



SATURDAY/SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 17 - 18, 2022 - VOL. CCLXXX NO. 66

\*\*\*\* \$6.00

# What's News

World-Wide

The Justice Department asked a federal appeals court to allow prosecutors to resume examining documents marked classified that were recovered last month from Trump's Mar-a-Lago home and to bar a special master from reviewing them. A4

- from reviewing them. A4
  ◆ Putin renewed his threats
  to sink an international
  agreement to unblock
  Ukraine's vital grain exports
  through the Black Sea, saying not enough grain was
  going to the world's poor. A8
  ◆ Germany took control
  of the German business of
  Russia's Rosnert Oil as Berlin
  races to safeguard its energy
  supplies before its planned
  ban on Russian oil imports
  kicks in later this year. A8
  ◆ A federal appeals court
- A federal appeals court upheld a Texas law that
- ◆ Migrants who unexpect-edly arrived in Martha's Vine-yard from Florida this past week moved to new tempo-rary housing on Cape Cod, as Florida Gov. DeSantis said he plans to send more mi-grants to northern cities. A3
- \*A The Justice Department
  has tapped more than 150
  federal prosecutors to bolster efforts to combat the
  rise in crime linked to the
  use of cryptocurrencies. A4

#### Business & Finance

- ◆ FedEx's warning of a sharp drop in package de-liveries set off fresh wor-ries among investors about the outlook for the global economy, sparking another day of declines in U.S. stock markets. Al ◆ The S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow retreated 0.7%.
- and Dow retreated 0.7%, 0.9% and 0.5%, respectively, with all three indexes re-cording losses for four of the past five weeks. B1
- China's ByteDance is of-fering to buy back shares from its investors, allow-ing them the chance to cash in after the TikTok owner ruled out plans for an initial public offering. A1
- ♦ A security breach of Uber temporarily hobbled the company's internal commu-nications, a stark illustration of how tech firms that have access to the best talent and tools are vulnerable to re-peated compromise. BI
- Renewed Covid-19 curbs
  and a worsening property
  downturn are damping the
  outlook for China's economy,
  despite some modest signs
- ♦ A recent academic study found wide disparities in the prices that investors ge when buying and selling stocks through a half dozen popular brokerages. B11

# NOONAN

Elizabeth II Was Queen Of Our Times A15



# Ukrainians Find Mass Grave in City Retaken From Russians

GRISLY DISCOVERY: Police investigators and war-crimes prosecutors began exhuming hundreds of bodies Friday from a mass burial site in the recently recaptured city of Izyum, some of which they said showed signs of torture. A7

# **Ivy League Dropout Cashes In** With \$20 Billion Startup Sale

Four years ago, Dylan Field was living in a one-bedroom apartment in San Francisco's gritty Mission District, where he would stop for a \$1 cup of coffee on his way to work. The college dropout was anonymous—and shy—enough that at freewheeling networking events held by the city's omnipresent venture-capital firms, Mr. Field would often

stand alone, awkwardly nurs-

stand alone, awkwardıy muzoing a drink.

On Thursday, his designsoftware company, Figma,
agreed to be sold to rival
Adobe Inc. for \$20 billion,
suddenly making Mr. Field, 30,
one of the most talked-about
people in the technology
world.

Mr. Field co-founded with a former Brown University classmate, was fast even by

the standards of Silicon Valley the standards of Silicon Valley. In early 2018, the company was valued privately at \$115 million. By last year, in another fundraising round, that valuation had soared to \$10 billion, a level doubled by Adobe's deal. The rapid appreciation is noteworthy as prices. ciation is noteworthy as prices for most technology compa-nies, public and private, have been in free fall in recent

vestors and others who know him, still owns a sizable chunk of the company, along with venture-capital heavyweights including Sequoia Capital and Greylock Partners. If the deal closes, Mr. Field would be a billionarie.

closes, Mr. Field would be a billionaire. In an interview a few hours after the deal announcement, Mr. Field said he was still pro-cessing the scale of the changes to his life. While Please turn to page A4

# FedEx's Warning **Triggers** Broader Worries

Shipping giant's stock falls 21% as its outlook on deliveries sends indexes down further

BY ESTHER FUNG
AND WILL FEUER

FedEx Corp.'s warning of a sharp drop in package deliveriess et off fresh worries among investors about the outlook for the global economy, sparking another down day in stock markets.

The delivery giant's shares lost 21% Friday—its biggest one-day percentage drop ever—after the company said a macroeconomic slowdown had led to lower volumes of goods moving around the world in recent weeks. All three major U.S. stock indexes fell Friday, capping a week where the S&P 500 declined 4.8% and the Dow Jones Industrial Average dropped 4.1%.

The chief executives at General Electric Co, and Verizon Communications Inc. also pointed this past week to signs of economic troubles. GE's Larry Culp said managing supply chains remained difficult, threatening to slow deliveries and push up costs; Verizon's Hans Vestberg said there had been a pickup in customer churn, or cancellations, after a recent price increase.

The world's two biggest economies, China and the U.S., have been slowing this year.

# Surge of Violent Crime Overwhelms New Orleans

City has the highest homicide rate in the U.S. so far this year

By Cameron McWhirter

Violent crime in New Orleans has grown to the point that Ibrahim Rabee no longer feels safe at his auto shop.

At least seven people have been killed within blocks of his store since the beginning of the year, according to police records. Customers bring in cars for repairs with handguns and semiautomatic rifles piled on the seats, Mr. Rabee said. A man with a gun recently threatened an employee who wouldn't put air in his tire. After someone walked in with a gun and threatened to shoot up the store, Mr. Rabee called 911. An officer finally showed up the next day.

"I'm thinking I'm not going to work an-

other year here," said Mr. Rabee, who came to the U.S. from the Palestinian territories and is now considering moving near his brother in upstate New York.

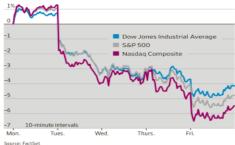
Violent crime has surged across the U.S. since the start of the pandemic. Although it has flattened in much of the country this year, the numbers have continued to rise in several cities including Dallas, Phoenix and New Orleans, according to data compiled for the first half of this year by the Major Cities Chefs Association, a professional organization of police executives.

New Orleans had the highest homicide rate of any major city so far this year, with about 41 homicides per 100,000 residents, Please turn to page A12

## Stocks End Week in the Red

Major indexes closed lower Friday, with the Dow, S&P 500 and Nasdaq all posting losses for four of the past five weeks. **B1** 

Index performance this past week



# Welcome to Your Airbnb, Don't Forget to Wash the Linens

Growing to-do lists stress travelers: 'This kind of changes the whole vibe'

By Preetika Rana

Christina Marie spent her

Christina Marie spent her lats vacation day fretting over finishing her chores. Vacuum?
Check. Laundry?
Check. Laundry?
Check. Dishes? Check.
Her Airbnb in South
Lake Tahoe, Calif, had an exhaustive list of cleaning requirements and she wasn't going to let her guest rating dip over it. Cooking breakfast for her family of six would mean more cleaning, so everyone ate bananas and Pop-

ges the whole vibe'

Tarts that morning. When one of the kids reached for a cup after she loaded the dishwasher, Ms. Marie roared: "Put the cup away. No more, no more!"

"You don't want to wake up at 6 a.m. to do chores when you're on vacation," said Ms. Marie, a Sacramento teacher. "This kind of changes the whole vibe. It's stressful."

Longtime Airbnb useping!

eping!

### EXCHANGE



# THE NEW CAR SALESMAN

An electric-vehicle upstart is trying to break the lock of auto dealerships. B1

# TikTok Parent Offers To Buy Backers' Shares

By RAFFAELE HUANG

SINGAPORE—China's ByteDance Ltd. is offering to buy
back shares from its investors,
allowing them the chance to
cash out after the TikTok
owner set aside plans for an
initial public offering.

The Beijing-based company
will spend up to \$3 billion in
cash to repurchase shares from
existing shareholders at a
price of up to \$176.90 a share,
according to a memo sent to
investors and viewed by The
Wall Street Journal. The deal
would value the company at
around \$300 billion, which is
higher than most of the recent
offers in the private-equity
secondary market, people fa-

miliar with the matter said.

miliar with the matter said.

The repurchase aims to give liquidity to some of the long-term shareholders, including Sequoia Capital and Susque-hanna International Group, as its plan to go public has stalled, according to people familiar with the plan. Sequoia and Susquehanna didn't respond to requests for comment.

If the \$3 billion budget is insufficient to buy back all of the shares held by investors participating in the repurchase, ByteDance will acquire an equal proportion of shares from each, the people said. The company has several hundred shareholders, they said.

ByteDance also said it was Please turn topage A6

INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

SATURDAY 17 SEPTEMBER / SUNDAY 18 SEPTEMBER 2022



er Bridge, London, to attend the lying in state of Queen Elizabeth II before her funeral on Monday. The queue yesterday extended to more than 24 hours. Page 4

# Germany seizes Rosneft oil refineries

Move to secure energy supply ◆ Scholz cites 'unavoidable' step ◆ Putin hit by India stance on Ukraine

USA \$3.00 Canada C\$3.50

The German government has taken control of three refineries owned by Russian oil company Rosneft, in an escalation of the energy war between Moscow and the west triggered by Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

Chancellor Olaf Scholz yesterday said his government had not taken the step lightly, but that it was "unavoidable".

"We have known for a long time that Russia is no longer a reliable energy supplier," he said. "That's why it's important to do everything we can now to safeguard Germany's energy supply."

tant to do everything we can now guard Germany's energy supply.

The German move to seize control of the Russian refineries came as Vladimir Putin, Russia's president, faced increasing pressure over the war in Ukraine from Asian nations that had previously been neutral to the invasion. Narendra Modi yesterday warned Putin that "today's era is not of war" during a meeting between the Indian and Russian leaders in Utbekistan. Putin had acknowledged New Delhi's "concerns" about the conflict for the first time — a day after using the same tone with China's president, Xi juping. Xi and Modi's strong ties with Russia are crucial to Putin's attempt to show

that Moscow remains a major player on the world stage.

Berlin's decision to take control of the refineries is an attempt to protect the German economy from the effects of an EU-wide embargo on Russian crude, which comes into force on January 1 and is designed to deprive Putin of revenues to fund the war.

It secures the future of PCK, a refinery owned by Rosneft in the German town of Schwedt that was set to be hit hard by the oil embargo. PCK sits atop the Druzhba pipelline, which carries crude about 4,000km from central Rusiato Schwedt. Efforts to secure alternations to scure alternasia to Schwedt. Efforts to secure alterna-

tive supplies of oil for the refinery had been complicated by the fact that Ros-neft is its majority owner with a 54 per cent stake. "This is a far-reaching decision on energy policy aimed at protecting our

Ukraine's counter-offensive has shattered the illusion of normalcy that the Kremlin has worked hard to sustain

PUTIN'S PROBLEM The Big Read, Page 5

country," Scholz said. "We are making

country," Scholz said. "We are making ourselves more independent of Russia."
PCK, which has a workforce of 1,200, is the main supplier of petrol, diesel, jet kerosene and fuel oil to Berlin and the surrounding region.
The move on Rosneft is the latest in a string of measures by the German government to deal with the chaos caused by the war in Ukraine, which has pushed European energy prices to record levels.

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FT View page 6

Ivan Krastev page 7 Commodities & Russian rates page 13

The kingdom to come Matthew Engel on the monarchy's future

LIFE & ARTS

#### A green King

Charles III and his love of gardening

HOUSE & HOME

#### The outpouring

What were the royal crowds looking for?

LIFE & ARTS

#### Men's fashion special

What to wear this autumn

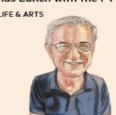
HTSI

#### Janan Ganesh

The myth of western decadence

LIFE & ARTS

### **Author Orhan Pamuk** has Lunch with the FT





# of ESPN turnround plan

Staff at ESPN breathed a sigh of relief when Dan Loeb of activist hedge fund when Dan Loeb of activist hodge fund Third Point recently reversed his view that the US media glant should spin off its sports network in order to boost performance. The news that Disney chief Bob Chapek had a plan to 'restore ESPN to its growth trajectory' had won Loeb over. However, the deep issues the sports network faces have left investors wondering about the details of Chapek's plans to fix them.

Back in the game > PAGE 12

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# US stocks decline after profit warning from bellwether FedEx worsens gloom

ADAM SAMSON AND IAN JOHNSTON

Wall Street equities were on course to close the week with significant losses after a profit warning from package-delivery company FedEx amplified concerns about the global economy.

concerns about the global economy.
The S&P 500 dropped 1.4 per cent by
midday in New York, with Nasdaq down
1.7 per cent. The falls came after shares
in FedEx dropped 2.5 per cent in reaction to the group's disclosure that it
would close offices, freeze hiring and
park aircraft in response to a decline in
package shipping volumes.
The US company, seen as an economic
bellwether because of its central role in
global commerce, released preliminary
quarterly financial results that missed
analysts' forecasts. It also withdrew
guidance for the remainder of the fiscal

roeconomic trends" in the US and abroad.

The stock market challenges show how "the underlying conditions have deteriorated quite sharply over the last couple of months", said Roger Lee, head of UK equity strategy at Investec. "In the first half, companies were able to get price rises through and pass on to customers. We may be getting to the point where that's getting more difficult."

European equities also reflected the rising investor jitters about the state of the global economy. The regional Stoxx 600 closed down 1.6 per cent while Germany's Dax slipped 1.7 per cent. In Asia, Hong Kong's Hang Seng lost 0.9 per cent and Japan's Topix fell 0.6 per cent.

The US S&P 500 had already fallen 4 per cent in the week to Thursday as traders worried that the Federal

Reserve may begin raising interest rates more forcefully in its effort to tame the worst spell of inflation in four decades. Trading in federal funds futures sug-gested that markets expect the Fed to boost its main interest rate to 4.5 per cent by next March, against forecasts of about 4 per cent at the start of this week. That would mark a sharp rise from

That would mark a sharp rise from the range of 2.25-2.5 per cent at present. Higher borrowing costs typically

Higher borrowing costs typically weigh on economic growth and some economists expect the central bank may struggle to avoid tipping the world's biggest economy into recession. Traders are looking abead to a major week for central banking news. In addition to the Fed, the Bank of England and Bank of Japan are set to make monetary policy decisions next week. FedEx shares plunge page 10 The Long View page 18

World Markets													
STOCK MARKETS	CURRENCIES									GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Sep 16	Prev	%chg	Pair	Sep 16	Prev	Pair	Sep 16	Pnev	Yield (%)	Sap 16	Prev	Chy
S&P 500	3858.19	3901,35	-1.11	S/E	1.003	1.000	€/\$	0.997	1.000	US 2 yr	3.87	3.88	-0.0
Nasdaq Composite	11393.55	11552.36	-1.37	\$/E	1.143	1.149	£/\$	0.875	0.870	US 10 yr	3.46	3.46	-0.0
Dow Jones Ind	30694.34	30961,82	-0.86	£/Æ	0.877	0.870	€/E	1.140	1.150	US 30 yr	3.53	3.49	0.0
FTSEurofirst 300	1612.80	1638.89	-1.59	¥/\$	142.940	143.470	¥/E	143.376	143,406	UK 2 yr	3.19	3.16	0.00
Euro Stoxx 50	3493.01	3541.79	-1.38	¥/E	163.424	164.861	£ inde	x 77.012	77.514	UK 10 yr	3.13	3.16	-0.03
FTSE 100	7236.68	7282.07	-0.62	SFr/Æ	0.965	0.960	SFt/E	1.100	1.104	UK 30 yr	3.45	3.48	-0.03
FTSE All-Share	3976.66	4000.33	-0.59	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr	-0.08	-0.08	0.00
CAC 40	6077.30	6157,84	-1.31	CRIPIO		Seo	16	Pnev	%chg	JPN 10 yr	0.25	0.25	0.00
Xetra Dax	12741.26	12956.66	-1.66	Bitcoin (\$1		19519		19698.31	-0.91	JPN 30 yr	1.28	1.25	0.00
Nikkei	27567.65	27875.91	-1.11	Ethereum		1422		1472.42	-3.38	GER 2 yr	1.52	1.52	-0.0
Hang Seng	18761.69	18930.38	-0.89	Eulereum		1462	50	1472.42	-3.30	GER 10 yr	1.75	1.77	-0.0
MSEI World \$	2592.00	2617.84	-0.99	COMMOD	NTIES					GER 30 yr	1.76	1.76	0.00
MSCI EM \$	958.58	962.55	-0.41			Sep	16	Prev	%chg				
MISCI ACWI \$	603.30	608.93	-0.92	OI WTI \$		86.	03	85.10	1.09				
FT Wilshire 2500	5093.54	5149.97	-1.10	Oil Brent \$		92	15	90.84	1.44			Prices are late	st for edition
FT Wilshire 5000	39792.63	40231.29	-1.09	Gold \$		1689.	10	1703.90	-0.87			Data provided by	Marringste

BRITAIN'S WORKPLACE



# Understand how to prevent employee burnout.

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# U.S. IS RELUCTANT AS UKRAINE ASKS TO UPGRADE ARMS

ESCALATION CONCERNS

After Gains in Northeast, Zelensky Presses for a Missile System

a Missile System

This article is by David E. Sanger,
Anton Troianovski, Julian E.
Barnes and Eric Schmitt.

WASHINGTON — Flush with
success in northeast Ukraine,
President Volodymyr Zelensky is
pressing President Biden for a
new and more powerful weapon: a
new and more powerful weapon: a
new and more powerful weapon: a
news and system with a range of
190 miles, which could reach far
into Russian territory.
State the president intention of
striking Russian territors or U.S. officials: the bear in the president of the could reach
president Vladimir V. Putin's
forces have hit apartment blocks,
theaters and hospitals in Ukraine
throughout the war. The weapon,
Mr. Zelensky says, is critical to
launching a wider counteroffensive, perhaps early next year.

Mr. Biden is resisting, in part
because he is convinced that over
the past seven months, he has succhast seven months, he has sucthe could also the could also
give Ukraine new options for
striking Crimea, the territory Russia annexed in 2014, would likely
be seen by Moscow as a major
provocation, Mr. Biden has concluded.

"We're trying to avoid World
War III," Mr. Biden often reminds



# How Donbas Became Cradle Of Putin's War

A Rustic Region Full of Divided Allegiances

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN
CHASIV YAR, Ukraine — On a clear spring morning eight years ago, Oleksandr Khainus stepped outside his house to go to work at new graffiti scrawled across his fence, "Glory to Russia," vandals had written in angry black spray paint. "Puttin," another message said.

paint. "Putin," another message said.

Mr. Khainus was perplexed. It was true that Chasiv Yar, the Rust Belt-like town where he has spent his entire life in a region called the Donbas, had long contained many conflicting opinions on its identity. Geographically, the Donbas was part of Ukraine, no question, but it was so close to Russia and so tied to it historically that many main-tained that their true home really lay eastward.

to it historically that many maintained that their true home really lay eastward.
"It was the type of stuff you'd argue about over the dinner table," he said. "But nothing that anyone would get violent over."
Mr. Khainus's optimism now seems almost quaint.
In the next few months in 2014, In the next few months in 2014, and the said of the Denbas right under the authorities' noses. Two so-called People's Republics were declared, Russian troops stormed in. Vladimir V. Putin, Russia's leader, turned this patch of Eastern Europe into a personal project, sowing the seeds for an explosion of bloodshed that would spawn the most far-reaching war that became Mr. Putin's pretext for a full-scale invasion of Ukraine. And now it is heating up again.
The Ukrainians have just pulled

Ultraine And now it is heating up again.

The Ukrainians have just pulled off a masterful offensive in the Kharkiv region, in Ukraine's northeast, where town after town fell without a shot. Now they are heading south. Columns of dark green military trucks and American-made rocket launchers are thundering down the long-bas. But they will have a much harder fight on their hands.

The Russians have been dug into the Donbas for nearly a decade. They have countless failback positions, fortified trenches, tens of thousands of soldiers, mercenaries from the notorious Wagner Group and close air cover because from the notorious decade. They have countless failback positions, fortified trenches, tens of thousands of soldiers, mercenaries from the notorious Wagner Group and close air cover because of the country of

Continued on Page 13

ciuded.
"We're trying to avoid World
War III," Mr. Biden often reminds
hiades, echoing a statement he
has made publicly as well.
Senior aides to the president
also say that when Mr. Biden
Continued on Page 12



Volodymyr Zelensky insisted he would not use long-range missiles in civilian areas.

# DEMOCRACY CHALLENGED

#### Twin Threats to Governing Ideals Put America in Uncharted Territory

The Times is examining the challenges to democratic norms in the United States. This essay is part of the series.

#### By DAVID LEONHARDT

By DAVID LEONHARDT

The United States has experienced deep political turmoil several times before over the past century. The Great Depression caused Americans to doubt the country's economic system. World War II and the Cold War presented threats from global totalitarian movements. The 1960s and 70s were marred by assassinations, riots, a losing war and a dispraced president.

These earlier periods were each more alarming in some ways than anything that has happened in the United States recently. Yet during each of those previous times of tumult, the basic dynamics

of American democracy held firm. Can-

of American democracy held firm. Candidates who won the most votes were able to take power and attempt to address the country's problems.

Let be the country's problems to the country's problems, and the country's problems to the country be the country's the country's the country's covering ideals in decades. The first threat is acute: a growing movement inside one of the country's two major parties — the Republican Party — to refuse to accept defeat in an election.

The violent Jan. 6, 2021, attack on Congress, meant to prevent the certification of President Biden's election, was the clearest manifestation of this movement, but it has continued since then. Hun-

dreds of elected Republican officials around the country falsely claim that the 2020 election was rigged. Some of them are running for statewide offices that would oversee future elections, potentially putting them in position to overturn an election in 2024 or beyond.

"There is the possibility, for the first time in American history, that a legitimately elected president will not be able to take office," said Yascha Mounk, a political scientist at Johns Hopkins University who studies democracy.

The second threat to democracy is chronic but also growing: The power to set government policy is becoming increasingly disconnected from public opinion.

opinion.

The run of recent Supreme Court decisions — both sweeping and, according to Continued on Page 18

# Hispanic Voters Still Lean Blue. Poll Concludes

This article is by **Jennifer Medina,** izmine Ulloa and Ruth Igielnik.

This article is by Jennifer Medina. Jamine Ulloa and Ruth Igielnik.

It has been nearly two years since Donald Trump made surgers of the property of the prope



Katz's Delicatessen, a Manhattan stalwart since 1888. Many city restaurants have cut their hours.

## City That Never Sleeps Now Nods Off a Bit Early

### By DODAL STEWART

By DODAL STEWART

If you see "Moulin Rouge" on
Broadway on a Thursday at 8 p.m.
and get out of the theater after
10:30, definitely do not take the
train down to Wo Hop expecting to
get some II p.m. lo mein. The subway is back to running all night,
but the Chinatown institution that
was once open 24 hours now
closes at 10 p.m.

L'Express, a French-ish bistro
on Park Avenue South, has a sign
outside that reads "Ouvert 24

Hrs.," but these days it closes at 2 a.m. on Friday and Saturday and 11 p.m. the rest of the week. Cafeteria in Chelsea, the sleekly designed comfort food space formerly open all day and night, now calls it quits at 1 a.m. Whitestone, used to be 24 hours but now shuts its doors at 1 or 2 a.m. And there's a 24 Hour Fitness in Kew Gardens that closes at 10 p.m.

As New York recovers from the global pandemic, one may wonder whether its reputation as a 24-hour town is in jeopardy.

The reasons for the early closings vary: Some businesses grew weary of the drunken clientele in the wee hours. Some worried about the safety of their staff comduring the psandemic and have not resumed round-the-clock hours. And many restaurants still report difficulty in finding help, even amid signs of improvement.

While the rest of the country has regained all of the jobs it lost during the pandemic, New York City is bouncing back more slowly.

Continued on Page 24

# Potent New Boosters Are Here. Will Weary Americans Bother?

This article is by Jack Healy, Sharon Otterman and Amy Qin.

It was vaccination time at Ethel Brown's long-term-care home in the Brown, Again. Ms. Brown, 85 Brown, 85 and 19 Brown asked, as she and other residents waited for their shots on Wednesday. "Will this be the last booster shot?" With a jumble of confusion, eagerness and vaccine fatigue, America embarked in earnest last week on a sprawling new campaign to get Omicron-specific boosters into the arms of a pandemic-weary country.

But the statement of the last remaining weapons in America's arsenal against the coronavirus, now that the country has scrapped most requirements to mask, quarantine or distance as the smoldering pandemic has faded into the background for

many. The push for a new vaccine
— barely noticed so far by some
people — will test how the country
responds at a time when the sense
of crisis over Covid has abated.

responds at a time when the sense of crisis over Covid has abated.

Millions of doses of boosters targeting the hyper-contagious Omicron variant arrived with little ceremony at pharmacies, nursing homes and clinics across the in what health officials now expect to become a yearly inoculation ritual akin to a flu shot.

Early numbers from states and several cities showed what health officials described as a robust early response in a moment when vaccine rates have stagnated. California administered about 397,000 doses. About 116,000 people in Texas got the new booster in

397,000 doses. About 116,000 peo-ple in Texas got the new booster in a span of a few days. Illinois ad-ministered at least 137,900 shots. The rollout felt methodical but muted compared with the fren-zied compared with the fren-zied compared with the fren-zied compared with the fren-zied compared with the frenzied compared with the frenzied compared to people jockeyed outside stadiums Continued on Page 22

#### Abortion Fight in Puerto Rico

The Dobbs ruling gives conservatives an opportunity in a Democratic bastion with no abortion restrictions. PAGE 17 Social Issues Trouble G.O.P.

Republican missteps have helped to spotlight the party's divisions on ab tion and same-sex marriage. PAG

SPORTS 33-35

### Birth of a Media Empire

Jimmy O'Brien's videos breaking down major sports events have turned Jom-boy Media into a big business, but he still sees himself as a fan. PAGE 33



INTERNATIONAL 4-16

#### Comeback for the Big Cats

Eight cheetahs arrived in India, where they're common in texts and tapestries they're common in texts an but have long been extinct.

#### Under Scrutiny Even Now

Mourning the queen, Meghan and Prince Harry are the subject of biting social commentary — as usual. PAGE 6

#### The Evolution of Man

A "new masculinity": Will Welch, the editor of GQ, believes the culture is demanding that men change, and is remaking the magazine. PAGE 10

METROPOLITAN

#### An Endangered Sandy Oasis

Tim McDonnell

ARTS & LEISURE

Burr vs. Hamilton, in Hamburg The German debut of "Hamilton" wr tled with language and cultural differ ences. Above, the lead actors. PAG

# A Kind of Black Utopia

The Museum of Modern Art focuses on an incubator of some important Black art from the 1970s and '80s. PAGE 18

#### An Auction Site Scandal

A cyberstalking operation at eBay against a husband and wife turned wildly bizarre. The couple is now trying to hold the company responsible. PAGE 1

#### Another Place to Overshare

Another Flace to Overshare
LinkedIn users are finding it a valuable
place to talk about more than work.
"Early in the pandemic, we started
seeing content we really hadn't seen
before," one executive said. PAGE 1





Francise Orb. Los Angeles Ti A WOMAN holds the hand of her husband, a COVID patient at Providence Holy Cross Medical Center in Mission Hills. Even with vaccines and treatments available, the disease remains a killer.

# Still dying from COVII

U.S. fatalities dip but stay over 400 a day this summer, keeping the disease among the leading causes of death

By Emily Alpert Reyes and Aida Ylanan

Roshan Kalghatgi was shocked when his 73-year-old mother tested positive for the coronavirus in July, nearly 2½-years into the pandemic.

"I thought it was a fluke," the Redwood City resident said. "I made them do it again."

His mother, Manisha, had eluded the virus at a Pennsylvania assisted living facility as COVID-19 devastated group facilities for the elderly. She had avoided infection again when she flew across the

country to join Roshan and his family in San Mateo County, where she would tickle her 4-year-old grandson and faithfully follow his repeated requests to show him her belly button.

She had been vaccinated against COVID and received booster shots as well, Roshan said. By July, COVID wasn't the top threat to Manisha on his mind: His mother had been struggling with kidney disease and Roshan fretted

about how to keep her going to dial-ysis, which she had abandoned even as Roshan agonized about what it would mean for her health. Manisha was "stubborn about

Manisha was "stubborn about the right things and also stubborn about the wrong things," Roshan said ruefully, remembering how she had raised two children alone after the abrupt death of his father from a heart attack; and how she had moved repeatedly to find the [See COVID, A14]

# 'A way to thrive' without papers

Shut out of DACA and traditional jobs. young immigrants turn to entrepreneurship.

By CINDY CARCAMO

Ten years ago, Alessandro Negrete missed out on the Obama-era Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program — better known as DACA — a policy that gives certain immigrant youth United States as children a work permit and protection from deportation. In 2008, Negrete had been arrested for being drunk in public and fighting with a police officer. Although he eventually got his record expunged 10 years later, it kept him from qualifying for immigration relief. His lack of DACA changed the trajectory of his success. Now, the 39-year-old, who came from Mexico as a baby with his mother, is an entrepreneur. He earns a [See Entrepreneurs, Al3]



Christina House Los Angeles Tim REITA GREEN, left, and Beverly Pate apply wallpaper at a client's home in New hall. Green has run her own business since 1960; she brought Pate aboard in 2020.

# Best buds, 86 and 28, love their hang time wallpapering L.A.

By Deborah Netburn

sk Reita Green
the Wallpaper
Queen what
makes a successful walpaper hanger, and she'l tell
you it's prince
and believing in yourself.
"You can't be upset if it's

not working right away," said the 86-year-old, who has been hanging wallpaper in and around Los Angeles for more than half a century. "You just pull the paper you just pull the paper oit. It's not an art that is wham, ban, thank you, ma'am."

Since 1960 the former.

Since 1960, the former dancer and actress has run

her own wallpapering business — lugging buckets, seders a lugging buckets, seders a lugging buckets, seders a lugging buckets, but a few berself, well into her 80s. But a few years ago, even the Wallpaper Queen had to acknowledge that eventually she might need some help.

"I was getting older, so I [See Green, A9]

# How legal weed became riddled with corruption

Limited licenses make owning a pot business a pay-to-play scheme in many municipalities

By Adam Elmahrek, Robert J. Lopez and Ruben Vives

In the San Gabriel Valley, a city councilman de-manded bribes from busi-nesses seeking cannabis li-censes, according to a source cooperating with the

nesses seeking chamada acenses, according to a
source cooperating with the
FBI.

In another small L.A.
County city, a cannabis industry group offered \$15,000
to council candidates who
would pledge to support
changes to city regulations
that we substitute the council of the council
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her husband hundreds of thousands of dollars to buy their ranch.

California's decision to legalize recreational cannabis in 2016 ushered in a multi- number of the control of the control

governments across the state and left them with few effective tools to combat the

problem.
From the rugged mountains near Oregon to the desert along the Mexican
[See Cannabis, A10]

# Hong Kong's grief doubles as dissent

The queen's death prompts nostalgia for a time before China's heavy-handed rule.

By Stephanie Yang and David Shen

TAIPEI, Taiwan — Outside the British Consulate in Hong Kong last week, bouquets and handwritten tributes piled up as a long line of people waited in sweltering heat to pay their final respects to Queen Elizabeth II.

In the onetime British co-lony, the death of a monarch

who served as a living link to Britain's globe-spanning empire marked a complicated historical moment. The colonial era that ended a quarter-century ago in Hong Kong was characterized by racism, injustice and corruption. But for many, Elizabeth's death on Sept. 8 at 96 was also a reminder of the heavy Beljing hand that has supplanted British rule.

As the traditional Chi-

British rule.

As the traditional Chinese Moon Festival was celebrated in Hong Kong and elsewhere, John Chang, 56, stood in line at the British Consulate for three hours. He penned a message of [See Queen, A4]

#### Putin is seeing

# pressure mount

As Ukrainian troops push a counteroffensive, some key Russian allies are expressing reserva-tions. world, A3

# Cash cows are leaving the state

The dairy industry is lured elsewhere by com petitive pricing and looser regulations. CALIFORNIA, B1

Weather Partly sunny. L.A. Basin: 78/62. **B10** 

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.





MYUNG J. CHUN LOS Angeles Ti UCLA'S Dorian Thompson-Robinson threw three TD passe

# Bruins survive on late field goal

UCLA moves to 3-0 after eking out a 32-31 win as time expires ove upset-minded South Alabama. **sports**, **p**1

BUSINESS INSIDE: Offices no longer in high demand are being converted to housing. A15



#### 'Clock is ticking'

Stephen Strasburg gave his body to baseball. His future is a mystery. sports



Fall Home Buyers **Guide** Prices are poised to fall but are unlikely to crash real estate







Last words Farewell to Outlook, and nearly 70 years of essays, arguments and criticism outlook

# The Washington Post



Mostly sunny 87/67 • Tom

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 2022 - \$5

# At queen's funeral, VIPs will take a bus

The nearly 500 foreign dignitaries present a test of security, protocol

BY KEVIN SULLIVAN AND MARY JORDAN

BY KEVIN SULLIVAN
AND MARY JORDAN

LONDON — The Japanese emperor, who lives in luxury in Tokyo's Imperial Palace, will ride a
polyo's Imperial Palace, will ride a
Elizabeth's funeral on Monday.

But while Emperor Naruhito
and Empress Masako have been
cheerful about the communal
transport, some other world leaders have not, especially because
President Biden and a few select
others will arrive in their own
armored vehicles.

They all would prefer to have
there will would prefer to have
the world be a community
to the bundreds working on the
queen's funeral.

Laying to rest the best-known
woman in the world has turned
into a gigantic diplomatic challenge. Members of the 23 royal
families will be seated in the first
rows of Westminster Abbey, in
front of President Biden and about
50 other presidents and prime
into the presidents and prime
Leaders of nearly 200 countries
and territories flying into London
were strongly encouraged to take
commercial flights because of the
SEE QUEEN ON A16

Cryptocurrency: Queen Elizabeth

Cryptocurrency: Queen Elizabeth Il's death inspires meme coins. A18

# Va. restricts rights of transgender students

The administration of Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) this weekend sharply restricted the rights of transgender students, sending schools into turmoil and drawing strong denunciations from Democratic legislators and plause from Republicans and parents' rights advocates.

The guidelines, released Friday, place Virginia at the heart a national battle over how transgender children should be treat-ed at school, as well as if and how much parents should be told about gender transitions that begins there we model policies" — a version of which must be adopted by all of the state's 133 school districts next month — will require transgender shill read to the state of the state of



# On war's new front line

BY ISABELLE KHURSHUDYAN AND KAMILA HRABCHUK

KUPIANSK, UKRAINE – The front line is now a river, the Oskil, that runs through the middle of the eastern Ukrainian town of Kupiansk. On one side are the charging Ukrainian forces who have pushed their Russian enemies almost entirely out of the north-eastern Kharkiv region during a sweeping counteroffensive this month.

Sweeping contentrative this sweeping members as well as a view of the other tide, to where the Russians have restricted. The sound of outgoing fire from the Urrainians rocked her apartment these past few days, when the Urrainian military moved into Kupiansk and the town became a battle-ground. Russian tanks and armored vehicles still patrol the streets, but it's

Kupiansk had been spared; now it's at the center of fighting

A new turf: Pressure on Russia builds as Ukraine moves in. A23

the Ukrainians driving them, using

the Russians' own abandoned weap-ons against them.

Udovik started counting the sec-onds between hearing the deafening boom of artillery launched and the appearance of smoke in the distance. From just Tuesday to Wednesday, the gap got longer, stretching from nine seconds to 13.

"They're getting pushed beats" at

gap got longer, streeming from nine seconds to lessed with a smile.

"They're getting pushed back," she said with a smile.

The Oskil became a shield for the Russians on Sept. 9. As the Ukrainians closed in, the invading forces crossed the bridge and blew it up behind them to slow Kyiv's advance. And Kupiansk was suddenly cut off from its second half. The next morning, 55-year-old Lena Danilova stared in confusion at the Ukrainian vehicles driving down the town's streets. A man next to her SEE UKRAINE ON A22

# Growing signs of a global slump

U.S. RATE HIKES RISK A HARD LANDING

Inflation, war, disease spell 'bumpy path' ahead

BY DAVID J. LYNCH

Stubbornly high inflation has all Street worried that the Fed-

Stubbornly high inflation has Wall Street worried that the Federal Reserve will respond by raising interest rates until the United States tumbles into recession, taking the weakening global economy with it.

While analysts say the U.S. economy grew in the third quarter, signs of trouble are multiplying, here and abroad. Higher mortgage rates are chilling the U.S. housing market; energy shortages are hurting German factory output; and recurring factory output; and recurring the bolding Chinese businesses.

The Fed and other central banks are tightening credit to fight historically high inflation even as three of the world's main economic engines — the United States, Europe and China — are sputtering. With the United States and other governments also reducing spending on pandemic relief measures, the global economy is getting less support from policymakers than at almost any time in 50 years, the World Bank said on Thursday in a new report that warned of rising global recession risks.

"I see a bumpy path ahead," said Daleep Singh, chief global economing:

"I see a bumpy path ahead," said Daleep Singh, chief global economing: are going to keep coming:

Fediza's stock plunged Friday, pulling broader financial markets

coming."
FedEx's stock plunged Friday,
pulling broader financial markets
down as well, after the package
delivery company's chief executive, Raj Subramaniam, said he
expected a "worldwide recession."
SEE RECESSION ON A21

# The struggle to prevent suicides on the Chesapeake Bay Bridge

A man's two attempts show challenges faced by families and officials

BY WILLIAM WAN

On the morning Cheryl Rogers found her son missing, her mind quickly turned to the bridge.

"No please no," she thought. "I come to the bridge.

"No please no," she thought. "I come to the son confirmed her fears. A worker had found their family's van abandoned in the middle of the westbound span of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge. As authorities moved to tow it, they looked up and saw Rogers's 37-year-old son standing on a suspension cable over the water.

When an officer ordered him down, her son responded by walking higher and higher until he reached one of the bridge's tallest towers. Then he began pacing along the top.

A police car rushed to pick up Rogers and her ex-husband and site that morning on Oct. 3, 2020. As she sat in the cruiser with its sirne wailing, Rogers flashed back to the same ride she'd taken just six weeks earlier.



Brandi Care Hicks, 41, hopes to help others by sharing the story of her suicide attempt on the bridge when she was 17.

For years, her son — whom The Washington Post agreed not to name – had struggled with depression. But during the early months of the pandemie, it had turned into something darker, deeper.

Gone was the goofy, kind-hearted jokester who liked photobombing family pictures. Instead, her son now worried constantly that his phone and tablet were hacked and being used to surveil him. He became obsessed

with online diatribes about how America was turning into a riot-ous socialist state. He draped towels over the TV to prevent it from watching him. Then came the summer night when he took his mother's truck and drove to Maryiand's longest bridge — a 4.3-mile steel suspen-sion span hanging, at its lighest the water. olnt, more le water. He climbed over a jersey wall SEE SUICIDE ON A14

# Torpid Vance campaign searches for momentum

Ohio Senate hopeful says it's time to hit the gas; in GOP, some say he's late

BY ANNIE LINSKEY

OTTAWA, OHIO — Standing be-fore about 300 of the party faithful at the Putnam County Republican beautiful at the Putnam County Republican brought up a concern he had heard from voters as he runs for the Senate in a crucial battle-ground. "One criticism Fue hours"

the Senate in a crucial battle-ground.

"One criticism I've heard is,
Yeah, we see you at events like
these, we see you at the state fairs
and all that, but we don't see you
on TV, "Vance said before voicing
hope that the audience had
noticed his recent attempt to forge
a bigger presence on the airwaves.
Indeed, an attendee had
pressed Vance on that very issue
hours earlier at a campaign stop
70 miles to the south, in the small
town of Russia, putting in blunter
terms how many more commercials this person had seen from
Democratic nominee Tim Ryan.

"Tve seen a lot of his, and I've
seen one from you," the person
said, according to a recording of

the event made by the Sidney
Daily News and shared with The
Washington Post. This person also
suggested that Vance push harder
for more financial support from
tech billionaire and benefactor
Peter Thiel, urging, "Twist his
arm."

For Vance, it was yet another
encounter with frustration over
his campaign,
which many
which many
which many
which many
and be in a
stronger position in the final
sprint to
November.

After winning
the Republican
nomination in May, Vance spent
months running what many in the
party say they saw as an ineffective campaign that lacked urgency
and has forced used in a state that
SEE VANCE ON A6

Abortion rights: In West Virginio.



Jan. 6 testimony: Rep. Matt Gaetz sought a pardon in DOJ probe. A6

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# ISA TODAY W

**QB Burrow** not afraid to speak up

Bengals star publicly addresses gun violence and abortion rights despite risk of backlash. In Sports



**Culture** war battlefield: **Book bans** 

Authors talk about having written the most banned titles in the U.S. Weekend Extra, Section D



# Saluting 'M\*A\*S\*H' 50 years later

How Alan Alda's wartime CBS comedic drama changed TV and set ratings record. In Life

PROVIDED BY 20TH CENTURY FOX



# Tentative deal averts railway strike, shock to economy

A widespread economic crisis was temporarily averted Thursday when President Joe Biden announced a tentative deal between railway companies and the rail worker unions that had threatened to strike. After 20 straight hours of pegotiations companies agreed

After 20 straight hours of negotiations, companies agreed to paid sick leave – for the first time – and other demands of unions.

The dispute escalated after almost three years of contract negotiations proved unfruitful, and railroad workers moved toward a strike

proved unfruitful, and railroad workers moved toward a strike over unmet demands for higher pay and better working conditions.

If a work stoppage did happen, it would have devastating effects on the nation's supply chain and economy. Amtrak and commuter railroads had braced for disruptions.

Biden celebrated the deal alongside union leaders and rail executives at the White House Rose Garden, calling it a "big win for America."

#### Highlights of deal struck by companies and unions

- Paid time off for sick workers and exemptions for medical visits.
   Previously, rail freight employees did not have any sick days.
- An immediate wage increase of
   14% and 24% over the next five years.
- Annual lump sum bonuses of \$5,000.

# Inside

- What railroad unions were seeking and why. 3A
- Amtrak restoring canceled trips after railroad strike averted. 5B





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USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS ©

# Most see human hand behind climate change

Americans who believe climate change is happening on how much human activities and natural chang in the environment contribute: Entirely human-caused: 17%

Mostly human-caused: 



SOURCE AP-NORC Poll, June 23-27 AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPLING/USA TODAY



Britons pay their respects Thursday to Queen Elizabeth II in London's Westminster Hall. POOL PHOTO B

# Queen's majestic farewell runs like a unity 'machine'

Her funeral is more than pageantry, it's a blueprint for survival



Princess Kate, Prince William, Prince Harry and Meghan Duchess of Sussex, make their way along the Long Walk at Windsor Castle to see the flowers and tributes to Queen Elizabeth II on Sept. 10. CHRIS JACKSON/GETTY IMAGES

Maria Puente USA TODAY

When Queen Elizabeth II is laid to rest next week, the United Kingdom will witness, for the first time in nearly 60 years, a magnificent state funeral designed in part by the queen to unite her squabbling family and divided subjects while helping ensure the monarchy survives another century.

As Monday's historic funeral approaches, it looks as if it might be working. It is not such a surprise: The royal Windsors have long known this is what royal state funerals are supposed to be in a constitutional monarchy.

The queen, who died Sept. 8 in Scotland at age 96 after 70 years on the throne, was widely considered the glue holding the U.K. together. She was also the most canny of her Windsor ancestors about using ceremony and splendor to bond the monarchy and the people who pay for it.

As Peter Morgan, the British writer and creator of the Oscar-winning 2006 film "The Queen" and Netflix's "The Crown," once told USA TODAY, "The

See FUNERAL, Page 5A

# Ukraine war could be at a pivot point

Some experts see tide shifting against Russia

John Bacon and Tom Vanden Brook

A stunningly successful Ukrainian military counteroffensive has re-claimed thousands of miles of occupied territory in just two weeks while energizing the Ukrainian population, fomenting dissent in Russia and send-ing some of Moscow's worn-down forces scrambling in retreat.

Has the brutal war reached a turn-

Has the brutal war reached a turning point?
Most experts express cautious optimism. John Kirby, the National Security Council's coordinator for strategic communications at the White House, at a briefing this week described the war as a "dynamic situation" and stressed that it was unpredictable.
"What you're seeing is certainly a



President Volodymyr Zelenskyy visits Ukrainian troops in Izium in the Kharkiv region Wednesday. AP

shift in momentum for the Ukrainian armed forces, particularly in the north," Kirby said.

Ukrainian President Volc Zelenskyy, his military's most Volodymyr

See UKRAINE, Page 6A

## What happens next



'It's hard to tell. It's clear the Ukrainians have made significant progress, but I think it's going to be a long haul."

President Joe Biden



"No more Westsplaining. No more dithering. No more negotiations with terrorists.

Those who doubted Ukraine's strength should be apologizing. Ukraine defended us all, even when some didn't believe they could succeed."

Lithuanian Foreign Minister Gabrielius Landsbergis

# deportes

# Los Pumas dieron pelea

Caveron ante Sudáfrica y resignaron sus chances

Casi dan el golpe en una gran reacción, pero perdieron por 36-20 ante los campeones del mundo



# ENTRE YOUTUBE Y TIKTOK, SE REINVENTA EL DEBATE POLÍTICO

Las plataformas digitales incorporan nuevos formatos y lenguajes en la discusión pública; claves de una transformación cultural.

# ION

DOMINGO 18 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION COM AR

# En pleno ajuste, Cristina nombró a 280 empleados en la planta del Senado

CARGOS. Fue pocos días antes de que se cerrara el ingreso de nuevos agentes en el Estado

Pese a las políticas de ajuste que se busca llevar adelante desde el Ministerio de Economía, la vicepre-sidenta Cristina Kirchner nombró en la planta del Senado a 280 em-pleados. Los datos no están disponibles para la consulta pública, pero, según reconstruyó LA NACION, la mayoría de los empleados fueron asignados a despachos del kirchnerismo. El pase a planta se dio po-cos días antes de que el Gobierno decretara el cierre del ingreso de personal a la administración pú-blica, como una forma de intentar achicar el gasto en medio de la crisis económica.

Muchos de los beneficiados por la medida habían ingresado con contratos a la Cámara alta de la mano de la exmandataria, tanto cuando fue senadora, en 2017, como en diciembre de 2019, cuando asumió la presidencia del Senado. Entre ellos figura uno de sus secretarios privados.

La incorporación de 280 agentes equivale a un aumento de más del 10 por ciento del total de la planta permanente del Senado. Página 12

DESÁNIMO SOCIAL

Un conjunto de sondeos y análisis muestranuna cons lidación del desánimo socialy la desconfianza en la política

# "No podemos respirar": masiva protesta en Rosario



 $ROSARIO, -\text{``Bastade\,humo''}, \text{``Ley\,de\,humedales\,ya''}, \text{``No\,podemos\,respirar''}, los carteles\,m\'{a}s\,notorios\,de\,la\,multitudinaria\,protesta\,sobre\,la\,multitudinaria protesta\,sobre\,la\,multitudinaria protesta\,sobre\,la\,multitudinaria protesta\,sobre\,la\,multitudinaria protesta\,sobre\,la\,multitudinaria protesta\,sobre\,la\,multitudinaria protesta\,sobre\,la\,multitudinaria protesta\,sobre\,la\,multitudinaria protesta pr$ el puente a Victoria, Entre Ríos, resume la preocupación de buena parte de los vecinos de esta ciudad y de muchas localidades cercanas afectadas por las quemas de pastizales en las islas del Delta del Paraná y la falta de acción política para superar el conflicto, que ya afecta la salud. Página 28

# Ganancias. un impuesto cada vez más distorsivo

-economía del domingo

Los últimos cambios generan desigualdades EL HILO DEL MUNDO

# ¿Puede Ucrania ganar la guerra?

Inés Capdevila

omo pocas veces en su vida, Vladimir Putin está a la de-I fensiva adentro y afuera de Rusia. En su mayor golpe de efec-to desde que comenzó la guerra,

Ucrania acaba de darle una paliza militar en la crítica región de Kharkiv. Esa contraofensiva despertó en Rusia un fenómeno aletargado por completo durante estos siete meses

de guerra: críticas furiosas y abiertas al Kremlin por su estrategia. Putin se topó con reproches fuera de supaís, en un ámbito que creía le sería amigable. Continúa en la página 3

#### **EL ESCENARIO**

Una amenaza fuera de control

Jorge Liotti

asó unos días en estado de shock.Después se hundió en la tristeza y la preocupación por su seguridad y la de su familia. Buscó consuelo en la fe, a la que se entregó desde que se agravó la salud de su hija. Por primera vez en su vida se sintió vulnerable, terrible carencia para una mujer que siempre se percibió tributaria de un poder especial. Con este equi-paje de emociones mezcladas, Cristina Kirchner decidió convo-car a un grupo de religiosos para hacer su propia misa de sanación. Continúa en la página 20

## **EL ANÁLISIS**

# En un país donde nada es como parece

Joaquín Morales Solá

iste y se mueve como un presidente. En su reciente V visita a Washington, Ser-gio Massa fue recibido también como un jefe de Estado. Sin ninguna consideración por las formas, a suregresodespachódirectamente con Cristina Kirchner. Sabe percibir dónde está el verdadero poder. Ella lo atendió como se atiende a un jefe de gobierno. Sin embar-go, hay que desvestir la figura del ministro de Economía del eficaz marketing con el que la envuelve. Continúa en la página 39

# Nuevos chats sugieren un plan detrás del atentado

# FOLHA DE S.PAULO

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FOME BATE DE PORTA EM PORTA NO COMÉRCIO E CONTRARIA FALA DE BOLSONARO

Pessoas vasculham restos de alimentos em feira no Jaçanã, em São Paulo; cenas de insegurança alimentar contrastam com declaração do presidente de que não há fome 'pra valer' мегсаdo A22

# Tributo sobre consumo e renda pode ser alterado

Mudanças na tributação da renda e do consumo que reduzam a carga de impostos sobre os mais pobres e aumentem a cobrança sobre os mais ricos são vistas como prioridade para o próximo governo. Como diminuir a desigualdade do sistema tributário, porém, divide políticos e empresários. Mercado Als

#### Itamar Vieira Junior O Brasil colonial vive entre nós

Para a elite brasileira, apoiadora do presidente, a morte do indígena Tanaru, último de seu povo, não merece menção. Mas houve luto de três dias por Elizabeth 2ª. Ilustríssima C2

## William pode definir identidade e legado

Primeiro na linha sucessória após a morte da avó, príncipe de Galestem o desafio de moldar personalidade no posto. Mundo A16

#### **EDITORIAIS A2**

O tucano ensaia voo Sobre disputa eleitoral em SP, segundo o Datafolha.

Longa Covid Acerca de proximidade do fim oficial da pandemia.



Aponte a câmera no código e baixe o novo app da Folha



Presidenciáveis voltam a falar de cultura, mas seguem com planos vagos c4

#### MÔNICA BERGAMO 'Sou feminista, mas

'Sou feminista, mas não possuída', diz Vera Fischer, com peça em cartaz c2

# vida cultural

# Retomada lenta

Público vai menos a eventos culturais que antes da pandemia, mostra Datafolha p. 1

#### mpme

Mulheres ajudam a impulsionar o mercado erótico e renovam o setor p. 1

esporte B9 'Capitã', Aline Pellegrino é a única mulher a coordenar competições da CBF

# Verba contra violência à mulher teve corte de 90%

Sob Jair Bolsonaro, recursos caíram de R\$ 100,7 milhões para R\$ 9,1 milhões

O presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) cortou em 90% a verba para o enfrentamento à violência contra a mulher. O srecursos caíram de R\$ 100,7 milhões, em 2020, para R\$ 30,6 milhões, em 2021. Neste ano, são apenas R\$ 9,1 milhões. Para 2023, o governo enviou ao Congresso proposta orçamentária de R\$ 17,2 milhões, uma queda de 83% em relação a 2020. São previstos R\$ 3 milhões para o Ligue 180, canal de denúncias de violência doméstica.

No próximo ano, pode haver paralisação do serviço. O número de feminicidios chegou a 2.451 no país durante a pandemia. Candidato à reeleição, Bolsonaro tenta reduzir a alta rejeição entre o eleitorado feminino. O Planalto não se manifestou sobre os cortes. Já o Ministério da Mulher, da Família e dos Direitos Humanos justifica a redução de verbas com o argumento de que adota políticas que englobam diversas áreas. cotidiano в

#### Eduardo Knapp/Folhap

# CLÁSSICOS DOS ANOS 1980 GANHAM REVIVAL

O publicitário Rodrigo Lacerda exibe telefone de disco, um dos objetos que farão parte da sua festa temática de 52 anos; estética oitentista tem conquistado consumidores Mercado A26

### Campanha política é ação de minoria ruidosa em cultos

Demonstrações explícitas de campanha eleitoral em cultos ganham destaque, mas no dia a día tendem a ser só uma minoria barulhenta. A Folha visitou 35 igrejas e presenciou manifestações políticas em 1 a cada 4 delas. Política A6

#### Jovem Pan vira voz bolsonarista com publicidade oficial

A guinada pró-lair Bolsonaro da Jovem Pan levou a um crescimento exponencial de audiência, aumento de verbas recebidas do governo e patrocínio de empresários bolsonaristas. A emissora nega dar apoio ao presidente. Política A10

#### Lula e Bolsonaro podem perder até dez palanques em eventual 2º turno

Política A4



# ULTIMAHORA

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Plan del gasto público sigue en estudio mañana en Bicameral del Congreso

# El PGN destinará más en políticos que en estudiantes

El proyecto de Presupuesto para el año próximo contempla becas y compra de libros por menos del 50% de los recursos previstos para los partidos. ANR lleva la mayor tajada.

PÁGINA 14

Trabas judiciales impunidad Trabas judiciales impiden el avance de investigación a apuestas clandestinas

PÁGINA 45

Emprendedores buscan llegar al gusto masivo de la gente con sus productos

Reflotan las coordinadoras coloradas para meter presión a funcionarios





En libelo contra Godoy denuncian esquema para recaudar

# Defensor arma negocio en nuevo cobro de víctimas de dictadura

PÁGINA 2

#### DOMINGO

Sady Camila Britez Investigación de bióloga paraguaya es premiada en jornada científica PAGINA 24

Rey longevo y poco apreciado, reto para la monarquía británica



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# LE RIGARO



FABRICE LUCHINI

CE OUI M'ÉTONNE, C'EST OUE 'ADMIRATION N'EST PLUS UNE VALEUR FONDATRICE » PAGE 20

# PATRIMOINE

LES ARCHITECTES DES BÂTIMENTS



MAJORITÉ Stéphane Séjourné, le grand ordonnateur de l'après-Macron

RUSSIE Vladimir Poutine s'affiche en parrain anti-occidental

CAMBODGE Sihanoukville, refuge des triades chinoises PAGE 12

EUROBASKET Les Bleus rencontrent l'Espagne en finale

**MÉDIAS** TF1 et M6 renoncent à fusionner

CHINE La croissance s'enlise dans le «zéro Covid» PAGES 24 ET 25

OPÉRA ROYAL DE VERSAILLES Une saison riche de spectacles prometteurs

 À Callac, la greffe forcée de réfugiés cabre les villageois

· La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté

La tribune d'Anne-Marie Le Pourhiet

# FIGARO **OUI** FIGARO **NON**

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TOTAL DE VOTANTS: 166 410

#### Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr

Êtes-vous favorable à 'accueil d'étrangers dans les « espaces ruraux » en perte de population?

# DE FRANCE S'ALARMENT

DES LOIS SUR L'ÉCOLOGIE PAGES 32 ET 33



# Energie : comment les Français préparent l'hiver

Face aux consignes de sobriété, les Français modifient leurs habitudes. Ils se disent prêts à faire des efforts mais attendent des gouvernants qu'ils soient exemplaires.

çais seront-ils présents « au rendez-vous de la sobriété» quand arriveront les premiers frimas, comme le leur a demandé le président de la République? L'automne n'est pas encore là, mais la question revêt déjà un caractère d'urgence alors que me-

nace le spectre de rationne ments en gaz et en électrici-té. «Inenvisageable il y a dix ou quinze ans » et illustration du «déclassement du pays»,

pour le politologue Jérôme Fourquet, ce scénario tant redouté pousse déjà certains de nos concitoyens à modifier leurs habitudes de consom-

mation, non sans rencontrer certaines difficultés. S'ils sont prêts à faire des efforts, tous attendent que les diri-geants donnent l'exemple.

→ JÉRÔME FOURQUET: « LES CRISES À RÉPÉTITION CONSTITUENT DES MANIFESTATIONS DU DÉCLASSEMENT DE NOTRE PAYS» PAGES 4 ET 5



C'est devenu un objet de curiosité à part entière : la file d'attente (jusqu'à 24 heures!) des Britanniques venus s'incliner devant le cercueil de la reine Elizabeth à Westminster est un corps social vivant qui en dit long sur la nation. PAGES 10 ET 11

# Macron veut répartir l'immigration sur le territoire

Le chef de l'État a confirmé qu'un projet de loi «relatif à l'asile, donc à l'immigration dans la République», sera déposé dès 2023. Lancé dans un délicat numéro d'acroun delicat numero d'acro-bate, en promettant d'allier «fermeté» et «humanité», il annonce vouloir une meil-leure répartition des étran-gers dans les «espaces ru-raux, qui sont en train de perdre leur population». Dans le petit village breton de Calles un projet d'instalde Callac, un projet d'instal-lation de réfugiés, lancé par une famille fortunée pour lutter contre la désertifica-tion, sème la discorde.

PAGES 14, 19 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

# ÉDITORIAL par Vincent Trémolet de Villers vtremolet@lefigaro.fr

# L'immigration pour tous

que l'on entend au sommet de l'État des considérations que la réalité contredit inlassablement depuis des années. Em-manuel Macron, devant les préfets, a defendu l'idée d'une meilleure répartition des étrangers, qui pourraient être accueillis dans les «espaces ruraux, qui, eux, sont en train de perdre de la population» et où «nous devrons fermer des classes, vraisemblablement des écoles et des collèges». En clair, l'immi-gration peut être la solution au déclin démo-graphique de nos provinces. La Lozère, la Creuse, l'Ardèche ne perdent rien pour at-tendre : demain, c'est la Seine-Saint-Denis pour tous! Pourtant, cela fait vingt ans que, de livre en livre, Christophe Guilluy décrit l'exode des banlieusards qui s'installent dans la France des campagnes pour échapper aux effets de l'immigration incontrôlée. L'impé-ratif multiculturel a provoqué une révolte démocratique en Suède, il ouvre une autoroute à Meloni en Italie dans dix jours, partout le «vivre ensemble» tourne vinaigre, et c'est ce moment que choisit le chef de l'État pour dé-fendre une politique de repeuplement! Cette sortie est d'autant plus malheureuse qu'elle vient contredire l'effort fait depuis

plusieurs semaines par le ministre de l'Inté-rieur pour reconnaître les défaillances en chaîne face à la pression migratoire. En une formule - «une part importante de la délin-quance vient des immigrés» -, Gérald Darmanin a mis fin à des années d'un déni d'État. En promettant de restaurer la « double pei-ne», il a remis une goutte de bon sens dans

L'océan d'absurdité de notre politique migratoire

l'océan d'absurdité de notre politique migra-toire. En commençant à démêler l'écheveau administratif et judiciaire qui permet à un clandestin de s'installer tranquillement en

France, il a fait naître le timide espoir d'une reprise en main des

pouvoirs publics. Les mots du chef de l'État jettent le soupçon sur toutes les bonnes intentions affichées par son ministre. Ce que veulent les Français, dans leur grande majorité, ce n'est pas une meilleure répartition des immigrés, mais une maîtrise de nos frontières. C'est un cu-rieux «en même temps» que de s'alarmer de la montée de Marine Le Pen tout en créant les conditions de sa victoire. ■



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