



STRATEGOS

PRIMERAS PLANAS

INTERNACIONALES



Racing

Un triunfo fundamental

Le ganó 2-0 a Atlético Tucumán y quedó un punto por debajo de Boca, que es el líder, con un partido menos. P.38



La "Revolución" de Arturo Pérez Reverte

Su nuevo libro transcurre en el México de Pancho Villa y Zapata. P.48

Tema del día • La jura será el jueves en la Casa Rosada

Fernández nombra a tres ministras y da una señal interna con la mira en 2023

Sin consultar a Cristina, el Presidente designó a Victoria Tolosa Paz en Desarrollo Social; Raquel "Kelly" Olmos en Trabajo y Ayelén Mazzina en Mujeres. Las dos primeras pertenecen al círculo más cercano a Fernández. Mientras sostiene la idea de mantener las PASO

para dirimir las candidaturas del Frente de Todos, con esta decisión Alberto F. mostró autonomía. Hubo malestar en la CGT y en algunos dirigentes que esperaban ser consultados, así como la llegada de una figura de más peso político. Sugestivo silencio K. P.3

Análisis
Ignacio Miri

La hibernación del Frente de Todos: sin diálogo y con planes divergentes

DESDE MAÑANA

Con una inflación sin control, relanzan un "nuevo" Precios Cuidados

La lista incluye 452 productos de marcas líderes y estará vigente hasta el 7 de enero de 2023. Contempla aumentos escalonados del 3,3% en octubre; 4,7% en noviembre y 4,4% en diciembre. El Gobierno admitió además que habrá dos nuevas subas de nafta del 6% cada una antes de fin de año. P.8

EVALÚAN OTRO PARA EL TURISMO

Habrà un dólar más alto para shows de artistas extranjeros

Según fuentes de Economía y de las productoras, se acordó un valor 30% superior al tipo de cambio oficial para pagar los contratos vinculados a la organización de espectáculos con figuras del exterior. Sigue en análisis un recargo para los consumos de argentinos fuera del país. P.10

LO CONFIRMÓ LA AUTOPSIA

Humahuaca: la pareja murió por inhalar monóxido de carbono

El hostel donde se alojaban los turistas, de Moreno, no estaba habilitado ni registrado. P.34



FEROZ ATAQUE RUSO CONTRA LA CAPITAL DE UCRAÑA

Kiev, otra vez bajo fuego: misiles y muerte

Rusia lanzó su ofensiva más grande contra Ucrania en meses. Después del estallido del puente de Crimea, Putin atacó la capital ucraniana y varias ciudades alejadas del foco de los combates. Disparó 84 misiles crucero y usó

24 drones, con los que destruyó objetivos civiles y provocó al menos 14 muertos y alrededor de un centenar de heridos. Varios edificios quedaron destruidos y zonas enteras, sin luz ni agua. El gobierno ucraniano denunció

que la intención del líder ruso era causar "una catástrofe humanitaria". El presidente de Estados Unidos, Joe Biden, prometió que el jefe del Kremlin rendirá cuentas por sus "crímenes y atrocidades". P.22

Del Editor

Pablo Vaca

La pelota se mancha y todo indica que seguirá sucia

P.2

UNIVERSIDAD El Gobierno evaluará la salud mental de un millón de estudiantes **P25**

VALLE DE LOS CAÍDOS La familia de Primo de Rivera pide exhumar su cuerpo **P21**



Un ciudadano corría en busca de refugio entre los estragos del ataque con misiles, ayer en el centro de Kiev. / GLEB GARANICH (REUTERS)

La venganza de Putin se ceba con las ciudades de Ucrania

Rusia responde al ataque al puente de Crimea con misiles contra civiles

C. SEGURA / J. G. CUESTA
Kiev / Moscú
Rusia lanzó ayer una dura ofensiva contra ciudades y otros objetivos civiles en Ucrania en represalia por el sabotaje, el pasado sábado, del puente del estrecho de Kerch en Crimea. El Kremlin demostró que sus misiles pueden al-

canzar cualquier rincón del país, incluida la capital. El centro de Kiev recibió el impacto de múltiples proyectiles sobre edificios residenciales y de oficinas. También sufrieron daños Lviv, en el oeste, y ciudades más cercanas al frente como Mikolaiv, Járkov, Dnipró o Zaporíjia. En todo el país murieron

al menos 14 personas y resultaron heridas 97. "Quieren caos y pánico y destruir nuestro sistema energético", declaró Volodímir Zelenski. Desde Moscú, Vladimir Putin se mostró amenazante: "En el caso de que se intenten llevar a cabo otros ataques terroristas en el territorio de la Federación de Rusia,

las respuestas serán duras y equivaldrán al nivel de las amenazas", dijo. Putin acordó además con su protegido Aleksandr Lukashenko, presidente de Bielorrusia, la creación de unidades militares conjuntas, que estarían a las puertas de Kiev. La UE calificó los ataques de "crímenes de guerra". **PÁGINAS 2 A 4**

El Estado mejora en un 24% los fondos para las autonomías

El Presupuesto destina 134.335 millones a las comunidades

LAURA DELLE FEMMINE, **Madrid**
El Estado repartirá unos recursos récord entre las comunidades autónomas en 2023, según el informe económico que acompaña al proyecto de Presupuestos Generales. Habrá 134.335 millones de euros para el sistema de financiación autonómica, la cifra más elevada de la historia y un 24% superior a la del año anterior. La mejora en los recursos llega sin que se haya logrado pactar un nuevo modelo, lo que lleva pendiente desde 2014. **PÁGINA 37**

Aragonès da por cerrada la crisis del Govern pese a su debilidad en el Parlament

A. PIÑOL / C. S. BAQUERO, **Barcelona**
El presidente catalán, Pere Aragonès, reunirá hoy a su nuevo Gobierno, remodelado tras la ruptura con Junts. Pretende así dar por cerrada la crisis, pese a su debilidad en el Parlamento, donde tiene 33 diputados de 135. Y ha enojado a sus posibles aliados, al desdenar las ofertas de PSC y comunes y mostrarse dispuesto a prorrogar los Presupuestos. **PÁGINA 18**

LA CRISIS DE LA JUSTICIA

Sánchez y Feijóo pactan un último intento de renovar el CGPJ

Gobierno y PP mantienen sus posiciones pero evitan fijar condiciones al diálogo

C. E. CUÉ / J. CASQUEIRO, **Madrid**
El Gobierno y el PP expresaron ayer su "voluntad y disposición total" de llegar a un acuerdo para la renovación del Consejo General del Poder Judicial (CGPJ) tras casi cuatro años de bloqueo. Pedro Sánchez y Alberto Núñez Feijóo se reunieron en La Moncloa tras 168 días sin contactos, forzados

por la crisis institucional abierta tras la dimisión del presidente del Consejo, Carlos Lesmes. El diálogo se plantea sin condiciones de partida, si bien cada uno mantiene sus posiciones. El PP insiste en reformar el sistema de elección de vocales, pero ya no lo plantea como inamovible. **PÁGINAS 14 A 17**

EDITORIAL EN LA PÁGINA 10



Pedro Sánchez y Alberto Núñez Feijóo, ayer en La Moncloa. / JAIME VILLANUEVA

La cúpula del Supremo reclama el "fin del desastre institucional"

P15

El Constitucional, paralizado en temas clave a la espera del acuerdo

P16

De Aznar a Feijóo, 25 años de Poder Judicial bajo control del PP

P17



Rising threat to free speech in Modi's India
BIG READ, PAGE 21

The public is indifferent to economic growth
SARAH O'CONNOR, PAGE 23

Ukraine war Putin launches wave of attacks

People flee as cars burn in Kyiv yesterday after Russia launched its most extensive attacks on cities across Ukraine in months.

Kyiv said more than 80 missiles were fired at targets in cities from the capital to Lviv in the west and Dnipro in the centre of the country. At least 10 people were killed and 60 injured, according to preliminary reports.

Vladimir Putin claimed the missiles were aimed at military, energy and communications assets, but evidence of the damage showed a playground and a bridge in Kyiv were hit. Russia's president said the strikes were in retaliation for the bombing of a bridge linking Russia to Crimea.

Bridge blast & grain deal page 4

UAE leader to meet Putin page 6

FT View page 22

Alexander Gabuev &

Jeffrey Sonnenfeld page 23



Gleb Garanich/Reuters

Borrowing costs soar again as BoE and chancellor fail to calm markets

◆ Gilts sell off as investors fret ◆ Kwarteng accelerates debt plan ◆ Tories fear 'sums don't add up'

ADAM SAMSON, GEORGE PARKER, TOMMY STUBBINGTON AND DELPHINE STRAUSS

Attempts by the Bank of England and the chancellor to calm markets yesterday failed to prevent a sell-off in government bonds, with long-term borrowing costs soaring to their highest level since the central bank intervened last month.

The fall in gilts came despite the BoE announcing a new short-term funding facility to avoid a "cliff edge" when its £65bn emergency bond-buying scheme ends this week – and as Kwasi Kwarteng pushed forward his debt-cutting plan to October 31.

As the chancellor tries to prove he can get a grip on the public finances and fill a £60bn fiscal hole, markets remain nervous: the 30-year yield jumped 0.29 percentage points to 4.68 per cent.

Daniela Russell, head of UK rates strategy at HSBC, described the BoE's latest move as a "sticking plaster", adding: "We suspect the new measures are insufficient and do not fully recognise the long-term nature of the challenges."

She said yesterday's market reaction was a sign of how "precarious the situation may still be".

Some senior Tories believe Kwarteng will struggle to come up with a plausible medium-term debt reduction plan by the end of the month. "The sums don't

add up," said one former Treasury minister, arguing that big public spending cuts would be politically impossible. "You can do it on the back of a fag packet. It's not going to work."

Markets will also be assessing whether Kwarteng can come up with a plan to put debt on a downward path as a share of GDP. The independent Institute for Fiscal Studies said he would have to announce a fiscal tightening of more than £60bn if he wanted to convince investors.

The Treasury said: "Through tax cuts and ambitious supply-side reforms, our growth plan will drive sustainable long-term growth . . . The government is committed to fiscal responsibility and getting debt falling as a share of GDP in the medium term."

Kwarteng had promised to publish a medium-term fiscal plan on November 23. The accelerated plan is likely to contain highly contentious spending cuts.

His decision to bring forward the plan was part of a flurry of moves yesterday intended to calm financial markets following the "mini" Budget, which contained £45bn in unfunded tax cuts.

In addition to a new funding facility, the BoE said it was ready to step up the pace of purchases before its bond-buying scheme expired. But it bought just £853mn on the day, far short of its new £10bn limit. The gilt sell-off intensified after the announcement. "I don't really see the point in saying you'll buy ten billion a day when you've only been buying a few hundred million up until now," said Peter Schaffrik, RBC strategist.

The government also announced that James Bowler, a veteran civil servant, would return to the Treasury as its new permanent secretary, sending a signal that Liz Truss's administration values fiscal credibility. The prime minister had been expected to appoint Antonia Romeo, permanent secretary at the justice ministry who has good links to business but no Treasury experience.

The new fiscal plan will be judged by the Office for Budget Responsibility on October 31. Its verdict will be eagerly awaited, since the "mini" Budget was not accompanied by OBR estimates.

Kwarteng warned & BoE repo page 2

Truss reverts to orthodoxy page 3

Pensions dash for cash page 13

Day in markets page 14

Sarah O'Connor page 23

Briefing

► AZ nasal Covid spray fails

A spray version of the vaccine developed with Oxford university has failed in an early-stage trial, dealing a blow to hopes for a more effective way to prevent transmission of the virus.— PAGE 9

► EU flags Fed rates risk

Josep Borrell, the bloc's top diplomat, has warned that the US central bank's rush to raise rates risks triggering a global recession.— PAGE 8; RICHARD BERNSTEIN, PAGE 14

► Sturgeon firm on vote

Nicola Sturgeon has vowed to step up efforts on independence for Scotland, even if she loses a court case on whether she can legally hold a referendum.— PAGE 2

► Barristers end strike

Members of the Criminal Bar Association have voted to accept a new legal aid offer that ends a month of stoppages that delayed thousands of trials.— PAGE 2

► Fintechs slam card banks

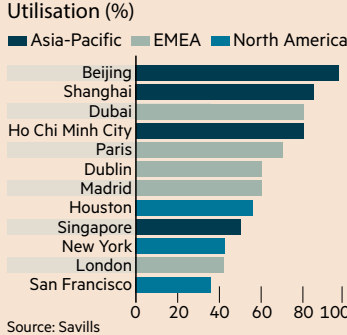
Credit card issuers including NatWest and Barclays have been accused of "costing consumers millions" by constraining access to their own data.— PAGE 12

► Berlin urged to pay bills

Experts have proposed that the German government should pay household gas bills in December and subsidise residential and industrial prices next year.— PAGE 4

Datawatch

Back to the office



Office utilisation has risen to 59 per cent on average across the world, the highest since the pandemic began. Occupation levels vary widely, from more than 90 per cent of workers back in the office in Beijing to less than 40 per cent in London



EY accused of whitewash over suspicious trades

Whistleblowers have raised the alarm over work by EY for its longstanding client Leonteq, a fintech group. They accuse the Big Four accounting firm of whitewashing suspicions of money laundering and tax evasion. Two transactions are at the heart of the affair. EY's report described problems with internal controls and 'an absence of email and phone-record evidence' but also indicated it did not seek to establish basic facts about the trades.

Accused ► PAGE 11

Former Fed chief Bernanke wins Nobel Prize for insights into financial crises

DELPHINE STRAUSS

Ben Bernanke, the former US Federal Reserve chair, has been awarded this year's Nobel Prize in economics together with Douglas Diamond of the University of Chicago and Philip Dybvig of Washington University for their work on the role of banks in the economy and financial crises.

The committee handing out the SKr10mn (\$886,000) award said the laureates' work, which began in the early 1980s, had "improved our ability to avoid both serious crises and expensive bailouts". The trio will share the prize equally.

"We didn't know it at the time, but 15 years ago, much of the world stood at the brink of a devastating economic crisis. Most of us were unprepared for it. A few academic economists were both pre-

pared and worried," said Hans Ellegren, secretary-general of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, yesterday.

The committee took an unusual step in awarding the prize to an economist better known for his role in policymaking than for his academic contributions. But Bernanke, who oversaw the Fed's response to the 2008 global financial crisis, was already known for his analysis of the Great Depression of the 1930s – in which he showed that bank runs had been a decisive factor in causing the crisis to be so deep and prolonged.

His insight, which went against conventional wisdom at the time, underpinned "crucial elements of economic policy" not only in the Fed's response to the 2008 crisis but also in the measures taken to avert a more severe global downturn when the coronavirus pandemic hit in 2020, the committee said.

"Economics can bring rigor even to the analysis of panics," Larry Summers, a former US Treasury secretary, said on Twitter yesterday.

Bernanke, who led the Fed from 2006 to 2014, was criticised in some quarters for failing to foresee the 2008 crisis, and for deploying vast sums of public money to rescue Wall Street companies from their bets on subprime mortgages.

Diamond and Dybvig laid the foundations of modern bank regulation with theoretical models showing why banks exist, why they are vulnerable to rumours of collapse and how this can be addressed, the committee said.

Speaking yesterday, Diamond said regulation in place since the 2008 crisis had left the system much less vulnerable. But he warned: "Crises can show up anywhere in the financial sector – it doesn't have to be commercial banks."

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS					CURRENCIES					GOVERNMENT BONDS				
	Oct 10	Prev	%chg		Pair	Oct 10	Prev	Pair	Oct 10	Prev	Yield (%)	Oct 10	Prev	Chg
S&P 500	3619.36	3639.66	-0.56	\$/€	0.970	0.979	€/\$	1.031	1.022	US 2 yr	4.31	4.30	0.01	
Nasdaq Composite	10566.12	10652.41	-0.90	\$/£	1.105	1.113	£/\$	0.905	0.898	US 10 yr	3.89	3.86	0.03	
Dow Jones Ind	29243.10	29296.79	-0.18	€/£	0.878	0.879	£/€	1.139	1.138	US 30 yr	3.84	3.82	0.02	
FTSEurofirst 300	1548.09	1553.62	-0.36	¥/\$	145.745	145.140	¥/€	141.409	142.027	UK 2 yr	4.32	4.15	0.17	
Euro Stoxx 50	3361.35	3375.46	-0.42	¥/£	161.019	161.592	£ index	75.882	76.170	UK 10 yr	4.47	4.23	0.24	
FTSE 100	6959.31	6991.09	-0.45	Sfr/€	0.970	0.971	Sfr/£	1.105	1.104	UK 30 yr	4.67	4.38	0.29	
FTSE All-Share	3791.94	3814.26	-0.59	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr	-0.07	-0.07	0.00	
CAC 40	5840.55	5866.94	-0.45		Oct 10	Prev	%chg			JPN 10 yr	0.25	0.25	0.00	
Xetra Dax	12272.94	12273.00	0.00	Bitcoin (\$)	19182.54	19443.40	-1.34			JPN 30 yr	1.36	1.36	0.00	
Nikkei	27116.11	27311.30	-0.71	Ethereum	1304.31	1322.77	-1.40			GER 2 yr	1.89	1.86	0.03	
Hang Seng	17216.66	17740.05	-2.95	COMMODITIES						GER 10 yr	2.34	2.19	0.15	
MSCI World \$	2417.72	2478.42	-2.45		Oct 10	Prev	%chg			GER 30 yr	2.31	2.14	0.18	
MSCI EM \$	897.74	910.57	-1.41	Oil WTI \$	92.29	92.64	-0.38							
MSCI ACWI \$	563.00	576.45	-2.33	Oil Brent \$	97.20	97.92	-0.74							
FT Wilshire 2500	4748.55	4887.39	-2.84	Gold \$	1696.15	1714.20	-1.05							
FT Wilshire 5000	37089.80	38173.44	-2.84											

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Data provided by Morningstar

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V&A

Déluge de frappes russes sur l'Ukraine

► La Russie a ciblé, lundi matin, de nombreuses villes ukrainiennes dans une série de tirs de missiles, dont la capitale, Kiev, épargnée depuis juin

► « Ils essaient de nous détruire et de nous effacer de la surface de la terre », a réagi le président ukrainien, en déplorant « des morts et des blessés »

► Après l'explosion du pont de Crimée, Poutine a dénoncé un « acte terroriste visant à détruire une infrastructure civile d'importance critique »

► Cette offensive d'une ampleur inédite intervient alors que le président russe devait réunir son conseil de sécurité, lundi soir

PAGE 6

ÉDITORIAL
ARMES NUCLÉAIRES : LA LIGNE ROUGE

PAGE 36

Bruno Latour, penseur du « nouveau régime climatique »

► Le philosophe, anthropologue et sociologue des sciences et des techniques est mort, dimanche, à l'âge de 75 ans

► Figure majeure de la pensée écologiste, il estimait que « le philosophe doit travailler à redonner des puissances d'agir »

PAGES 28 À 30



A Paris, en octobre 2015.
LÉA CRESPIPASCIO

Comment Xi Jinping assoit son emprise sur la Chine

LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL du Parti communiste chinois (PCC) devrait obtenir un troisième mandat de cinq ans, lors du 20^e congrès, qui s'ouvre dimanche 16 octobre. Xi Jinping a étendu sa maîtrise sur le parti, l'armée et la police, au moyen de vastes purges anticorruption, qui ont contribué à accroître sa popularité. Nommé en 2012 pour redresser un PCC en crise et devenu président de la République l'année suivante, il a organisé une concentration absolue du pouvoir. Pour revigorer le parti, le nouveau leader a fixé deux objectifs :

faire de la Chine une société « moyennement prospère » en 2021, soit deux fois plus riche qu'en 2010, et devenir une « nation pleinement développée, riche et puissante » en 2049.

A Taiwan, que Pékin menace, avec une agression croissante, de « réunifier » de force à la Chine, la population et les autorités se préparent dans le calme au risque d'invasion. Si la guerre en Ukraine a contribué à faire monter le niveau d'inquiétude, l'enlèvement russe représente aussi un motif d'espoir.

PAGES 2 ET 4

Carburants Négociations pour mettre fin aux blocages et à la pénurie

Le mouvement de grève dans des raffineries et des dépôts génère des ruptures d'approvisionnement, un risque politique pour le gouvernement

PAGE 18

Politique A l'Assemblée nationale, un budget sous la menace du 49.3

L'examen du projet de loi de finances 2023 débute au Palais-Bourbon, où l'exécutif se prépare à faire passer le texte sans vote, faute de majorité absolue

PAGES 12-13

#metoo

Dans la culture, avancées et limites des dispositifs de prévention

PAGES 24-25

Culture

La série « Le Monde de demain », épopée des débuts du rap français

PAGE 26

Idées

Fin de vie, place des soignants et des aidants : les défis du grand âge

PAGES 32-33

Social

L'inflation bouscule l'échelle des bas salaires

Indexé sur l'inflation, le montant du smic est en hausse, mais l'écart entre les bas salaires se tasse, au grand désarroi de ceux qui gagnaient un peu plus

PAGES 20-21

Biodiversité

Dans les Alpes, les troupeaux mieux protégés contre le loup

Les attaques reculent dans les zones où la prédation est ancienne, et la protection maîtrisée. Là où le loup arrive, en revanche, les éleveurs sont démunis

PAGE 11

VU PAR KAZANEVSKY (UKRAINE)

CARTOONING FOR PEACE





ROMAN HRYTSYNA Associated Press
A FIREFIGHTER helps a colleague out of a crater after a Russian attack in Kyiv. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky declared that Russia would not succeed in attempts to “wipe us off the face of the Earth.”

Russia targets civilians across Ukraine

At least 16 are killed and scores injured two days after the Crimea bridge bombing.

BY NILS ADLER AND LAURA KING

DNIPRO, Ukraine — Russia rained missiles on cities and towns across Ukraine on Monday in its most concerted blitz since the start of the war, targeting civilian population centers and infrastructure far from front lines where Moscow’s forces in recent weeks have faced a series of humiliating defeats.

Russian President Vladimir Putin, speaking soon after deadly cruise missile and drone strikes hit at least 10 Ukrainian cities, indicated the attacks came in vengeance for a weekend blast that damaged a bridge connecting the occupied Crimean peninsula to Russia. He called the attack on the Kerch Bridge “a terrorist act” by Ukraine and warned that more “severe retaliation” lay in store.

After blasts set rush-hour commuter cars ablaze in the heart of the capital, Kyiv, and carved a huge crater next to a children’s playground in a city-center park, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky de-

3 Americans win Nobel award
Former Fed chief Ben Bernanke is among the honorees in economics. **PERSPECTIVES, A2**

Land goes back to the Tongva
Altadena property owner donates one-acre site to L.A.’s first people. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

L.A. disc jockey Art Laboe dies
Laboe, one of the first to play rock ‘n’ roll on the West Coast, was 97. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Weather
Partly sunny.
L.A. Basin: 77/63. **B6**

7 85944 00200 5

State unsure of heat’s toll, frustrating health experts

BY HAYLEY SMITH

It was the worst California heat wave recorded in a September — an epic grilling that disabled one of Twitter’s main data centers, pushed the power grid to its limit and triggered a succession of weather and safety alerts.

For 10 grueling days that ended Sept. 9, meteorologists tracked record-setting temperatures as they boiled across the state — 116 degrees in Sacramento, 114 in Napa, 109 in Long Beach. But for all the data on soaring temperatures, there was

little information on the heat wave’s human toll, or how many people had been sickened or even killed.

The state’s struggle to account for heat wave illnesses and deaths — despite promises to improve monitoring — has frustrated some public health experts who say the lack of timely information puts lives in jeopardy.

“We’re not respecting the most important natural disaster that we do get,” said David Eisenman, co-director of the UCLA Center for Public Health and Disasters. “We’re not really giving it the attention it deserves, and the state releasing data

is not some abstract thing — people need to know how harmful it was if they’re going to start to respect it.”

Last year, a Times investigation found that California has chronically underestimated heat fatalities even as heat waves become more frequent and more deadly. Although the Legislature recently agreed to the creation of what is known as a syndromic surveillance system, which will collect real-time data from emergency departments, it remains unclear when such a network will become operational statewide.

[See Heat, A9]



ALLEN J. SCHABEN Los Angeles Times
ALBERT JIMENEZ tunes his guitarron before playing with Mariachi Garibaldi de Jaime Cuéllar, who’ve become a sensation at Dodgers games.

COLUMN ONE

Mariachi strikes chord with fans and resonates in Ravine

BY JORGE CASTILLO

A crowd gathered between sections 308 and 310 in the right-field pavilion at Dodger Stadium. Anticipation hummed. It was 6:19 p.m. last Tuesday and the show was about to start.

Not the show with Mookie Betts and Justin Turner and Freddie Freeman. The one with the eight-piece mariachi — seven men and a woman — wearing white charros with Dodger blue moños, or bow ties, for a dash of color that gives the ballpark a feel unlike any other in Major League Baseball.

Every Tuesday this season, the Dodgers have hosted a mariachi to play before and during games. Most times, the featured group was Mariachi Garibaldi

de Jaime Cuéllar, and they’ll return this week for the first playoff game against the San Diego Padres.

Last week’s show, the final of the regular season, also showcased Mariachi Garibaldi and began once the stadium hosts introduced the ensemble to the masses that braved L.A. traffic to arrive early.

The group performed as people observed from behind, blocking the walkway, singing along. Most had their phones out recording. There were Urías, Valenzuela and González jerseys, but plenty of Kershaw and Bellinger shirts too. One man wore a cap and jersey for the Tomateros de Culiacán, the baseball team in Julio Urías’ hometown in Mexico. A woman released a deep-throated shout or *grito*.

[See Mariachi, A12]

DODGERS: Urías to pitch NLDS Game 1 tonight versus Padres. **SPORTS, B10**

Calls mount for politicians to step down

Leaked racist remarks jeopardize futures of L.A. councilmembers

BY JULIA WICK, DAVID ZAHNISER, DAKOTA SMITH AND BENJAMIN ORESKES

Calls for Los Angeles City Councilmembers Nury Martinez, Kevin de León and Gil Cedillo to resign continued to mount on Monday, as the fallout from an incendiary leaked conversation radiated through the city.

The political implosion, unparalleled in recent L.A. history, was set off by a leaked audio recording reported Sunday by The Times.

The city’s political and civic establishment — including major figures who’d

issued more subdued statements a day prior — had taken the temperature of the city and found it white-hot amid a growing national scandal.

The list of political figures and organizations issuing those calls took in Mayor Eric Garcetti, former Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa, U.S. Sen. Alex Padilla (D-Calif.), the Los Angeles County Democratic Party, Reps. Adam B. Schiff (D-Burbank), Tony Cárdenas (D-Pacoima) and Jimmy Gomez (D-Los Angeles), an array of labor unions and two mayoral candidates — Rep. Karen Bass (D-Los Angeles) and developer Rick [See Council, A7]



AL SEIB Los Angeles Times
COUNCILMEMBER Nury Martinez, shown in 2019, stepped down as City Council president Monday.

Who can mend L.A.’s City Hall?

The next mayor must be a healer, Erika D. Smith writes. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Slurs cut deep for Indigenous group

Oaxacans are reminded of the prejudice they’ve long faced. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

As election nears, a chaotic political landscape in L.A.

BY DAKOTA SMITH AND JAMES RAINEY

Los Angeles City Hall has felt under siege the last few years.

Three current or former City Council members have been indicted or pleaded guilty to corruption charges. Former lawyers at the city attorney’s office are facing prison time in a legal scandal. The former head of the Department of Water and Power is serving time for bribery. And Mayor Eric Garcetti has not left office for a post in India because of allegations that the mayor’s

office covered up sexual harassment by a top aide.

Yet another scandal burst into public view over the weekend when the release of a secret audio recording revealed a closed-door meeting in which the City Council president, two of her colleagues and the county’s top labor official discussed race and power in coarse and at times racist terms behind closed doors.

Facing backlash, Nury Martinez apologized and stepped down Monday as council president, though she did not resign from the council. The remarks, she [See Politics, A6]

A blunt speaker, sunk by her words

BY BENJAMIN ORESKES AND EMILY ALPERT REYES

When Nury Martinez was growing up in Pacoima, the child of immigrants from the Mexican state of Zacatecas, she watched politicians from afar.

They were white Jewish men, she said, even as the neighborhood became more and more Latino. Her own parents — her mother a seamstress turned factory worker, her father a dishwasher who was deported the year Martinez was born — had bought their home

from a white family that left the San Fernando Valley for Kern County.

Their neighborhood was represented by “the Katzes of the world, the Bermans of the world,” Martinez said, alluding to Valley politicians such as former state Assemblyman Richard Katz and former Rep. Howard Berman. “I never saw them in the community or at the grocery store with us. I just saw them on TV.

“Now we have Latinos in office. We hold each other accountable,” Martinez added, sipping a michelada during an interview over lunch in [See Martinez, A6]

Stay or Leave?
Retirees Torn
In Ian’s Wake

For Many, Storm Dims
Florida Dream

By EMILY COCHRANE and JULIE BOSMAN

FORT MYERS, Fla. — More than two decades ago, Jane and Del Compton stumbled upon Fort Myers while on vacation in southwest Florida. This was where they would retire, they decided on the spot, in a place where they could grow old in peace and sunshine.

They bought a double lot with a mobile home and a few small luxuries: a fan with a remote and his-and-hers televisions so she could follow her soap operas and he could watch cowboy shows.

But Hurricane Ian ravaged their piece of paradise, soaking the photos from four decades of marriage, destroying their car and leaving them without a place to live. They had no homeowner’s insurance; their policy was canceled in June because of the age of their home, a 1978 model.

Now the Comptons — she at 77, he at 81 — are resigned to abandoning their retirement dream. They will return to their native Louisville, Ky., in the coming weeks to stay with their daughter and figure out their next steps, though they are loath to leave their beloved church community and friends. Spending their twilight years in Florida seems suddenly out of reach.

“We have talked about it, we have argued about it, we have screamed about it, we have cried about it,” said Ms. Compton, sitting outside the church where the couple has stayed with the one box of sentimental treasures they managed to salvage. “Our bubble has been burst.”

Official tallies of deaths related to the storm suggest that older Americans died in disproportionate numbers. Ages or approximate ages have been released for 96 of the hurricane’s 126 victims in Florida and North Carolina. At least 70 people who died were 60 or older. Many victims were found dead at their homes. But Ian not only killed more older people; it

Continued on Page A14

As Warehouses
Multiply, Cities
Draw the Line

By KURTIS LEE

COLTON, Calif. — From the front yard of her ranch-style home, Pam Lemos peered out on the vast valley of her childhood.

She can still picture the way it looked back in the 1980s — citrus groves blanketing hillsides, dairy farms stretching for acres and horses grazing under a bright blue sky. These days, when she looks toward the horizon, she mainly sees the metal roofs of hulking warehouses.

“Now it’s all industrial,” said Ms. Lemos, 55, who has lived in Colton, 60 miles east of Los Angeles, her entire life. “We are working to change that and starting with these warehouses.”

Ms. Lemos is part of a growing coalition of residents and leaders in Colton and neighboring cities — a logistical hub for the nation — who are increasingly frustrated with the proliferation of warehouses in the region, as well as the side effects of the rapid expansion.

As warehouse construction has ballooned nationwide, residents in communities both rural and urban have pushed back. Neighborhood apps like Nextdoor and Facebook groups have been flooded with complaints over construction. In California, the anger

Continued on Page A16



KYIV Injured civilians on Monday in Ukraine’s capital. “There is no safe place,” one woman said.



DNIPRO The covered bodies of three victims. Russia’s attacks drew condemnation from the West.



ZAPORIZHZHIA Searching through rubble after a missile hit a residential building in the southeast.



KHARKIV Damage in northeastern Ukraine. “Today, the enemy is testing us,” the city’s mayor said.

RUSSIA UNLEASHES
A DEADLY BARRAGE
AGAINST CIVILIANS

Escalation a Sign of
Pressure on Putin
Retaliation for Blast
at Crimea Bridge

By VALERIE HOPKINS and ANTON TROIANOVSKI

MOSCOW — For months, Russia’s state news media insisted that the country was hitting only military targets in Ukraine, leaving out the suffering that the invasion has brought to millions of civilians.

On Monday, state television not only reported on the suffering, but also flaunted it. It showed plumes of smoke and carnage in central Kyiv, along with empty store shelves and a long-range forecast promising months of freezing temperatures there.

“There’s no hot water; part of the city is without power,” one anchor announced, describing the scene in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv.

The sharp shift was a sign that domestic pressure over Russia’s flailing war effort had escalated to the point where President Vladimir V. Putin believed that a brutal show of force was necessary — as much for his audience at home as for Ukraine and the West.

His military has come under increasingly withering criticism from the war’s supporters for not being aggressive enough in its assault on Ukraine, a chorus that reached a fever pitch after Saturday’s attack on the 12-mile bridge to the annexed Ukrainian peninsula of Crimea — a symbol of Mr. Putin’s rule.

With Monday’s devastating escalation of the war effort, Mr. Putin appears to be responding, in part, to those critics, momentarily quieting the clamors of hard-liners furious with the Russian military’s humiliating setbacks on the battlefield.

“This is important from the domestic political perspective, first and foremost,” Abbas Gallyamov, a Russian political analyst and former Putin speechwriter, said of Monday’s strikes. “It was important to demonstrate to the ruling class that Putin is still capable, that the army is still good for something.”

But with his escalation, Mr. Putin is also betting that Russian

Continued on Page A8

This article is by Michael Schwartz, Andrew E. Kramer, Megan Specia and Eric Nagourney.

KYIV, Ukraine — President Vladimir V. Putin unleashed a far-reaching series of missile strikes against cities across Ukraine on Monday, hitting the heart of Kyiv and other areas far from the front line, in the broadest assault against civilians since the early days of Russia’s invasion.

Mr. Putin said the strikes on almost a dozen cities were retaliation for a blast that destroyed sections of a bridge linking Russia to the Crimean Peninsula, though they also seemed intended to appease hard-liners in Russia who had been openly critical over the prosecution of the war.

Denouncing the bombing of the Kremlin-built bridge, an embarrassing blow, as a “terrorist attack,” Mr. Putin threatened more strikes if Ukraine hit Russian targets again.

“No one should have any doubt about it,” he said.

The attacks changed little or nothing on the battlefield, where Russia has been losing ground for weeks, but they left neighborhoods across Ukraine battered and bloodied.

Buildings toppled, windows blew out, and blazes erupted. Civilians making their morning commute rushed to whatever shelter they could find as sirens blared warnings of incoming cruise missiles and so-called kamikaze drones. At least 14 people were killed and 89 wounded, the Ukrainian authorities said, while power and water were knocked out in numerous cities.

“There is no safe place,” said one Ukrainian in Kyiv, Alla Rohatniova, 48, who had fled to the capital after her home in the Kharkiv region was destroyed, only to find herself once more under attack. “Right now, we don’t know where they will strike. It could be anywhere.”

The targeting of civilian areas drew condemnations from leaders across the West.

“Shocked and appalled by the

Continued on Page A6



Outcry Over Antisemitic Signals
Shapes a Key Pennsylvania Race

By KATIE GLUECK

MERION STATION, Pa. — Four years after the massacre at a Pittsburgh synagogue, believed to be the deadliest antisemitic attack in American history, Doug Mastriano, the Republican nominee for governor of Pennsylvania, has rattled a diverse swath of the state’s Jewish community, alarming liberal Jews with his remarks and far-right associations, and giving pause to more conservative ones.

Some of those voters have recoiled from Mr. Mastriano’s opposition to abortion rights under any circumstance, or from his strident

election denialism. But the race between Mr. Mastriano, a state senator, and his Democratic opponent, Attorney General Josh Shapiro — a Jewish day school alumnus who features challah in his advertising and routinely borrows from Pirkei Avot, a collection of Jewish ethics — has also centered to an extraordinary degree on Mr. Shapiro’s religion.

Mr. Mastriano, who promotes Christian power and disdains the separation of church and state, has repeatedly lashed Mr. Shapiro for attending and sending his children

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SPORTS B7-11

He Shook Up NASCAR

Over two decades, Dion Williams has inspired dozens of people of color to join him in mostly white pit crews. PAGE B11

Dodgers Keep Raising the Bar

The team has had an extraordinary run of regular-season success, but it wants another title. On Baseball. PAGE B7



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Dutch Face Climate Extremes

As climate change dries out Europe, the Netherlands, a country long shaped by its abundance of water, is suddenly confronting drought. PAGE A10

BUSINESS B1-6

Late-Night’s Shaky Future

Changes are coming to late-night talk shows as the television staple struggles in the streaming world. PAGE B1

3 U.S. Economists Take Nobel

Ben Bernanke, Douglas Diamond and Philip Dybvig were awarded for their work on banks’ role in crises. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A12-19

Council Member Under Fire

The president of the Los Angeles City Council stepped down from her leadership post after a tape revealed she had made racist remarks. PAGE A15

New Blow for Yellow Cabs

A congestion pricing plan could push up New York City fares and shrink taxi demand, the M.T.A. says. PAGE A19

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Photographer to the Stars

Douglas Kirkland’s memorable shots included one of Marilyn Monroe swathed in a silk sheet. He was 88. PAGE A21

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Black Hole Weirdness

Take gravity, add quantum mechanics and stir. What do you get? Just maybe, a holographic cosmos. PAGE D1

A New Theory With Teeth

Paleontologists dug up remains that suggest jawed fish are tens of millions of years older than thought. PAGE D8



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The Art Behind the Monarch

“The Tudors,” a handsome show at the Met, takes its pleasures in courtly fashion and high living. A review. PAGE C1

At 53, a Sudden Film Success

Dolly de Leon didn’t think she stood a chance at “Triangle of Sadness” but became the film’s power player. PAGE C1

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Kerry Brown PAGE A22



What's News

Business & Finance

A crisis in U.K. government-debt markets accelerated after a fresh attempt by the Bank of England to extend support to pension funds failed to assuage worried investors. **A1**

◆ **Two Fed officials** began laying out a case for exercising caution in raising rates after policy makers last month telegraphed plans to continue lifting them at the fastest pace in decades. **A2**

◆ **Bio-Rad is** in talks to combine with fellow life-sciences company Qiagen NV in a deal that would be worth more than \$10 billion, according to people familiar with the matter. **B1**

◆ **U.S. stocks dropped**, with the Nasdaq retreating 1% to its lowest close in over two years. The S&P 500 and Dow lost 0.7% and 0.3%, respectively. Some Asian markets fell sharply early Tuesday. **B1**

◆ **Tesla and Chinese rival** BYD each broke their monthly records for deliveries of electric vehicles in China, as competition between the two intensifies. **B1**

◆ **U.S. curbs on** exports of chips and chip-making equipment to China are set to deal a setback to some of that country's fast-emerging semiconductor companies. **B1**

◆ **Worldwide shipments** of PCs in the third quarter fell 19.5% from a year earlier, marking the steepest decline in over two decades. **B4**

◆ **Target said** Monday that it was beginning its Black Friday sale. Walmart also said it was offering sales this week for holiday shoppers. **B3**

World-Wide

◆ **Waves of Russian missiles** slammed into Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities in one of the broadest and most intense barrages of the war, in response to a weekend attack Moscow blamed on Ukraine that seriously damaged a bridge connecting Russia to occupied Crimea. **A1**

◆ **Russia's missile assault** on cities and their electricity infrastructure showed Moscow's ability to hit targets across Ukraine, but also made clear the limits of such tactics in advancing Putin's war aims. **A6**

◆ **Workers at an Iranian** petrochemical complex went on strike, the latest sign that antigovernment protests are broadening to critical economic sectors. **A10**

◆ **A renewed wave** of pandemic-related lockdowns in major Chinese cities is hampering hopes for a recovery in consumer spending. **A11**

◆ **Strong recent study** results for an experimental Alzheimer's treatment have exposed a gap between the changes such drugs can make in the brain and their potential limits in alleviating symptoms of the disease. **A3**

◆ **The biotechnology** industry's top lobbying group in Washington, the Biotech Innovation Organization, said Michelle McMurry-Heath resigned as CEO. **A3**

◆ **Los Angeles City Council** woman Nury Martinez quit as council president after the release of an audio recording in which she insulted local politicians and made racist comments about another council member's Black son. **A3**

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Bank of England Struggles To Calm Markets

LONDON—A crisis in U.K. government-debt markets accelerated after a fresh attempt by the Bank of England to extend support to pension funds failed to assuage worried investors.

By Chelsey Dulaney, Paul Hannon and Julie Steinberg

The U.K.'s central bank said Monday that it would increase the daily amounts it was willing to buy in long-dated bonds before ending the program, which it established last month, as scheduled on Friday. It also unveiled two types of lending facilities aimed at freeing up cash for pension funds beyond the end of the bond buying.

The moves appeared to backfire, with yields on 30-year U.K. gilts, as government bonds are known, jumping to as high as 4.735%, from 4.38% on Friday. Before the past two weeks, such moves would be considered unusually large for a single day.

The Bank of England launched its initial foray into markets on Sept. 28 when it offered to buy as much as £5 billion, or around \$5.55 billion, a day of long-dated government bonds. The program was aimed at helping pension funds that held large positions in derivative-based investments that were whipsawed by a furious selloff in U.K. government debt. Bonds were hammered in the aftermath of a surprise package of tax cuts announced by the new prime minister, Liz Truss.

The original intervention in

◆ U.K. housing market heads for mortgage-rate shock..... A10

Russia Unleashes Mass Strikes



Russian missiles rocked Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities on Monday. From top, damage after an attack on the capital; people shelter in a subway station in Kharkiv; an injured man in Kyiv.



Moscow hits civilian infrastructure in Kyiv, other cities in response to attack on bridge

KYIV, Ukraine—Waves of Russian missiles slammed into Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities in one of the broadest and most intense barrages of the war, in response to a weekend attack Moscow blamed on Ukraine that seriously damaged a bridge connecting Russia to occupied Crimea.

By Ian Lovett, Isabel Coles and Mauro Orru

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine said Russia had carried out dozens of strikes using missiles as well as Iranian-made drones to target the country's electrical grid and other civilian infrastructure. "The occupiers cannot match us on the battlefield, and that is why they resort to such terrorism," Mr. Zelensky said in a video address as he stood near a crater left by a strike in Kyiv.

President Vladimir Putin of Russia warned on Monday of a harsh response if Kyiv were to conduct further "terrorist attacks" following weeks of battlefield losses that culminated in the attack on the strategically important Kerch Strait Bridge.

Ukraine's emergency services said 14 people were killed and 97 injured across the country, with most strikes hitting electricity substations and other targets outside city centers, away from civilian homes. Power in more than half of Ukraine's regions remained partially disrupted as of late Monday, and work was under way to restore damaged infrastructure, emergency services said.

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◆ Attacks illustrate Russia's range, and its limits..... A6
◆ Some Russians press Putin to harden tactics..... A7
◆ Kyiv keeps calm as missiles strike..... A8

How an Anti-Woke Bank Stumbled

GloriFi's plans won over A-list investors, but within months it was nearly bankrupt

An A-list group of financial backers including Ken Griffin and Peter Thiel gave Toby Neugebauer tens of millions of

By Rachel Louise Ensign, Peter Rudegeair and AnnaMaria Andriotis

dollars to build a new bank aimed at people who see Wall Street as too liberal.

The potential customer base was huge, Mr. Neugebauer and his business partner, former Mike Pence chief

of staff Nick Ayers, told the investors. Plumbers, electricians and police officers, the pitch went, are fed up with big banks that don't share their values. The startup, called GloriFi, initially aimed to launch with bank accounts, credit cards, mortgages and insurance, while touting what it called pro-America values such as capitalism, family, law enforcement and the freedom to "celebrate your love of God and country."

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Costs Rise Faster Than Prices At Many Big U.S. Businesses

By THEO FRANCIS

Many big U.S. businesses said they have been able to increase prices this year with limited pushback from customers. Not all the changes are leading to higher profits.

Cintas Corp., which rents and sells uniforms, and Vulcan Materials Co. which sells gravel and crushed stone, reported widening profit margins as they raised prices.

Others, including furniture maker MillerKnoll Inc. and Olive Garden operator Darden Restaurants Inc., said inflation continues to eat into their profits, as their costs are rising faster

than their price increases.

Inflation in the U.S. economy has been running near four-decade highs, prompting the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates in a bid to bring it under control. Prices are rising unevenly across the economy. Consumer prices rose 8.3% in August from a year earlier, while producer prices rose 8.7%, government data show.

"There's never been a better time to have a conversation with a customer about price increase because they all understand it, because inflation is pretty much across the board," John Michael, an executive at MillerKnoll, told in-

vestors last month.

Prices are sticky, economists like to say. Once they go up, customers get used to it, and they rarely come down quickly. If companies' costs then fall, they can pass along even a little of the savings and keep the rest—customers get a bit of a break and margins still widen.

Corporate profit margins—the difference between expenses and revenue—reached historically high levels in recent quarters, helped by strong consumer demand for a range of goods and services.

But as more companies prepare to report third-quarter

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INSIDE

U.S. NEWS

Nobel in economics goes to Ben Bernanke and two U.S. academics. **A2**

JASON GAY

Baseball nails the wild-card round and steals the weekend in sports. **A16**

The Two Words That Terrify Junior Employees: Pls Fix

* * *

Curt notes sent by higher-ups wreck weekends and family time

BY LINDSAY ELLIS

Picture this: It's 9 p.m. and your workday is finally winding down. You, a professional in your 20s or 30s, haven't heard from your manager in a few hours. Things are looking good as you start closing out dozens of tabs and spreadsheets, hoping to shut the laptop and take a few hours after dark for yourself. Suddenly, a ping.

A "pls fix" email.

"Until you've gotten that 10 p.m. 'pls fix,' you just don't get it," says Amelia Noël, a former consultant and investment banker turned career coach.

"Pls fix" is shorthand for a curt note from someone up the chain—and is a phrase that has become a phenomenon among corporate stiffs in

certain high-pressure fields. The buzzword has spawned "pls fix" merchandise, and made it into the Urban Dictionary, which defines "pls fix" as a frequent email reply from a boss in consulting or finance that "more accurately translates: 'fix this ASAP and don't F\$%^& up again.'"

The text might vary—"please action" or "make better"—and the notes tend to come with little instructions. (What the heck needs fixing?) But the message generally translates to: stop what you're doing to send the 39th version of a PowerPoint slide to your boss.

"If you get that email, it's expected to get turned over by the time your managing director gets back into the office the next morning," says John

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Mostly sunny 73/52 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 71/62 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 2022 • \$3

Overstocked retailers make deep price cuts

Holiday sales start early as companies try to clear a pandemic-related glut

BY ABHA BHATTARAI

Dell has too many computers. Nike is swimming in summer clothes. And Gap is flooded with basics like T-shirts and shorts.

After struggling with product shortages for much of the pandemic, the country's retailers are now facing the opposite problem: an unprecedented glut of unsold merchandise that's cutting into profits, derailing holiday plans and threatening to drag down broader U.S. economic growth.

In response, many of the country's largest retailers are kicking off holiday sales earlier than ever, in hopes of clearing their warehouses enough to accommodate a new round of winter orders, according to company filings and earnings calls.

Target began its winter selling frenzy last week with \$6 hoodies and half-off TVs. Amazon is hosting an unusual second Prime Day sale next week, less than three months after its last one. And dozens of other brands, including J. Crew and Nine West, are offering steep blanket discounts online and in stores.

"There is an increasing smell of desperation in the air because retailers are saddled with a ton of excess," said Elaine Kwon, managing partner at Kwontified, a retail consulting firm, and a former manager at Amazon Fashion. "Some brands that claim they never discount are going to start discounting, especially outerwear, winter wear, cold weather items, inventory from last winter — they're desperately trying to get rid of that before their new stuff comes in."

High inventories have been plaguing companies all year, playing a big role in the recent

SEE INVENTORY ON A18

Russia strikes Kyiv and cities across Ukraine



GLEB GARANICH/REUTERS

Cars burn after a Russian military strike in central Kyiv, Ukraine. In about a month, the war has sharply turned from a largely static artillery battle to a rapidly escalating conflict that has challenged the strategies of the United States, Ukraine and Russia. Story, A9

As calm is shattered, the capital is defiant

BY MISSY RYAN AND KOSTIANTYN KHUDOV

KYIV, UKRAINE — The first blasts of the day hit at a central intersection during the downtown morning rush hour, killing a police officer driving to work and leaving several cars mangled and in flames near a historic university complex and the country's Education Ministry.

Another hit one of the Ukrainian capital's most popular parks, leaving a crater next to a

playground that only the day before was packed with children and families enjoying a mild fall weekend.

Later, there was an explosion next to a pedestrian and bicycle bridge beloved by tourists. A huge orange fireball followed by a cloud of white and black smoke briefly enveloped but did not destroy the glass-bottomed walkway, which provides views of the city and the Dnieper River.

The wave of Russian air-

SEE KYIV ON A10



VLADYSLAV MUSIENKO/REUTERS

Paramedics help a woman who was injured during a Russian missile strike in Kyiv. The attacks targeted civilian sites.

A Calif. city braces for its water supply to run out

BY JOSHUA PARTLOW

COALINGA, CALIF. — The residents of this sun-scorched city feel California's endless drought when the dust lifts off the brown hills and flings grit into their living rooms. They see it when they drive past almond trees being ripped from the ground for lack of water and the new blinking sign at the corner of Elm and Cherry warning: "No watering front yard lawns."

The fire chief noticed it when he tested hydrants in August — a rare occurrence as Coalinga desperately seeks to conserve water — and the first one shot out a foot-long block of compacted

SEE DROUGHT ON A22

Cleveland seeks police reform, again

Voters put faith in new civilian review panel, after century of failed efforts

BY EMMANUEL FELTON

CLEVELAND — The voters of Cleveland sent a clear message last November: They wanted more accountability imposed on one of the only police departments in the nation to have twice been investigated by the Justice Department for civil rights violations.

Voters passed a ballot initiative, overwhelmingly, to create one of the most powerful civilian police oversight boards in the country, able to override a broad swath of decisions by the police chief and fire officers as its members see fit. The only mayoral candidate to support the initiative, political newcomer Justin Bibb, swept to victory,

SEE CLEVELAND ON A14



SARAH RICE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Cleveland Mayor Justin Bibb, son of an officer, backs the board effort. "I saw both sides of it," he said. "I've experienced racism. ... But I've also seen the importance of effective public safety."

Catholic hospitals' reach limits reproductive care

Religious directives that guide treatment can block patients' options

BY FRANCES STEAD SELLERS AND MEENA VENKATARAMANAN

The Supreme Court decision overturning the constitutional right to abortion is revealing the growing influence of Catholic health systems and their restrictions on reproductive services including birth control and abortion — even in the diminishing number of states where the procedure remains legal.

Catholic systems now control about 1 in 7 U.S. hospital beds, requiring religious doctrine to guide treatment, often to the sur-

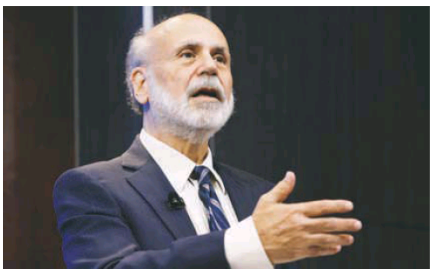
prise of patients. Their ascendancy has broad implications for the evolving national battle over reproductive rights beyond abortion, as bans against it take hold in more than a dozen Republican-led states.

The Catholic health-care facilities follow directives from the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops that prohibit treatment it deems "immoral": sterilization including vasectomies, postpartum tubal ligations and contraception, as well as abortion. Those policies can limit treatment options for obstetric care during miscarriages and ectopic pregnancies, particularly in the presence of a fetal heartbeat.

"The directives are not just a collection of dos and don'ts," said John F. Brehany, executive vice president of the National Catholic

SEE HOSPITALS ON A4

IN THE NEWS



CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES

Economics Nobel Former Fed chair Ben S. Bernanke and two other Americans won for their work on banks and fiscal crises. A18

An unclear heir apparent As China's Xi looks to stay in power, clues on who might succeed him have become increasingly muddled. A13

THE NATION Donald Trump, defending his handling of presidential records, made some spurious claims about how his predecessors dealt with their papers. A2
A horse that ran away with a herd of wild mustangs in Utah has finally returned home, eight years later. A2
Special counsel John Durham will put a private researcher on trial in his investigation into the FBI's 2016 Russia probe. A3
Republican U.S. Sen. Tommy Tuberville (Ala.) is facing a backlash from

those who say his remarks on crime and reparations were racist. A4
Worsening climate change is pushing monkeys and lemurs to spend more time foraging on the forest floor, rather than in tree canopies, a new study found. A5

THE WORLD Rights groups said Sarina Esmailzadeh, 16, was killed by Iranian security forces while participating in demonstrations, while Iran said she died by suicide. A12
North Korea's recent missile launches were designed to test its

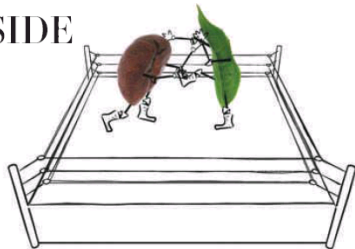
capability to strike the South with tactical nuclear weapons as a warning after military drills, state media reported. A12

THE ECONOMY Engineers are creating cyborg cockroaches and mechanical lightning bugs to do tasks that full-size robots can't. A17
The Bay Area saw the largest drop in median household income during the pandemic among top U.S. metro areas, the Census Bureau said. A18

THE REGION Prince George's County is set to end the enforcement of its juvenile curfew after four violations were issued in the past

month. B1
In West Virginia, a highway project in the works for decades is moving forward — and stirring opposition. B1
Former Virginia GOP congressman Denver Riggleman is appearing in a TV ad urging voters to back Democratic Rep. Abigail Spanberger. B1
Falls Church officials are set to vote on a deal that could grant tax money for years to the Founders Row project developer. B1
The Charlottesville museum that wants to melt a bronze statue of Robert E. Lee was ordered by a judge to tell the lawyers suing it where the statue is. B4

INSIDE



HEALTH & SCIENCE Coffee and tea go head to head What research says about the drinks' benefits. E1

STYLE Helping an Afghan couple settle in Parent volunteers aid family that's about to grow. C1

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