

What's News

Business & Finance

The extended stock-market downturn is putting a dent in the popular buy-the-dip trade, a successful strategy for many investors after the last financial crisis and during the lightning-fast pandemic recovery. **A1**

◆ **A handful of large companies** such as Berkshire and Amazon could bear most of the burden of a 15% corporate minimum tax Biden signed into law last month, an analysis by university researchers found. **A4**

◆ **Losses in public pension funds** are likely to grow in the next few quarters as the plans write down values on private equity and other illiquid investments they had made to plug shortfalls, industry consultants say. **B1**

◆ **The steep slide in transportation stocks**, historically bellwethers of the health of economies, reflects investors' expectations that a recession is ahead. **B1**

◆ **Toyota wants to meet** with critics who say it is behind rivals in the race for greener cars, nearly a year after the auto maker pledged to spend billions of dollars expanding its electric-vehicle lineup. **B1**

◆ **Oracle's top executives** are again among the highest-paid at big U.S. companies, thanks to a decision last year to give them more time to earn stock options. **B4**

◆ **A booming market for second-hand luxury goods** is forcing makers to decide whether to enter it or ignore it. **B3**

World-Wide

◆ **The Ukraine war** is entering a risky period in which the guardrails for averting military escalation between the U.S. and Russia are increasingly imperiled, current and former U.S. officials say. **A1**

◆ **Pockets of protest** flickered in the far-flung regions of Russia against Putin's order to mobilize troops for Ukraine, a sign that dissent among the country's ethnic minorities could be a persistent problem for what the Kremlin has signaled could be a prolonged war effort. **A6**

◆ **Antigovernment protests** in Iran gathered strength, with new demonstrations in scores of cities and indications that unrest was growing, posing one of the biggest challenges the country's conservative Islamic rulers have faced in years. **A1**

◆ **An energy-project permitting proposal** is clouding the outlook for a government funding bill that Senate Democrats are expected to move forward on next week. **A4**

◆ **Tropical Storm Ian**, now moving across the Caribbean Sea, is likely to reach major hurricane status in coming days, threatening Cuba and Florida with intense winds, rain and possible floods, weather forecasters said. **A3**

◆ **North Korea fired a short-range ballistic missile** off its east coast on Sunday, Seoul and Tokyo officials said. **A7**

JOURNAL REPORT

Innovations in Work: Why bosses should ask for less. **R1-6**

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Right-Wing Coalition Set to Lead Italy After Election



IN LINE: Giorgia Meloni is favored to become Italy's first female prime minister after her Brothers of Italy party won the biggest share of the vote in Sunday's parliamentary elections, according to projected results. **A8**

Stock Downturn Brings Pain To Buy-the-Dip Investors

By GUNJAN BANERJEE

It is the worst year for buying the stock-market dip since the 1930s.

Instead of rebounding after a tumble, stocks have continued to fall, burning investors who stepped in to buy shares on sale. The S&P 500 has dropped 1.2% on average this year in the week after a one-day loss of at least 1%, according to Dow Jones Market Data. That is the biggest such decline since 1931.

The extended downturn is putting a dent in the popular buy-the-dip trade, a strategy in which many investors found great success after the last financial crisis and particularly during the lightning-fast pandemic recovery.

Major stock indexes hit dozens of continuous records, convincing many investors that any downturn would be short-lived—and an attractive opportunity to buy.

Retail, or nonprofessional, investors have been enthusiastic

dip buyers, piling in even when institutional investors are coming out. That buying fervor has been an important counterweight for the market—and if it wavers, stocks could suffer even more.

The trade has backfired during the monthslong downturn that has dragged the S&P 500 down 23% so far in 2022, on track for its biggest annual decline since 2008. The selloff accelerated last week when central banks around the world

increased interest rates, driving sharp swings across stock, bond and currency markets. All three major U.S. stock indexes fell at least 4%, their fourth decline of at least 3% in five weeks.

Many investors have been wrestling with high inflation, a

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◆ **Outlook: Risks rise along with interest rates.**..... A2
◆ **Transportation stocks flash recession warning.**..... B1

INSIDE



PERSONAL JOURNAL
More women are letting their hair go gray in the workplace. **A11**



BUSINESS & FINANCE
Toyota aims to face critics who say its EV strategy doesn't go far enough. **B1**

The Fast-Food Chain With a Sold-Out Fashion Line

Greggs in U.K. teamed with a clothier for an offering of deliberately dull togs

By ELISSA MIOLINE AND JAMES HOOKWAY

BRIGHTON, England—R&B singer Kelis belted out her 2003 hit "Milkshake" to cheers at an outdoor show about 50 miles south of London.

The hubbub wasn't just about the music. Many came for the sausage rolls and, particularly, the sausage roll-themed merchandise. The festivities were sponsored by fast-food and bakery chain Greggs, which serves some 2.8 million sausage rolls a week at its nearly 2,000 stores in the U.K.

The 83-year-old company is now venturing into fashion, and fans are thrilled. The Brighton show was part of a national

music-and-merch tour to promote Greggs's new clothing line with appearances by Kelis and other hitmakers.

The style is "normcore," a fashion built on deliberately mundane duds. Khaki pants, V-neck sweaters and sneakers worn by the likes of comedians Larry David and Jerry Seinfeld have taken off in the U.S., where Dad style has, in some quarters, gone from dull to de rigueur.

Greggs teamed with U.K. budget-clothing chain Primark, a collaboration that in the U.S. would be akin to, say, dressing in 7-Eleven wear by H&M. The deliberately humdrum Greggs collection includes tank tops, cycling shorts, fanny packs,



Not just any clogs.

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Iranian Protests Spread, Testing Nation's Rulers

By DAVID S. CLOUD AND BENOIT FAUCON

Antigovernment protests in Iran gathered strength Sunday with new demonstrations in scores of cities and indications that unrest was growing, posing one of the biggest challenges the country's conservative Islamic rulers have faced in years.

A movement initially led by young people that focused on the country's strict Islamic dress code for women appeared to be broadening into a mass outpouring of pent-up dissatisfaction among middle-class workers and even religious

Iranians at the regime's treatment of its own citizens.

The nightly street clashes between security forces and protesters that have erupted in dozens of cities since the death of 22-year-old Mahsa Amini in police custody on Sept. 16 for allegedly not wearing her headscarf, or hijab, properly have shown no signs of abating, despite an intensifying crackdown and a mounting death toll.

As the unrest grew, Iranian security forces cracked down on the demonstrators, using tear gas and live rounds to disperse the crowds. Some protesters have violently

clashed with the security forces. Authorities have disrupted access to the internet in an attempt to block the social-media networks on which the protesters have relied to express dissent and rally support.

At least 41 people have been killed so far, state media said, most of them protesters, as police escalated the use of live ammunition. In Tehran neighborhoods, shouts of "death to the dictator," referring to Iran's supreme leader,

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◆ **Ayatollah's son becomes focus of demonstrators' ire.**..... A8

The U.S. Is Running Short Of Land for Housing

Zoning and lack of infrastructure limit what's available, so prices climb

By KONRAD PUTZIER

In the Sunbelt, the hottest commodity isn't oil, copper or gold. It is land. And rancher Robert Thomas has plenty of it.

Mr. Thomas's family owns about 11,000 acres of ranchland northeast of Tampa, Fla. His grandfather, who owned newspapers and ran a minerals-exploration business, bought much of it for 10 cents an acre in 1932. Since then, the population of the Tampa metropolitan area has exploded to more than 3 million.

The Thomas family's ranch is now surrounded by communities of single-family homes. Home builders, hungry for land, have offered to buy Mr. Thomas's lots. The family sold part of its holdings last year to a developer for about \$70 million, or about \$20,000 per acre, according to property records. De-

velopers are now offering more than twice as much for some of his remaining land, Mr. Thomas said.

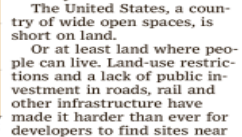
Tampa-area land prices are "booming right now like nothing I've ever seen," he said. "And I've been in charge here for 44 years."

The United States, a country of wide open spaces, is short on land.

Or at least land where people can live. Land-use restrictions and a lack of public investment in roads, rail and other infrastructure have made it harder than ever for developers to find sites near big population centers to build homes. As people keep moving to cities such as Austin, Phoenix and Tampa, they are pushing up the price of dirt and making the housing shortages in these fast-growing areas even worse.

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Source: Land.com, a CoStar Group company



Source: Land.com, a CoStar Group company

Uncertainty principle

Physicist Carlo Rovelli on the limits to human knowledge — PAGE 16

Brazil's challenge

Whoever wins presidential poll will struggle to restore growth — PAGE 19



Getting a leg-up

Surgery to make you taller comes at a high price — PILITA CLARK, PAGE 14

Italy election
Polls point to
Meloni victory

A voter studies the list of candidates in a Turin polling station yesterday as Italians cast their ballots in the first autumn election for more than a century.

The winner of the contest, triggered by the sudden collapse of Mario Draghi's national unity government this summer, must deal with surging energy prices, pan-European political tensions fuelled by Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and high levels of public debt.

Opinion polls suggested that voters were likely to deliver a decisive mandate to a right-wing coalition led by Giorgia Meloni of the Brothers of Italy party, she would become the country's first female prime minister.

Turnout was forecast to be low, with fewer than 65 per cent casting their votes.



Janica Penquini/CPA-EFE/Chutterstock

Kyiv allies warn Kremlin over
Putin's nuclear attack threats

• 'Catastrophic consequences' for Russia • Vigilance stepped up • Retaliation in kind unlikely

FELICIA SCHWARTZ — WASHINGTON
HENRY FOX — BRUSSELS
MAX SEDDON — MOSCOW

Western capitals are making contingency plans in case Vladimir Putin takes steps towards acting on his threats of nuclear attacks against Ukraine and have sent private warnings to the Kremlin of possible consequences, according to western officials.

The Russian president's nuclear warnings are "a matter that we have to take deadly seriously", White House national security adviser Jake Sullivan told television channel CBS yesterday.

"We have communicated directly, privately at very high levels to the Kremlin that any use of nuclear weapons will be met with catastrophic consequences for Russia, that the United States and our

allies will respond decisively, and we have been clear and specific about what that will entail," he said.

Kyiv's allies believe Putin's threats are unlikely to materialise and do not signal a formal shift in the Kremlin's nuclear strategy. But they are increasing nuclear vigilance and deterrence, according to five western officials who spoke anonymously because of the issue's sensitivity.

"If he thinks the threat is going to intimidate Ukraine into capitulating or giving up 20 per cent of its territory, or intimidate the rest of us away from helping Ukraine, the opposite has happened," one US senior official said.

Two other western officials said that a nuclear strike against Ukraine would be unlikely to spark a retaliation in kind but would instead trigger conventional

military responses to punish Russia. One of them said: "There are a lot of red lines and they are probably not in the place where [Putin] says they are."

The west assesses that Putin's warnings are designed to regain momentum after setbacks on the battlefield.

The threats came as Moscow prepared to annex occupied territories in eastern and southern Ukraine after referendums staged by Kremlin proxies. Putin is seeking to frame the war as a defensive conflict by claiming those regions as part of Russia, officials and analysts said.

The Russian president has accused the west of "nuclear blackmail" and claimed without evidence that Ukraine is developing weapons of mass destruction to threaten Moscow. Under Russia's



Bellicose: western officials believe Vladimir Putin's threats are not likely to materialise but do not want to leave anything to chance

nuclear doctrine, that could justify the use of nuclear weapons to protect the country's territorial integrity.

Officials and analysts said that if Putin resorted to nuclear weapons, the most likely scenario was that he would test or use a tactical nuclear weapon — a smaller, more targeted device designed for the battlefield. Three of the five officials said that Nato member states had privately highlighted to Moscow the scale of the response that any use of nuclear weapons would trigger.

"Putin would much rather threaten to use nuclear weapons and get concessions than actually use them," said James Acton, co-director of the nuclear policy programme at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Protests spread in Russia page 2

Briefing

► **US and Philippines deepen military ties**
The US and the Philippines are increasing military co-operation, including a doubling of the number of troops involved in joint exercises next year, as Manila considers its role in any potential war if China were to attack Taiwan. — PAGE 4; US CONCERNS, PAGE 6

► **UK chancellor stands by tax cuts**
UK chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng has vowed to double down on his controversial tax-cutting drive despite investors' jitters, leaving Conservative MPs and traders braced for further market turbulence.

► **EU's LatAm trade pact sidelined**
European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen made no mention of the stalled pact with Latin America's Mercosur bloc as she pledged to boost EU trade policy. — PAGE 2



► **Iran hijab protest deaths reach 41**
The death toll during protests in Iran after a woman died while under arrest for not wearing a hijab has reached 41, according to the state broadcaster, three times higher than official figures. — PAGE 4

► **Blow to \$25bn LNG plant project**
Plans by energy tycoon Charif Souki for a \$25bn natural gas export plant on the Louisiana coast have suffered a big setback after the project lost key buyers and failed to raise funds. — PAGE 6

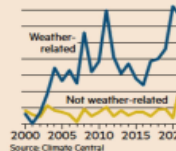
► **Investors seek shield from stock losses**
Investors are buying record levels of insurance against a sell-off in shares, with purchases of put option contracts on stocks and exchange traded funds surging to \$34bn in September. — PAGE 8

► **Crossword and Lex have moved**
The Lex column, Business Life and the FT crossword can be found inside today. — PAGE 14

Datawatch

Lights out

Number of US power outages



Between 2000 and 2021, 83 per cent of all major reported power outages in the US were attributed to weather, according to Climate Central. Of 1542 weather-related outages, 58 per cent were due to wind, rain or thunderstorms.

Source: Climate Central

Loyal aide who can say 'no' to
Son faces biggest test

SoftBank finance chief Yoshimitsu Goto is one of the few people able to say 'no' to the tech investment group's charismatic founder, Masayoshi Son. Goto often has the task of persuading investors to forget what he describes as the 'misleading' image of the deal-driven, debt-saddled business as 'fascinating but reckless'. Now, the intensely loyal executive, with the group for 22 years, must also help it recover from a \$23bn loss.

Interview — PAGE 7

IMF bailouts reach a record \$140bn as
crises push poor countries to the brink

JONATHAN WHEATLEY — LONDON

The IMF's assistance to economically troubled countries has hit a record as the world's lender of last resort battles simultaneous crises that have pushed at least five countries into default, with more expected to follow.

The pandemic, Russia's attack on Ukraine and a sharp rise in global interest rates have forced dozens of countries to seek IMF assistance. A Financial Times analysis of IMF data showed that at the end of August the volume of loans disbursed by the fund amounted to \$140bn in 44 separate programmes.

The figure, which is expected to grow further in the coming months as borrowing costs soar, is already higher than the amount of credit outstanding at the end of 2020 and 2021, when levels reached record annual highs.

Some analysts say the IMF's lending capacity could soon be stretched to its limits, as further interest rate rises by the world's largest central banks lock poor countries out of international debt markets and force them to turn to the fund for support.

The IMF's total commitments, including loans agreed but not yet disbursed, already stand at more than \$268bn.

Kevin Gallagher of Boston University's Global Development Policy Center warned that "only so many countries" could receive IMF support without "snapping the IMF balance sheet".

Gallagher is co-author of a report published last week warning that 55 of the world's poorest countries face debt repayments of \$436bn between 2022 and 2028, with about \$61bn falling due this year and in 2023, and almost \$70bn in 2024.

But Bikas Joshi, division chief in the IMF's strategy, policy and review department, said the fund's total commitments were "still a fraction of the [almost] \$1tn that could be available".

"The amount of lending is rising commensurate with the increased risks faced by the countries turning to us for support," he said.

The IMF approved a \$1.1bn bailout for Pakistan at the end of August; Argentina is set to receive \$5.9bn in the next few weeks.

Zambia and Sri Lanka, which both defaulted in the pandemic, are negotiating IMF bailouts as part of efforts to restructure their debts.

Ghana, Egypt and Tunisia are in early talks for similar support. Analysts at Goldman Sachs expect Egypt to receive a \$15bn package.

Opinion page 21

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Sep 23	Prev	%Chg		Sep 23	Sep 16	%Chg		Sep 23	Sep 16	%Chg
S&P 500	3892.50	3757.99	-2.01	\$/£	0.971	1.003	-3.20	US 2 yr	4.19	4.12	0.07
Nasdaq Composite	10947.96	11066.81	-1.98	\$/¥	1.090	1.143	-4.67	US 10 yr	3.74	3.68	0.06
Dow Jones Ind	29617.86	30076.68	-1.56	€/£	0.890	0.877	1.49	US 30 yr	3.64	3.61	0.04
FTSEurofirst 300	1546.21	1561.20	-0.96	\$/₹	143.285	142.840	0.31	UK 2 yr	3.98	3.57	0.41
Euro Stoxx 50	3347.84	3427.14	-2.32	€/¥	156.223	163.424	-4.39	UK 10 yr	3.83	3.49	0.34
FTSE 100	7018.60	7159.52	-1.97	\$/₹	0.953	0.985	-3.28	UK 30 yr	4.04	3.77	0.27
FTSE All-Share	3948.68	3924.91	-1.94	€/₹	127.94	127.51	0.33	JPN 2 yr	0.26	0.26	0.00
CAC 40	5760.41	5918.50	-2.20	\$/₹	1.030	0.987	4.36	JPN 10 yr	0.24	0.24	0.00
Sensex	12794.19	12751.63	-0.33					JPN 30 yr	1.31	1.31	0.00
Nikkei	27153.03	27293.13	-0.50					GER 2 yr	1.90	1.83	0.07
Hong Kong	17033.27	18147.96	-6.18					GER 10 yr	2.02	1.96	0.06
MSCI World	2489.39	2516.59	-1.08					GER 30 yr	1.87	1.87	0.00
MSCI EM	1627.81	1622.08	-0.35								
MSCI ACWI	579.55	585.05	-0.93								
FT Wtshre 2500	4689.51	4942.72	-1.08								
FT Wtshre 5000	38183.88	38606.41	-1.09								

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Late Edition

Today, breezy, sunshine and some clouds, high 74. Tonight, mainly clear, low 58. Tomorrow, a bit cooler, yet seasonable, partly sunny, high 72. Weather map is on Page D8.



ALEXANDER ERMOCHENKO/REUTERS



ASSOCIATED PRESS



AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



NICOLE TUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top left: a polling station in Mariupol, Ukraine, for a pseudoreferendum on whether to secede and join Russia; lines to a Russian checkpoint during an exodus to Georgia prompted by Moscow's mobilization order; bodies of Russian soldiers as abandoned artillery was towed in Oskil, Ukraine; an arrest by Russian police officers in St. Petersburg at a protest against mobilization.

U.S. Factories See Rare Sight: Return of Jobs

67,000 More Workers Than Before Covid

This article is by **Jim Tankersley**, **Alan Rappeport** and **Ana Swanson**.

WASHINGTON — Ever since American manufacturing entered a long stretch of automation and outsourcing in the late 1970s, every recession has led to the loss of factory jobs that never returned. But the recovery from the pandemic recession has been different: American manufacturers have now added enough jobs to regain all that they shed — and then some.

The resurgence has not been driven by companies bringing back factory jobs that had moved overseas, nor by the brawny industrial sectors and regions often evoked by President Biden, former President Donald J. Trump and other champions of manufacturing.

Instead, the engines in this recovery include pharmaceutical plants, craft breweries and ice-cream makers. The newly created jobs are more likely to be located in the Mountain West and the Southeast than in the classic industrial strongholds of the Great Lakes.

American manufacturers cut roughly 1.36 million jobs from February to April of 2020, as Covid-19 shut down much of the economy. As of August this year, manufacturers had added back about 1.43 million jobs, a net gain of 67,000 workers above prepandemic levels.

Data suggest that the rebound is largely a product of the unique circumstances of the pandemic recession and recovery. Covid-19 crimped global supply chains, making domestic manufacturing more attractive to some companies. Federal stimulus spending helped to power a shift in Americans' buying habits away from services like travel and restaurants and toward goods like cars and sofas, helping domestic factory production — and with it, job growth — to bounce back much faster than it did in the previous two recessions.

Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen said that the recovery of manufacturing jobs was a result of the unique nature of the recession, which was induced by the pandemic, and the robust federal response, including legislation like the \$1.9 trillion American Rescue Plan of 2021.

"We had a huge shift away from services and into goods that spurred production and manufacturing and very rapid recovery in the U.S. economy," Ms. Yellen told reporters during a trip to Detroit this month. The support for local economies and small businesses included in Mr. Biden's rescue plan, she said, "has been tremendously helpful in restoring the health of the job market and given the shifting in spending patterns, I think that's been to the benefit of manufacturing."

American manufacturers, like many industries, have struggled to find raw materials, component parts and skilled workers. And yet, they have continued to create jobs at a rate that has surprised

WIN PROJECTED FOR HARD RIGHT IN ITALY ELECTION

NATIONALISTS TRIUMPH

Meloni Poised to Become the Country's First Female Leader

By **JASON HOROWITZ**

ROME — Italy appeared to turn a page of European history on Sunday by electing a hard-right coalition led by Giorgia Meloni, whose long record of bashing the European Union, international bankers and migrants has sown concern about the nation's reliability in the Western alliance.

Early projections based on a narrow sampling of precincts, as well as exit polls, on Sunday night suggested that Ms. Meloni, the leader of the nationalist Brothers of Italy, a party descended from the remnants of fascism, had led a right-wing coalition to a majority in Parliament, defeating a fractured left and a resurgent anti-establishment movement.

The final results would not be clear until Monday, and it will still be weeks before the new Italian Parliament is seated and a new government is formed, leaving plenty of time for political machinations. But Ms. Meloni's strong showing, with about 25 percent of the vote, the highest of any single party, makes her the prohibitive favorite to become the country's first female prime minister.

While she is a strong supporter of Ukraine, her coalition partners deeply admire Russia's president, Vladimir V. Putin, and have criticized sanctions against Russia.

"From the Italians has arrived a clear indication," Ms. Meloni, known for her crescendoing rhetoric and cult of personality, said in a measured victory speech at nearly 3 a.m., "for the center-right to guide Italy."

After saying that she had suffered through a "violent electoral campaign" filled with unfair attacks, Ms. Meloni spoke about "reciprocal respect" and recreating trust in the institutions. She posed, flashing a victory sign. "We are at the starting point," she said, adding "Italy chose us, and we will never betray it."

The victory, in an election with lower turnout than usual, comes as formerly taboo and margin-

Continued on Page A6



GIANNI CIPRIANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Giorgia Meloni is poised to be Italy's next prime minister.

Big Chain Sucked Profits Out of a Poor Hospital

By **KATIE THOMAS** and **JESSICA SILVER-GREENBERG**

RICHMOND, Va. — In late July, Norman Otey was rushed by ambulance to Richmond Community Hospital. The 63-year-old was doubled over in pain and babbling incoherently. Blood tests suggested septic shock, a grave emergency that required the resources and expertise of an intensive care unit.

But Richmond Community, a struggling hospital in a predominantly Black neighborhood, had closed its I.C.U. in 2017.

It took several hours for Mr. Otey to be transported to another hospital, according to his sister, Linda Jones-Smith. He deteriorated

PROFITS OVER PATIENTS
Exploiting a Drug Program

on the way there, and later died of sepsis. Two people who cared for Mr. Otey said the delay had most likely contributed to his death.

"He should have been able to go to the hospital and get the treatment he needed," Ms. Jones-Smith said. "He should have been saved."

Ringed by public housing projects, Richmond Community consists of little more than a strapped emergency room and a psychiatric ward. It does not have kidney or lung specialists, or a

maternity ward. Its magnetic resonance imaging machine frequently breaks, and was out of service for seven weeks this summer, said two medical workers at the hospital, who requested anonymity because they still work there. Standard tools like an otoscope, a device used to inspect the ear canal, are often hard to come by.

Yet the hollowed-out hospital — owned by Bon Secours Mercy Health, one of the largest nonprofit health care chains in the country — has the highest profit margins of any hospital in Virginia, generating as much as \$100 million a year, according to the hospital's financial data.

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EVA MARIE UZCATEGUI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Michael and his mother, Annie. "It was a 'Yes, finally' kind of moment," he said of his top surgery.

Breast Removal Surgery on Rise for Trans Teens

By **AZEEN GHORAYSHI**

Michael, 17, arrived in the sleek white waiting room of his plastic surgeon's office in Miami for a moment he had long anticipated: removing the bandages to see his newly flat chest.

After years of squeezing into compression undershirts to conceal his breasts, the teenager was overcome with relief that morning last December. Wearing an unbuttoned shirt, he posed for photos

**A Hot-Button Procedure
That 'Just Felt Right'**

with his mother and the surgeon, Dr. Sidhbh Gallagher, happy to share his bare chest with the doctor's large following on social media.

"It just felt right — like I'd never had breasts in the first place," Michael said. "It was a 'Yes, finally'

kind of moment."

Michael is part of a very small but growing group of transgender adolescents who have had top surgery, or breast removal, to better align their bodies with their experience of gender. Most of these teenagers have also taken testosterone and changed their name, pronouns or clothing style.

Few groups of young people have received as much attention. Republican elected officials

Continued on Page A12

Russian Draft Pits Ukrainian Vs. Ukrainian

By **MARC SANTORA**

KYIV, Ukraine — In the occupied city of Kherson, some Ukrainians men believe that if they break their own arms, maybe the Russians will not force them into military service. Others are hiding in basements. Some are trying to run even though they are forbidden to leave the city, residents said, and virtually everyone is afraid.

"People are panicking," said Katerina, 30. "First they were searching our houses, and now the Russians will conscript our men to their army. This is all unlawful but very real for us."

As the Kremlin's conscription drive faced protests across Russia for a fifth day, new signs of resistance, and fear, emerged on Sunday in the territories it occupies in Ukraine as well.

The drive to compel Ukrainians to battle other Ukrainians is part of a broader, if risky, effort by Moscow to mobilize hundreds of thousands of new fighters as its forces suffer huge casualties and struggle to hold off Ukrainian advances in the east and south.

At the same time, a Russian-orchestrated vote is setting the stage for the Kremlin to cleave Ukraine through an annexation that has been broadly condemned around the world.

The result of the pseudoreferendum underway is expected to be announced on Tuesday. The anticipated outcome: that a majority of people in four Ukrainian regions — Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson and Zaporizhka — "voted" to secede from Ukraine and join Russia.

President Vladimir V. Putin of

Continued on Page A9

Migrant Flights Lift the Veil on a G.O.P. Rivalry

By **MICHAEL C. BENDER** and **J. DAVID GOODMAN**

AUSTIN, Texas — Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida wanted to irritate a set of wealthy, liberal elites when he flew migrants to

Martha's Vineyard from Texas, delivering them a slice of the humanitarian crisis simmering along the nation's southern border. But Mr. DeSantis's stunt also

**Move by DeSantis Hits
Abbott by Surprise**

annoyed an entirely different group — fellow Republicans in Austin, including some of the allies and aides of Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas.

Publicly, Mr. Abbott has not criticized Mr. DeSantis's migrant flights from his state. "Every

state that wants to help, I'm happy for it," said Dave Carney, Mr. Abbott's top campaign strategist.

But privately, the Florida governor's gambit stung Mr. Abbott's team. No one in the Texas governor's office was given a heads-up that Mr. DeSantis planned to round up migrants in San Antonio, according to people familiar with the matter.

Mr. Abbott had spent months

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INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Top Court's Expanding Powers

Brazil's Supreme Court has been a check on President Jair Bolsonaro's antidemocratic stances. Now many worry the court is also a threat. PAGE A6

Woman's Death Enrages Kurds

Protests in Iran after the death of a woman in police custody have been intense among fellow members of the country's Kurdish population. PAGE A5

Deadlier Than the Titanic

More than 1,800 people perished in a Senegal ferry disaster 20 years ago. Survivors and families of victims are still seeking justice. PAGE A4



NATIONAL A10-18

Children Taming Wild Horses

Dozens of children across California are part of a program to address an overpopulation of mustangs. PAGE A10

Vying for Pot Licenses

People punished for marijuana offenses are first in line to open cannabis dispensaries in New York. PAGE A18

BUSINESS B1-6

LinkedIn's Social Experiments

A study of the tests on more than 20 million users found that relatively weak social connections were more helpful in finding jobs than stronger ties. PAGE B1

Toxic Election Themes Online

An examination of three major themes in misleading and divisive posts on social media that are angering voters before the Nov. 8 midterms. PAGE B1

Power Anxiety in California

As the state dodges blackouts, extreme heat is testing the way energy is generated and delivered — and raising fears of perpetual emergencies. PAGE B1



ARTS C1-8

Taking On 'Medea'

Sondra Radvanovsky, above, stars in the Met Opera's production, in the version made famous by Maria Callas. PAGE C1

Doubling Up on 'Jeopardy!'

The show, which has asked stars to compete before, now has a celebrity spinoff airing on Sunday nights. PAGE C1

SPORTS D1-7

Indiana Family's Home Court

A couple bought a former high school gym with a house built and found a slice of small-town history. PAGE D1

Rihanna to Sing at Super Bowl

The halftime show on Feb. 12 will be a star's first public performance since the Grammy Awards in 2018. PAGE D5

OPINION A22-23

Pamela Paul

PAGE A23



0 354 613 9



MEG GRANT'S home in Oak Glen is damaged after a Sept. 12 storm that brought mudflow and debris. Photographs by GINA FERRAZZI Los Angeles Times

After mudslide, residents fearful over winter storms

Some are frustrated that San Bernardino County has said there's little it can do to fortify their homes in mountains

BY MELISSA GOMEZ

For months, Oak Glen resident Meg Grant emailed pleas to local officials: Residents needed help preparing for the next rainstorm.

In December, rainstorms brought mud, tree limbs and debris into their yards, Grant told San Bernardino County Supervisor Dawn Rowe. Residents knew the risks of living in the mountains, Grant said, but the 2020 fire left them vulnerable to mudflow



BOTTLES are soiled at Oak Glen Steakhouse & Saloon, where a tree crashed into the main dining area.

raging down Birch Creek, which runs through many of their properties.

The dreaded day arrived Sept. 12 when the remains of Tropical Storm Kay brought 2.4 inches of rain within an hour and produced an immense debris flow that damaged or destroyed 16 homes.

Car-size boulders came crashing down in Forest Falls, a small mountain community north of Oak Glen. A Forest Falls resident, 62, died as rocks, sticks and mud overtook her home.

[See Aftermath, A6]

UC students struggle amid housing crisis

With 9,400 denied campus lodging, many are forced to live in vehicles, take multiple jobs to pay high rents.

BY TERESA WATANABE

Matthew Chin couldn't wait to dive into the life of a UC Santa Cruz college student after the loneliness of online learning. But instead, he is missing out on the camaraderie of roommates, dorm life and full slate of campus activities he had hoped to embrace.

That's because he lives alone in a tiny trailer away from campus — the only

shelter he could afford in the scenic coastal town that was recently named the nation's second-priciest rental market.

Chin was shocked at the \$1,200 or more monthly rents for an apartment or dorm in Santa Cruz. So his father found him a used trailer to live in and rented a driveway — for \$700 a month.

Before he got a \$1,000 "beater car," Chin had to take two buses, an hourlong commute, to get to campus. Last year, when it was too late to get back to his trailer, he slept overnight in a forested part of campus. One day, he hid his gear — sleeping bag, mat, lantern and ukulele — in a bush because he was too embarrassed to [See Housing, A6]



MATTHEW CHIN, a UC Santa Cruz student, lives in a tiny trailer — the only shelter he could afford.

Afghans rebuild lives in California

Successful lawyers who fled Kabul with their boys are seeking new legal careers as they raise third child.

BY KEVIN RECTOR

Masooda Qazi held her 8-year-old son's hand tightly as she frantically tried to convey to a group of Dutch soldiers that she was an employee of the U.S. Embassy and was promised transport out of Kabul as it fell to the Taliban last year.

The crowd around Qazi was full of people similarly desperate to escape, and it was growing agitated. People pushed forward outside a security gate near the airport, erasing any space to move. Her son Habib began

to panic. "I can't breathe anymore," he sobbed to his mother, Hamid ul Rahman Qazi, who had been holding the couple's younger son — Hasib, 4 — above the crowd on his shoulders for hours. "We need to go back," Hamid told his wife. "No. Stay," she said. "We will get success."

More than a year later, the young family has resettled in the U.S. after escaping Afghanistan on a Dutch military plane, then waiting in a Dutch refugee camp for 10 months before finally receiving special U.S. immigrant visas.

They arrived in San Diego in June. Masooda had a baby girl in July, and they moved into their own apartment in August with the help of a refugee assistance program. [See Qazi family, A7]

Guatemalan journalists under fire

Law on gender-based violence is used to silence critics of government

BY LEILA MILLER

GUATEMALA CITY — It was a landmark piece of legislation for Guatemala: a law that established stiff prison sentences for violence against women and appeared to signal a new era for a country still emerging from decades of civil war and military rule. Thousands of men have been prosecuted under the law since it took effect in 2008.

But in recent years, public officials have found another use for it: stopping



VOX POPULI reporters Marvín del Cid, left, and Sonny Figueroa were hit with a restraining order.

journalists from criticizing them or investigating corruption.

Courts have issued restraining orders against reporters at news organizations here, effectively shutting down their work, after women argued that the journalists violated the law by publishing articles that subjected them to psychological violence. The Los Angeles Times found eight such examples.

"We were investigating various cases, but we had to stop," said Sonny Figueroa. [See Guatemala, A4]

COLUMN ONE

A cast of many is lining up for L.A.'s new star fish

The alluring dorado — better known as mahi-mahi — has appeared off the coast, and anglers are finding it a tough catch.

BY SONJA SHARP

The waning moon glimmered in the shallows of Rainbow Harbor, seagulls still blinking sleep from their eyes as the anglers huddled at the edge of the pier.

Some had followed friends' fish stories to the small Long Beach landing. Others were lured there by Instagram.

All were chasing the dorado — better known by its Hawaiian name, mahi-mahi — a luminary of the sport fishing world whose sudden appearance last month off the Los Angeles coast has sparked a feeding frenzy among local anglers.

"I've been fishing since I could hold a fishing pole, and I caught my first dorado a month ago," said Randy Roa, 30, of Long Beach, who wears his passion for the sport inked on his skin, from the bass on his thumb to the hook in his neck. "Normally they're not up here. Until they're gone, it's a sprint."

With the athletic prowess of a dolphin, the iridescent scales of a mermaid and the snub-nosed visage of a bulldog, dorado are among [See Dorado, A8]



THE FISHING BOAT Enterprise ferries anglers out of Long Beach in search of dorado — prized as much for their tasty flesh as for their acrobatics on the line.

Far-right poised to lead in Italy

Voters shift sharply, rewarding leader Giorgia Meloni and a party with neo-fascist roots. WORLD, A3

Crowds in L.A. protest Iran

Mahsa Amini's death in police custody in Tehran spurs outcry over women's rights. CALIFORNIA, B1

Rams find way past Cardinals

Behind stellar defense and touchdowns by Cooper Kupp and Cam Akers, L.A. beats Arizona 20-12. SPORTS, D1

Weather

Sunny and hot. L.A. Basin: 94/70. B6

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The Washington Post

Papers may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

SU V1 V2 V3 V4



Partly sunny 77/57 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 70/54 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 2022 • B3

Mysteries in migrant flights by DeSantis

Asylum seekers allege deception in enticement to Martha's Vineyard

BY BETH REINHARD, MARIA SACCHETTI AND MOLLY HENNESSY-FISKE

When Jose joined the migrants behind a McDonald's on a sun-baked San Antonio street earlier this month, he was running out of options. The 27-year-old had survived the perilous trek from Venezuela and safely crossed the U.S.-Mexico border, but now he had no place to go.

Like the others behind the restaurant on Sept. 8, he'd been kicked out of a shelter after three days. Immigration officials had warned them they couldn't work legally yet. No one had any money to get to distant cities where friends or family might help.

That's when a smiling blond-haired woman in a cowboy hat approached. Her name was Perla, she said. And she could fix all their troubles.

It was a pitch Perla had been making to other newly homeless migrants huddled on San Antonio's streets. She drove a rented white SUV and promised food, jobs and transportation.

Jose trusted her. For the first time since coming to the United States, he felt safe. "We thought

SEE DESANTIS ON A8



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

Schools close, wounds open

Amid gentrification and a cost-driven exodus, Black Oakland faces a new affront

BY SCOTT WILSON IN OAKLAND, CALIF.

There are few sights more poignant than empty classrooms that should be full, playground basketball courts with no games, a "School Crossing" sign where there is no longer a school. Just breeze-block walls and nearly 100 years of history.

Parker Elementary School, in the words of the Oakland Unified School District,

was "unsustainable," no longer a place that drew enough children from a viable surrounding neighborhood to fill its now-dim classrooms and a dark gymnasium that had doubled as the school cafeteria. So it was shuttered last spring.

More than half the students who attended Parker were Black, kids such as Rochelle Jenkins's 12-year-old twin daughters, Zoraya and Zariah, who navigated a few side streets to class each day. Now they walk farther, along avenues

featuring stripped-to-the-rims cars and medians full of trash, to a new school with new teachers and new kids they do not yet know.

"We were devastated," said Jenkins, a bus driver who shuttles Facebook employees to and from work each day. "We have begged them not to do this because of the ripple effect it will have on our neighborhood. This was a place that truly supported the lives of Black and Brown children."

SEE OAKLAND ON A6

Jayvien Bolden, one of the last students to graduate from Parker Elementary, catches a bus to his high school in Oakland.

ELECTION 2022

GOP's focus on crime stirs fears among Democrats

BY ANNIE LINSKEY AND COLBY ITKOWITZ

One Republican commercial casts Mandela Barnes as a "different" Democrat, and points out his push to end cash bail. Another shows his face on a wall with his last name sprayed in graffiti-style script and highlights a comment he made about reallocating police funds. A third labels him "dangerously liberal on crime."

Republicans have said the ads are part of a broader strategy of calling out Democrats on crime, an argument they believe will be potent in the closing stage of this year's midterm elections. But some allies of Barnes, who would be Wisconsin's first Black senator, have derided the attacks as racist messages that feed on stereotypes. As he faces a torrent of negative ads, Barnes has launched spots seeking to assure voters he will fight crime and support law enforcement. Yet some Democrats said they fear

SEE GOP ON A16

Forced to carry the load on their own

A critical lack of home-care workers threatens the independence of elderly Americans

BY CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND IN RICHFIELD, MINN.

Racked with nausea and unable to leave the bathroom, Acey Hofflander muttered in confusion. Her husband tried to press a damp washcloth against her neck, his hands trembling and weak from Parkinson's disease.

"What's happening? What's going on?" Acey mumbled.

Their roles had unexpectedly reversed. At 85, Acey is the healthy one, the organized, energetic caregiver for her husband, Tom, 88. But when a grueling day of showering, dressing, feeding and transporting him to medical appointments pushed Acey beyond exhaustion in July, she wound up in the emergency room — a health crisis the Hofflanders blame in large part on a lack of professional, in-home care.

Amid a national shortage of home-care workers that deepened during the covid-19 pandemic, the couple spent much of this year on a private agency list

SEE HOME CARE ON A20



ANNABELLE MARCOWSKI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Acey Hofflander assists her husband, Tom, who has Parkinson's disease, by stabilizing his walker. The Hofflanders had to wait four months to get a home-care worker to attend to their needs.

Russia fights to hold the line

LAUNCHES NEW STRIKES IN UKRAINE

More protests erupt over war effort, mobilization

BY ROBYN DIXON, NATALIA ABBAKUMOVA, DAVID L. STERN AND KAROUN DEMIRJIAN

Russia launched new attacks on Ukraine on Sunday, using missiles and Iranian kamikaze drones to strike Odessa and the Zaporizhzhia region, as protesters in several Russian cities demonstrated against the war effort and a new mass conscription.

Russia's drive to mobilize 300,000 new fighters and to stage illegal "referendums" in four occupied regions of Ukraine mark a sharp escalation by President Vladimir Putin, as he tries to hold the line despite multiple failures in his ongoing invasion, including a major retreat in the Kharkiv region earlier this month.

The efforts, amid warnings from Russian officials that Moscow could use nuclear weapons

SEE UKRAINE ON A15

Information war: How propaganda newspapers sold annexation. A14

For all the storms, little mitigation in Puerto Rico

BY ARELIS R. HERNÁNDEZ

SALINAS, PUERTO RICO — When Leida Rodriguez started building a house in Villa Esperanza, neighbors suggested she lift it because the nearby Rio Nigua rose a few feet during Hurricane Maria — nothing these weathered coastal souls hadn't seen before.

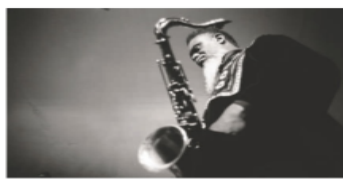
So she built the house four feet off the ground, hoping to mitigate coastal flooding in southern Puerto Rico, where she found an affordable spot in a beautiful community to live out her retirement. Never did she imagine that Category 1 Fiona would bring so much rain that the beams of her white-and-blue-trim home would buckle and slide into a deep mud-hole.

"It was my refuge, my place of peace," said Rodriguez, 50, who along with her husband used their life savings to build the home, block by concrete block. "We thought it wasn't going to happen. No one had ever seen

SEE FIONA ON A4

A pummeled coast: For Canadian towns, destruction is setting in. A4

IN THE NEWS



JOHN VAN HANSEL/CORBIS/SYGMA/GETTY IMAGES

On a higher plane Jazz icon Pharoah Sanders, 81, embodied a search for something greater with his music. Obituary, B5. Appreciation, C1

Life of leisure "Fat Leonard" took advantage of home confinement before his escape. A2

THE NATION Tropical Storm Ian is slowly gaining strength as it heads toward Cuba and is projected to approach Florida as a hurricane later this week. A3
A spacecraft will crash into an asteroid 7 million miles from Earth, if all goes as planned. A10

THE WORLD A poor cabbage harvest has resulted in a kimchi crisis felt across South Korea. A11
Italy is poised to elect its first female premier and its farthest-right government since Benito Mussolini's fall. A12

Protests continued in Tehran and other Iranian cities for a 10th day despite an expanding clampdown. A16

THE ECONOMY The Help Desk outlines the best headphoned and earbud options for people with hearing loss. A17

THE REGION Transgender students worry they'll be outed under the Youngkin administration's new school guidelines. B1

THE WEEK AHEAD
MONDAY President Biden hosts

the World Series champion Atlanta Braves at the White House.
Vice President Harris departs for a visit to Asia through Thursday.

TUESDAY Biden travels to Florida to deliver remarks on health care and Social Security and attend a rally.
Harris holds bilateral meetings in Tokyo with the prime ministers of South Korea and Australia and attends the state funeral of former Japanese premier Shinzo Abe.

WEDNESDAY Biden delivers remarks at the White House Conference on Hunger, Nutrition and Health.
Harris meets with Japanese CEOs and addresses military personnel aboard the USS Howard.

FRIDAY The Supreme Court meets for a conference.
THURSDAY Harris holds a bilateral meeting with South Korean President Yoon Suk-yeol and meets with female leaders in Seoul.
Jobless claims are estimated at 215,000.

FRIDAY The House Natural Resources Committee holds a hearing on Puerto Rico's power grid and reconstruction efforts.

INSIDE



STYLE A case for humanity

Iman long encapsulated the gnarly complexity of identity, diversity and representation that the fashion world is still sorting through. C1

A South Lawn set Elton John offered an ebullient concert to a crowd of 2,000 at the Bidens' invitation. C1

BUSINESS NEWS.....	A17
COMICS.....	C6
OPINION PAGES.....	A18
LOTTERIES.....	B9
OBITUARIES.....	B5
TELEVISION.....	C5
WORLD NEWS.....	A11

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College players cash in, but Uncle Sam gets a cut

Athletes' money earned through name, image and likeness deals is taxable income. **In Money**

Scott Bakula wishes luck to 'Quantum Leap' reboot

In new version of sci-fi TV series, Raymond Lee plays physicist hurtling through time. **In Life**



JASEN VINLOVE/
USA TODAY SPORTS

Dolphins overcome embarrassing punt to win

Miami's defense holds off Buffalo, 21-19. QB Tua Tagovailoa, who left the game briefly, was 13 of 18 for 186 yards and a touchdown. **In Sports**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 2022

ELECTION 2024



Former President Donald Trump faces a civil lawsuit filed by the New York attorney general. MORRY GASH/AP

Trump's legal woes shadow '24 plans

Ex-president is target of a cascade of inquiries

David Jackson
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Now that the New York attorney general has sued Donald Trump for fraud, one thing seems nearer certainty: If Trump runs for president again in 2024, he will do so while defending himself in a court of law.

Maybe several courts of law.

The long-running panoply of investigations into Trump — over his business practices, his handling of classified information, his efforts to overturn his loss in 2020, and his role in the insurrection of Jan. 6, 2021 — will burden any 2024 presidential run by the former chief executive, analysts said.

New York Attorney General Letitia James' suit — while a civil matter rather than a criminal one — takes things a step further than those other inquiries: It is the most definitive sign yet that Trump could be pulled into court while running for president, an unprece-

See TRUMP, Page 3A



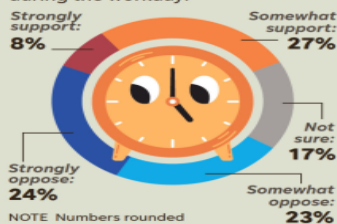
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USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

Not on company time?

How Americans feel about the prospect of employers tracking employees' active and idle time during the workday:



SOURCE: YouGov survey, Aug. 25-29
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPLING/USA TODAY

DAILY DISCOUNTS & SAVINGS ...

Dining Deals
USA

PAGE 2A



ATHLETES, ABORTION & ANXIETY
AS RIGHTS ERODE, FEAR FOR FUTURE OF WOMEN'S SPORTS

Pro players grapple with uncertainty of new reality

Lindsay Schnell, Nancy Armour
and Chris Bumbaca
USA TODAY

Shortly after leading South Carolina to its first-ever NCAA women's basketball title and becoming the No. 1 pick in the 2018 WNBA draft, hometown star A'ja Wilson was honored with a statue outside Colonial Life Arena.

Now a two-time MVP with the Las Vegas Aces, Wilson is still considered royalty in Columbia, South Carolina — a city in a state where legal access to abortion has been under heavy assault following the Supreme Court's June 24 ruling to overturn Roe v. Wade.

Asked whether she would still attend South Carolina given the current situation, Wilson said "probably"; with her family just 30 minutes down the road, she could have turned to them if she needed help.

But it would be a different story for her daughter.

"No, I would not let my child go

Current and retired female athletes gauge impacts of limits on abortion access

ABOUT THIS SERIES

This story is part of an ongoing series in response to the June 24 Supreme Court ruling that overturned Roe v. Wade, the 1973 case that granted women a constitutional right to an abortion.

there," Wilson said without hesitation.

It is a startling admission from one of this century's most accomplished athletes — but Wilson views it as her responsibility to use her platform to speak out on issues that impact women, even if what she says sends shock waves through the sports world.

Following the Supreme Court's decision, about one-third of states banned or severely restricted abortion, impacting roughly 30 million women ages 15-49, according to the Guttmacher Institute, a reproductive rights research and policy organization. And more legislation is on the horizon.

USA TODAY Sports spoke to more than 30 current and retired professional female athletes, coaches, agents and sports executives to gauge how they're weighing the new reality of a country where women's rights are being challenged or stripped away.

The athletes spoke candidly and

See ATHLETES, Page 6A

ILLUSTRATION BY ANDREA BRUNTY/USA TODAY NETWORK; PHOTOS BY GETTY IMAGES, AP

Fight to heal ozone hole may hold climate lessons

International cooperation averted earlier global risk

Kyle Bagenstose
USA TODAY

The year was 1987, and Earth's shield against the giant thermonuclear reaction in the sky was failing.

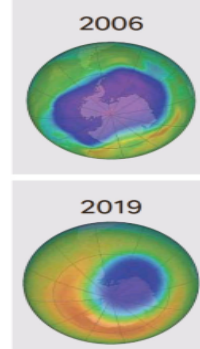
Human-made chemicals in aerosol cans and refrigeration were eating up a thin protective layer of atmospheric gas called ozone, and heavy doses of radiation from the sun were leaking through. Scientists warned of a dangerous weak spot over Antarctica — the "ozone hole" — and a dire future.

Unless the world's 5 billion people took collective action, they said, the hole would grow, and new ones would form at higher latitudes and roam the planet. Rates of cancer and blindness would increase, and plant and animal life would suffer unpredictable harm.

But that fate was averted. In September 1987, the United States and dozens of key nations signed the Montreal Protocol, a binding agreement to phase out the ozone-depleting substances, particularly chlorofluorocarbons and halons. Three decades later, emissions of the substances have dropped more than 99%, their presence in the atmosphere

See CLIMATE, Page 4A

Shrinking ozone hole



Satellites observed the largest ozone hole over Antarctica in 2006. Purple and blue represent areas of low ozone concentrations in the atmosphere; yellow and red are areas of higher concentrations.

PROVIDED BY
NASA/GODDARD
SPACE FLIGHT
CENTER

deportes

Un líder a la altura

Atlético supera la presión, aun con Boca al acecho

Los tucumanos vencieron a Estudiantes por 3-1 y tienen una ventaja de dos puntos sobre los xeneizes.



Luz roja en el arco

Chiquito Romero no debutó y sería operado

Boca tiene un tema en los tres palos: tras el conflicto contractual con Rossi, el histórico N°1 del seleccionado no se repone de una lesión en la rodilla. Página 4

Un desafío personal

Kipchoge quebró su propio récord mundial

El keniano bajó en 30 segundos su registro en la maratón: a los 37 años, en Berlín, quedó en los libros con un tiempo de 2h01m09s. Página 8

LA NACION

LUNES 26 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

La parálisis se extendió a todas las plantas de neumáticos

BLOQUEO. Pirelli y Fate anunciaron ayer el cierre, como antes lo hizo Bridgestone, por el paro del gremio; hoy, reunión clave

Todas las fábricas de neumáticos del país frenaron sus actividades como consecuencia del bloqueo y medidas de fuerza que hace meses lleva adelante el Sindicato Único de Trabajadores del Neumático Argentino (Sutna). El sábado lo anunció la firma Bridgestone y ayer decidieron paralizar la fabricación de neumáticos la otra multinacional, Pirelli, y la fábrica nacional Fate, también agobiadas por la escalada de la conflictividad. En la industria automotriz, a la vez, advirtieron que si se extiende la parálisis podrían frenarse sus propias líneas de producción.

Más allá de la reacción empresarial, el gremio ratificó ayer la medida de fuerza, que incluye protestas en los ingresos a las plantas.

En este contexto, el Ministerio de Trabajo citó al Sutna a una reunión hoy, a las 11, "con el objetivo de continuar las negociaciones paritarias correspondientes al período 2021". Además, denunció al secretario general del gremio, Alejandro Crespo, por la toma en uno de los pisos del ministerio.

Las compañías esperan una señal de resolución de la protesta para definir el futuro de su producción. El sindicato anunció ayer que movilizará a sus militantes a la reunión en la sede laboral. Página 10

Alejandro Crespo. Un dirigente clasista y del PO, al frente de la protesta

Página 10

EL ESCENARIO

El Estado fallido, más que una amenaza

Claudio Jacquelin
—LA NACION—

La sucesión vertiginosa de acontecimientos políticos y económicos en modo secuencia de fotos impactantes, pero aisladas, impide ver la película que se va componiendo de fondo. Un Estado fallido se expresa detrás del intento de magnicidio, la narcocriminalidad y su secuela de delitos violentos. Continúa en la página 12

Massa analiza el dólar Qatar, pero duda de su efectividad

TURISMO. En Economía temen que la cotización vuelva a atrasarse

Preocupado por el deterioro de las reservas del Banco Central, el Ministerio de Economía profundiza el análisis de un dólar diferencial para el turismo, con la mira en el Mundial de Qatar. Sergio Massa duda de que las propuestas que le llegaron hasta ahora sean efectivas para evitar un atraso del tipo de cambio. Página 18



"Es una noche de orgullo, de redención", dijo, eufórica, Giorgia Meloni

ANDREAS SOLARO / AFP

Histórico giro: llega al poder en Italia la ultraderechista Meloni

ELECCIONES. Según los boca de urna, su coalición logró un resultado mejor de lo esperado y tendría la mayoría absoluta; impacto en la UE**Elisabetta Piqué**
CORRESPONSAL EN ITALIA

ROMA.— En un vuelco sin precedente desde el fin de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, la ultraderecha avanzaba anoche hacia el poder en Italia después de que las primeras proyecciones del escrutinio de las elecciones legislativas confirma-

ron que la coalición de Giorgia Meloni, líder del partido posfascista Hermanos de Italia, selló una victoria aplastante, con más del 42% de los votos. Su partido fue el más votado, con el 26% de las preferencias. El ascenso de un gobierno de extrema derecha, soberanista y populista ya disparó las alarmas en Europa. Continúa en la página 2

EL ANÁLISIS

La credibilidad, todo un desafío

Elisabetta Piqué

Página 2

La vida en una secta, contada por una víctima

CAPTACIÓN. La historia de un caso en Córdoba

CÓRDOBA.— Durante cinco años su vida se rigió por la palabra y las órdenes del licenciado Sahú Ari Merek, como se hacía llamar el líder de la Escuela Sésheh, la de los "sanadores egipcios", de Córdoba. Recurrió a él

en busca de una solución a su existencia atribulada y terminó alejada de sus afectos, sometida a chantajes emocionales y explotada económicamente a través de cursos, terapias, viajes y donaciones. Página 26

Psicosomática. Expertos que usan la palabra como medicina

La disciplina se abre camino para ayudar a los pacientes a encontrar alivio; habrá un congreso

Página 24

nem um centímetro demarcado



Lailo de Almeida/Folhapress

APÓS RESISTIR A ESTRADA E HIDRELÉTRICA, OS KINJAS ENFRENTAM MARCO LEGAL

Moradores da terra Waimiri-Atroari (Amazonas) fazem ritual antes de encontro para debater o marco temporal, visto como forma de limitar demarcação de territórios indígenas **Ambiente B5**

Equilíbrio B6

Ressaca moral por se expor demais e se mostrar vulnerável tem lado positivo

Esporte B7

Goleiro de Guiné, que perdeu Copa dos Refugiados em SP, mira educar crianças

Ilustrada C1

Famílias marcadas pela raiva são tema de novos livros de autoras brasileiras



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

EDITORIAIS A2

Emendas em jogo

Sobre relação entre o futuro governo e o Congresso.

Funil paulista

Acerca de corrida ao Ban-deirantes, no Datafolha.

ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



	Hoje	Amanhã
Rio	18 29	20 27
Brasília	18 28	18 29
Ribeirão	20 29	20 27

Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br



Karime Xavier/Folhapress

AUTISTAS ADULTOS TÊM APOIO EM SP

Ambulatório da Unifesp diagnostica e trata pacientes como Paulo Fernandes Junior, 19, que notou melhora no convívio familiar após começar a frequentar estrutura **Saúde B2**



A líder ultradireitista Meloni vota em Roma **Yara Nardi/Reuters**

Bolsonaro aprova lei de TV e favorece aliados evangélicos

Nova regra, proposta pela frente do segmento religioso, permite que antigos canais de UHF sejam regularizados

O presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) sancionou uma lei sobre o mercado de TV paga que beneficia empresários aliados ao governo e líderes evangélicos.

A nova regra livra de extinção antigos canais de televisão por UHF, que poderão ser repaginados como sendo de pacotes de TV por assinatura no Brasil.

A lei foi proposta por um grande aliado de Bolsonaro, o líder da Frente Parlamentar Evangélica, deputado Cesinha de Madureira (PSD-SP), e dá vantagens a empresas pertencentes a igrejas de denominações que apoiam Bolsonaro.

Ela também é proveitosa para canais ligados a radiodifusores, como a Band.

Com a definição do status, as empresas ganham maior segurança jurídica para pedir empréstimos, por exemplo. Um dos maiores interessados na mudança foi R. R. Soares, cabo eleitoral do presidente, dono de 4 dos 22 canais abarcados pela lei.

O Ministério das Comunicações e os favorecidos não comentaram. **Mercado A19**

Jovem é agredido, e polícia tenta prender Boulos

Um ativista de 15 anos do Movimento Brasil Livre foi agredido por militantes do PSOL durante troca de provocações em São Paulo. Na confusão, a PM tentou prender o candidato a deputado Guilherme Boulos (PSOL). **Política A6**

Marcus Melo Presidente no páreo é surpresa

O que deveria surpreender nesta eleição é a competitividade relativa de Bolsonaro. Isso se explica por auxílios e melhora na economia, mas não só. A resiliência deve-se à profunda rejeição ao PT. É disputa de rejeições. **Opinião A2**

Mulher é atacada após irmã criticar o bolsonarismo

Uma jovem de 19 anos que trabalha fazendo propaganda do PSB em Angra dos Reis (RJ) foi golpeada com uma paulada na cabeça após sua irmã criticar o bolsonarismo em um bar, na sexta (23). Ela passa bem. **Política A6**

Extrema direita vai voltar ao poder na Itália, indica projeção

A extrema direita voltou ao poder na Itália, algo inédito desde o fim do fascismo. A coalizão de Giorgia Meloni, 45, venceu a eleição, indica projeção sobre a contagem, e ela deverá ser a primeira mulher a liderar o país. **Mundo A16**

Investidor aposta mais nas vendas a descoberto

Folhainvest A22

Commodities, bancos e consumo lideram na Bolsa

Folhainvest A21

ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Vanessa Nascimento

Partidos políticos são locais hostis a pessoas negras

Para a diretora-executiva do Instituto de Referência Negra Peregrum, Vanessa Nascimento, partidos políticos são ambientes hostis aos negros. Em 2018, brancos (21% da população) conquistaram 61% das vagas de deputado estadual. **A18**

Ex presidente colombiano estuvo en *Políticamente Yncorrecto*, por Telefuturo

Duque lamentó indefensión que tuvo Pecci ante sicarios

Señaló que nunca fue informado por la Fiscalía paraguaya o la propia víctima sobre su visita a Colombia. Acotó que si eso sucedía, el viaje no hubiera tenido un desenlace fatal.

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Producción legal vs. ilegal
Cáñamo ingresa a las zonas rojas para reemplazar a la marihuana

PÁGINA 12

Protestarán en Asunción
Tomateros están contra la cuerda por eterno drama del contrabando

PÁGINA 10



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Ayudita para miembros del Tribunal de Apelaciones
JEM perdonó a jueces que avalaron fallo de jueza que acabó destituida

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Gerentes siguen en ente
Avión iraní: La remoción de los jefes de Dinac fue un montaje

PÁGINA 4

San Jorge no da abasto
La carencia de especialistas continúa siendo déficit de Salud

PÁGINAS 14 y 15

ALGUNAS "PERLITAS" DEL DEFENSOR



COBROS INDEBIDOS. Miguel Godoy fue denunciado ante la Fiscalía por el supuesto delito de exacción a objetos de conciencia.



COMAS. Gestores mencionan en audios pagos por resoluciones a favor de víctimas de la dictadura a hombre de confianza de Godoy.



COMBUSTIBLE. La Contraloría detectó cargas en vehículos no asignados en el listado de tarjetas de Petropar habilitadas para la utilización del carburante.



CASO EMPLEADA. Una jefa de la Defensoría denunció que su subordinada iba a trabajar a la casa de Godoy como empleada doméstica.



CONTRATOS. Godoy obvió procedimientos de contratación, y recortó a firmas ligadas a sus funcionarios leales.

Juicio político: Sobran los argumentos contra Godoy

PÁGINA 2

ETIOS

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VERSÁTILIDAD
Y ECONOMÍA

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JEAN-PIERRE LE GOFF
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MANAGÉRIALE ET SOCIÉTALE
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LE FIGARO SANTÉ
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CHAMPS LIBRES
• En Ukraine,
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**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question
de samedi :**
Guerre en Ukraine :
la France doit-elle
accueillir les Russes
qui fuient la mobilisation ?

OUI 58% NON 42%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 192 803

**Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr**
Craignez-vous
des coupures d'électricité
cet hiver ?

FABIEN CLAIREFOND - G. LENZ/PICTURE
ALLIANCE/ARCO IMAGES G

Électricité : ces restrictions qui inquiètent les Français

Anticipant de futurs problèmes d'approvisionnement cet hiver, fournisseurs d'énergie, collectivités et entreprises se mettent en ordre de bataille pour éviter des coupures.

« Si nous savons collective-
ment nous comporter de ma-
nière plus sobre et faire des
économies d'énergie partout,
alors il n'y aura pas de ration-
nement et il n'y aura pas de

coupures », promettait, dé-
but septembre, Emmanuel
Macron, exhortant ses
concitoyens à être présents
« au rendez-vous de la sobrié-
té ». Un mois plus tard, alors

que le conflit en Ukraine
s'enlise, que près de la moitié
du parc nucléaire hexagonal
reste à l'arrêt et que les tem-
pératures baissent, le pays
semble gagné par l'anxiété.

Le gestionnaire du Réseau de
transport d'électricité (RTE)
a beau écarter tout risque de
pénurie cet hiver, les Fran-
çais anticipent en achetant
bougies, panneaux solaires

portables ou piles rechargea-
bles. Patrons d'entreprise et
agriculteurs prennent égale-
ment leurs précautions : les
groupes électrogènes se ven-
dent bien actuellement.

→ OLIVIER BAEAU : « FAUTE D'AVOIR ANTICIPÉ, LE GOUVERNEMENT ÉCOPE » → BUREAUX, USINES ET MAGASINS SE CONVERTISSENT À LA SOBRIÉTÉ
→ LE RETOUR DES COURS À DISTANCE INQUIÈTE LES ÉTUDIANTS PAGES 4, 5 ET L'EDITORIAL



Le pouvoir a promis de ne faire preuve d'« aucune indulgence » vis-à-vis des manifestants après neuf jours de protestation contre le port obligatoire du foulard islamique, qui ont coûté la vie à une quarantaine de personnes. PAGE 2

ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thérard ythread@lefigaro.fr

Coupable défaillance

C'est en partie grâce à l'élec-
tricité que le monde ne s'est
pas arrêté pendant la crise
sanitaire. Assignés à rési-
dence, nous n'avons jamais
autant communiqué, travaillé,
commercé à distance. D'aucuns ont alors imaginé que
plus rien ne serait jamais comme avant. De
nouvelles habitudes, disait-on, étaient nées
de la pandémie. Peut-être, mais c'est une
tout autre perspective qui se profile désor-
mais à l'horizon.
Et si au confinement physique succédait un
confinement énergétique ? La guerre en
Ukraine ayant désorganisé les réseaux
d'approvisionnement en gaz, pétrole et
électricité, l'inquiétude grandit face au ris-
que d'une pénurie. Un black-out qui plon-
gerait le pays dans l'obscurité et le froid
n'est pas d'actualité, mais des rationne-
ments sont possibles ici ou là pendant quel-
ques heures, surtout en cas d'hiver rigou-
reux. Le président de la République lui-
même n'a-t-il pas décrété, il y a un mois, la
fin de la société d'abondance ?
Si le réchauffement climatique est une réa-
lité de plus en plus visible qui exige sans
doute des changements de comportement,

ce brutal avertissement présidentiel laisse
sceptique. Est-ce, dans la prolongation de la
planification écologique promise pendant la
campagne de l'entre-deux-tours, une façon
opportuniste de contenter la gauche ? Ou
bien est-ce la conséquence d'anciens choix
politiques préjudiciables, d'une coupable
défaillance ?

Depuis dix ans, le sabotage de notre indus-
trie nucléaire est la cause principale et non
avouée des ap-
pels aujour-
d'hui répétés à
une consom-
mation modé-
rée. L'indé-
pendance

L'indépendance
énergétique
de la France
a été sacrifiée
énergétique de la France voulue par le gé-
néral de Gaulle a été sacrifiée sur l'autel
d'un marchandage électoral entre socialis-
tes et écologistes qu'Emmanuel Macron n'a
pas su remettre en question. Faute d'avoir
rectifié le tir, la menace de coupures de cou-
rant arrive donc au pire moment, quand les
nuages s'amoncellent dans le ciel de notre
économie. Préparer les esprits à des efforts
est un sage conseil, mais savoir anticiper les
temps difficiles est de bonne politique. ■

Dans les coulisses de la préparation du budget 2023

Le Figaro a pu suivre le mi-
nistre délégué au Budget, Ga-
briel Attal, dans plusieurs
moments clés de la prépa-
ration du texte, hautement
sensible et déjà critiqué de
toutes parts. Entre les textes
de Matignon, les réunions
avec les puissantes adminis-
trations, les avertissements
des parlementaires de tous
bords et des Français, le jeun-
e ministre n'a pas ménagé
sa peine. Le gouvernement
aura du mal à éviter l'utilisa-
tion de l'article 49-3 et à pas-
ser en force sur ce texte.

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'I'm just going to smash Strictly!'



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Starmmer: I will reinstate 45p tax to back public services



Labour to outline detail of vow to reverse 'hugely divisive' Truss policy

Exclusive
Pippa Crerar
Aubrey Allegretti

Keir Starmer is seeking to draw new battle lines with Liz Truss by vowing to reinstate the top rate of income tax and ploughing the ensuing billions into the NHS and other public services.

The Guardian understands Labour will set out in more detail today how it will use the money raised from reversing the abolition of the 45p rate outlined by the chancellor, Kwasi

• Kwarteng, in Friday's mini-budget.
• The shadow chancellor, Rachel

Reeves, will argue at the party's conference that investing in public services such as the NHS, schools and childcare is the only way to build the foundations of a strong economy - which she warns that Truss is putting at risk.

She told the Guardian: "Liz Truss and I are not that different in ages. We both went to our local state schools in the 80s and 90s. But the conclusions we've come to after that experience seem to be a world apart. You can't build a strong economy without strong public services."

On the first day of the Liverpool conference, Starmer said it was "hugely divisive" of ministers to hand out a tax cut to those who are paid more than £150,000 and pledged to reverse the scrapping of the additional rate on the highest earners.

The reversal could raise at least £2bn for public spending.

▲ Keir Starmer and Angela Rayner after her speech to the conference in Liverpool yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: CHRISTOPHER THOMOND/THE GUARDIAN

The Labour leader said he would not reverse the cut to the basic tax rate from 20% to 19% as the party wanted to "reduce the tax burden on working people". However, it put him on a collision course with

'Liz Truss and I both went to our local state schools, but the conclusions seem to be a world apart'

Rachel Reeves
Shadow chancellor

Andy Burnham, the mayor of Greater Manchester, who said Labour should oppose both tax moves.

Burnham said Labour should go further and reverse the cut in the basic rate as well, saying "I would get £375 a year, which I shouldn't have and don't need".

"I personally don't think we should be accepting the 20p cut [to 19p] ... it still benefits higher earners more than lower earners," he said during a fringe event hosted by the Guardian yesterday.

Meanwhile, Kwarteng hinted that there was "more to come" from the government on tax cuts.

"We have only been here for 19 days. I want to see, over the next year, people retain more of their money," he told BBC One's Sunday with Laura Kuenssberg.

The market's shocked reaction to Friday's

Exit polls in Italy point to far-right victory

Angela Giuffrida
Rome

A coalition led by Giorgia Meloni's Brothers of Italy is set to form Italy's most rightwing government since the end of the second world war after exit polls gave it a clear majority.

With full results due today, Meloni is set to become Italy's first female prime minister - and a model for nationalist parties across Europe in one of the EU's six original member states.

The poll, for Italian broadcaster Rai, gave the rightwing coalition 41%-45% against 25.5%-29.5% for the leftwing bloc. The populist Five Star Movement was on 13.5%-17.5%.

Meloni's party, which has neo-fascist origins, is also set to scoop by far the biggest share of the votes within the coalition, which includes the far-right League, led by Matteo Salvini, and Forza Italia, headed by Silvio Berlusconi.

Salvini posted to social media that the alliance had a "net advantage", both in the lower and upper house of parliament. "It's going to be a long night, but I wanted to say THANK YOU," he wrote.

If exit polls are correct, 28 → the Italian president, Sergio

Questions over Truss's top adviser

Truss 'promised Mark Fullbrook could run Tory election campaign if he would become No 10 chief of staff' Page 11 →



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