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What's News

World-Wide

Russian officials opened polling stations in a staged vote to annex the territory Russia controls in Ukraine, a move that Ukrainian and Western officials have derided as a sham by the Kremlin designed to deter further aid to Kyiv. **A8**

◆ **World Bank President** Malpass said he wasn't resigning from his position amid calls from climate advocates for him to step down over his views on climate change. **A2**

◆ **The Biden administration** is exploring an arrangement to expedite Australia's acquisition of nuclear-powered submarines by producing the first few subs in the U.S. **A11**

◆ **House Minority Leader** McCarthy laid out his vision for the Republicans if they win control of the House in midterms, presenting a range of objectives. **A4**

◆ **Some U.S. pharmacies** are offering the new Covid-19 booster shot only from Pfizer and BioNTech after a manufacturing-quality problem caused a shortage of Moderna's new shot. **A6**

◆ **Prosecutors have recommended** charging Republican Rep. Gaetz of Florida in connection with a federal sex-trafficking investigation, people familiar with the matter said. **A4**

Business & Finance

◆ **Financial markets** flashed new warning signals with the Dow closing at a 2022 low and U.S. oil prices plunging 5.7%, as data from Europe and Asia hardened Wall Street's view that a deeper worldwide economic slowdown is likely inevitable. **A1, B1, B11**

◆ **The U.K. unveiled** the country's biggest tax cuts since the early 1970s, a bold move aimed at kick-starting growth, but one that unnerved investors and sparked a selloff of the pound. **A1**

◆ **Ford has delayed** deliveries of certain vehicles because it didn't have the blue oval badges that go on them, in another example of how supply-chain challenges have hit auto makers. **A1**

◆ **Netflix is changing** how it compensates some of the comics it features, a move that could trim its costs and shift some financial burden and control of specials to the artists. **B1**

◆ **A federal judge ruled** that U.S. Sugar can proceed with its planned purchase of rival Imperial Sugar, rejecting a Justice Department antitrust challenge to the deal. **B3**

◆ **Apple Music is set** to be the new sponsor of the NFL's Super Bowl halftime show, replacing PepsiCo. **B3**

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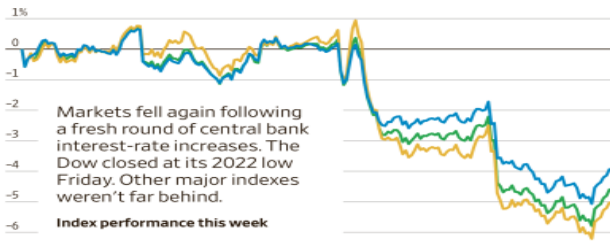
It's a Mistake
To Shrug Off
Putin's Threats **A15**

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Stocks Slump as Economies Reel



Markets fell again following a fresh round of central bank interest-rate increases. The Dow closed at its 2022 low Friday. Other major indexes weren't far behind.

Index performance this week

Mon. Tues. Wed. Thurs. Fri.

Dow Jones Industrial Average 29590.41 Lowest close this year

S&P 500 3693.23 Third-lowest close this year

Nasdaq Composite 10867.93 Fifth-lowest close this year

U.S. Treasury yields Two-year 4.21% +3.5 pct. pts. this year

Crude-oil futures price* Brent \$86.15 +10.8% this year

WSJ Dollar index Friday 104.11 +16.3% this year

WTI \$78.74 +4.7% this year

Sources: FactSet (Indexes, oil, WSJ Dollar Index); Dow Jones Market Data (Treasury yields)

Dow closes at 2022 low and oil prices plunge as new readings warn of global slowdowns

By TOM FAIRLESS
AND JASON DOUGLAS

Financial markets flashed new warning signals on Friday, with the Dow Jones Industrial Average closing at a 2022 low and U.S. oil prices plunging 5.7%, as data from Europe and Asia hardened Wall Street's view that a deeper worldwide economic slowdown is likely inevitable. The Dow lost 486.27 points, or 1.6%, to 29590.41 Friday, while the S&P 500 dropped 1.7% to 3693.23 and the Nasdaq Composite fell 1.8% to 10867.93. A two-week selloff by those indexes has dragged down the S&P 500 by 9.2%,

the Dow by nearly 8% and the Nasdaq by more than 10%.

Treasury yields rose again to their highest level in more than a decade, with the 2-year yield climbing to 4.212%. U.S. benchmark crude futures closed at \$78.74, down about 36% from its June peak.

Behind the shaky markets are surging inflation, a robust central-bank response, anxious investors and the impact of Russia's aggression in Ukraine. The U.S. economy has largely escaped the worst of these ills, but a rising dollar is punishing the rest of the world at a time when price increases in many places are already outpacing incomes.

Economic activity in Europe declined sharply in September, data showed Friday, raising

Please turn to page A10

◆ Selling sweeps across global financial markets.....B1

U.K.'s Fiscal Plan Unnerves Investors

LONDON—The U.K. government unveiled on Friday the country's biggest tax cuts since the early 1970s, a bold move aimed at kick-starting

By Max Colchester,
Anna Hirstenstein
and David Luhnow

growth at a time of global economic turmoil but one which spooked investors and sparked the biggest one-day selloff of the pound since the pandemic roiled markets in March 2020. The package of tax cuts, paired with subsidies for households and businesses to cope with a surge in energy

prices, was aimed at boosting the flagging U.K. economy amid stubbornly high global inflation and growing economic gloom in Europe. Instead, it might have only added to global worries by causing a market backlash.

The pound, which had fallen by nearly a fifth this year against the dollar, slid another 3% Friday to \$1.092, hitting a fresh 37-year low and easily outpacing a 1% decline in the euro against the greenback. U.K. borrowing costs

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◆ Streetwise: 'Trussonomics' lands with a thud.....A10

Italy's Vote Tests Anti-Putin Resolve

The election Sunday is expected to yield a Parliament that is tough on Russia

By MARCUS WALKER
AND MARGHERITA STANCATI

ROME—In the economic war between Europe and Russia, Italy's elections Sunday are an early test of Western stamina, coming before a winter of painfully high energy bills.

Russian President Vladimir Putin, who has throttled natural-gas deliveries to the European Union, is hoping that economic pain and public discontent will force Eu-

rope's democracies to reduce support for Ukraine and relax sanctions on Moscow.

The anti-Putin forces look are expected to strengthen in Italy on Sunday. Mr. Putin's threat this week to potentially use nuclear weapons in Ukraine, coupled with his call to mobilize reserves, make it harder for even pro-Moscow politicians around

Please turn to page A12

◆ Ukraine pushes on as Russia builds up.....A8

Bachelorette Parties Ask Strangers to Foot the Bill

Passersby invited to Venmo cash to cover drinks, hotels—distressing etiquette experts

By JULIA CARPENTER

Savanna Joi Norris had a big to-do list as one of the organizers of her friend's bachelorette extravaganza in August. The 23-year-old in the Raleigh, N.C., area helped choose Charleston, S.C., as a destination and worked with others to plan festivities, including an outing to a piano bar and a "sip n' shop" tour of boutiques.

Then, Ms. Norris proposed one more idea, the icing on the

five-tiered cake: Would the group want to make some cash along the way to help with the costs of their friends' "final fling before the ring?"

They bought streamers and a rainbow bouquet of paint markers and decorated their cars: "Buy the Bride a Drink!" and "Venmo the wifey," with the party's Venmo address provided.

Go to Nashville, New Orleans, Austin or other hot bachelorette trip destinations and you'll see this



Buy her a drink

Please turn to page A12

Federer Bids Farewell in Emotional Career Finale



Roger Federer partnered with rival Rafael Nadal in a doubles match at the Laver Cup on Friday, his last event before retiring from tennis. It was a fitting conclusion, writes Jason Gay. **A16**

EXCHANGE



THE WEAKEST LINK
It's time, tech firms say, to trust no one with cybersecurity. **B1**

A Ford Logo Shortage Leaves Fords Ford-less

By NORA ECKERT

Ford Motor Co. has delayed deliveries of certain vehicles because it didn't have the blue oval badges that go on them, another example of how supply-chain challenges have hit auto makers.

The car company has run into supply constraints with the brand-name badges and the nameplates that specify the model, according to people familiar with the matter. Both parts are affixed to the vehicle's exterior and are important identifiers for the auto maker's products. A company spokesman confirmed it has held some vehicle shipments because of a lack of badges.

The shortage is affecting Ford's popular F-series pickup trucks, the people said.

Ford executives had considered some workarounds, such as 3-D printing the insignia until the permanent ones could be obtained, some of the people said. But they didn't feel the printed substitutions would meet the bar on quality, these people said.

The Ford spokesman said the company is building and shipping trucks with the blue oval badges and is retrofitting those built without a Ford logo and delivering them to dealers. The company declined to comment on the 3-D printing proposal.

Shares of Ford fell 3.5% Friday to \$12.31 amid a broader market selloff. The stock is down 41% in 2022.

Ford said on Monday it expects to have about 40,000 to 45,000 vehicles in inventory at

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Pound slumps below \$1.09 after UK unveils £45bn of tax cuts

◆ Lowest point in 37 years ◆ Borrowing forecast to top £190bn ◆ Doubt cast on sustainability

GEORGE PARKER AND CHRIS GILES
LONDON

Sterling tumbled against the dollar to below \$1.09, hitting its lowest point since 1985, after UK chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng unveiled a £45bn debt-financed tax-cutting package that sparked a historic increase in borrowing costs.

Kwarteng's political and economic gamble includes the biggest set of tax cuts for 50 years, with the end of the 45p additional rate for the highest earners as well as a sharp reduction in levies on dividends.

But concern over the amount of debt required to finance the tax cuts triggered a frenetic day of trading that raised doubts on whether Britain's new economic approach was sustainable.

"The UK is behaving a bit like an emerging market turning itself into a submerging market," former US Treasury secretary Larry Summers told Bloomberg TV. "Britain will be remembered for having pursued the worst macroeconomic policies of any major country in a long time."

The Institute for Fiscal Studies forecast that public borrowing would top £190bn this year, the third-highest peak since the second world war.

The new borrowing to finance the tax cuts and emergency energy subsidies will be more expensive for the UK, with the two-year cost of borrowing rising to 4 per cent from 0.4 per cent a year ago, as investors sold off government bonds.

Kwarteng has staked the political fortunes of the Conservative party on the



Kwasi Kwarteng presents his fiscal plans to the House of Commons yesterday. This is a new approach for a new era focused on growth' Jessica Taylor/UK Parliament

bet that the radical tax cuts and deregulation will raise Britain's sluggish growth rate to 2.5 per cent.

"This is a new approach for a new era focused on growth," he told MPs in the Commons, to a chorus of Tory cheers and jeers from the Labour benches.

In contrast with previous big tax cuts in the 1980s, Kwarteng will borrow tens of billions of pounds to fund his plans, adding to demand at a time when the Bank of England is raising interest rates to bring inflation under control.

IFS director Paul Johnson said: "The

plan seems to be to borrow large sums at increasingly expensive rates, put government debt on an unsustainable rising path and hope we get better growth."

The National Institute of Economic and Social Research said that due to the additional borrowing, a UK recession would now be shorter and shallower than was feared. But to keep inflation under control, it said, the BoE would have to raise interest rates to 5 per cent and keep them there until at least 2024.

The basic rate of income tax will be cut from 20p in the pound to 19p next

April and national insurance will be reduced, as will taxes on dividends. Stamp duty will be cut to help first-time home buyers and a planned corporation tax rise will be scrapped.

The reductions in income tax mean that an individual earning £200,000 stands to make annual tax savings of nearly £4,500 in 2023-24 compared with 2022-23. A worker on a salary of £20,000 will save £218.

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Generation Kyiv

The artists saving a culture
HTSI



City living

Superprime property boom
FT MONEY



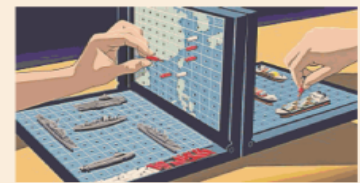
Hilary Mantel

Wolf Hall author dies
OBITUARY



War and peace

The risks for globalisation
LIFE & ARTS



Iran's traditionalist women join anti-hijab law protest

The death in detention of 22-year-old Mahsa Amini, arrested for allegedly failing to observe Iran's Islamic dress code, has inspired even religious and conservative female supporters of the Tehran regime to question the enforced wearing of the hijab. At least 12 people have died during protests in Iranian cities against laws that some see as being counter-productive and bringing discredit on Islam, while also curtailing the rights of women.

Hijab backlash ► PAGE 3

Berlusconi under fire for defending Putin's war as Italians go to the polls

SILVIA SCIORILLI BORRELLI — MILAN
AMY KAZMIN — ROME

Three-time Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi has faced a backlash after defending Vladimir Putin's invasion of Ukraine as campaigning for Italy's general election draws to a close.

Speaking on the public broadcaster Rai's flagship political talk show on Thursday evening, the 85-year-old politician said the Russian leader "only wanted to replace [Ukrainian president Volodymyr] Zelenskyy with a government made up of decent people" but had encountered "unexpected resistance" on the ground.

Berlusconi's rightwing party Forza Italia is part of a coalition led by Giorgio Meloni's far-right Brothers of Italy that is predicted to form the government after Sunday's election.

The comments, which were made as Putin is escalating the war on Ukraine with a military draft, annexation votes in occupied regions and threats of nuclear attack, will revive concerns in Brussels and other EU capitals that the next Italian government might be softer on the Kremlin than that headed by Mario Draghi.

In Italy, they have prompted angry reactions from the opposition and put Berlusconi's coalition partners in a delicate position. Centre-left politicians attacked Berlusconi's words, with MEP Carlo Calenda, who leads a small liberal centrist party, calling him "subversive".

Hard-right League leader Matteo Salvini, an ally of Berlusconi who has previously criticised the west's sanctions against Russia, said he did not want to "interpret Berlusconi's words but we are against the war".

In his television interview, Berlusconi appeared sympathetic to Putin, suggesting the Russian leader had been inadvertently ensnared in the conflict. Putin and Berlusconi have been friends for more than two decades and have taken holidays together.

"Putin was encouraged to launch this special operation by the Donbas separatists who went to Moscow and told him Zelenskyy had killed 16,000 people and begged him to defend them," Berlusconi said. "The troops were supposed to enter, reach Kyiv in a week, replace the Zelenskyy government with decent people and a week later come back."

Berlusconi said his comments had been "misinterpreted", adding: "I was referring to what other people think."

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Alexander Gabuev page 10
Person in the news page 11

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World Markets											
STOCK MARKETS			CURRENCIES			GOVERNMENT BONDS					
	Sep 23	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Sep 23	Prev	Pair	Sep 23	Prev	Yield (%)	%Chg
S&P 500	3652.50	3757.99	-2.81	\$/£	0.971	0.962	6/£	1.030	1.019	US 2 yr	4.19
Nasdaq Composite	10847.36	11066.91	-1.98	\$/€	1.090	1.126	€/£	0.917	0.888	US 10 yr	3.74
Dow Jones Ind	29517.86	30076.68	-1.86	\$/¥	0.890	0.872	¥/£	1.123	1.147	US 30 yr	3.64
FTSE 100	1545.21	1581.20	-2.28	\$/HK\$	143.285	142.005	HK\$/£	139.056	139.473	UK 2 yr	3.98
FTSE 250	3247.84	3427.14	-5.23	\$/INR	116.223	116.028	INR/£	78.466	78.582	UK 10 yr	3.83
FTSE 100	2018.80	2158.32	-7.87	\$/R\$	0.993	0.964	R\$/£	1.070	1.106	UK 30 yr	4.04
FTSE All-Share	3040.69	3024.91	-1.94							JPN 2 yr	-0.06
CAC 40	5703.41	5918.50	-3.28							JPN 10 yr	0.24
Xetra Dax	12294.19	12521.63	-1.87							JPN 30 yr	1.21
Nikkei	27133.63	27213.13	-0.36							GER 2 yr	1.90
Hang Seng	17023.27	19147.36	-11.8							GER 10 yr	2.62
MSCI World	2489.36	2516.59	-1.08							GER 30 yr	1.87
MSCI EM	1622.81	1632.08	-0.57								
MSCI ACWI	579.55	585.95	-1.07								
FT Whitehead 2000	4089.51	4042.22	-1.18								
FT Whitehead 5000	38193.89	38966.41	-1.99								

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Data provided by Morningstar



NICOLE TUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A destroyed Russian vehicle in Kamyanka, a city reclaimed by Ukraine. Russia initiated a "partial mobilization" to counter Ukraine.

G.O.P. Senate Hopefuls Race to Close Cash Gap

By JONATHAN MARTIN

WASHINGTON — Rushing to raise money and close yawning gaps with their Democratic rivals, every Senate Republican nominee in a competitive race is taking precious time from the campaign trail to come to Washington this week and next to gather money before Congress leaves for the fall.

Fund-raising invitations obtained by The New York Times reveal days full of dinners, receptions and even some free meet-and-greets — schedule-fillers the candidates hope they can use to make a good impression and pick up a check on the spot.

Two thousand miles from Phoenix, Blake Masters, the Re-

Fund-Raising in Capital as Inflation Hampers Small Donors

publican challenging Senator Mark Kelly of Arizona, made a campaign pitch on Wednesday evening alongside Senator Mitch McConnell in a conference room near the Capitol. Mr. Masters accused his Democratic rival of portraying himself as a moderate while voting like a liberal.

"We don't need as much money as Kelly, just enough to get the truth out," Mr. Masters said, according to notes from a person who was in the room, which was

filled with lobbyists who had paid \$1,000 per political action committee to attend.

As political fund-raising goes, Mr. Masters was making a modest ask, and he isn't the only Republican to downgrade his financial goals. The Republican Senate hopefuls, many of them first-time candidates, have little choice but to race from lobby shop to steakhouse alongside the party leaders some of them castigated in their primaries but who now serve as lures for access-hungry lobbyists.

The reasons are wide-ranging. Republican small-dollar fund-raising has dried up in the face of soaring inflation. Former President Donald J. Trump's relentless appeals for his own committees

Continued on Page A15

U.K. TAX CUT PLAN RATTLES MARKETS

A Breathtaking Bet by Britain's New Leader

This article is by Eshe Nelson, Stephen Castle and Mark Landler.

LONDON — Britain's new prime minister, Liz Truss, gambled on Friday that a heavy dose of tax cuts, deregulation and free-market economics would reignite her country's growth — a radical shift in policy that unnerved global investors already rattled by an energy crisis, surging inflation and the specter of widespread recessions.

The British announcement came as markets around the world have been tumbling for weeks in response to higher interest rates and recession fears. The slide continued on Friday with the S&P 500 index falling close to its lowest point of the year and markets across Europe tumbling.

The move by Ms. Truss's government indicated a sharp break with the previous prime minister, Boris Johnson, and with a generation of more fiscally minded Conservative governments.

For Ms. Truss, the measures — which critics liken to the "wrecked-down economics" of the 1980s — amounted to a breathtaking bet that Britain's economy would return to robust growth before she faces voters in two years. But the tax cuts, on top of extensive state intervention to cap soaring household energy bills tied to Russia's war in Ukraine, are likely to require tens of billions of pounds of new government borrowing, deepening anxiety about Britain's public finances.

British stocks and bonds and the pound all plummeted after the announcement, with the currency falling to fresh lows against the dollar, levels not seen in nearly four decades. The jitters spread to the United States and Europe, where stocks fell sharply amid fears that more aggressive increases in interest rates would be needed to quell inflation and that economies could slide into painful recessions this winter.

These fears are even more acute in Britain, where economic

Continued on Page A10

GLOBAL JITTERS Rising interest rates have investors worried that a recession is imminent. PAGE B1

Draft Provokes Rising Anguish In Rural Russia

Targeting Villages and Minority Populations

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

President Vladimir V. Putin's surprise draft to reinforce his invasion of Ukraine ran into growing resistance across Russia on Friday as villagers, activists and even some elected officials asked why the conscription drive appeared to be hitting minority groups and rural areas harder than the big cities.

Some of the greatest anguish played out hundreds or thousands of miles away from the front line, in the Caucasus Mountains and the northeastern region of Yakutia, a sparsely populated expanse that straddles the Arctic Circle. Community leaders described remote villages where much of the working-age male population received conscription notices in recent days, leaving families that subsist off the land without men around to work ahead of the long winter.

"We have reindeer herders, hunters, fishermen. We have so few of them anyway," Vyacheslav Shadrin, the chairman of the council of elders for a small Indigenous group known as the Yukaghirs, said in a phone interview. "But they are the ones being drafted most of all."

Mr. Putin announced the call-up on Wednesday, describing it as a "partial mobilization" necessary to counter Ukraine and its Western backers, who he said were seeking Russia's destruction. It was a move he had long delayed making, even as supporters of the war clamored for a draft in order to allow Russia to intensify its assault.

Russia would mobilize about 300,000 civilians, defense officials said, focusing on men with military experience and special skills, though some Russian media that now operate outside the country reported that the number could be much higher.

But by Friday, even some of the hawkish commentators who had

Continued on Page A8

CONTENTIOUS VOTE Russia is holding what it calls referendums on annexation. Ukraine calls the move an illegal farce. PAGE A8

A SYMBOL On Serhiy Sova's corpse, a bracelet given to him by his children bore Ukraine's colors. The image gripped the nation. PAGE A9

HILARY MANTEL, 1952-2022

A Master of Historical Fiction That Had Color, Not Cobwebs

By ALEX MARSHALL and ALEXANDRA ALTER

Hilary Mantel, one of Britain's most decorated novelists, whose trilogy of books on the life of Thomas Cromwell — "Wolf Hall," "Bring Up the Bodies" and "The Mirror and the Light" — received both critical acclaim and commercial success, landing on best-seller lists around the world, died on Thursday at a hospital in Exeter, England. She was 70.

Her death, after she had suffered a stroke on Monday and endured chronic pain for much of her life, was confirmed by Bill Hamilton, her longtime literary agent.

"She had so many great novels ahead of her," he said, adding, "It's just an enormous loss to literature."

Ms. Mantel, the author of 17 books, twice won Britain's Booker Prize for "Wolf Hall" and "Bring Up the Bodies," both of which sold millions of copies. She was longlisted for the same prize, for "The Mirror and the Light," in 2020. The novels led to popular stage and screen adaptations.

But it was a long and arduous road to reach those heights, begin-

PUTIN TIGHTENING HIS GRIP ON REINS OF UKRAINE WAR

DEFYING COMMANDERS

Refuses to Let Troops Fall Back From Kherson to Safer Ground

This article is by Julian E. Barnes, Helen Cooper, Eric Schmitt and Michael Schwartz.

WASHINGTON — President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia has thrust himself more directly into strategic planning for the war in Ukraine in recent weeks, American officials said, including rejecting requests from his commanders on the ground that they be allowed to retreat from the vital southern city of Kherson.

A withdrawal from Kherson would allow the Russian military to pull back across the Dnipro River in an orderly way, preserving its equipment and saving the lives of soldiers.

But such a retreat would be another humiliating public acknowledgment of Mr. Putin's failure in war and would hand a second major victory to Ukraine in one month. Kherson was the first major city to fall to the Russians in the initial invasion, and it remains the only regional capital under Moscow's control. Retaking it would be a major accomplishment for Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelenskyy.

Focused on victory at all costs, Mr. Putin has become a more public face of the war as the Russian military appears increasingly in turmoil, forcing him to announce a call-up this week that could sweep 300,000 Russian civilians into military service. This month, Moscow has demonstrated it has too few troops to continue its offensive, suffers from shortages of high-tech precision weaponry and has been unable to gain dominance of Ukraine's skies.

American officials briefed on highly sensitive intelligence said

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ANDREW SENG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Lee Zeldin campaigning for governor on Sunday in Williamsburg, Brooklyn.

In Brooklyn Enclave, Zeldin Sees Path to a Win

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and ELIZA SHAPIRO

A curious thing happened last weekend when Representative Lee Zeldin brought his Republican campaign for governor of New York into Hasidic Brooklyn.

Mr. Zeldin, a pronounced underdog, was greeted like a rock star. Crowds chanted in approval. Yiddish-language campaign posters littered the streets. "Mister Lee

G.O.P. Candidate Aims for Hasidic Support

Zeldin, you got my vote," a paramedic yelled out of an ambulance inscribed in Hebrew lettering.

Mr. Zeldin, one of only two Jewish Republicans in Congress, has long been a fierce supporter of Israel and a fixture at Republican

Jewish Coalition events. But in recent weeks, he has maneuvered aggressively to position himself in lock step with Orthodox Jewish concerns over an increase in hate crimes and ongoing state attempts to regulate private religious schools, known as yeshivas. "It's not just on our streets, but even in our schools where we are being targeted," he said during a visit Sunday to Borough Park.

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NATIONAL A14-20

Election Deniers' Swift Pivot Some Republican Senate candidates who questioned the 2020 vote in the primary are walking back or codifying such assertions as they seek wider appeal in November. PAGE A14

1864 Abortion Ban Revived

An Arizona judge ruled on Friday that a near-total ban on abortion must be enforced. The law, which was written before Arizona became a state, is one of the strictest in the nation. PAGE A18

OPINION A22-23

Farhad Manjoo PAGE A23



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Buried in Sludge

Waste from a diamond mine in South Africa grew ever higher. The mining town paid the price. PAGE A6

Italy's Next Prime Minister?

Some fear that Giorgia Meloni, a hard-right politician, will continue policies that have kept women back. PAGE A11

BUSINESS B1-6

Gloomy Views in the Market

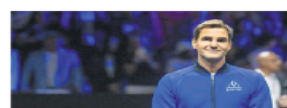
Some traders and analysts think the Federal Reserve's outlook is too rosy. They are betting that the economy will tip into a recession. PAGE B1

Drilling in Fishing Waters

A compromise built into the climate law ensures continued oil and gas leasing in the Gulf of Mexico, where seafood is a major industry. PAGE B1

Inflation Savings at Tax Time

Taxpayers may owe less for their federal bill next year when the government adjusts its bracket boundaries and standard deduction. PAGE B4



SPORTS B8-11

A Sweet Send-Off

Roger Federer said goodbye to competitive tennis, playing doubles with Rafael Nadal at the Laver Cup. PAGE B11

Coach's Return Is Uncertain

The Celtics said Ime Udoka had violated unspecified team rules, prompting a one-year suspension. PAGE B10

ARTS C1-7

Hoopla Overtakes a Message

An enchanting 12-foot-tall puppet named Amal, an emblem of the global refugee crisis, is drawing crowds of admirers, but that might not always be a good thing. PAGE C1

A Leaner 'Saturday Night Live'

The show's creator, Lorne Michaels, is trying to manage one of its biggest cast turnovers in decades, but he has no plans to retire. PAGE C1





DAVID MINASIAN fixes bikes May 23 at an encampment by Abbot Kinney Memorial Branch Library. Many were shocked at the L.A. Homeless Services Authority's report of zero unsheltered people in a section of Venice.

Unhoused count questioned

L.A. finds no unsheltered people in northwest quarter of Venice

By DOUG SMITH

When the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority this month published a spreadsheet breaking down its homeless count by every census tract in the county, those with knowledge of Venice were incredulous.

LAHSA said there were no unsheltered people — no tents, no inhabited cars or RVs, and no people living outdoors — in the northwest quarter of Venice, which is notorious as ground zero for homelessness.

It wasn't just the number so wildly wrong it couldn't be a statistical error — that shocked them.

How, they wondered, had LAHSA blown the most closely watched census tract in the county, one scoured regularly by residents conducting their own tallies and [See Homeless, A6]



RICK RENSINK, who is unhoused, chats with Carissa Gallardo and Melissa Hammond as they volunteer for the point-in-time homeless count in February.

Agencies gave back funds for homelessness

Housing officials failed to utilize nearly \$150 million of HUD grants to city, county.

By CONNOR SHEETS

Nearly \$150 million worth of federal grants to the three main housing agencies working to reduce homelessness in Greater Los Angeles went unspent between 2015 and 2020, as the number of unhoused people soared.

Instead of being used to address L.A.'s acute homelessness crisis, the money was returned to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, according to data provided to The Times by the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority. More than 85% of the returned funds were earmarked for sorely needed permanent supportive housing.

LAHSA returned more than \$29 million to HUD during the six-year period; the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles returned more than \$82 million; and the Los Angeles County Development Authority returned nearly \$38 million.

Asked why so much federal money went unspent, LAHSA spokesman Ahmad Chapman said in an email that, while the data are "imperfect," his agency operates "in a climate where the rental market is so hard to access, it makes it very challenging to use all these resources."

But the amount given back to HUD by the three agencies over the six years is more than the total amount of grants the federal housing agency awarded them in 2020, \$133.1 million.

"Given the need in L.A., we want every single dollar utilized," said Molly Rysman, LAHSA's chief programs officer.

That's not a realistic

short-term goal given HUD's "rigid and complex" funding system, which can make it difficult to spend funds quickly or reallocate money that can't be used for its initial purpose, Rysman said. Instead, some of those federal dollars go unspent.

"We've said this to HUD over and over again," she said. "We need a lot more flexibility."

In emailed statements, the county and city housing authorities blamed their [See Unspent, A12]

STATE ACTS ON PARKING NEAR TRANSIT

Law aims to ease cost of housing by barring local rules requiring space for vehicles.

By ANDREW KHOURI

Citing the need to address California's twin crises of housing affordability and climate change, Gov. Gavin Newsom signed a bill that bars local governments from mandating parking spaces as part of most development near transit stops.

Critics say the new law could backfire, but supporters argue that by eliminating a costly piece of new projects, Assembly Bill 2097 will result in lower-cost homes in urban centers, a plus in a state with sky-high home prices, rents and a growing homeless population.

"This is one of the biggest land-use reforms in the country," said Michael Manville, an urban planning professor at UCLA's Luskin School of Public Affairs, adding that only Oregon has done something similar.

In signing the bill Thursday, Newsom emphasized its potential environmental benefits as well. With more housing in walkable neighborhoods with public transit, he said climate change-inducing car trips will be reduced.

"Housing solutions are also climate solutions," the governor said.

When the bill, authored by Assemblywoman Laura Friedman (D-Glendale), becomes law in January, parking minimums will no longer be allowed for housing, retail and other commercial developments within a half-mile of major public transit stops.

Cities can impose park- [See Parking, A6]

Tally of missing Trump records could take years

National Archives will have few answers for lawmakers early next week, experts predict.

By SARAH D. WIRE

WASHINGTON — As questions continue to swirl about the 11,000 records the FBI recovered during its raid of former President Trump's Florida home, Congress has asked the National Archives to provide it with a preliminary report by Tuesday detailing what Trump presidential records might still be missing.

The National Archives and Records Administration hasn't formally responded. But given the realities of what goes into processing presidential records, and questions about the quality of record-keeping in the Trump White House, experts told The Times the archives might not have a firm grasp of what is missing for years — if ever.

"It is unreasonable to expect that [national] archiv- [See Trump, A8]

day detailing what Trump presidential records might still be missing.

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"It is unreasonable to expect that [national] archiv- [See Trump, A8]



DANIA MAXWELL Los Angeles Times

ABOUT EVERY other week, Shamita Jayakumar makes a Target run to zone out and wander. "My own self-care day," the tech worker, 32, calls it.

COLUMN ONE

Latest trend in self-care: Roam the aisles of Target

By Marisa Gerber

On days she feels particularly stressed, Shamita Jayakumar knows the quickest way to ease her mind. "I'll just go to Target and wander the aisles," she says. "So soothing."

Every other week or so, the 32-year-old tech worker drives to the sprawling location off Jefferson Boulevard in Culver City and zigzags through the cleaning, camping, cooking, book and beauty aisles. She browses for an hour or two, although it's hard to say exactly how long, because time feels like it stops. Sometimes she leaves with only a few items, but more often than not, she

walks in with a list of two or three things and walks out with \$200 of merchandise.

It clearly says something about the commodification of self-care, she acknowledges, but it's about more than that too — it's that the store is big and bright and air-conditioned and she can zone out and wander in a way she wouldn't feel safe doing at a park. It's that the layout here in Culver City looks enough like the one back home in Silicon Valley that she flashes back to Target runs with her mom in the '90s, and that there are people around you but no pressure to talk to them.

"My own self- [See Target, A7]

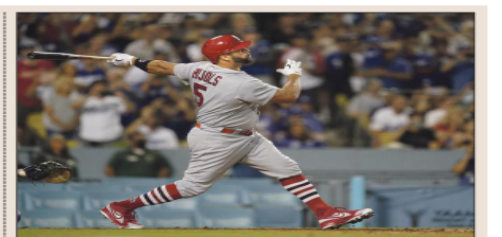
Iran government facing challenge

The widespread outcry over 22-year-old Mahsa Amini's death could lead to more bloodshed. PERSPECTIVES, A2

State can expect 'fourth dry year'

Officials say more dryness, extreme weather events and water quality hazards are likely in 2023. CALIFORNIA, B1

Weather Sunny and hot. L.A. Basin: 91/69. B8



ABILEY LANDIS Associated Press

THE 700 CLUB

St. Louis' Albert Pujols hits his 2nd of two home runs, the 700th in the career of the former Dodger and Angel, at Dodger Stadium. SPORTS, B12

BUSINESS INSIDE: Fast-food industry poised to spend millions to kill pro-worker law. A9

The Washington Post

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Mostly sunny 73/60 • Tomorrow: Brief showers 78/61 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 2022 • B3

Stock market's long slide continues

Some shares hit lowest level since 2020 as Fed's moves roil Wall Street

BY RACHEL SIEGEL

Blue-chip stocks plunged to their lowest level since 2020 on Friday, continuing a bad slump that began in August as investors try to grapple with economic headwinds in the United States and around the world that are only likely to worsen.

Major stock indexes closed out the week with losses, capping the fifth decline in the past six weeks. The Dow Jones Industrial average dropped by 483 points, or 1.6 percent, at Friday's close, and fell below the 30,000 mark. The index narrowly avoided closing in bear market territory, a drop of 20 percent from its previous high. The S&P 500 slid by 1.7 percent, and the Nasdaq Composite by 1.8 percent.

The Federal Reserve has pledged to get inflation back under control — even if slowing the economy means unemployment rises and households and businesses feel some pain. And although the Fed's move to raise interest rates this week was widely expected, stock markets are feeling that pain already.

"The Fed's continued balancing act between restoring price stability in exchange for economic pain has roiled the markets as hopes for a soft landing are quickly fading," said Nicole Tannenbaum, partner and chief investment strategist at Chequers Financial Management. "Monetary policy is a blunt instrument, and investors are rightly concerned that the Fed may go too far too quickly before it is able to

SEE MARKETS ON A14



VALERIE PLESCH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Family shattered in Kabul is reunited in Virginia

Mina Stanekzai stared at the families happily greeting each other inside the Dulles Airport terminal, some of them holding flowers and balloons bearing "Welcome Home!" messages.

It had been more than a year since she had seen her father and older brother, the day a suicide bomb killed her mother outside the airport in Kabul — sending Mina, 8, and her other brother Faisal, 14, on a journey to Northern Virginia to live with their aunt, Ferishta, as they recovered from injuries caused by the explosion.

Now, the children's father, Wali, and older brother, Masi, 16, were due to arrive. Two hours after their plane

After a year of tragedy, lobbying and lost hope, children welcome father and brother

BY ANTONIO OLIVO

Masi Stanekzai, 16, embraces his brother, Faisal, 14, at Dulles Airport on Monday. Faisal and his sister, Mina, 8, have been recovering from the 2021 Kabul blast with an aunt in Virginia.

landed Monday, they had not come through the security gate and were not responding to text messages.

Mina's initially cheerful demeanor was again darkening, the red velvet hair band she had put on that afternoon to impress her father appearing crooked and ready to fall off.

"My dad is not coming, why do you do that to me?" she said to her aunt in English, after Ferishta had spotted a group of Afghans entering the baggage claim area and suggested that Wali and Masi were not far behind.

Mina had spiraled into anger and depression since the bomb at the Kabul airport wall changed everything. The

SEE AFGHANISTAN ON A5

Kremlin proxies stage voting

PROCESS CALLED A 'SHAM' IN THE WEST

In occupied Ukraine, result is preordained

BY ISABELLE KHURSHUDYAN, ROBYN DIXON, SIOBHAN O'GRADY AND KOSTIANTYN KHUDOV

KHARKIV, UKRAINE — Kremlin proxy authorities in occupied, war-torn Ukraine declared Friday that voting had begun in staged referendums and that Moscow's desired outcome — a claim of public support for the annexation of Ukrainian territory — was assured.

The purported referendums, which are being orchestrated in parts of the Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson and Zaporizhzhia regions of eastern and southeastern Ukraine that are controlled by the Russian military, are illegal under Ukrainian and international law and, in any case, would not remotely meet basic democratic standards for free and fair elections.

Western leaders, including President Biden, have denounced the process as a "sham" to prepare the ground for Russia's theft of Ukrainian land.

The Kremlin's proxy leaders, however, exulted in the process.

"The holding of the referendum is a historic milestone," Denis Pushilin, leader of the self-declared Donetsk People's Republic, said in a video address Friday morning. "First we became an independent state, then we

SEE UKRAINE ON A9

Russia: Mobilization efforts target minorities and war protesters. A9

MAGA melody shows a melding of movements

Trump rally song is a hit with QAnon, blurring the groups' distinctions

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF, JOSH DAWSEY AND MICHAEL SCHERER

Earlier this week, close advisers to former president Donald Trump grappled with a question: what to do about the QAnon song.

The melody — an orchestral theme featuring swelling strings, gentle bell tones and brooding piano harmonies — was the soundtrack to a campaign-style video Trump released in August. But it wasn't until last Saturday's rally in Youngstown, Ohio, when the tune closed Trump's nearly two-hour speech, inspiring the crowd to respond with raised arms and pointed index fingers,

that it broke through as a phenomenon.

Trump repeated the performance with the same music to close Friday's rally in Wilmington, N.C. A few people in the crowd responded with pointing to the sky or raising their right hands, but it didn't catch on or last long. Mostly, the audience stood solemnly or recorded on their phones. When Trump said, "Americans kneel to God and God alone," one woman knelt and stretched out both arms.

The music has been widely described as an anthem for QAnon, an extremist movement that the FBI has designated as a domestic terrorism threat. The main discredited belief of QAnon revolves around the baseless claim that Trump is secretly fighting a secret cabal of Satan-worshipping pedophiles. But the real story of the song is even stranger and more complicated — underscoring the

SEE TRUMP ON A7

Failure to curb Trump pushed her to speak out

Insider reveals how Twitter's inaction, disregard of pleas led her to testify to Jan. 6 committee

BY DREW HARWELL

In an explosive hearing in July, an unidentified former Twitter employee testified to the House Jan. 6 committee that the company had tolerated false and rule-breaking tweets from Donald Trump for years because executives knew their service was his "favorite and most-used ... and enjoyed having that sort of power."

Now, in an exclusive interview with The Washington Post, the whistleblower, Anika Collier Navaroli, reveals the terror she felt about coming forward and how eventually that fear was overcome by her worry that extremism and political disinformation on social media pose an "imminent threat not just to American democracy, but to the societal fabric of our planet."

"I realize that by being who I am and doing what I'm doing, I'm opening myself and my family to extreme risk," Navaroli said. "It's terrifying. This has been one of the most isolating times of my life."

"I wouldn't be doing this if I didn't believe the truth matters," she said.

Twitter banned Trump two days after



MARILENA SLOSS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Anika Collier Navaroli, a Twitter employee who testified to the House Jan. 6 committee, is seen in California.

the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol, citing fears he could face further violence. By that time, he had sent more than 56,000 tweets over 12 years, many of which included falsehoods and baseless accusations about election fraud. One month earlier, he had tweeted, "Big protest in D.C. on January 6th. Be there, will be wild!"

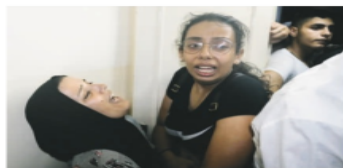
Navaroli, a former policy official on the team designing Twitter's content-moderation rules, testified to the committee that the ban came only after Twitter executives had for months rebuffed her calls for stronger action against Trump's account. Only after the Capitol riot, which left five dead and hundreds injured, did Twitter move to close his 88 million follower account.

Tech companies traditionally require employees to sign broad nondisclosure agreements that restrict them from speaking about their work. Navaroli was not able to speak in detail about her time at Twitter,

SEE TWITTER ON A6

Ga. voting: Officials will replace machines in Coffee County after an alleged breach. A2

IN THE NEWS



BILAL HUSSEIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Deadly accident Syria recovered the bodies of more than 70 migrants after a capsizing that lays bare Lebanon's economic crisis. A8

A fragile unity Early tension within the House GOP foretells challenges ahead from the far right should the party take the chamber. A4

THE NATION Career prosecutors have recommended against charging Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) in a sex-trafficking probe, citing concerns with witness credibility. A2

Police in a small but growing number of states are trying a new approach to calls involving suicide threats: leaving the scene. A3

A brewery in Philadelphia scrapped an IPA release after city workers mistook its hops for overgrown weeds and mowed them down. A3

NASA is moving ahead with a Tuesday launch

attempt for Artemis, as the agency watches a storm that could force the moon mission's third delay. A6

THE WORLD Crackdowns on protesters in Iran intensified Friday, with the military warning against continued unrest. A8

Hong Kong is set to end mandatory travel quarantine, easing pandemic rules that isolate the once-thriving financial hub. A12

The Biden administration is planning to re-bust climate talks with China, which have

stopped since House Speaker Nancy Pelosi visited Taiwan. A12

THE ECONOMY An independent audit found Meta limited Arabic-speaking users more heavily than Hebrew-speaking ones in 2021's Gaza war. A13

The Pentagon has launched a sweeping review of cryptocurrency to assess its threat to national security and law enforcement. A13

THE REGION A judge ruled that Maryland officials can begin counting mail-in ballots before Election Day, suspending a state law that some said could

delay results by weeks or months. B1

Wes Moore, a Democrat running for governor, has proposed that Maryland create a service year for high school graduates. B1

A company owned by the family of Jared Kushner has agreed to pay a \$3.25 million civil penalty to settle a lawsuit that alleged tenants were charged illegal fees and lived in problem-laden apartments. B1

Gov. Glenn Youngkin expressed doubts about accreditation ratings released this week for Virginia's public K-12 schools, calling for scrapping the way the state evaluates them. B1

INSIDE



STYLE Tributes pour in for beloved author Critics, editors, historians and fellow writers are effusive after the death of Hilary Mantel at 70. C1

A dramatic look at "The Murdockes," CNN's docuseries models itself quite overtly after HBO's "Succession," Inkoo Kang writes. C1

BUSINESS NEWS.....A13
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LOITERERS.....B3
OBITUARIES.....B5
TELEVISION.....C3
WORLD NEWS.....A8

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USA TODAY WEEKEND

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | SEPTEMBER 23-25, 2022

USATODAY WEEKEND EXTRA

PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES CAMERON

THE CLIMATE FUTURE IS NOW



PERILOUS COURSE

Climate change stories that seem exceptional are no longer the exception

Weekend Extra, Section D



PHOTOS BY KEVIN JAIRAJ/USA TODAY SPORTS AND MIKE DE SISTI/THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL SENTINEL

Sunday matchup: Brady vs. Rodgers

It's early yet, but star QBs so far this season not performing their best, columnist says. **In Sports**

Superhero story but with nature

Oscar-winning director James Cameron spotlights animal powers in new series. **In Life**

Migrants confound regions on border

White House embraces diplomacy to ease crisis

Francesca Chambers and Lauren Villagran
USA TODAY

EL PASO, Texas — So many migrants are arriving day and night that Border Patrol agents set up a waiting area at the border wall with benches, portable bathrooms and snacks, including Johan Franco, a 32-year-old who says he fled Venezuela three months ago.

He had worked as a carpenter before the economy plunged so deep and inflation rose so high, that he could no longer afford to eat.

In El Paso, he was greeted with minifridges that kept sandwiches cold; there were palettes of bottled water and shelves of baby bottles in plas-

See **MIGRANTS**, Page 3A



A migrant carries his sister after crossing the Rio Grande from Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, to El Paso, Texas, on Tuesday.

OMAR ORNELAS/USA TODAY NETWORK



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USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

Prolific profanity in the Peach State

Twitter users in these states racked up the highest rates of posts with curse words from 2021 and the first half of 2022:

1. Georgia
2. Maryland
3. New Mexico
4. Hawaii
5. Louisiana
6. New Jersey
7. Alabama
8. Mississippi
9. California
10. Maine



SOURCE: WordTips
AMY BARNETTE, TIFFANY CLEMENS/USA TODAY

DAILY DISCOUNTS & SAVINGS ...

Dining Deals USA

PAGE 2A

JAMES WEBB SPACE TELESCOPE

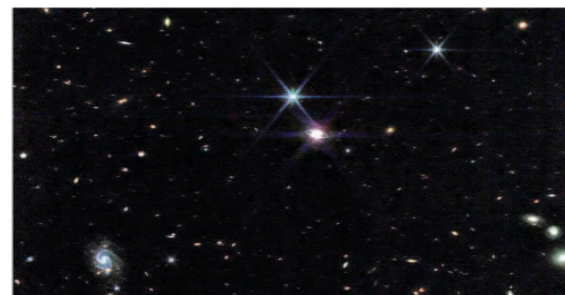
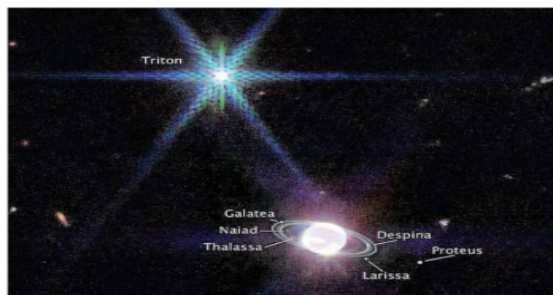
Neptune in its splendor

Jordan Mendoza USA TODAY

The James Webb Space Telescope has given us some of the sharpest images of the planets in our solar system, and newly released images show Neptune and its rings for the first time since 1989. • Not only were the rings captured, but so were the planet's dust bands. • The images, released Wednesday by NASA, were taken using the telescope's near-infrared camera, which has three infrared filters that reveal details of planets that can't be seen by the human eye. Therefore, Neptune doesn't appear blue in the photos, as it normally does. • Neptune sits at the end of our solar system. The ice giant is about 30 times farther from the sun than Earth, NASA says, and is the only planet not viewable to the naked eye. It takes about 165 years for the planet to orbit the sun. • Near the rings are six of the planet's 14 moons — Galatea, Naiad, Thalassa, Despina, Proteus and Larissa.



On the fringe: The space telescope's near-infrared camera captured the solar system's outermost planet and its rings, along with fainter dust bands. NASA's Voyager 2 confirmed Neptune had rings in 1989.



Mystery moons: Triton, the only known moon with an orbit opposite its planet's rotation, is among the satellites of Neptune in this image. And in the "neighborhood," right: impossibly distant galaxies.

SPACE TELESCOPE SCIENCE INSTITUTE OFFICE OF PUBLIC OUTREACH, NASA, ESA, CSA AND STSCI

Americans share their inflation stories

They're changing how they eat, shop, save

Bailey Schulz, Phillip M. Bailey, Ken Tran, Elisabeth Buchwald and Riley Gutiérrez McDermid
USA TODAY

John Harriger loves a good steak, but these days it's an expense he can no longer afford.

The 66-year-old Virginian has been living off Social Security since a work-related back injury in 1994. That's \$1,800 a month total for Harriger and his wife.

With grocery prices up 13.5% over

the past 12 months and gas prices above \$3.39 a gallon, Harriger has had to make cuts. He's down to two meals a day — typically a peanut butter and jelly sandwich for lunch and trout for dinner if a friend had a good day fishing.

He filed for bankruptcy two months ago, which made his cost of living more manageable. Basic monthly expenses like groceries and electricity now cost him about \$1,500 instead of \$2,400, but he still worries.

"You're sitting there wondering whether you're going to have (enough) at the end of the month to pay your bills and whether you're going to get food to feed your family," Harriger told USA TODAY. "It puts you in a distressed state."

"You're sitting there wondering whether you're going to have (enough) at the end of the month."

John Harriger, Virginia resident

With inflation rates hovering near 40-year highs, Americans are feeling squeezed.

August's inflation levels were up 8.3% from a year ago. Meanwhile, the

See **INFLATION**, Page 4A

deportes

Un equipo enfocado

La selección se afianza con juego y goles

Venció a Honduras por 3-0, con doblete de Messi, en el penúltimo amistoso previo al Mundial.



1925-2022

CARLOS BALÁ. UNA LEYENDA DEL HUMOR

—espectáculos

Marcó la infancia de varias generaciones de argentinos, desde comienzos de los 70, fue sinónimo de diversión y picardía; se lo despidió en la Legislatura. **Página 8**



LA NACION

SÁBADO 24 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Cristina responsabilizó a los jueces y fiscales por el intento de asesinato

VIALIDAD. Ejerció su propia defensa en el juicio por corrupción y pidió investigar a Luciani

La vicepresidenta Cristina Kirchner responsabilizó ayer a los jueces y fiscales del caso Vialidad por el intento de asesinato que sufrió el 1º de septiembre. "Me siento en estado de indefensión, me siento intranquila en este país y con este Poder Judicial", dijo

durante la hora y media en la que ejerció su defensa en el juicio en su contra por presunto direccionamiento en la obra pública para favorecer al empresario santacruceño Lázaro Báez. En un tramo de su alegato, Cristina dijo que denunciará a los fisca-

les Diego Luciani y Sergio Mola por prevaricato. Son quienes pidieron para ella una pena de 12 años de prisión y la inhabilitación para ocupar cargos públicos al considerarla jefa de una asociación ilícita y por fraude al Estado. El punto central de la

defensa de la vicepresidenta fue que los actos de gobierno no son judiciales. **Página 14**

El kirchnerismo exige buscar al "autor intelectual" del ataque
Hernán Cappiello. **Página 14**

Sin aliados, la ampliación de la Corte se frenaría en Diputados

MEDIA SANCIÓN. El proyecto oficial no tiene aval de JxC ni de los bloques del medio

El proyecto oficialista para ampliar la Corte Suprema de Justicia a 15 miembros, que obtuvo media sanción en el Senado, no tendría los apoyos suficientes para avanzar en la Cámara de Diputados.

Para lograr el quorum de 129 diputados, el Frente de Todos necesita 11 aliados para sumar a sus 118 legisladores. Ante el rechazo de Juntos por el Cambio, debe recurrir a 23 diputados de los denominados bloques del medio. Según un relevamiento realizado por LA NACION, al menos 14 de ellos rechazarán la iniciativa, que fue impulsada por Cristina Kirchner. **Página 16**

El tenis llora el fin de una era: se despidió Federer



deportes— Lloró Roger Federer una y otra vez, mientras agradece a todos. Lloró Rafael Nadal, su clásico rival y último compañero en el dobles de la despedida en la Laver Cup. Lloró el tenis, conmovido ante la sensibilidad de uno de los iconos del deporte de todos los tiempos. El suizo le puso fin a su notable carrera en una noche en la que el O2 Arena, de Londres, y millones de televidentes le dijeron adiós y ya empezaron a extrañarlo.

TV Pública. Con línea ultraoficialista y poco disenso

SESGO. El canal asume el discurso del Gobierno y abunda en ataques a la oposición. **Página 23**

Panini. De víctimas de la guerrilla a hacer las figuritas que quieren todos

Alfredo Sainz
LA NACION

A partir del faltante de figuritas en el país, el nombre Panini está en boca de los argentinos.

Sin embargo, un dato no revelado hasta ahora es que los dueños de la marca italiana que se convirtió en un desvelo para millones de niños (y sus padres) son miembros de una familia argentina víctima de uno de

los atentados terroristas más resonantes de la década del 70.

La empresa Panini nació como una pequeña imprenta de figuritas en la década del 60. Continúa en la **página 28**

Lula gana impulso y podría evitar el ballottage

BRASIL. Estiró su ventaja sobre Bolsonaro y está cerca del 50% de intención de voto. **Página 6**



Andrew Boyers/Reuters

ROGER FEDERER SE DESPEDE DO TÊNIS

Suíço se emocionou após sua última partida profissional, junto do rival e amigo Rafael Nadal; eles foram vencidos pelos americanos Tiafoe e Sock (4/6, 7/6, 11/9) na Laver Cup. Esporte B8

esporte B9

Mais intensa, seleção brasileira vence Gana em amistoso antes da Copa no Qatar

equilíbrio B6

Risco de demência cresce com múltiplas doenças crônicas, sugere estudo



Ilustração Luciano Veronezi

folhinha C8

Jair Bolsonaro não responde a crianças; Tebet, Ciro e Lula enviaram respostas

ilustrada C1

Jonathas de Andrade retrata o que restou do modernismo no Recife em mostra

mercado imobiliário

Classe baixa-alta

Casa Verde Amarela financia prédios com unidades menores e áreas de luxo. A32



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

11% dos eleitores admitem voto útil no primeiro turno

Entre quem apoia Ciro e Tebet, 20% consideram optar por Lula, diz Datafolha

Com a campanha eleitoral prestes a entrar na semana que antecede o primeiro turno, 11% dos eleitores admitem mudar de candidato em favor do "voto útil" (escolher quem tem chance de vencer já), mostra pesquisa feita pelo Datafolha do dia 20 ao 22.

A propensão sobe entre quem apoia Ciro Gomes (PDT) e Simone Tebet (MDB), respectivamente com 7% e 5% das intenções de voto. Nesses casos, 21% e 22% cogitam migrar para Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), que tem 47% das preferências totais.

O levantamento tem margem de erro de dois pontos para mais ou menos. Entre os 4% que dizem votar em branco ou anular, 10% contemplam o voto útil. Para selar a vitória em 2 de outubro, é necessário obter 50% dos votos válidos mais um.

Lula, mostra a pesquisa, está com 50% dos válidos, seguido do presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL), com 35%. O petista tem cortejado eleitores com a ideia de encerrar a disputa no dia 2 e tentado frear a abstenção — 3% dizem não pretender votar. Política A8

Presidente ameaça Judiciário, ataca oponente e evoca 1964

Em alusão ao Judiciário, seu alvo de praxe, o presidente Jair Bolsonaro pediu "ponto final em abusos de outro Poder" em comício em Divinópolis (MG). Disse ter apoio da maioria, citou o ano do golpe militar e chamou Lula de ladrão. A4

Mendonça retira censura a UOL por reportagem sobre 51 imóveis

O ministro André Mendonça, do STF, liberou a publicação pelo UOL de reportagem sobre transações imobiliárias da família Bolsonaro, censurada horas antes por um desembargador do DF a pedido de Flávio Bolsonaro. A7



Caixão emerge de vala comum em Izium, no leste da Ucrânia, em área retomada dos russos por forças do país. Serguei Bobok/AFIP

ENTREVISTA

Agustin Fernandez Sou bicha, maquiada, de barba, evangélica e bolsonarista

Melhor amigo da primeira-dama, o maquiador e empresário afirma à Folha que sofre ameaças à esquerda e à direita. Diz adorar as "brincadeiras" de Jair Bolsonaro e acha que ele vá ser reeleito. Política A12

Entidades criam QG para reagir a tumulto na eleição

Entidades da sociedade civil se mobilizam para reagir a eventuais tentativas de tumultuar a votação. No dia 2, elas devem estar reunidas em um lugar físico a definir, que funcionará como "sala de situação" caso haja problemas. Política A6

Oscar Vilhena Hora de recuperar a sobriedade

Se a polarização tóxica que marcou 2018 impeliu muitos a escolhas irracionais, que a experiência desse período de arbítrio, obscurantismo e anormalidade contribua para o eleitor recuperar sua serenidade e sensatez. Cotidiano B1

Empresas compram R\$ 278 mi em ouro de garimpo ilegal

O Banco Paulista e a BP Trading aparecem como compradores de ao menos R\$ 278 milhões em ouro, em 2018 e 2019, de empresa suspeita de comercializar minério extraído de modo ilegal na Amazônia, relatam Camila Mattoso, Fabio Serapião e João Gabriel. A FD Gold é investigada pela Polícia Federal.

Segundo o inquérito, cooperativas de garimpeiros retiram o ouro, registram como se fosse de uma lavra legal e vendem à FD, cujo dono, Dirceu Sobrinho, foi preso no domingo (18).

Procurados, Paulista e BP Trading confirmaram a compra e disseram seguir a legislação. Eles não são alvo da operação. Cotidiano B1

Sob ataques, ocupação russa inicia referendos de anexação

Autoridades de ocupação russa iniciaram ontem a votação de referendos que visam a dar um verniz legalista à anexação de cerca de 15% da área da Ucrânia, invadida por Vladimir Putin em 24 de fevereiro.

Houve ataques pontuais a zonas eleitorais e a depósitos de cédulas, com registro de ao menos seis mortos.

As regiões sob disputa são Kherson e Zaporíjia, ao sul, além de Donetsk e Lugansk, no leste russofôno da Ucrânia, cujo reconhecimento como repúblicas por Putin deflagrou a guerra. O anúncio de mobilização parcial de 300 mil reservistas gerou pânico na classe média russa, mas não há evidência de fuga em massa. Mundo A17

EDITORIAIS A2

As armas de Fachin
Sobre decisão do STF contra decretos de Bolsonaro.

Convulsão iraniana
Acercar de protesto devido à opressão a mulheres.

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EEUU y Brasil

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Vecinos toman la
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Humorista partió
a la eternidad

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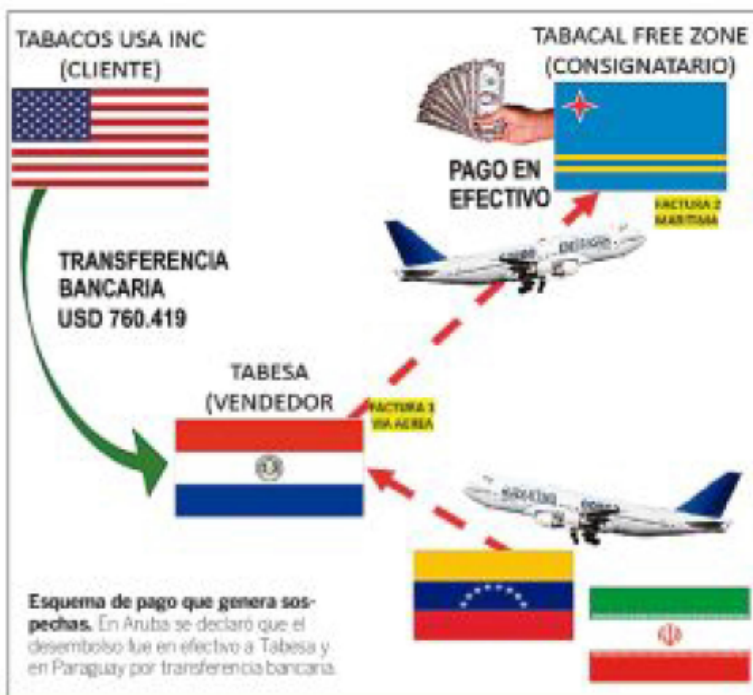
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Avión iraní: Gobierno denuncia inconsistencias y caso está en Fiscalía

- Detectan diferencias en los documentos de Tabesa
- Encuentran disparidad en montos, forma de pago y envío
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En Argentina se ve a Paraguay como la nueva tierra prometida

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CHANTILLY
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**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question
de vendredi :**
Êtes-vous favorable
au développement
des éoliennes en mer ?

OUI 45% NON 55%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 148 374

**Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr**
Guerre en Ukraine :
la France doit-elle
accueillir les Russes
qui fuient
la mobilisation ?

PETER AUTO-XOISE BOUZAS/XOISE
BOUZAS / HANS LUCAS VIA REU

Italie: l'union des droites aux portes du pouvoir

Les Italiens votent dimanche lors de législatives anticipées à l'issue desquelles la droite, emmenée par le parti souverainiste de Giorgia Meloni, Frères d'Italie, pourrait former le prochain gouvernement.

L'Italie se rend aux urnes ce 25 septembre pour élire ses 400 députés et 200 sénateurs lors d'un scrutin unique. Depuis plusieurs semaines, le scénario semble écrit, avec la victoire annoncée par tous les son-

ges de la coalition de droite, tirée par le parti post-fasciste, conservateur et nationaliste Fratelli d'Italia (Fdi). La gauche ayant échoué à construire une alliance, le suspense semble se limiter à l'ampleur du succès de

l'union des droites, qui vise la majorité absolue dans les deux Chambres. Giorgia Meloni, 45 ans, cofondatrice de Fdi en 2012, pourrait ainsi devenir la première femme présidente du Conseil. Au centre de la campagne,

cette ancienne militante du Mouvement social italien (MSI, post-fasciste) s'est employée à convaincre les électeurs et les capitales européennes qu'elle a tourné la page de ses origines sulfureuses.

➔ **LES EUROPÉENS ONT DÉJÀ INTÉRIORISÉ LA VICTOIRE DE L'EXTRÊME DROITE ITALIENNE**
➔ **COMMENT LES FRÈRES D'ITALIE SONT DEVENUS UN PARTI « RESPECTABLE »**
PAGES 2 À 4

Enquête sur les routes détournées du pétrole russe



En dépit des sanctions qui frappent le régime de Moscou, son or noir coule toujours à flots à l'exportation, car les principaux opérateurs du marché se sont réorganisés en conséquence, la Chine et l'Inde comptant désormais parmi les principaux acheteurs. **PAGES 16 ET 17**

ÉDITORIAL par Gaëtan de Capèle gdecapelle@lefigaro.fr

Chère vie à crédit

Lundi prochain, le gouvernement présentera le quarante-septième budget consécutif de l'État en déficit. Ce ne sera pas le dernier : on sait déjà que ceux des cinq prochaines années le seront aussi, comme sans doute les suivants. Ainsi va la France qui, droguée à la dépense publique, creuse indéfiniment sa dette - bientôt 3 000 milliards d'euros - en toute insouciance. Pas une entreprise, pas un particulier ne résisterait à une telle situation. Quelques forces de rappel, qui ont pour nom la faillite et la ruine, auraient tôt fait de les ramener à la raison. Rien de tel avec la puissance publique, qui ignore superbement les règles élémentaires d'une saine gestion. Et qui, à force de signer des chèques sans provision, a fini par en faire un mode de gouvernement.

Peut-on, même lorsque l'on est - de moins en moins - une grande puissance économique mondiale, vivre éternellement à crédit ? La succession des crises financières, de plus en plus rapprochées et protéiformes, devrait inciter à la prudence. La France, dira-t-on, n'est pas la Grèce. Sans doute, mais les marchés financiers, qui sont aussi nos créanciers, n'ont

aucun état d'âme à nous faire payer notre laxisme, en exigeant des taux d'intérêt toujours plus élevés. Au rythme où ils grimpent en ce moment, le coût de la dette devrait s'envoler de plusieurs dizaines de milliards d'euros dans les années à venir. Les chiffres macroéconomiques n'ayant plus grand sens, disons les choses autrement : nous allons devoir consacrer à son remboursement davantage que pour l'éducation de nos enfants, la santé, la sécurité publique ou la défense. Avec un tel tableau, les impôts ne sont pas près de baisser.

Pour quel résultat ? Le tonneau des Danaïdes de la dette publique, loin d'améliorer la bonne marche du pays, accompagne un affaissement ininterrompu de notre modèle. Ni l'école, ni l'hôpital, ni la police, ni la justice, ni les services publics en général ne s'en portent mieux, bien au contraire. Quant aux Français, ils n'ont aucune reconnaissance pour cette débauche d'argent public... ■

Le montant de la dette française n'en finit pas de grimper

L'endettement de la France s'est encore accru de 6 milliards d'euros au deuxième trimestre, pour atteindre 2916 milliards, ce qui représente 113,3% du PIB. Un tel niveau de dette l'expose à de lourds remboursements à terme, compte tenu de la hausse des taux d'intérêt. La France se distingue dans la zone euro comme le pays le moins ambitieux dans la maîtrise de sa dette, en repoussant au-delà de 2025 la résorption de son déficit sous les 3% du PIB. **PAGE 22 ET L'ÉDITORIAL**

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● Kwarteng's £45bn tax cut package sends pound crashing to lowest level against dollar in 37 years

● Tory MPs left aghast as Treasury admits it has no forecasts for how its plan will promote growth

A budget for the rich

Larry Elliott
Rowena Mason

Kwasi Kwarteng has been accused of delivering a reckless mini-budget for the rich after his £45bn tax-cutting package sent the pound crashing to its lowest level against the US dollar in 37 years.

In a high-risk strategy designed to revive Britain's stagnant economy, the new chancellor announced more than £400bn of extra borrowing over the coming years to fund the biggest giveaway since Anthony Barber's ill-fated 1972 budget.

Kwarteng said tax cuts - worth more than £55,000 a year to someone receiving £1m a year and described

as "class war" by some Labour MPs - were part of a new direction for the economy and were designed to help boost growth to 2.5% a year.

But the Treasury admitted there were no forecasts for the impact of the measures on growth, and the gamble received a hostile reception not just from the markets and from opposition politicians, but from economic thinktanks and many Conservative MPs, some of whom were aghast at the announcements.

Paul Johnson, the director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies, said: "Today, the chancellor announced the biggest package of tax cuts in 50 years without even a semblance of an effort to make the public finance numbers add up. Instead, the plan

seems to be to borrow large sums at increasingly expensive rates, put government debt on an unsustainable rising path, and hope that we get better growth. Mr Kwarteng is not just gambling on a new strategy, he is betting the house."

The shadow chancellor, Rachel Reeves, described the mini-budget as "casino economics".

Kwarteng scrapped the 45% rate of income tax paid by those getting more than £150,000 a year, abolished the cap on bankers' bonuses, reversed the rise in national insurance contributions and brought forward by a year the reduction in the basic rate of income tax from 20% to 19% pencilled in by the former chancellor Rishi Sunak for 2024.

Tax cuts Super-rich 'laughing all the way to the actual bank'
Page 8

The numbers
What it will mean for you
Page 15



Jonathan Freedland
The Tories have made a declaration of class war
Journal, page 1

The income tax changes do not apply to Scotland.

The chancellor also announced a doubling of the £125,000 threshold for stamp duty on home purchases, a freezing of alcohol duties, and ditched the planned increase in corporation tax from 19% to 25% that had been due to come into force in April. An estimated £60bn will be spent capping energy bills for households and businesses during the coming winter.

In the absence of independent scrutiny of the package from the Office for Budget Responsibility, it was left to thinktanks and the financial markets to pass judgment on the new government's "plan for growth".

6 →

PHOTOGRAPH: TOM BARNES

Hilary Mantel 1952 – 2022

Celebrated author of
Wolf Hall dies aged 70
News, pages 4-5



Hogwarts and all
Alan Rickman's
deliciously
indiscreet
diaries

Saturday

