



# WSJ

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND

Dress  
Your Age  
At Any  
Age  
OFF DUTY



DOW JONES | News Corp. SATURDAY/SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 24 - 25, 2022 - VOL. CCLXXX NO. 72 WSJ.com ★★★★★ \$6.00

### 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. Gatzert 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**

#### NOONAN

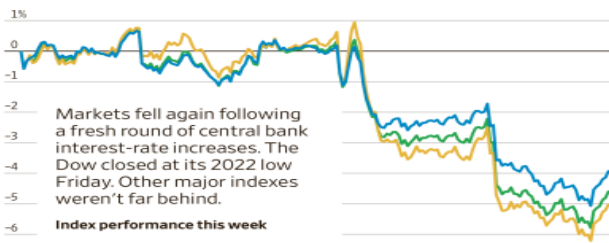
It's a Mistake  
To Shrug Off  
Putin's Threats **A15**

**CONTENTS** Opinion..... A13-15  
Books..... C7-12 Sports..... A36  
Business News..... B3 Style & Fashion D2-3  
Food..... D8-9,11 Travel..... D6-7  
Gear & Gadgets D12-13 U.S. News..... A2-4  
Health on Street..... B12 Weather..... A16  
Obituaries..... A11 World News A10-11



© 2022 Dow Jones & Company, Inc.  
All Rights Reserved

## 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 Hirtenslein  
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

Please turn to page A10

◆ 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

Please turn to page A6





## 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.

FT View page 10  
Merryn Somersett Webb page 11  
Lex page 20

### Generation Kyiv The artists saving a culture HTSI



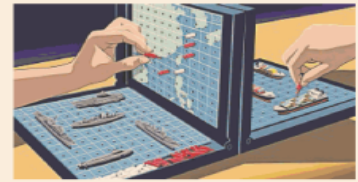
### City living Superprime property boom FT MONEY



### 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."

Italy's right unites page 2  
Alexander Gabuev page 10  
Person in the news page 11

BAIN & COMPANY



## NEW RECESSION. NEW RULES.

Adapt your playbook to emerge stronger  
Bain.com/Recession

Subscribe In print and online  
www.ft.com/subscribe

Tel: 1 800 428 8088  
For the latest news go to  
www.ft.com

© THE FINANCIAL TIMES LTD 2022  
No: 41128\*

Printed in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin, Frankfurt, Milan, Madrid, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul, Dubai



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
FTSE100	1545.21	1581.20	-2.28	\$/¥	143.285	142.005	¥/¥	139.056	139.473	UK 2 yr	3.98
Euro Stoxx 500	3247.84	3427.14	-5.25	\$/¥	116.223	116.028	¥/¥	78.466	78.582	UK 10 yr	3.83
FTSE 100	2018.80	2158.32	-6.37	\$/¥	0.993	0.984	¥/¥	1.070	1.106	UK 30 yr	4.04
FTSE All-Share	3040.69	3224.91	-5.94							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	-11.18							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 Worldex 2000	4089.51	4242.22	-3.58								
FT Worldex 5000	38193.89	39606.41	-3.99								

A Nikkei Company





About 8 percent of new single-family homes in the U.S. are 1,400 square feet or less, compared with about 70 percent in the 1940s.

## Looking for a Starter House? Good Luck.

By EMILY BADGER

As recently as the 1990s, when Jason Nageli started off, the home-building industry was still constructing what real-estate ads would brightly call the "starter home." In the Denver area, he sold newly built two-story houses with three bedrooms in 1,400 square feet or less.

The price: \$99,000 to \$125,000, or around \$200,000 in today's dollars.

That house would be in tremendous demand today. But few builders construct anything like it anymore. And you couldn't buy those Denver area homes built 25 years ago at an entry-level price

### Few Build Small Homes and Existing Ones Are Costly

today, either. They go for half a million dollars.

The disappearance of such affordable homes is central to the American housing crisis. The nation has a deepening shortage of housing. But, more specifically, there isn't enough of this housing: small, no-frills homes that would give a family new to the country or a young couple with student debt a foothold to build equity.

The affordable end of the market has been squeezed from every side. Land costs have risen steeply in booming parts of the country. Construction materials and government fees have become more expensive. And communities nationwide are far more prescriptive today than decades ago about what housing should look like and how big it must be. Some ban vinyl siding. Others require two-car garages. Nearly all make it difficult to build the kind of home that could sell for \$200,000 today.

"It's just become where you can't get to that number anymore," said Mr. Nageli, now the operations manager for

Continued on Page 28

## Film on Jihad Causes Storm Over Identity

By MICHAEL POWELL

Meg Smaker felt exhilarated last November. After 16 months filming inside a Saudi rehabilitation center for accused terrorists, she learned that her documentary "Jihad Rehab" was invited to the 2022 Sundance Festival, one of the most prestigious showcases in the world.

Her documentary centered on four former Guantanamo detainees sent to a rehab center in Saudi Arabia who had opened their lives to her, speaking of youthful attraction to Al Qaeda and the Taliban, of torture endured, and of regrets.

Film critics warned that conservatives might bridle at these human portraits, but reviews after the festival's screening were strong.

"The absence of absolutes is what's most enriching," The Guardian stated, adding, "This is a movie for intelligent people looking to have their preconceived notions challenged." Variety wrote: The film "feels like a miracle and an interrogative act of defiance."

But attacks would come from the left, not the right. Arab and Muslim filmmakers and their white supporters accused Ms. Smaker of Islamophobia and American propaganda. Some suggested her race was disqualifying, a white woman who presumed to tell the story of Arab men.

Continued on Page 20



ASHLEY LANDES/ASSOCIATED PRESS

### Ruth, Aaron, Bonds and Now, Pujols

Albert Pujols joined a select group when he hit his 700th career home run. On Baseball, Page 33.

## Fighting Loneliness With Push-Ups and Prayer

By RUTH GRAHAM

KATY, Texas — By day, Glenn Ayala is a 50-something account manager who spends much of his time behind a desk. But at Rick Rice Park in the early-morning darkness, doing push-ups and jogging with a 20-pound rucksack on his back, he is known as K9, and he is with his people.

One Friday in August, Mr.

Ayala joined about 20 other men in what they called the predawn "gloom" for the group's regular workout. They grunted and shouted one another and shouting encouragements, using nicknames generated by the group. (Mr. Ayala got his because he trains dogs in his spare time.)

The members also often gather to pray together and talk, building friendships that have extended into their daily lives:

When Mr. Ayala separated from his wife, members of the group helped him move. When his relationship with his adult son floundered, they texted him Garth Brooks songs to buoy him.

This is F3 — that's fitness, fellowship and faith — a fast-growing network of men's workouts that combine exercise with spiritually infused camaraderie. After its founding in 2011 as a free, outdoor group workout, its

Continued on Page 26

## Entitled to Free Treatment But Hounded by Hospitals

### One of Nation's Top Nonprofit Chains Sent Debt Collectors After the Needy

By JESSICA SILVER-GREENBERG and KATIE THOMAS

In 2018, senior executives at one of the country's largest nonprofit hospital chains, Providence, were frustrated. They were spending hundreds of millions of dollars providing free health care

and straying from their traditional charitable missions.

To understand the shift, The Times reviewed thousands of pages of court records, internal hospital financial records and memos, tax filings, and complaints filed with regulators, and interviewed dozens of patients, lawyers, current and former hospital executives, doctors, nurses and consultants.

The Times found that the consequences have been stark. Many nonprofit hospitals were ill equipped for a flood of critically sick Covid-19 patients because they had been operating with skeleton staffs in an effort to cut costs and boost profits. Others lacked intensive care units and other resources to weather a pandemic because the nonprofit chains that owned them had focused on investments in rich communities at the expense of poorer ones.

And, as Providence illustrates, some hospital systems have not only reduced their emphasis on providing free care to the poor but also developed elaborate systems to convert needy patients into sources of revenue. The result, in

Continued on Page 22

### PROFITS OVER PATIENTS

A Turn to the Bottom Line

to patients. It was eating into their bottom line.

The executives, led by Providence's chief financial officer at the time, devised a solution: a program called Rev-Up.

Rev-Up provided Providence's employees with a detailed playbook for wringing money out of patients — even those who were supposed to receive free care because of their low incomes, a New York Times investigation found.

In training materials obtained by The Times, members of the hospital staff were instructed how to approach patients and pressure them to pay.

"Ask every patient, every time," the materials said. Instead of using "weak" phrases — like "Would you mind paying?" — employees were told to ask how patients wanted to pay. Soliciting money "is part of your role. It's not an option."

If patients did not pay, Providence sent debt collectors to pursue them.

More than half the nation's roughly 5,000 hospitals are nonprofits like Providence. They enjoy lucrative tax exemptions; Providence avoids more than \$1 billion a year in taxes. In exchange, the Internal Revenue Service requires them to provide services, such as free care for the poor, that benefit the communities in which they operate.

But in recent decades, many of the hospitals have become virtually indistinguishable from for-profit companies, adopting an unrelenting focus on the bottom line



After surgery, Bev Kolpin was billed \$8,000 despite being eligible for discounted care.

## Grueling Fight In South Slows Ukraine's Push

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN

AT THE KHERSON FRONT, Ukraine — The commander banged on the door furiously. "I need help!" he shouted.

When Tetiana Kozyr opened up, the commander rushed in, clinging a young soldier on his shoulders. She said the young man was sunburned, thin and gravely wounded.

The Ukrainians were trying to recapture her village, the smallest dot on the most detailed military maps. Russian forces had just blown up three Ukrainian tanks. Flames leaped off the roofs of neighboring houses.

The commander laid the young man gently down on Ms. Kozyr's kitchen floor and then ripped open a bandage pack and thrust it against his chest and neck, which were badly bleeding. Ms. Kozyr hovered over them, feeling helpless and terrified in her own kitchen, watching the commander try to save the young man's life.

"He looked so scared," said Ms. Kozyr, who lived on a small farm and recounted this scene, which was corroborated by others from her village. "I had to turn away."

Outside her house, several other Ukrainian soldiers lay face down in the grass.

Ukraine's southern offensive was the most highly anticipated military action of the summer.

Continued on Page 10

## Woman's Death Unleashes Rage Of Iran's Youth

By VIVIAN YEE and FARNAZ FASSHIHI

The 22-year-old woman emerged from the Tehran subway, her dark hair covered with a black headscarf and the lines of her body obscured by loose clothing, when the capital city's Guidance Patrol spotted her. They were members of Iran's notorious morality police, enforcers of the conservative Islamic dress and behavior rules that have governed daily life for Iranians since the 1979 revolution, and newly energized under a hard-line president who took office last year.

By their standards, Mahsa Amini was improperly dressed, which could mean something as simple as a wisp of hair protruding from her headscarf. They put her in a van and drove her to a detention center, where she was to undergo re-education. Three days later, on Sept. 16, she was dead.

Now, over eight days of rage, exhilaration and street battles, the most significant outpouring of anger with the ruling system in more than a decade, her name is everywhere. Iranian protesters in dozens of cities have chanted "women, life and freedom" and "death to the dictator," rejecting the Iranian Republic's theocratic rule by targeting one of its most fundamental and divisive symbols — the ailing supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali

Continued on Page A8

### INTERNATIONAL 4-14

#### 'Somebody Planted the Guns'

When a cache of weapons was found in a tiny Canadian village that has become a symbol of the far right, conspiracy theories were quick to circulate. PAGE 4

#### Italy Poised to Shift Right

Giorgia Meloni, a candidate for prime minister, is ahead before Sunday's vote. Her popularity seems undiminished by her party's roots in Fascism. PAGE 14

#### Backlash Over Abe's Funeral

A planned state service for the assassinated ex-leader of Japan is casting a critical light on his governing party and a fringe religious group. PAGE 14



### SUNDAY STYLES

#### Full of Stories but No Drinks

A bar from the Stork Club, long ago a haunt of the glitterati, now sits idle in a tavern that has closed for good. PAGE 1

#### Constance Wu Opens Up

In a new book, the actress talks about the truth behind the challenges she has faced, and about moving on. PAGE 1

### NATIONAL 16-29

#### Counting Sheep for a Dream

Latin American herders on work visas roam lonely passes and high deserts, aiming for full citizenship. PAGE 16

#### E.P.A. to Focus on Equality

The agency aims to address the harm pollution and climate change have inflicted on communities of color. PAGE 17

### METROPOLITAN

#### Keepers of the Fluttering Film

Projectionists are busier than ever, as they serve a demand for obscure 35-millimeter titles, nostalgia and the quirks of analog. PAGE 4



### ARTS & LEISURE

#### The Unseen Hemingway

In 1939, Ernest Hemingway left his belongings in the storeroom of a bar in Key West, Fla. They are now part of a new archive at Penn State. PAGE 14

### SUNDAY OPINION

#### Michelle Goldberg

PAGE 4

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### Germany Tackles Hate Speech

The nation has gone further than other Western democracies in prosecuting people for what they say online. PAGE 1

### SPECIAL SECTION

#### 7 Ingredients to Greatness

You don't need a ton of fancy ingredients to make some meals that sing. Here are two dozen recipes that offer enormous flavor in little time.





**LEGAL WEED, BROKEN PROMISES**



**SISKIYOU COUNTY** task force members weigh cannabis plants at an illegal grow in Mount Shasta Vista. Legal operators say the state hasn't been tough enough on illicit growers and dealers.

## Many strains of failure for state's pot industry

By Patrick McGreevy

**SACRAMENTO** — Architects of the effort to legalize pot in California made big promises to voters.

But six years later, California's legal weed industry is in disarray with flawed policies, legal loopholes and stiff regulations hampering longtime growers and sellers. Despite expectations that it would become a model for the rest of the country, the state has instead provided a cautionary tale of lofty intentions and unkept promises.

Compromises made to win political support for Proposition 64, the 2016 initiative to legalize canna-

bis, along with decisions made after it was approved by voters that year, unleashed a litany of problems that have undermined the state-sanctioned market.

At the root of the failure: an array of ambitious, sometimes conflicting goals.

California officials vowed to help small farmers thrive but also depended on the support of big cannabis operators backed by venture capital funding, who helped proponents of Proposition 64 raise \$25 million and won a key concession after its approval. The result was a licensed recreational canna-

bis system that benefited large companies over smaller growers who are now being squeezed out of the market.

The state set out to simultaneously cripple illegal operators and reduce marijuana-related criminal penalties to address racial injustices imposed by the long-running "war on drugs." Far from reducing illegal weed, those efforts instead allowed the black market to flourish after legalization with the help of organized crime operations that run massive unlicensed farms and storefront dispensaries [See Weed, A10]

## Agencies misled judge in getting warrant for raid

FBI omitted plan to seize cash, items inside customers' deposit boxes at Beverly Hills store

By Michael Finnegan

The privacy invasion was vast when FBI agents drilled and pried their way into 1,400 safe-deposit boxes at the U.S. Private Vaults store in Beverly Hills.

They rummaged through personal belongings of a jazz saxophone player, an interior designer, a retired doctor, a flooring contractor, two Century City lawyers and hundreds of others.

Agents took photos and videos of pay stubs, passport lists, credit cards, a prenuptial agreement, immigration and vaccination records, bank statements, heirlooms and a will, court records show. In one box, agents found cremated human remains.

Eighteen months later, newly unsealed court documents show that the FBI and U.S. attorney's office in

Los Angeles got their warrant for that raid by misleading the judge who approved it.

They omitted from their warrant request a central part of the FBI's plan: Permanent confiscation of everything inside every box containing at least \$5,000 in cash or goods, a senior FBI agent recently testified.

The FBI's justification for the dragnet forfeiture was its presumption that hundreds of unknown box holders were all storing assets somehow tied to unknown crimes, court records show.

It took five days for scores of agents to fill their evidence bags with the bounty: More than \$86 million in cash and a bonanza of gold, silver, rare coins, gem-studded jewelry and enough Rolex and Cartier watches to stock a boutique.

[See Raid, A12]

## She's a champion of the 'nobodies'

Trailblazing activist-vice president is at the vanguard of an Afro-Colombian awakening.

By Patrick J. McDonnell

**LA TOMA, Colombia** — Shovel and wooden pan in hand, rubber boots hoisted up to his shins, Leider Ocoró Ambulla strolled past the stands of ripening bananas, past the cow pen, down to the banks of the Ovejas river.

He was soon crunched at waterway's edge shoveling silt into a concave pan, or *batea*, a ritual passed down for generations. He splashed water on the grit and tilted the pan to help separate mud and pebbles from the real stuff — gold, minuscule flecks of which soon

sparked from the muck. Francia also worked hard to find gold," said Ocoró Ambulla, 41. "I grew up with her. We played together. She is one of us."

In a remote parts, where destiny is shaped by water and gold, the reference was clear: Francia Elena Márquez, the most eminent, and provocative, citizen of La Toma, a string of villages and farmsteads spread over verdant hills and valleys that is home to some 8,000 people, overwhelmingly of African ancestry. Most are descendants of slaves brought to South America centuries ago by the Spanish to work in mines and on plantations.

Márquez is a single mother and former live-in maid who escaped rural poverty and threats to become an outspoken social activist — winner of the Goldman [See Colombia, A4]



**CHERYL FURMAN**, a Kneeland Elementary instructional aide and custodian, reads to Jace Johnson, left, Evie Hippen, Ryden Sizemore and Edward Rich.

**COLUMN ONE**

## When COVID struck, this tiny school actually grew

By Hailey Branson-Potts  
REPORTING FROM KNEELAND, CALIF.

In Kneeland, which isn't so much a town as a rural fire station and a smattering of homes in the forest, the school has long been the lifeblood of the community.

And it has long felt a little fragile. Perched on a mountaintop in Humboldt County, amid coastal redwoods and Douglas firs, Kneeland Elementary is one of California's smallest public schools.

Two years ago, the school, which was built in 1880, was on the verge of closing. It had an average daily attendance — for the

entire school, transitional kindergarten through eighth grade — of 12 students. Then, up the mountain came the pandemic kids, who had been withering away in front of Zoom screens. They found refuge in a school that, because it was so tiny, had quickly resumed in-person classes.

On the grassy, 2.5-acre campus, students did a biology unit on bugs (since there are a lot in the woods). When it got cold, they moved inside, where it was easy to socially distance, since there were so few of them.

Since 2020, enrollment has more than doubled, to 33 students. The school got more funding. It hired a teacher — there are now three — and [See School, A14]

## A new definition of starter homes

As real estate gets pricier, the wish list for some buyers is whatever they can get.

By Jack Flemming

For decades, the single-family home has been Southern California's ultimate lure — a chance to live a life of sun and sand from the comfort of your very own property.

Most buyers' ticket to that life is the starter home — something modest but not minuscule: two bedrooms, maybe three, a picket fence in front and a yard out back for the kids and dog to play.

But the starter home has changed. As home prices have soared and higher mortgage interest rates have made everything less affordable, wish lists have become more and more wishful, and buyers have been forced to find something smaller.

Want two bedrooms? How about one, plus an office that might fit a twin-size bed. Want a backyard? How about a space shared with the rest of the condo complex. Want to paint the [See Homes, A8]



**FRANCIA** Elena Márquez aims to change "the economic model of death to an economic model of life."

### New attacks amid voting in Ukraine

As the widely decried referendums continue, latest protests in Russia result in more arrests. **WORLD, A3**

### Voters will weigh abortion measure

Proposition 1 would amend the state Constitution by reinforcing reproductive freedoms. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

**Weather**  
Sunny and hot.  
L.A. Basin: 90/69. **B10**

### UCLA romps over Colorado

Bruins' Zach Charbonnet rushes for 104 yards and three touchdowns in 45-17 rout. **SPORTS, D1**







# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

A shower and t-storm 79/60 • Tomorrow: Breezy 78/55 C12

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 2022 • \$5

## A brewing rivalry for the 2024 GOP crown

Early tensions surface between formerly close allies Trump, DeSantis

BY HANNAH KNOWLES  
AND JOSH DAWSEY

Donald Trump put his full force behind Ron DeSantis in 2018, rallying with the GOP gubernatorial candidate in his home state of Florida. “My great friend,” Trump said. “A tough, brilliant cookie.”

Four years later, Trump has yet to endorse DeSantis as he seeks a second term and is unlikely to campaign for him, according to Trump advisers with knowledge of the former president’s intentions. The two men once spoke regularly, a close Trump adviser said, but, “those days are gone.” The two haven’t talked since early in the summer, people familiar with the matter said, and DeSantis has not asked Trump to campaign for him.

A favorite to win reelection, DeSantis is trying to assert his national influence, appealing to Trump’s supporters and touring swing states to headline rallies for other Republicans on the ballot this fall, as he subtly distances himself from Trump in speeches, while not explicitly criticizing the ex-president.

Although neither has announced any firm decisions, Trump and DeSantis are widely seen in the Republican Party as

SEE DESANTIS ON A7

**Philadelphia:** Fetterman rally courts crucial Black voting bloc. **A6**

**Illinois:** GOP nominee needs votes in Chicago, a city he slams. **A12**

**Poll:** Economy, abortion on voters’ minds as key midterms near. **A14**

## For trans CPS worker, Texas order was a test of the soul

BY CASEY PARKS

The day after Texas Gov. Greg Abbott ordered the state’s Department of Family and Protective Services to “conduct a prompt and thorough investigation” of families with transgender children, the first case came up, and Morgan Davis’s name was on it.

Davis was one of four investigators on a Travis County unit tasked with reviewing claims of child abuse. Usually, he and his colleagues took cases on a rotation. Davis was next in line.

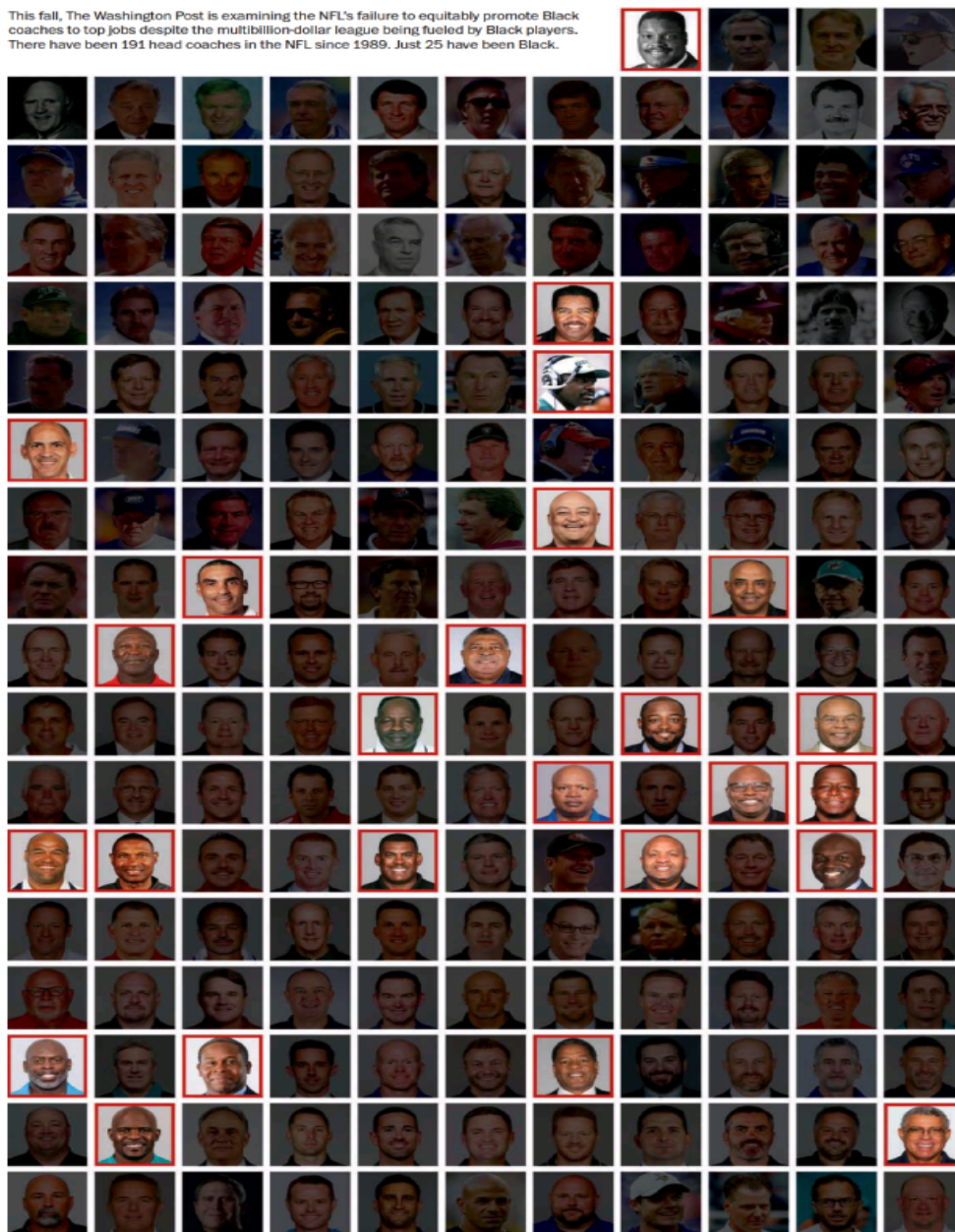
That evening, a Wednesday in late February, his supervisor called and relayed the basic facts. A mandated reporter — by law, any licensed professional who works directly with children — had turned in a family outside of Austin because they’d allowed their teenager to live as a girl. Under the governor’s order, someone had to investigate the family for child abuse.

Davis’s supervisor told him she knew working the case might feel difficult. Nine months earlier, Davis had come out as a transgender man. He was 52, born in a generation when calling yourself “tomboy” felt daring enough, but after five decades, he’d decided he was finally ready to live as himself.

SEE TEXAS ON A8

## BLACK OUT BLOCKED AT EVERY TURN

This fall, The Washington Post is examining the NFL’s failure to equitably promote Black coaches to top jobs despite the multibillion-dollar league being fueled by Black players. There have been 191 head coaches in the NFL since 1989. Just 25 have been Black.



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; PHOTOS BY ASSOCIATED PRESS, GETTY IMAGES AND NFL

### In this league, exclusion has long been the point

BY JERRY BREWER

Fritz Pollard died waiting for the NFL to change. He lived until he was 92, and that was not long enough. For his last 65 years, he yearned to see another person like him: a Black man, valued and

**PERSPECTIVE** empowered, with the title of head coach.

In 1921, when the star running back also coached the Akron Pros, pro football seemed ahead of the racist times. It chose not to stay that way. Sixty-eight years

SEE BREWER ON A19

### Opportunities are rare for the NFL’s Black coaches — and it’s getting worse

This article is by Dave Sheinin, Michael Lee, Emily Giambalvo, Artur Galocha and Clara Ence Morse.

In 1989, the Los Angeles Raiders hired Art Shell, who became the first Black head coach in the modern history of the National Football League. He’s one of 191 people who have been head coaches in the three-plus decades since. In that time, just 24 more have been Black.

Despite the league’s end-zone pledge to “END RACISM,” Black

coaches continue to be denied top jobs in a league in which nearly 60 percent of the players are Black.

It is a glaring shortcoming for the NFL, one highlighted by the

SEE BLACK COACHES ON A15

**Inside:** Our research included gathering and analyzing more than three decades’ worth of data. **A20**

## The Fed avows it’s short on answers

CANDOR AS WALL ST. PLUNGE WORSENS

Chair says recession risk among the uncertainties

BY DAVID J. LYNCH

Federal Reserve Chair Jerome H. Powell acknowledged last week that there are a few things he does not know about the U.S. economy.

He doesn’t know if it is doomed to fall into recession. He doesn’t know how long high inflation will persist. And he doesn’t know if healthier supply chains will be much help.

“It’s very hard to say with precise certainty the way this is going to unfold,” Powell told reporters last week. “No one knows whether this process will lead to a recession or, if so, how significant that recession would be.”

Public confessions of doubt are rare in official Washington. But they have become commonplace for Powell, 69, whose candor reflects the uncertainties shrouding the global economy as well as a revolution in Fed communications since the days when then-Chairman Alan Greenspan cultivated an image of singular economic mastery.

But Powell’s latest remarks come as the Fed’s anti-inflation fight is making only slow progress, leaving the institution and its boss vulnerable to criticism over the cost to workers and businesses of continued rate hikes.

On Friday, the Dow Jones industrial average fell for the fourth straight day, sinking below 30,000 for the first time since June and wiping out everything investors

SEE ECONOMY ON A21

## The complex reality of returning to pre-covid life

BY MARC FISHER  
AND TAYLOR TELFORD

CarLa Bryant’s family reunion would have celebrated its 46th straight meeting this year, but there will be no such gathering of the generations. Too many of Bryant’s older relatives are still not ready to travel again.

“I’m not around too many people yet,” relatives told Bryant, 56, who lives in Prince William County and works for the Fairfax County government.

Eleven hundred miles away, in Fort Smith, Ark., Terry Davis, a 71-year-old retired Safeway manager, made his family’s reunion a priority. Although last year’s event was canceled because “we didn’t want to put the older people at risk,” this year, “people were adamant: ‘I’m not afraid, I’m coming,’” he said. “We’ve kind of gone on with normal life, especially things that are important to us.”

Two-and-a-half years into the coronavirus’s deadly spread, after nearly all government-imposed restrictions have been lifted, as many businesses urge or require workers to come back to their offices, President Biden declared this month that “the pandemic is over.” Yet even as the

SEE PANDEMIC ON A10





# 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



©COPYRIGHT 2022  
USA TODAY  
A division of  
Gannett Co., Inc.

HOME DELIVERY  
1-800-872-0001, USATODAYSERVICE.COM

### 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

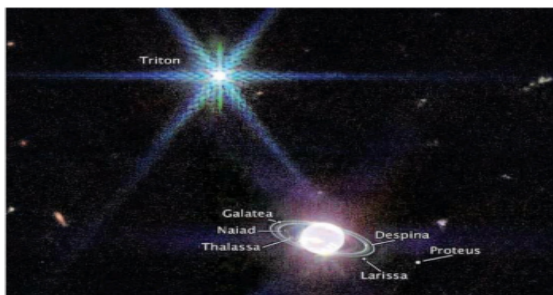
## Neptune in its splendor

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.

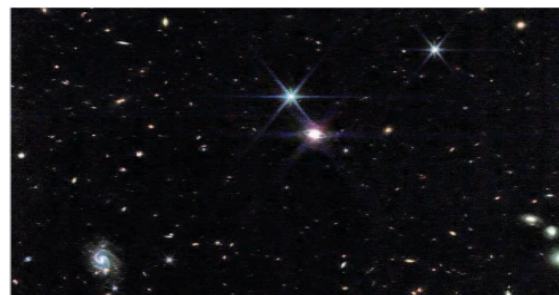


**On the fringe:** The space telescope's near-infrared camera captured the solar system's outermost planet and its rings, along with fainter dust bands. NASA's Voyager 2 confirmed Neptune had rings in 1989.



**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



LA NACION  
REVISTA

Ricardo Darín

“La esperanza es que esta historia llegue a los jóvenes”

ENTREVISTA — por Carlos Pagni



Darín como Strassera, en Argentina, 1985

RANKING DE VIAJES  
OFICIALES: LOS MINISTROS  
QUE SUMAN MÁS MILLAS

—política

A través de un procesamiento de información pública, LA NACION elaboró una radiografía de las misiones al exterior de funcionarios nacionales; curiosidades y nuevas normas. Página 16

## LA NACION

DOMINGO 25 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

El oficialismo depende  
de los votos de Milei para  
suspender las PASO

MANIOBRA. Al kirchnerismo le falta un solo diputado para cancelar las primarias de 2023

La idea oficialista de suspender las PASO de 2023, en línea con la demanda de los gobernadores del PJ, contaría con margen político en la Cámara de Diputados. Allí, el kirchnerismo estaría a un solo voto de conseguir los 129 necesarios para aprobar ese cambio en las reglas de juego electorales que podría complicar la interna de Juntos por el Cambio.

De acuerdo con el conteo previo que se hace en la Cámara baja, el Frente de Todos dependería, sin

embargo, del aval del bloque libertario de Javier Milei.

Ante una consulta de LA NACION, voceros del diputado dijeron que él recién se pronunciará una vez que haya un proyecto concreto en tramitación.

Mientras tanto, los bloques del medio se muestran divididos: algunos diputados apoyarían la suspensión de las PASO —entre ellos, los cordobeses que responden a Juan Schiaretti— y otros la rechazarían. Página 12

## EL ESCENARIO

## Cristina sospecha una traición

Martín Rodríguez Yebra

—LA NACION—

Cristina Kirchner vive en un mundo de apariencias que se le hacen evidentes a ella misma. Desde el atentado fallido de Fer-

nando Sabag Montiel se ha acelerado su tendencia a desconfiar hasta de su sombra. Continúa en la página 18

## EL ANÁLISIS

La estrategia  
de prenderle  
fuego a la  
Constitución

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

Cristina Kirchner tenía la Constitución en la mano, pero no para leerla, sino para prenderle fuego. Así se la vio en su última aparición pública, el viernes último, cuando habló ante el tribunal que la juzga por haber beneficiado con cientos de millones de dólares al viejo amigo de la familia Kirchner, Lázaro Báez. Sus palabras fueron el intento más claro de dinamitar el sistema político que consagra la Constitución. No fue el único hecho destituyente del modelo constitucional perpetrado por el propio kirchnerismo gobernante. Continúa en la página 39

## Bridgestone cierra por un bloqueo sindical



Desafiantes, los sindicalistas del Sutna, ayer, en la puerta de la planta de Bridgestone en Llavalloí

**CONFLICTO.** En respuesta al conflicto gremial que desde hace cinco meses tiene en vilo a la industria del neumático, la empresa Bridgestone suspendió todas sus actividades

en el país y se mantendrá cerrada “temporariamente”. Las compañías Fate y Pirelli tomarían la misma decisión en los próximos días. El sindicato del neumático, liderado por Alejandro Crespo, un militante del Partido Obrero, de línea trotskista, reclama que las horas trabajadas en días de fin de semana se paguen 200% más que las de los

días de la semana, mientras que las empresas argumentan que si aceptaran eso tendrían un aumento de costos del 15%, algo que les restaría competitividad. Página 21

En respuesta al conflicto gremial que desde hace cinco meses tiene en vilo a la industria del neumático, la empresa Bridgestone suspendió todas sus actividades

## EL ESCENARIO

Números  
que no  
cierran

José Del Río

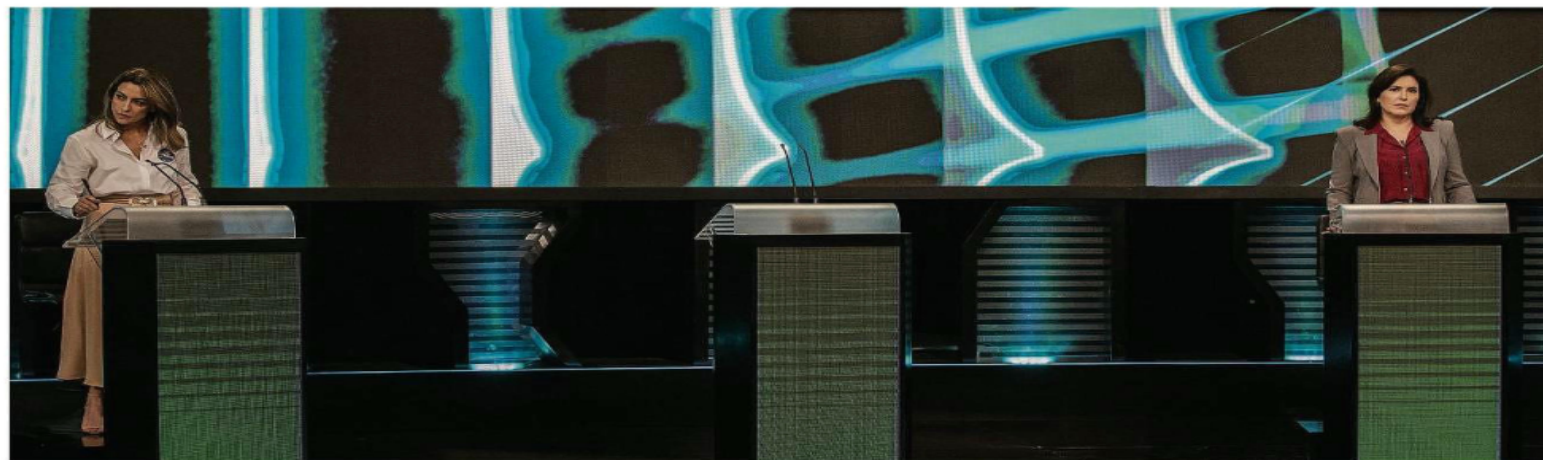
—LA NACION—

Sergio Massa no vio el partido de la selección argentina. Mientras Lionel Messi convertía dos de los tres goles del amistoso contra Honduras, el ministro de Economía estaba solo en su despacho. En su escritorio se distribuían unas doce carpetas impresas con futuras medidas y una cuenta que le acababan de acercar sus técnicos. Solo por los viajes de argentinos a Qatar se irán unos US\$2700 millones este año. Continúa en la página 22

Italia, ante un  
posible giro  
a la derecha  
populista

**HOY, ELECCIONES.** Meloni, de un partido posfascista, es la favorita. Página 3





Púlpito reservado a Lula fica vazio, entre Soraya Thronicke (União Brasil), à esq., e Simone Tebet (MDB); o candidato do PT faltou ao debate exibido ontem pelo SBT Mariana Bergamo/Folhapress

**Lula é atacado por ausência, e presidente vira alvo no SBT**

Ausente ao debate do SBT, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) foi criticado pelos demais candidatos. Jair Bolsonaro (PL) teve embates com Ciro Gomes (PDT), Simone Tebet (MDB) e Soraya Thronicke (União Brasil) e fez dobradinha com Padre Kelmon (PTB), substituído de Roberto Jefferson (PTB), impedido de concorrer. **Política A8 e A9**

## Otimismo com economia é o maior no governo Bolsonaro

Um em cada três eleitores vê melhoria, mas metade ainda percebe piora, aponta o Datafolha

Pesquisa do Datafolha realizada do dia 20 ao 22 deste mês aponta que o otimismo dos eleitores com a economia do país está no melhor patamar desde que o presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) assumiu o governo, em 2019.

Um em cada três ouvidos diz que a situação econômica do país melhorou nos últimos meses, igualando a percepção no pré-pandemia, mesmo índice dos que avaliavam que a sua situação pessoal é mais favorável.

A expectativa de que a economia vai melhorar também é a mais elevada neste governo: 53% afirmam acreditar nisso. Eleitores de Bolsonaro, como seria previsível, têm uma visão mais otimista do que os de Lula (PT).

Por outro lado, acreditam que o quadro está pior 50% dos eleitores. E, apesar dos esforços do governo para conquistar votos dos menos favorecidos, 55% dos que recebem o Auxílio Brasil também têm percepção de piora.

O país tem vivido deflação, mas o aumento dos alimentos pesa, particularmente entre os mais pobres. Igualmente, a taxa de desemprego caiu, mas não se registra ainda melhoria expressiva na renda. **Mercado A21**

ilustrada

**Jorge O Mourão, 76, relembra anos 1970 de filmes, cocaína e contracultura** **C4**

**MÔNICA BERGAMO**  
'Virei o pai do Gabriel', diz Almir Sater, que contracenou com o filho em novela **C2**

**mercado A29**  
Panetone encolhe, e preço aumenta; fabricantes exportam até para o Japão

**esporte B9**  
**Força das mulheres**  
Corinthians vence tetra brasileiro de futebol feminino

O cineasta Jorge O Mourão em 1972 Teresa Brandão/Divulgação

### Falta comida na mesa de 27% do eleitorado do país

Segundo nova pesquisa do Datafolha, 27% dos eleitores brasileiros afirmam faltar comida em casa. O levantamento também mostra que 76% daqueles que recebem transferência de renda via Auxílio Brasil do governo federal usam o dinheiro para comprar alimentos. **Mercado A22**

### EDITORIAIS A2

#### Tiro no pé

Restam óbvios os ganhos para Lula de comprometer-se com a orientação adotada na sua primeira passagem pelo Palácio do Planalto.

A caminhada para o centro alargaria a base de votos e melhoraria já as perspectivas de governabilidade. Não fazê-lo é um tiro no pé.

O país deveria saber antes para onde rumaria a gestão petista, se para o estatismo ou se para o liberalismo com responsabilidade social.

#### Mais um escândalo

Sobre má aplicação de recursos públicos no MEC.

**Americanos descartam reconhecer vencedor fora da lei eleitoral** **A20**

**Campos evangélicos simulam ataque e até tortura de fiéis** **B5**



As corintianas Yasmin (esq.) e Grazi com o troféu após o jogo em Itaquera Adriano Vizoni/Folhapress

### Itália vota hoje sob favoritismo de coligação de ultradireita

Os italianos escolhem hoje a composição de suas duas Casas parlamentares, o que definirá a formação do próximo governo. O partido de ultradireita Irmãos da Itália, liderado por Giorgia Meloni, encabeça as pesquisas. Sua coligação com outras siglas de direita somava 46%. **Mundo A18**

**Presidente fere lei com distribuição de bens**  
Governo federal distribuiu milhares de equipamentos, veículos e serviços neste ano, violando a lei eleitoral e a Constituição. Para especialistas, doações desequilibram pleito. **A4**



**JHSF**  
apresenta

**Surfside Residences.**

Residences exclusivas com vista para a piscina American Wave Machines com tecnologia PerfectSwell®.

**VILLAGE**

Veja nas páginas A6 e A7.



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

**Ricardo A. Pereira**  
Que os portugueses sigam a treinar clubes do Brasil; estamos juntos

**Ilustrada C8**



Honor Colorado es la bancada que apoya al defensor de forma más abierta

## Cartistas que sostienen a Godoy llenaron de parientes Defensoría

Varios diputados de este sector colorado tienen hijos y sobrinos en la repartición. También operadores del mismo movimiento copan la institución. Mañana debe tratarse juicio político.

PÁGINAS 3 y 4

Benítez aboga por digitalizar denuncias  
**Contralor plantea cambiar sistema de auditorías para combatir mejor corrupción**

PÁGINA 8

Avión iraní:  
CBI espera que  
FGE ahonde en  
pesquisas tras  
nuevos hechos

PÁGINA 2

Internas ANR:  
Peña y Wiens  
coquetean con  
correligionarios  
impresentables

PÁGINA 5

**CON ESTA EDICIÓN**

- REVISTA PAUSA
- ESPECIAL DOMINGO FUERZA DEL DINERO Nº 2



**COMPRA OPCIONAL**

COLECCIÓN DE COMICS Nº 30

Libro: **G. 50.000**





**Curso dio colorido a una ciudad gris**

**A mal tiempo...** Asunción luce marchita por gestión de Nenecho. Festejos por el ingreso de la estación de las flores la hicieron verse algo menos fea. PÁGINAS 24 y 25

Trabajo de Capurro generó dudas y Jurado debe actuar  
**JEM tiene en la mira a fiscalía por sospechoso sobreseimiento**

PÁGINA 56

**DOMINGO**

Mayor banda ancha hará que el PIB local crezca, afirma experto

PÁGINA 12

Sepa cómo se realizará el Censo Nacional del 9 de noviembre

PÁGINA 36

**ETIOS** MÁS POR DESCUBRIR

CUOTA DESDE 145 USD

2 AÑOS

VERSÁTILIDAD Y ECONOMÍA



WWW.TOYOTA.COM.PY  
+595 21 6190000

TOYOTA

TOYOTOSHI





lefigaro.fr

LE FIGARO

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



**CHANTILLY**  
AUTOMOBILE, JARDIN :  
UN WEEK-END SOUS LE SIGNE  
DE L'ÉLÉGANCE **PAGE 30**

**RÉCIT**  
LA SEMAINE NOIRE  
DU CLAN MÉLENCHON  
**PAGE 6**



**ENTRETIEN**  
Virgine Calmels,  
ex-numéro 2 de LR  
**PAGE 5**

**FIN DE VIE**  
Le rôle controversé  
des mutuelles  
dans le débat sur  
l'euthanasie **PAGE 7**

**UKRAINE**  
Ces jeunes Russes  
qui partent au front  
en déchantant **PAGE 8**

**IRAN**  
Le pouvoir opte  
pour la répression  
face aux  
manifestants **PAGE 9**

**CYCLISME**  
Alaphilippe,  
le défi arc-en-ciel  
après une année  
noire **PAGE 12**

**AUDIOVISUEL**  
Bouygues confie  
à Rodolphe Belmer  
la tâche d'inventer  
un nouveau TF1  
**PAGE 28**

**PATRIMOINE**  
À Boulogne-  
Billancourt, l'île  
Seguin veut repartir  
de l'avant **PAGE 34**

**CHAMPS LIBRES**  
• Un entretien  
avec Daniel  
Cohen  
• La tribune  
de Dominique  
Dupré-Henry  
et Tanguy  
Le Dantec  
• La chronique  
de Mathieu  
Bock-Côté  
• L'analyse  
d'Eugénie Bastié  
**PAGES 18 ET 19**

**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-XOSE BOUZAS/XOSE  
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](mailto:gdecapelle@lefigaro.fr)

## Chère vie à crédit

**L**undi 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 affaiblissement 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**

**RIMOWA**

NÉE EN ALLEMAGNE.  
CONÇUE POUR LE MONDE.

INGENIEURSKUNST  
SEIT 1898\*

\*L'ART DE L'INGÉNÉRIE DEPUIS 1898