was 90.

His death was confirmed by the office of South Africa's president, Cyril Ramaphosa, who called the archbishop "a leader of principle and pragmatism who gave meaning to the biblical insight that faith without works is dead."

The cause of death was cancer, the Desmond and Leah Tutu Legacy Foundation said, adding that Archbishop Tutu had died in a care facility. He was diagnosed with prostate cancer in 1997, and was hospitalized several times in the years since, amid recurring fears that the disease had spread.

As leader of the South African Council of Churches and later as Anglican archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Tutu led the church to the forefront of Black South Africans' decades-long struggle for freedom. His voice was a powerful force for nonviolence in the anti-apartheid movement, earning him a Nobel Peace Prize in 1984.

When that movement triumphed in the early 1990s, he prodded the country toward a new relationship between its white and

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Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu in 1996. His voice was a powerful force for nonviolence in the anti-apartheid movement.

Cadre of Expert Witnesses Helps Clear Police in Court

Same Tight Network That Trains Officers
Testifies About Deaths in Custody

This article is by Jennifer Valentino-DeVries, Mike McIntire, Rebecca R. Ruiz, Julie Tate and Michael H. Keller.

When lawyers were preparing to defend against a lawsuit over a death in police custody in Fresno, Calif., they knew whom to call.

Over the past two decades, Dr. Gary Vilke has established himself as a leading expert witness by repeatedly asserting that police techniques such as facemask restraints, stun gun shocks and some neck holds did not kill people.

Officers in Fresno had handcuffed 41-year-old Joseph Perez and, holding him face down on the ground, put a spinal board from an ambulance on his back as he cried out for help. One officer sat on the board as they strapped him to it. The county medical examiner ruled his death, in May 2017, a homicide by asphyxiation.

Dr. Vilke, who was hired by the ambulance provider, charged \$500 an hour and provided a different determination. He wrote in a report filed with the court this past July that Mr. Perez had died from methamphetamine use, heart disease and the exertion of his struggle against the restraints.

Dr. Vilke, an emergency medicine doctor in San Diego, is an integral part of a small but influential cadre of scientists, lawyers, physicians and other police experts whose research and testimony is almost always used to absolve officers of blame for deaths, according to a review of hundreds

of research papers and more than 25,000 pages of court documents, as well as interviews with nearly three dozen people with knowledge of the deaths or the research.

Their views infuriate many prosecutors, plaintiff lawyers, medical experts and relatives of the dead, who accuse them of slanting science, ignoring inconvenient facts and dangerously emboldening police officers to act aggressively. One of the researchers has suggested that police officers involved in the deaths are often unfairly blamed — like parents of babies who die of sudden infant death syndrome.

The experts also intersect with law-enforcement-friendly companies that train police officers, write police policies and lend authority to studies rebutting concerns about police use of force.

Together they form what often amounts to a cottage industry of exonerations. The dozen or so individuals and companies have collected millions of dollars over the past decade, much of it in fees that are largely underwritten by taxpayers, who cover the costs of police training and policies and the legal bills of accused officers.

Many of the experts also have ties to Axon, maker of the Taser: A lawyer for the company, for example, was an early sponsor of the Institute for the Prevention of In-Custody Deaths, a commercial undertaking that is among the police-friendly entities, and some of the experts have worked as consultants.

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Dubious Advice From TV Doctor In Senate Hunt

By TRIP GABRIEL

A wealth of evidence now shows that the malaria drugs hydroxychloroquine and chloroquine were not effective at treating Covid-19 and carried potential risks.

But in the early months of the pandemic, Dr. Mehmet Oz, the celebrity physician with a daytime TV show, positioned himself as one of the chief promoters of the drugs on Fox News. In the same be-the-best-you tone that he used to promote miracle weight-loss cures on "The Dr. Oz Show," he elevated limited studies that he said showed wondrous promise.

His "jaw dropped," he said, while reviewing one tiny study from France, calling it "a game changer." In all, Dr. Oz promoted hydroxychloroquine and chloroquine in more than 25 appearances on Fox in March and April 2020.

When a Veterans Affairs study showed that Covid-19 patients treated with hydroxychloroquine were more likely to die than untreated patients, that advocacy came to an abrupt halt.

"We are better off waiting for the randomized trials" that Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the nation's leading infectious disease expert, had been asking for, Dr. Oz told Fox viewers.

As Dr. Oz jumped last month into the Republican primary for Senate in Pennsylvania, where his celebrity gives him an important advantage in a crucial race, he tied his candidacy to the politics of the pandemic. He appealed to conservatives' anger at mandates and shutdowns, and at the "people in charge" who, he said, "took away our freedom."

But the entry into the race of the Cleveland-born heart surgeon, a son of Turkish immigrants who has been the host of "The Dr. Oz

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Struggling ranchers have been selling off their entire herds.

Boom in Beef, But Ranchers Can't Cash In

By PETER S. GOODMAN

SHEPHERD, Mont. — Judging from the prices at supermarkets and restaurants, this would appear to be a lucrative moment for cattle ranchers like Steve Charter.

America is consuming more beef than ever, while prices have climbed by one-fifth over the past year — a primary driver of the growing alarm over inflation.

But somewhere between American dinner plates and his 8,000-acre ranch on the high plains of Montana, Mr. Charter's share of the \$66 billion beef cattle industry has gone missing.

A third-generation cattle rancher, Mr. Charter, 69, is accustomed to working seven days a week, 365 days a year — in winter temperatures descending to minus 40, and in summer swelter reaching 110 degrees.

On a recent morning, he rumbled up a snow-covered dirt road in his feed truck, delivering a mixture of grains to his herd of mother cows and calves. They roam a landscape that seems unbounded — grassland dotted by sagebrush, the horizons stretching beyond distant buttes.

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NATIONAL A10-17

A Baby Boom in Texas

The state grows by about 1,000 people every day. Half of them are newborns. One every three minutes. PAGE A10

Return to the Subway

Throughout New York's pandemic recovery, the world below has mirrored that of the city above. PAGE A12

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Evacuated, but Still Unsettled

Many Afghans accepted into the Netherlands have been living in tents for months as a heated immigration debate once again roils Europe. PAGE A4

BUSINESS B1-5

Flooding the Zone With Stars

Lately, it seems as if every big Hollywood movie has an all-star cast. The strategy's success rate is mixed. PAGE B1

Privacy Experts for Hire

An industry has sprouted to help companies navigate the varied laws around the world that govern websites. PAGE B1

SPORTS D1-8

The Premier League Abroad

The outside wealth of England's top clubs allows their owners to spread their influence in Europe. PAGE D1

Showing Off Their Best Shots

Some of our photographers chose their favorite sports images of 2021, including one of Simone Biles. PAGES D1, 4-6



ARTS C1-6

Artists We Lost in 2021

Some of those who died, like Cicely Tyson and Stephen Sondheim, held the spotlight for generations. Others, like Michael K. Williams and Nai-Ni Chen, had careers that were cut short. PAGE C1

Bigger Role for Understudies

As the Omicron variant spreads, Broadway shows are relying on replacement actors more than ever. And productions without enough of them have had to cancel performances. PAGE C2

OPINION A18-19

Mara Gay

PAGE A19



OBITUARIES A20, B6

Playful Painter of the Everyday

Wayne Thiebaud's rich and luminous depictions of midcentury Americana separated him from the classic Pop Art of the time. He was 101. PAGE A20



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The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

SHOWERS 4-4/41 • Tomorrow: Cloudy 54/47 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, DECEMBER 27, 2021 • \$2

Needy wait for Social Security site access

Offices' extended closure amid public health crisis worsens benefits bind

BY LISA REIN

NASHVILLE — The first cars bearing the needy pulled into the parking lot as the lights went on in the squat brick Social Security office, three miles north of the luxury condos and boutique hotels rising in booming Music City. It was 9 a.m., and a flier taped to the glass double doors announced business hours until 4 p.m., Monday through Friday. An American flag fluttered at the curb.

But the office did not open for business, except for a lucky few who gained special entry, for what was then the 605th day since it had been sealed shut to protect its employees and customers from the coronavirus.

It was closed to a man named Kevin, 41, who has seizures from a gunshot wound to his head and now clutched a letter that asked him for documents to help him qualify for disability benefits. "I can't get into Social Security!" he said, declining to give his last name as he stood outside. "They got it locked up!"

It was closed to Jennifer Husted, 52, a Walmart clerk hoping to drop off her son's birth certificate to qualify him to receive his late father's disability check.

"Just to update his info, they told me I had to physically come in person," she said.

It was closed to Dwight Chambers, 65, who came with a letter he wrote disputing the amount in taxes the government was taking out of the \$1,200 a month he receives in disability, so he could help support his granddaughters.

"I really need a face-to-face [meeting] because my case is complicated," Chambers said, shaking his head. A young woman pulled on the locked front doors. "Excuse me, babe!" he yelled to warn her. "You will not get into that building!"

Even as courthouses, motor vehicle and veterans' benefits offices, and most other parts of the government that directly serve

SEE SOCIAL SECURITY ON A6



JESSICA SARKOIE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Fatouma, 21, speaks out against child marriage in Niger, advocating for girls to remain in school.

Her mission: End child marriage

She fled home to avoid being a child bride. She wants to save others.

BY DANIELLE PAQUETTE

KOIRA TAGUI, NIGER — Fifteen women crowded in plastic chairs below an acacia tree, passing around a bowl of peanuts, all watching her. Was that boredom on their faces? Or skepticism? Fatouma never knew how an audience would react, so the young speaker tried to raise the subject gently — like a neighbor, familiar and safe, who just wants to chat.

Their daughters, she hoped, could avoid what she had suffered.

"Ladies," she said, fidgeting with a beaded bracelet. "Why do you want to marry off your girls?"

Seventy-six percent of girls in this West African nation become brides before turning 18 — the

SEE CHILD MARRIAGE ON A9

Travel hits the covid wall

FLIGHTS HALTED, EVENTS IN LIMBO

New restrictions are being pondered globally

BY MICHAEL KRANISH, ELLIE SILVERMAN, CHRISTINE ARMARIO AND RACHEL CHASON

The coronavirus pandemic continued to scramble Americans' plans on the day after Christmas, with more than 1,000 flights canceled and virus-related absences and soaring case rates leaving many gatherings and events in limbo.

With cases also rising sharply around the globe, several European countries have announced new restrictions, and Israel said it would launch a study Monday of whether a fourth vaccine shot could be effective.

Many of the U.S. flight cancellations occurred on Delta, United, SkyWest, American and JetBlue airlines, according to the flight-tracking company FlightAware. The service said at least 1,212 flights within or going to or from the United States were canceled as of Sunday midafternoon — not a record-setting amount, but enough to make traveling difficult. Another 997 U.S. flights had been canceled on Saturday, the service said.

SEE TRAVEL ON A2

Sick at sea: Cruise passengers again contend with outbreaks. A3

House MAGA squad backs challengers of GOP peers

BY COLBY ITKOWITZ

The defiant far-right acolytes of former president Donald Trump in the House Republican caucus have embarked on a targeted campaign ahead of the midterm elections to expand their ranks — and extend their power — on Capitol Hill.

The effort, backed by Trump and guided by House members such as Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.) and Madison Cawthon (R-N.C.), is part of a broader push by followers of the "Make America Great Again" movement to purge the GOP of those not deemed loyal to the former president and his false claims that the 2020 election was rigged in favor of Joe Biden.

Former Army Green Beret Joe Kent is running for a U.S. House seat in Washington state held by another Republican, Rep. Jaime Herrera Beutler, who voted to impeach Trump over his role in the Jan. 6 at the Capitol.

Kent said he has little interest in fighting with Democrats if he makes it to Congress. Instead, he wants to force Republicans into tough votes, starting with articles of impeachment against President Biden and a full congressional

SEE REPUBLICANS ON A4

DESMOND TUTU 1931-2021

Archbishop preached racial justice in S. Africa

BY GLENN FRANKEL

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, South Africa's ebullient apostle of racial justice and reconciliation who won the Nobel Peace Prize for his struggle against the system of white domination known as apartheid, died Dec. 26 in Cape Town, South Africa. He was 90.

The cause of death was complications from cancer, according to Roger Friedman, spokesman for the Archbishop Desmond Tutu Intellectual Property Trust. Archbishop Tutu was diagnosed with prostate cancer in 1997, and he was hospitalized on several occasions in recent years to treat infections associated with his cancer treatment.

A small, effervescent man with a crooked nose and infectious toothy grin, Archbishop Tutu served as Black South Africa's informal ambassador to the world during the dark days of repression and as a crucial voice in the campaign for racial equality that culminated with Nelson Mandela's election as the country's first Black president in 1994.

SEE TUTU ON A10

Archbishop Desmond Tutu holds up the hand of Nelson Mandela in triumph on the balcony of City Hall in Cape Town, South Africa, after Mandela was proclaimed president in 1994.



DUDLEY BROOKS/THE WASHINGTON POST

IN THE NEWS



JOHN MCCONNELL/THE WASHINGTON POST

One ugly night Washington players tussle on the sideline and take a beating from the Cowboys to all but end their playoff hopes. D1

THE NATION

A fire in the early hours of Christmas Day that killed a father and two sons in Quakertown, Pa., may have been ignited by tree lights, authorities said. A3

THE WORLD

More Australians are paying tribute to Indigenous people, but some worry the trend amounts merely to lip service. A5
As Hong Kong hews to a "zero covid" policy, the

city's viability as an international hub is coming into question. A11

THE ECONOMY

The Help Desk tackles readers' questions about Amazon Echo speakers, Google Photos and small smartphones. A13

THE REGION

Flipping the 1st District to blue in 2022 has become an urgent priority of Maryland Democrats, who benefit from a new congressional map. B1

THE WEEK AHEAD

MONDAY

The Treasury Department sells three- and six-month bills and two-year notes.

TUESDAY

The Federal Housing Finance Agency estimates a 0.7 percent monthly gain for its October house price index.

WEDNESDAY

The Prince George's County state's attorney's office hosts a gun violence and carjacking prevention event.

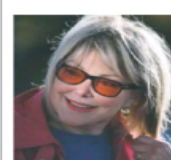
THURSDAY

Jobless claims are estimated at 205,000. Pittsburgh and Michigan State face off in the Peach Bowl in Atlanta.

FRIDAY

Federal offices are closed ahead of the New Year's holiday. No. 1 Alabama faces No. 4 Cincinnati in the Cotton Bowl, and No. 2 Michigan plays No. 3 Georgia in the Orange Bowl. The New Year's Eve Times Square celebration takes place in New York.

INSIDE



STYLE

A life on air Reporter Wendy Rieger, who retired this month from NBC4, reflects on her 33-year tenure. C1
Nonstop nuptials Wedding photographer looks back on his busiest year ever. C1

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For cat fan, not a bridge too far

A tireless advocate for L.A.'s cougars raises millions for a crossing over the 101 Freeway.

By LOUIS SAHAOUN

MIDPINES, Calif. — On a warm spring morning in 1976, when Beth Pratt was 7 years old, she noticed a "For sale" sign posted in the woods near her home just north of Boston.

"I asked my mom what it meant," she recalled. "She said the land was up for sale and would soon be flattened by bulldozers."

The next day, Pratt went doot to door in her neighborhood of old elms and deep porches asking for donations to save one of her favorite outdoor playgrounds. Then she called the phone number on the sign and made an offer: \$5.

After several seconds of silence, the person on the other end of the line said, "Wonderful. Just \$40,000 more and that property is all yours."

Today, Pratt is still rationally for causes she believes in. At 52, Pratt heads the nonprofit National Wildlife Federation's #SaveLA-Cougars campaign, which aims to raise funds to build an \$87-million bridge that will allow isolated clans of cougars to cross a 10-lane stretch of the 101 Freeway at Liberty Canyon Road in Agoura Hills.

To get a full measure of her dedication to the cause, start with the campaign's poster puma, P-22. A likeness of the lone mountain lion prowling the chaparral-covered slopes in Griffith Park is tattooed on Pratt's upper left arm.

Groundbreaking is just around the corner. The thought of it brings a proud smile to her face.

"When I took on this assignment I thought, well, how hard can it be?" Pratt said, shaking her head. "I didn't dream it would grow into a nearly \$100-million project that would consume almost 10 years of my life."

When it is completed, the 200-foot-long, 165-foot-wide bridge will be the largest and most expensive of its kind in the world — and the only one designed to save a species from extinction.

It is crucial, scientists say, to restoring gene flow among small, isolated populations of cougars trapped south of the freeway that roars with 300,000 vehicles each day in the Santa Monica Mountains and cougars [See Bridge, A8]



FRANCINE ORR Los Angeles Times
SERGIO NUÑO, who receives treatment for anxiety and depression, sketches in his Compton bedroom. Mental health in South L.A. has been so neglected it is still largely uncharted terrain.

Fighting against a 'deep hole'

By JOE MOZINGO

The sense of emptiness gutted him. Sketching in his notebook in the dim light of his room didn't bring Sergio Nuño the usual solace. He could barely summon the will to pour a bowl of cereal.

Nuño, 23, was on summer break from community college and laid low by depression and anxiety. He rarely left his parents' apartment in Compton.

Late one night in August 2019, intrusive thoughts were telling him to bang his head on the wall. Trying to stop the suicidal impulses, he clenched his jaw and paced circles in the living room

In South L.A., little access to care, lack of outreach and a fragmented system mean mental health issues often go untreated

until his mother and father woke up.

The only therapists and psychiatrists his parents, immigrants from Jalisco, Mexico, ever saw were on TV. Back home, going to one branded you as crazy.

In South Los Angeles and surrounding areas like Compton, mental disorders mostly go untreated until they have caused irreparable damage.

Many of them are inextricably tied to other calamities that befall people who live in L.A.'s poorest neighborhoods at disproportionate rates. Even before COVID-19 hit, Latino and Black people here were dealing with more poverty, addiction, unemployment [See Mental health, A6]

DESMOND TUTU, 1931 - 2021

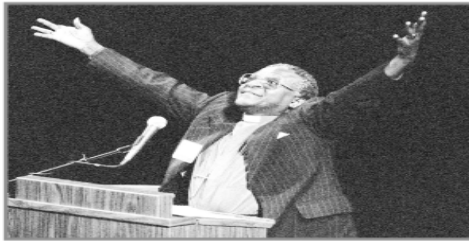
Archbishop helped end apartheid

Nobel laureate served as moral beacon in South Africa

By BOB DROGIN
REPORTING FROM JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

Desmond Tutu, the former archbishop of Cape Town who won the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize for his impassioned campaign against apartheid in South Africa while Nelson Mandela languished in prison, died early Sunday.

Tutu, 90, died of cancer at a care center in Cape Town, the Archbishop Desmond Tutu Trust said in a statement. He had been diagnosed with prostate cancer in 1997 and had been hospitalized



JACK TSORNELL Associated Press
SKILLED ORATOR
Desmond Tutu, who fought for racial justice while Nelson Mandela was in prison, was a symbol of hope.

talized several times in recent years.

A moral beacon in a deeply troubled land, the impish priest in the purple cassock stood for decades as an inspiring symbol of courage, dignity and hope in a nation that at times seemed doomed to civil war. His fervent pleas for peace and racial justice, along with his irrepressible sense of humor, were a constant balm to a country on the edge.

Tutu held a unique place in apartheid-era South Africa, and he used his stature as an Anglican prelate to navigate the violent crosscurrents. He wept at funerals for victims of apartheid, risked his life to stop violence by Black [See Tutu, A4]

COLUMN ONE

100 years on, Watts Towers' spirit still soars

The L.A. masterpiece is a creation story best told in bits and pieces



THOMAS KELLEY Los Angeles Times
A RUSTED entrance sign in 1988 beckons visitors to the Watts Towers, which Simon Rodia began building in 1921.

By CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS

A hundred years ago, in what was then the semirural farming community of Watts, a 40ish-year-old Italian immigrant laborer named Sabato Rodia bought a little home on a dead-end block by the railroad tracks and started collecting junk.

The roar and rattle of Pacific Electric Railway red cars was almost constant, but that didn't bother Rodia. Perhaps he was already envisioning what would become National Historic Landmark No. 77000297, casting its otherworldly spell on such admirers as Charles Mingus, Bette Saar, Buckminster Fuller and Nipsey Hussle. The train traffic might have annoyed Rodia's wife, but it gave him a daily audience for the building of the wonder we know now as Watts Towers.

Before long, Rodia was filling his three-sided yard with rebar, concrete, wire mesh, broken Fiesta ware and Bauer ceramics, cast-off Malibu and Batchelder tiles, stray shells and bottles. He called the project "Nuestro Pueblo" ("Our town"), perhaps as a nod to the neighbors in a mixed community of Latino, white, Japanese American and Black families.

By the end of 1921, his towers were well underway to becoming one of Los Angeles' most admired and least understood landmarks.

"You got to do something they never got 'em in the world," Rodia said, half-explaining himself.

Are those towers the most powerful act of recycling that California has ever seen? Maybe.

Are the towers open on the centennial of their birth? Officially, no. They have been closed [See Towers, A12]

Fearing a virus surge among kids

California officials urge more vaccination as N.Y. sees a rise in child hospitalizations.

By RONG-GONG LIN II AND LUKE MONEY

SAN FRANCISCO — A jump in child COVID-19 hospitalizations in New York is a warning to get more children vaccinated in California and elsewhere as the Omicron variant continues to surge, according to California health officials.

The Omicron wave hit New York before California, where cases have been surging in the last week. California officials said they are monitoring the rise in child hospitalizations.

"Unfortunately NY is seeing an increase in pediatric hospitalizations (primarily amongst the unvaccinated), and they have similar [5- to 11-year-old] vaccination rates," Dr. Erica Pan, the California state epidemiologist, wrote on Twitter. "Please give your children the gift of vaccine protection as soon as possible as our case [numbers] are increasing rapidly."

The increase is concentrated in New York City and the surrounding metro area. Officials described pediatric admissions quadrupling in New York City in recent weeks.

Half of the children being admitted to hospitals are younger than 5 and ineligible for vaccination. Three-quarters of those ages 12 to 17 have been admitted to hospitals for COVID-19 were not fully vaccinated, and 100% of those ages 5 to 11 who were admitted into hospitals were not fully vaccinated.

The warning about pediatric hospital admissions comes as California's public health director and health officer, Dr. Tomás Aragón, warned that state modelers are predicting hospital surges for California.

"Why? Omicron is so contagious that it finds unvaccinated/non-immune people who are most vulnerable for hospitalizations and deaths," Aragón wrote.

Aragón urged people to get vaccinated and boosted; to test before risky events, as well as three to five days after them; and to consider skipping or postponing high-risk indoor gatherings. Aragón also suggested improving ventilation and air filtration and improving the fit and quality of masks.

Health experts have increasingly urged people to upgrade their masks from [See Children, A7]

'No Way Home' tops \$1 billion at global box office

Grand finale of latest Spider-Man trilogy is the first film of the COVID-19 pandemic to reach that milestone. CALENDAR, E1

Punt return TD fuels Rams' win
Brandon Powell stuns Vikings with a game-changing turn in L.A.'s 30-23 victory to clinch playoff spot. SPORTS, D1

Weather
Breezy and rainy.
L.A. Basin: 53/41. B6

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.



BUSINESS INSIDE: A sprawling suburb ditches natural gas. Activists utter a loud 'meh.' A9



MEDIO AMBIENTE Golpe a una trama que exportaba residuos plásticos **P23**

CULTURA Diccionarios de autor: los solitarios de las palabras **P31**



Castilla y León marcará la estrategia del ciclo electoral

PP y PSOE ven crucial su primer reto en el camino hacia 2023

JOSÉ MARCOS, Madrid
Las elecciones anticipadas del 13 de febrero en Castilla y León, convocadas por el PP tras romper con Ciudadanos, marcarán las es-

INÉS ARRIMADAS
Presidenta de Ciudadanos

“En 2019 le regalamos al PP cuatro presidencias. Fue un error”

JAVIER CASQUEIRO, Madrid
Inés Arrimadas, que afronta ahora las elecciones anticipadas en Castilla y León y la ruptura con el PP, declara en una entrevista con EL PAÍS: “Viendo lo que ha pasado, lo que tengo que decir es que la negociación que hizo mi partido en 2019 fue un grave error, porque se regaló al PP las cuatro presidencias de las comunidades autónomas en un momento en el que habían sacado su peor resultado”. **PÁGINAS 18 Y 19**

Los casos de chicas suponen el 14,6% en el informe de EL PAÍS

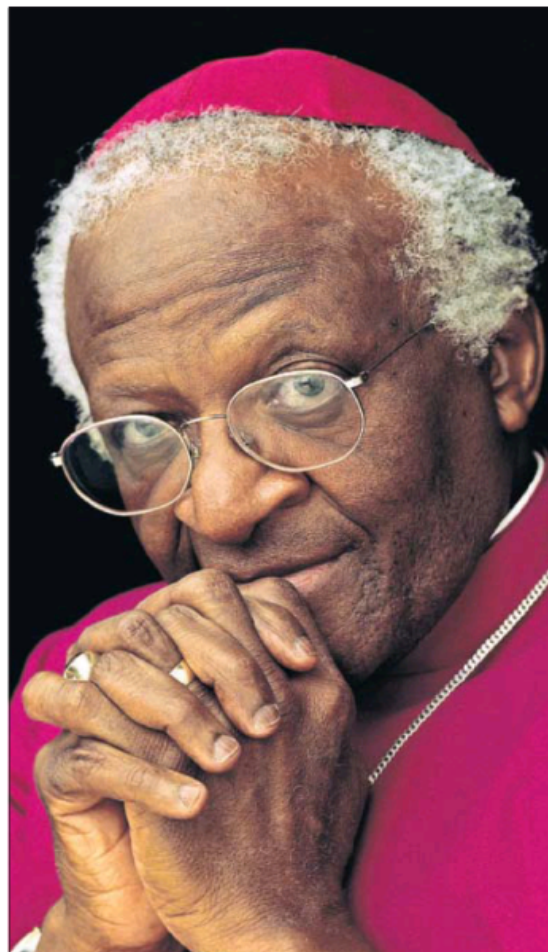
Los abusos de curas contra niñas

También hubo abusos de curas contra niñas. Antònia Pallach, de 76 años, recuerda lo que le sucedía en 1950: “Tras los tocamientos, tenía derecho a piñones”. Es una de las 41 denunciantes (el 14,6%) del informe entregado por EL PAÍS al Vaticano. **PÁGINAS 26 Y 27**

trategias del ciclo político que conducirá hasta el término de la legislatura, previsto para finales de 2023 o principios de 2024. En ese camino hacia la formación de un nuevo Gobierno central se producirán también las elecciones andaluzas de 2022 y las municipales de mayo de 2023.

El PP quiere aprovechar sus terrenos favorables de Andalucía y Castilla y León (en ambas gobernaciones) para establecer con sendas victorias la percepción de que España se adentra en un cambio de etapa. Un relato que el PSOE rechaza, porque defiende que incluso se le podría atragantar a Pablo Casado: Vox es su único socio posible y ya ha dejado claro que no se limitará a servir de comparsa, porque la extrema derecha exige gobernar. Si lo hace, el PSOE cree que tendrá diseñada parte de su campaña para movilizar al electorado progresista.

En este recorrido hasta finales de 2023, el proyecto de Yolanda Díaz más allá de Unidas Podemos produce gran expectación, pero aún es un esbozo. Eso sí, según los sondeos hay una certeza: 2022 será el año de las dos derechas, porque Ciudadanos desaparecerá del escenario. **PÁGINAS 16 Y 17**



DEBORAH FEINGOLD (GETTY)

Desmond Tutu, el talante risueño

El arzobispo Desmond Tutu (en la foto, tomada en 1999), Nobel de la Paz en 1984, falleció ayer a los 90 años en la Sudafrica liberada que él contribuyó a crear. Símbolo contra el apartheid, fue presidente de la Comisión para la Verdad y la Reconciliación, que trató de cerrar la herida del racismo. Ya se le veía frágil y apenas hablaba, pero aún trataba de mostrar su eterno talante risueño. **PÁGINA 5**

La nueva Alemania enseña las uñas a China y a Rusia

El Gobierno tripartito se aleja del enfoque conciliador de Merkel

ELENA SEVILLANO, Berlín
Olaf Scholz y su ministra de Exteriores, Annalena Baerbock, se alejan del enfoque conciliador de Angela Merkel frente a China y Rusia. Las diferencias, todavía moderadas, han asomado ya en los primeros días del recién estrenado tripartito alemán. **PÁGINA 2**

EDITORIAL EN LA PÁGINA 10

“Cuando parece que todo va bien, volvemos a empezar”

Las segundas Navidades con presión en la UCI

JESSICA MOUZO, Barcelona
El día de Navidad fue también el día de la marmota: otra vez igual. En el Clínic de Barcelona, los enfermos graves por covid nunca se acaban. Miquel Ferrer, responsable de la UCI, confiesa: “Sentimos hartazgo, cansancio y resignación. Cuando parece que todo va bien, volvemos a empezar”. **PÁGINA 25**

Anekdótico de la mascarilla

Enric González **PÁGINA 24**

Embargo oficial

MANOLO GARCÍA
Gira 22

23.09 VALENCIA
15.10 SEVILLA
05.11 BARCELONA
10.12 BILBAO
20.12 MADRID

Y MUCHAS MÁS FECHAS EN: WWW.MANOLO-GARCIA.COM

Logos: A3, A3+, Concert Tour, Ticketmaster, WWW.MANOLO-GARCIA.COM

Un mercader de armas huido de España acompaña al rey emérito

Abdul Rahman El Assir, acusado de defraudar 14 millones, vive también en Abu Dabi

JOSÉ MARÍA IRUJO, Madrid
Un empresario hispanolibanés dedicado al comercio de armas y que se halla en busca y captura en España, acusado de defraudar 14,7 millones a Hacienda, acompaña con frecuencia al rey Juan Carlos I en su residencia de Abu Dabi. Se trata de

Abdul Rahman El Assir, que vive también en la capital de Emiratos Árabes Unidos, según informaron a EL PAÍS testigos presenciales. La amistad entre el rey emérito y El Assir se remonta a los años ochenta, es pública y se sustenta en la afición por las monterías. **PÁGINA 15**

1931-2021

Desmond Tutu.
Emblema de la igualdad

—el mundo

El arzobispo emérito sudafricano fue uno de los grandes símbolos de la lucha contra el apartheid; había ganado el Nobel de la Paz; murió ayer, a los 90 años. **Página 3**

**TATY CASTELLANOS,**
EL ARGENTINO QUE ES
ÍDOLO EN NUEVA YORK

—deportes

Es mendocino y tiene 23 años; salió campeón con el New York City; es el goleador protegido por Guardiola, con gran proyección internacional. **Página 7**

**PREPAGAS: POR CADA
PRESTACIÓN HABRÁ
QUE PAGAR UN EXTRA**

—economía

Desde el 1º de enero se les volverán a cobrar copagos a los afiliados "por la crisis financiera"; será un adicional del 9% por los servicios de salud. **Página 15**

LA NACION

LUNES 27 DE DICIEMBRE DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

El Gobierno impulsa a las provincias para que suban la presión impositiva

CONSENSO FISCAL. Promueve la creación del impuesto a la herencia y habilita otros aumentos

El presidente Alberto Fernández firmará esta tarde un nuevo Consenso Fiscal junto a gobernadores y representantes de 23 provincias. El pacto impulsa a los distritos a crear el impuesto a la herencia, las donaciones y los legados, solo vigente en la provincia de Buenos Aires, pero también permite subas en Ingresos

Brutos, Inmobiliario, Automotor y Sellos, al fijar topes máximos que, en muchos casos, superan los vigentes en las provincias.

Pese a que quedarán habilitados, la mayoría de los gobernadores prometen que no subirán esos tributos. La Casa Rosada volvió a remarcar ayer que las subas no son obligato-

rias y que, por el contrario, el consenso busca la "armonización tributaria" entre las distintas provincias.

Con el acuerdo, el Gobierno meterá también una cuña en la oposición, ya que Horacio Rodríguez Larreta será el único mandatario ausente y no enviará un representante al encuentro. **Página 6**

"CONFISCATORIO"

Varios tributaristas coinciden en que el llamado impuesto a la herencia podría resultar confiscatorio. **Página 7**

Indagan al segundo de De Vido en la causa de los cuadernos

SOBORNOS. El juez Ercolini citó para hoy a Roberto Baratta

A partir de nuevas pruebas que habían sido aportadas por el fiscalista Ernesto Clarens, el juez Julián Ercolini citó para hoy a indagatoria al exfuncionario kirchnerista Roberto Baratta, quien fue mano derecha de Julio De Vido en el Ministerio de Planificación Federal. Con su declaración, cobrará renovado impulso un tramo de la investigación derivada de los cuadernos de las coimas. **Página 10**

EL PULSO DEL CONSUMO

Trátense con cuidado: 2022, año frágil

Guillermo Oliveto

—PARA LA NACION—

La calle estuvo desbordada hasta Navidad. El consumo masivo creció 5,4% en noviembre. El de bebidas con alcohol, 12,5%, según datos de Scentia. El verano será récord. En la costa atlántica esperan lleno total para fin de año y enero. En Bariloche ya piden que no vayan turistas sin reserva. **Continúa en la página 16**

Temor por la expansión de las mafias rosarinas

Germán de los Santos

PARA LA NACION

NARCOTRÁFICO. ROSARIO.—Exfuncionarios, fiscales y académicos convocados por la UBA elaboraron un documento en el que advierten sobre el peligro de la consolidación de las prácticas del crimen organizado de Rosario en el resto del país. **Continúa en la página 26**



FABIÁN MARELLI

Hasta cuatro horas para testearse. Tal como ocurrió antes y durante las Fiestas, ayer se volvieron a registrar largas filas en las unidades febriles de urgencia (UFU) de la ciudad. En el Hospital Pirovano (foto) ayer hubo colas de hasta cuatro horas. Desde hoy agregarán cuatro unidades móviles de testeo. Mientras tanto, el gobierno porteño reforzó la seguridad tras la agresión a un médico en el Hospital Santojanni. **Página 21**

Córdoba suspende los eventos masivos por 10 días

CORONAVIRUS. Por la escalada de casos, no permitirán recitales ni discotecas; reducen aforos

El gobierno de Córdoba decidió implementar restricciones ante la suba de contagios que afecta a la provincia. Las nuevas medidas sanitarias, que regirán desde hoy hasta el 4 de enero inclusive, prevén la suspensión de eventos masivos, es decir, de más de 300 personas,

tanto en espacios cerrados como abiertos, y la reducción del aforo en salones de fiestas a ese mismo número.

En cambio, las discotecas y los recitales directamente no están contemplados en ese tope y no podrán tener ningún tipo de ac-

tividad durante este período de diez días.

Las restricciones no alcanzan ni en volumen de gente ni en extensión horaria a los bares, los restaurantes, la práctica de deportes y el entrenamiento al aire libre. **Página 20**

¿Las vacunas frenarán las nuevas variantes?Evangelina Himittian. **Página 22****Reducen el intervalo para el refuerzo a mayores de 60****Página 20**

Mostaza Merlo Volver a dirigir

A los 71 años, y a 20 del milagro de Racing campeón, se prepara para entrenar a Defensores Unidos de Zárate. **DEP**



Desmond Tutu, un ícono contra el apartheid

El arzobispo sudafricano, Nobel de la Paz, murió a los 90 años. **P.22**

Tema del día ● Es la cifra más alta en 8 años

Aunque vuela menos, Aerolíneas pierde casi US\$ 2 millones por día

Este año bajó un 20% los vuelos de cabotaje y un 70% los internacionales respecto de 2019. Según datos del portal oficial Presupuesto Abierto, en 2021 recibió \$ 63.551 millones que, al

dólar oficial mayorista, equivalen a US\$ 669 millones. Esto es, US\$ 1,85 millones por día. La empresa es históricamente deficitaria por una estructura enorme y baja productividad.

Cuanto más opera, más pierde. Al frente de la compañía está Pablo Ceriani, puesto por Mariano Recalde, uno de los jefes de La Cámpora y ex presidente de Aerolíneas. **P.3**

DESDE EL 1 DE ENERO

Los afiliados a prepagas pagarán el 9% del costo de las prestaciones

El copago lo cobrarán clínicas, sanatorios, hospitales, geriátricos y otras instituciones médicas, según anunció la cámara del sector. Es porque las prepagas sostienen que, por la grave crisis del sector, no pueden trasladar a los prestadores la suba del 9% dispuesta por el Gobierno. **P.27**



Increíble pero real. El auto circulaba de manera peligrosa por la ruta. El conductor tenía casi tres veces la cifra límite de alcohol permitida en sangre para manejar.



TWITTER

EL ACUERDO SE FIRMA HOY

Con aval radical, el Gobierno impulsa la creación de nuevos impuestos

Alberto Fernández sella un Consenso Fiscal que promueve más impuestos. También, subir las alícuotas de Ingresos Brutos y generalizar el impuesto a la herencia. Rodríguez Larreta se opone y no irá a la reunión. **P.6**

DEFINICIONES DEL EX PRESIDENTE

Macri: "El que saca los pies del plato, desaparece"

Hizo referencia así a la interna de Juntos por el Cambio. Dijo que hay muy pocas posibilidades de que el espacio se rompa. Cuestionó también las políticas económicas y la gestión de la pandemia del Gobierno: "Son un ejército de demolición". **P.10**

Policías en apuros: borrachos y en zigzag por la ruta

La Policía Vial detuvo un auto con dos efectivos de la Bonaerense del Operativo Sol en plena ruta 11, a la altura de Aguas Verdes, cuando se quedaron dormidos en medio de la autovía. Los habían grabado cuando circulaban zigzagando. Fueron desahucados. **P.30**

TERCERA OLA DE COVID

Hubo 7.600 casos, pero volvió a subir la tasa de contagios

El total de nuevos contagios en todo el país fue ayer de 7.623. En los últimos siete días la cifra alcanza a 70.335, más del doble que la semana anterior. El dato que preocupa es el de la tasa de positividad, que sigue creciendo y ayer fue de 22,7%. Este índice establece que 1 de cada cuatro personas hi-

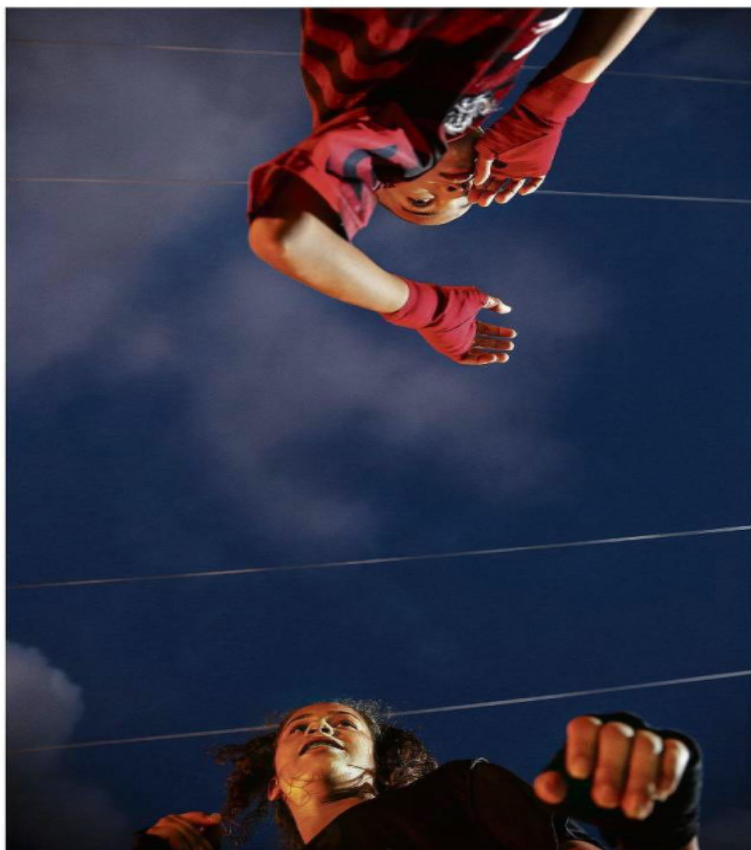
sopadas estaba contagiada. Es la tasa más alta desde el 6 de julio. El Ministerio de Salud de Nación informó que consensuó con todas las provincias bajar a cuatro meses el tiempo para aplicar la dosis de refuerzo de la vacuna a personal de Salud y mayores de 60 años. **P.24**

De la Editora

Silvia Fesquet

Panqueques,
tránsfugas y turistas de
la política argentina

P.2



Marcela Ferreira e Samuel Veloso aprendem boxe na Casa do Povo, em SP. Eduardo Knapp/Folhapress

Defesa usa verba para conter Covid com filé e picanha

Pasta diz que auditoria é preliminar; R\$ 535 mil em recursos para a pandemia bancaram itens supérfluos

Levantamento sigiloso da Secretaria de Controle Externo de Aquisições Logísticas obtido pela Folha mostra que o Ministério da Defesa gastou R\$ 535 mil em recursos para o enfrentamento da Covid com a compra de itens de luxo, como filé mignon e picanha, informa Constança Rezende. Questionada, a pasta afirmou que age contra a pandemia e que o apontamento é preliminar.

Os dados vêm de auditoria aberta pelo Tribunal de Contas da União para investigar supostas irregularidades na aquisição de gêneros alimentícios desde 2017.

Os gastos das Forças Armadas em 2020, quando se esperava queda de despesa com o regime de trabalho remoto na pandemia, chamaram a atenção dos técnicos.

A Defesa diz que as atividades das tropas continuaram.

A auditoria cita o ministério como o órgão superior que mais gastou com itens não essenciais, de camarão a bebidas alcoólicas. Parte desses recursos veio da ação orçamentária "Enfrentamento da Emergência de Saúde Pública de Importância Internacional decorrente do Coronavírus". A pasta responde por 96% do que foi usado indevidamente sob essa rubrica. **saúde B1**

Governador diz que Bahia vive tragédia gigantesca

O governador da Bahia, Rui Costa (PT), fez sobrevoo neste domingo (26) nas áreas mais atingidas pelas chuvas que voltaram a castigar o estado. A destruição causada por temporais e cheias já atingiu 58 municípios, deixando 4.000 desabrigados e 18 mortos. **Cotidiano B2**

Preto Zezé Favela é mais forte do que vírus

Esse mundo caótico a que todos conheceram na pandemia é o habitat da maioria da população que vive em favelas e periferias do país. Enquanto se falava em ficar em casa ou álcool em gel, mais de 45% dessa gente batalhadora nem tinha água regularmente na torneira. **Opinião A2**

Bolsonaro gastou quase R\$ 5 milhões com motocicletas

Quase R\$ 5 milhões em dinheiro público já foram consumidos para viabilizar motocicletas em apoio ao presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL), mostra levantamento via Lei de Acesso à Informação. A soma inclui despesas com o cartão do governo federal e gastos dos estados. **Poder A6**



Desmond Tutu, em 2007

Esporte B5

Além das quatro cordas

Com visão de movimento social, academias de boxe incluem cultura e política em atividades

Ilustrada B6

Teatro se encontrou com cinema em 2021, ano em que voltou aos palcos

Ilustrada B10

Mundo dos games viu presidente perder apoio e negros se firmarem maioria

Mercado A13

Valorização do real deverá contribuir para inflação menor em 2022

Morre Desmond Tutu, fundamental no fim do apartheid

Depois de Nelson Mandela, foi o arcebispo Desmond Tutu a principal figura da luta da África do Sul contra o apartheid. Sua contribuição para o fim do regime segregacionista branco foi imensa. Tutu tinha 90 anos. **Mundo A8**

ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Jeffrey Hoelle

Criador de boi na Amazônia não é burro ou bandido

Antropólogo norte-americano, autor do livro "Cauubóis da Floresta", tenta desmistificar e explicar a motivação dos envolvidos com a pecuária, principal vetor do desmatamento da Amazônia. "Precisamos entender as dimensões sociais e culturais dessas atividades", afirmou. **A10**



Daniilo Verpa/Folhapress

CONTROLE DE VACINAÇÃO ESTÁ FALHO, AFIRMAM PASSAGEIROS

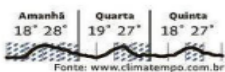
Aeroporto de Guarulhos fica lotado nesse domingo; estrangeiros relatam pedido aleatório do passaporte da vacina no desembarque **Cotidiano B3**

China passa EUA e lidera produção de ciência no mundo

Ciência B4

ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



EDITORIAIS A2

A sombra soviética
Sobre 30 anos do fim da superpotência comunista.

Verão esgotado
Acerca de poluição renitente das praias do país.



El Papa aconsejó hablar en familia, en vez de acusarse y aislarse con el celular

Obispo advierte que el dinero malhabido daña a la familia

Monseñor Ricardo Valenzuela, en la misa central de Caacupé, en el día de la Sagrada Familia, se refirió a factores que destruyen hogares como plata ilegal, maltrato y exilio.

PÁGINAS 20 y 39

Según análisis de activistas
Existe gran sensación de impunidad con los casos de corrupción

PÁGINAS 6 y 7

Fue Nobel de la Paz
Falleció Desmond Tutu, símbolo contra la opresión

PÁGINA 37

Tampoco avanzó ley de servicio civil
Reforma de regla fiscal está sin estudio hace un año en el Senado

PÁGINA 12

Emite recomendaciones para viajeros
Salud insta a considerar los riesgos por el Covid si se va a vacacionar

PÁGINA 2



Plantean que empresas arreglen veredas de vecinos

En Asunción. Concejal Augusto Wagner propone concesionar la construcción y el mantenimiento de aceras, que se encuentran en un deplorable estado.

PÁGINA 19

Ramón González D. era el gran usurero de la élite, revela fallo condenatorio

PÁGINA 40

