

► Economic strategy shredded after U-turn on corporation tax

► Hunt named as chancellor but gilts sell off and Tory MPs plot

## Truss sacks Kwarteng in bid to save premiership



GEORGE PARKER, SEBASTIAN PAYNE AND JASMINE CAMERON-CHILESHE

Liz Truss sacked her chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng and shredded her economic strategy yesterday but her effort to salvage her premiership failed to win over financial markets and left Conservative MPs in a state of mutiny.

Truss named Jeremy Hunt, former foreign secretary, as her new chancellor and backtracked on her pledge to avoid an £18bn corporation tax rise, during a brief Downing Street press conference.

"We need to act now to reassure the markets of our fiscal discipline," she said, admitting that the "mini" Budget's £45bn of unfunded tax cuts "went further and faster" than markets expected.

But on the day that a Bank of England emergency bond-buying programme ended, Truss's comments were followed by a big sell-off in the gilt market, with investors concerned that scrapping the £18bn tax cut was not enough to put the UK back on a sustainable fiscal path.

Citigroup criticised the government for not making a broader change to policy, saying it did not expect "financial

concerns to abate as a result of today's action... Instead, we believe further market instability likely lies ahead."

Yields on long-term UK government bonds, the focus of the central bank's scheme to shore up gilt-exposed pension funds, rose sharply as prices fell, raising fears that further turmoil could follow on Monday. The 30-year yield ended the day at 4.81 per cent, up 0.27 percentage points.

Truss's allies said Hunt backed what remained of the government's "plan for growth" and had agreed to take the job on an understanding there would be no more U-turns. "It's not a blank sheet of paper," said one.

But market participants have warned Number 10 this week that the government must go much further in unwinding its planned tax cuts to prove the UK is serious about balancing the books. "They don't believe that spending cuts will be enough," said one person briefed on the discussions.

If Truss and Hunt announced more U-turns on tax, it would further weaken the prime minister's precarious grip on

power. Tory MPs are already plotting different ways in which she might be removed from office. "She'll be gone within two weeks," predicted one senior Tory who backed her for the leadership.

Another veteran Tory said: "The problem is she's only got around 25 per cent of the parliamentary party backing her — if that. She's got a lot of disgruntled MPs to manage."

Truss told the Downing Street press conference: "I want to be honest — this is difficult but we will get through this storm." She left after eight minutes, with one journalist shouting: "Are you out of your depth, prime minister?"

Many Tory MPs maintain that Truss



### Inside

- Reports 2-3
- Big Read 9
- FT View 10
- Duncan Weldon 11
- Camilla Cavendish 12
- Top line 14
- Markets 17-18
- Lex 22
- Mark Carney, Lunch with the FT Life & Arts

Kwasi Kwarteng arriving in Downing Street yesterday to be fired as chancellor by Liz Truss, who later held a press briefing

cannot survive yesterday's U-turn, in which she conceded that corporation tax would rise from 19 per cent to 25 per cent next April — as planned by ex-chancellor Rishi Sunak, her former rival for the party leadership.

The government has already been pushed by MPs into a £2bn U-turn on its plan to axe the 45p top rate of tax.

Truss said the corporation tax U-turn was a "downpayment", suggesting that other tax cuts could be reversed before Hunt presents a new plan to cut debt on October 31. She insisted that Hunt shared her vision of a "low-tax, high-growth economy".

The prime minister also suggested that she would cut public spending plans in an attempt to reassure markets that debt was under control, announcing that "spending will grow less quickly than previously planned".

Lord Philip Hammond, former Tory chancellor, said: "I'm afraid we've thrown away years and years of painstaking work to build and maintain a reputation as a party of fiscal discipline and competence in government."

Brad Pitt, Nick Cave and me  
Inside the coolest art collective  
HTSI



What is funny these days?  
Fine line with being offensive  
LIFE & ARTS



Pink snow  
Winter sports special  
FT WEEKEND MAGAZINE



Hospitality hopes  
Pub owners try to stay afloat  
FT MONEY



## The one thing uniting her party is a lack of trust in Truss

### SKETCH

Robert Shrimpsley

What is the point of Liz Truss now? This is not intended as an insult but as a serious question. The prime minister won the party leadership on a radical economic agenda that she has now had to ditch. Aside from those negative votes cast against her opponent, it was this low-tax, smaller-state platform that clinched victory. If that is gone — and it is — what is the purpose of a Truss government?

There is still deregulation. She still hopes to see planning reform. She restated her desire to reduce the size of the state but will struggle to convince MPs to accept unpopular spending cuts. Truss has some foreign policy positions;

she is a committed China hawk. Her growth agenda leaves her open to liberalising immigration.

But whatever the merits of these other ideas, Truss has lost all authority, not least in her own party. By abandoning her plans to hold down corporation tax, she has been forced to adopt the key plank of her rival Rishi Sunak's economic strategy — one she utterly denounced just weeks ago.

She did not mention other possible reverses, on the reduction of the main rate of income tax for example, and it remains to be seen if she has done enough to convince markets. She did not resile from her core views. Nor tellingly, did she apologise.

It is hard to see this reset working because her MPs no longer trust her judgment. In a mutinous and divided party this is perhaps the only unifying fact. This means she will struggle to do anything difficult or unpopular. In record time she has become a zombie prime minister.

The scale of her defeat is even greater when one considers the position of those economic institutions that Truss and her allies rubbished. The organs of economic orthodoxy, the Bank of England, the Office for Budget Responsibility and the Treasury, which

Her strategy is in cinders, she has shown terrible judgment and she is a poor communicator

she meant to bend to her will, are now strengthened.

Having sacked the Treasury's permanent secretary to bring in someone less conventionally focused on fiscal orthodoxy, Truss was forced to replace him with a near Treasury lifer. The OBR, shut out from the "mini" Budget, is now enshrined as arbiter of discipline. It is very hard to imagine any

government riding roughshod over it again.

And this is without mentioning the economic fear, most obviously the impact on mortgages. It is hard to think of a recent budget that has proved a greater act of political and economic self-harm. And even with this retreat, there is still work to do to fill the £60bn hole identified by the Institute for Fiscal Studies.

The U-turn itself had become increasingly inevitable but should be welcomed nonetheless. There was only pain for the government and, more important, the country in continuing to resist. Truss at least can be thanked for not fighting further.

She had no choice but to sack her friend and chancellor, Kwasi Kwarteng, though it is hard to think of a more disastrous start to a premiership. A U-turn of this scale would not be taken seriously with him remaining as chancellor. When you are humbled by turn to page 3

Subscribe In print and online

www.ft.com/subscribe Now Tel: 0800 028 1407 Mon-Fri 7am - 6pm / Sat: 8am - 1pm

For the latest news go to  
www.ft.com

© THE FINANCIAL TIMES LTD 2022  
No: 41,346 ★

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



### World Markets

STOCK MARKETS					CURRENCIES					GOVERNMENT BONDS				
	Oct 14	Prev	%Chg		Pair	Oct 14	Prev	Pair	Oct 14	Prev	Yield (%)	Oct 14	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	3608.01	3609.91	-1.09	\$/£	0.975	0.972	6/8	1.025	1.029	US 2 yr	4.51	4.45	0.06	
Nasdaq Composite	10417.04	10640.15	-2.18	\$/€	1.125	1.124	6/8	0.889	0.890	US 10 yr	4.01	3.96	0.05	
Dow Jones Ind	29767.45	30008.72	-0.84	€/£	0.867	0.865	6/8	1.154	1.156	US 30 yr	3.90	3.80	0.05	
FTSEurofirst 300	1549.64	1543.50	0.40	\$/¥	146.305	147.375	N/A	144.708	143.187	UK 2 yr	3.84	3.75	0.08	
Euro Stoxx 50	3298.74	3262.40	0.94	¥/£	166.983	166.575	£ index	77.182	76.844	UK 10 yr	4.32	4.19	0.14	
FTSE 100	6868.79	6856.27	0.12	\$/HK	0.979	0.976	3/8	1.129	1.128	UK 30 yr	4.70	4.54	0.25	
FTSE All-Share	3740.85	3732.93	0.21							JPN 2 yr	-0.05	-0.05	0.01	
CAC 40	5891.92	5879.19	0.90							JPN 10 yr	0.25	0.25	0.00	
Xetra Dax	12427.81	12355.58	0.67							JPN 30 yr	1.46	1.47	-0.01	
Nikkei	27090.76	26237.42	3.25							GER 2 yr	1.54	1.92	-0.02	
Hang Seng	16567.69	16388.11	1.21							GER 10 yr	2.35	2.29	0.07	
MSCI World \$	2411.69	2367.69	1.96							GER 30 yr	2.39	2.29	0.10	
MSCI EM	854.53	865.34	-1.25											
MSCI ACWI	558.71	550.27	1.51											
FT Wilshire 2500	4762.88	4667.58	2.45											
FT Wilshire 5000	37258.04	36463.20	2.45											

Prices are latest for editors  
Data provided by Morningstar

A Nikkei Company

THE UNIVERSE OF DATA

## Your platform for light-speed research

Statista, founded in 2007 in Germany, has evolved into an ever-expanding universe of self-sourced and aggregated data, most of which is available exclusively on our platform.

Our Statista products provide a variety of perspectives on individual topics and enable different types of research. Whether you need to get a quick overview of topics or pursue more in-depth analyses that are relevant for your business cosmos — our data gives you precisely what you need while saving you time and effort.

With over one million statistics and more than 80,000 topics from 170 industries, Statista serves as a reliable data basis and starting point for your light-speed research. Let us show you exactly what the Universe of Data can do for you.

https://bit.ly/24n0u0C

statista  
www.statista.com

► Economic strategy shredded after U-turn on corporation tax

► Hunt named as chancellor but moves fail to soothe markets

## Truss sacks Kwarteng in bid to save premiership



GEORGE PARKER, SEBASTIAN PAYNE AND JASMINE CAMERON-CHILESHE — LONDON

Liz Truss sacked her chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng and shredded her economic strategy yesterday but her effort to salvage her premiership failed to win over markets and Conservative MPs.

In a cursory Downing Street press conference Truss announced that Jeremy Hunt, former foreign secretary, would be her new finance minister and backtracked on her promise to avoid an £18bn corporation tax increase.

"We need to act now to reassure the markets of our fiscal discipline," she said, as she acknowledged that parts of last month's "mini" Budget, which contained £45bn of unfunded tax cuts, "went further and faster than markets were expecting".

But on the day that a Bank of England emergency bond-buying programme ended, Truss's comments were followed by a big sell-off in the gilt market.

Yields on long-term UK government bonds, the focus of the central bank's scheme to shore up gilt-exposed pension funds, rose sharply as prices fell,

with investors concerned about the stability of the country's outlook. The 30-year yield ended the day at 4.81 per cent, up 0.27 percentage points.

Truss told the Number 10 press conference: "I want to be honest — this is difficult but we will get through this storm." She left after eight minutes, with one journalist shouting: "Are you out of your depth, prime minister?"

Criticism criticised the government for not making a broader change to policy, saying it did not expect "financial concerns to abate as a result of today's action... Instead, we believe further market instability likely lies ahead."

Many Tory MPs maintain that Truss cannot survive yesterday's U-turn, in which she conceded that corporation tax would rise from 19 per cent to 25 per cent next April — as planned by ex-chancellor Rishi Sunak, her former rival for the party leadership.

While Truss said the move would raise £18bn, helping to fill the £45bn fiscal gap created by the "mini" Budget, the corporation tax cut featured prominently in her Tory leadership campaign.

The government had already been pushed by MPs into a £2bn U-turn on its plan to axe the 45p top rate of tax.

One veteran Tory told the Financial Times: "The problem is she's only got around 25 per cent of the parliamentary party backing her — if that. She's got a lot of disgruntled MPs to manage."

The government's record-low standing in polls — in one survey the opposition Labour party enjoy a 34-point lead — has increased the pressure on Truss from within her own party.

The prime minister said the corporation tax reversal was a "downpayment", suggesting that other tax cuts could be reversed before Hunt is due to present a



### Inside

- Hunt profile Page 4
- Big Read Page 7
- FT View Page 8
- Duncan Weldon Page 9
- Markets react Pages 13-14
- Lex Page 18
- Mark Carnoy Life & Arts

Kwasi Kwarteng arriving in Downing Street yesterday to be fired as finance minister by Liz Truss, who later held a press briefing

new medium-term plan to cut debt on October 31, although Number 10 said no new changes were planned.

Truss insisted that Hunt shared her vision of a "low-tax, high-growth economy". She also suggested that she would cut public spending plans in an attempt to reassure markets that debt was under control, announcing that "spending will grow less quickly than previously planned".

Her retreat signals an apparent return of Treasury "orthodoxy". In August, the prime minister told the FT that the finance ministry was obsessed with the "abacus economics of making sure that tax and spend add up".

Truss said she was "incredibly sorry" to lose Kwarteng, who she sacked as chancellor soon after he arrived back in London on an overnight flight from Washington, where he had been attending IMF meetings.

One Tory MP who spoke to the former chancellor said Kwarteng was in a "state of shock". A day earlier he had said he was "not going anywhere", but he flew back into a political storm.

### Brad Pitt, Nick Cave and me Inside the coolest art collective

HTS



### What is funny these days? Fine line with being offensive

LIFE & ARTS



### Pink snow

### Winter sports special

LIFE & ARTS



### Why business is bad at politics

Janan Ganesh

LIFE & ARTS



### Kyiv's Twitter war targets global decision makers

Ukraine's cyber troops appear to have conquered Twitter, with posts that mix humour and tragedy to 'win hearts and minds'. The defence ministry feed aims at authoritative journalists and global decision makers. It even pays homage to the film *Gladiator* — known to be popular among American men of the generation that is now influential. As the war enters its eighth month, the message is: Ukrainians are stoic and set for victory thanks to western arms.

Potent message ► PAGE 3

## Putin announces end to army draft as Ukraine forces continue to progress

MAX SEDDON — RIGA  
CHRISTOPHER MILLER — KYIV

Vladimir Putin has said Russia's mobilisation drive to bolster its forces fighting in Ukraine will end within two weeks but defended the army from criticism of the draft.

Russia's president yesterday said about 220,000 men had been drafted into the army since he called up reserves and moved to annex four occupied regions of south-eastern Ukraine, a sufficient effort to bolster forces, he said.

"Nothing additional is being planned," Putin added, saying he did not "see any need" to further strengthen the 1,100km frontline in Ukraine. Russia's military continues to flail nearly eight months after Putin first sent troops into Ukraine and his initial plan of a blitzkrieg to capture Kyiv failed.

Western officials say that Putin's mobilisation of men unfit for combat, even if the figures are in the hundreds of thousands, is unlikely to shift momentum in Russia's favour soon, as Ukraine presses on with its counteroffensive.

The draft has also proved deeply unpopular in Russia, from which more men fled to Kazakhstan alone in the first two weeks following Putin's decree than joined the army.

In some regions, draft officers and police have press-ganged people off the street to join the army, while several men have already died at the front — apparently skipping the basic training Putin promised they would be offered.

Despite Putin's threat that he would use nuclear weapons to defend the Ukrainian regions he now considers part of Russia, Ukraine's forces have continued to advance. Yesterday a west-

ern official, speaking anonymously on intelligence matters, said "it is conceivable" that Ukrainian forces could recapture much of the southern Kherson region by the end of next week.

On Monday, Russia responded to the setbacks and the bomb attack on the bridge linking the occupied Ukrainian peninsula of Crimea to Russia with its largest aerial assault since the early days of the war. The response was spearheaded by the Russian forces' new commander, Sergei Surovkin, known as "General Armageddon".

Putin said there was "no need" for further strikes on such a scale after he claimed that the army hit 22 of the 29 Ukrainian infrastructure targets. The western official said that Ukraine's allies "do not think that Russia's mobilisation will affect the battlefield situation" between now and winter.

### World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Oct 14	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Oct 14	Prev	%Chg	Yield (%)	Oct 14	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	3638.01	3669.91	-1.69	\$/£	0.975	0.972	0/3	US 2 yr	4.51	4.45	0.06
Nasdaq Composite	10417.34	10649.15	-2.19	\$/€	1.125	1.124	0/8	US 10 yr	4.61	3.96	0.06
Dow Jones Ind	29787.45	30008.72	-0.94	\$/¥	0.867	0.865	0/4	US 30 yr	3.98	3.93	0.06
FTSEurofirst 300	1549.64	1543.50	0.40	€/¥	148.355	147.275	0/6	UK 2 yr	3.84	3.75	0.08
Euro Stoxx 50	3280.74	3262.40	0.56	W/£	186.963	185.075	1/100	UK 10 yr	4.23	4.19	0.14
FTSE 100	6868.79	6866.27	0.12	\$/HK	0.979	0.976	0/3	UK 30 yr	4.79	4.54	0.25
FTSE All-Share	3740.85	3732.93	0.21					JPY 2 yr	-0.05	-0.05	0.01
CAC 40	5621.82	5679.19	-0.90					JPY 10 yr	0.25	0.25	0.00
Xetra Dax	12437.81	12295.58	0.87					JPY 30 yr	1.46	1.47	-0.01
Nikkei	27080.75	26237.42	3.25					GER 2 yr	1.94	1.92	0.02
Hang Seng	16567.69	16388.11	1.21					GER 10 yr	2.35	2.28	0.07
MSCI World \$	2411.69	2367.69	1.86					GER 30 yr	2.39	2.29	0.19
MSCI EM \$	854.53	865.34	-1.25								
MSCI ACWI \$	850.71	850.37	1.51								
FT Wilshire 2000	4782.88	4867.58	-2.45	Oil (WTI) \$	86.13	86.11	-0.24				
FT Wilshire 5000	37298.04	36463.20	2.45	Oil (Brent) \$	92.83	91.57	2.69				
				Gold \$	1648.10	1670.05	-1.35				

Prices are subject for action  
Data provided by Bloomberg

A Nikkei Company

THE UNIVERSE OF DATA

## Your platform for light-speed research

Statista, founded in 2007 in Germany, has evolved into an ever-expanding universe of self-sourced and aggregated data, most of which is available exclusively on our platform.

Our Statista products provide a variety of perspectives on individual topics and enable different types of research. Whether you need to get a quick overview of topics or pursue more in-depth analyses that are relevant for your business cosmos — our data gives you precisely what you need while saving you time and effort.

With over one million statistics and more than 80,000 topics from 170 industries, Statista serves as a reliable data basis and starting point for your light-speed research. Let us show you exactly what the Universe of Data can do for you.

<https://bit.ly/341GdRC>

**statista**  
www.statista.com

Subscribe In print and online

www.ft.com/subscribe  
Tel: 1 800 628 8088  
For the latest news go to  
[www.ft.com](http://www.ft.com)

© THE FINANCIAL TIMES LTD 2022  
No: 41346 ★

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



# LE FIGARO

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



**MUSIQUE**  
DOCUMENTAIRE, DISQUES...  
LA NOSTALGIE  
LEONARD COHEN **PAGE 31**

**ENQUÊTE**  
QUI SONT CES ACTIVISTES  
QUI SACCAGENT  
LES GOLFS ? **PAGE 15**



**MAJORITÉ**  
Les ex-piliers  
de la macronie  
se recyclent **PAGE 5**

**OPPOSITION**  
Avec sa marche,  
la Nupes à l'épreuve  
de la mobilisation  
**PAGES 6 ET 7**

**ÉDUCATION**  
À Vincennes,  
un cours sur  
les caricatures pour  
rendre hommage  
à Samuel Paty **PAGE 9**

**BIOÉTHIQUE**  
Convention  
sur la fin de vie :  
les coulisses  
d'une organisation  
délicate **PAGE 12**

**ALIMENTATION**  
Agroalimentaire :  
les industriels  
contraints de limiter  
les nouveautés  
**PAGE 20**

**VINS-SPIRITUEUX**  
De nouveaux objets  
pour réinventer  
la dégustation  
**PAGES 28 ET 29**

**CHAMPS LIBRES**

- Les tribunes de Thierry Wolton et de François de Mazières
- La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté
- L'analyse de Stéphane Durand-Souffland

**PAGES 16 ET 17**

**FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question de vendredi :**  
Deux ans après l'assassinat de Samuel Paty, la menace islamiste contre les professeurs est-elle mieux prise en compte ?

**OUI 10% NON 90%**

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 176577

**Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr**  
Carburants, électricité, transports... croyez-vous à une généralisation des conflits sociaux ?

NICOLAS MATTERLINCK/BELGA VIA REUTERS CONNECT - GOLF DE SAINT-CLOUD - JOHNNY FIDELIN/ICON SPORT/ABACA



## Xi Jinping, empereur de la Chine rouge

Le président le plus puissant et le plus autoritaire depuis Mao va être confirmé pour un troisième quinquennat inédit par le 20<sup>e</sup> congrès du PCC.

**PAGES 2 À 4 ET L'EDITORIAL**

ANDY WONG/AP

## Royaume-Uni : en pleine crise, Liz Truss sacrifie son ministre des Finances

Trente-neuf jours à peine après sa nomination, le chancelier de l'Échiquier, Kwasi Kwarteng, a été limogé par la première ministre, Liz Truss,

en pleine tempête politique et financière. L'ancien ministre des Affaires étrangères Jeremy Hunt, conservateur plus centriste, prend la suite. **PAGE 8**



## Le football français à nouveau sous la menace des hooligans

Après une saison 2021-2022 noire, marquée par de nombreux incidents en tribunes, la violence continue de gangrener les stades de l'Hexa-

gone. Les interpellations sont en nette hausse et les forces de l'ordre font face à la résurgence de dangereux groupuscules. **PAGES 10 ET 11**

**ÉDITORIAL** par Philippe Gélie [pgelie@lefigaro.fr](mailto:pgelie@lefigaro.fr)

## Trajectoire de collision

C'est une affaire entendue, réglée comme du papier à musique : le 20<sup>e</sup> congrès du Parti communiste chinois (PCC), qui s'ouvre dimanche, se bornera à mettre publiquement en scène des décisions déjà prises dans les arcanes du pouvoir. Xi Jinping, brisant la tradition de rotation décennale, sera confirmé comme le maître absolu de l'empire rouge, fixant le cap pour au moins une décennie supplémentaire. À la faveur d'un changement de génération, il renforcera sa mainmise sur les centres de pouvoir du parti-État. Paré du titre de « navigateur », qui le rapproche du Timonier, il a déjà fait inscrire sa pensée dans la Constitution et l'a enrichie de dix livres depuis juin dernier !

Dans cette quête de puissance et d'éternité, aucune tête ne peut dépasser celle de l'empereur, ni au Parti ni dans la Chine entière. Alors que la dérive autoritaire de la Russie nous ferait presque regretter l'époque soviétique, où les apparatchiks avaient leur mot à dire, la centralisation et la personnalisation du pouvoir à Pékin s'annoncent également lourdes de menaces. La plus grande dictature du monde est aujourd'hui soumise à l'obsession de son

chef pour le contrôle, à ses lubies nationalistes assorties de révisionnisme historique et de négationnisme ethnique, à son repli dans le « zéro Covid » coercitif et l'autosuffisance technologique, à sa répression de la société en détournant les outils qui aillent à la liberté...

Embarassé par les déboires de son ami Poutine en Ukraine, Xi Jinping pourrait voir un intérêt à réchauffer ses relations avec les États-Unis et l'Europe. Mais sa politique place la Chine sur une trajectoire de collision avec les démocraties occidentales. Œuvrant à l'instauration d'un

nouvel ordre mondial, il fait de l'entrisme dans les institutions internationales et du clientélisme avec les pays dans le besoin. Xi tout-puissant pourra-t-il décider seul d'envahir Taiwan ? La chose serait planifiée pour la décennie suivante, ce qui peine à nous rassurer... Ayant renoncé à toute illusion de réforme, Américains et Européens peuvent au moins essayer de retarder le jour où ce rival systémique se sentira assez fort pour les défier. ■

- **Gain de place**
- **Economique**  
Canapé ou méridienne + 2 lits 80 x 190
- **Confortable**  
Matelas 15 cm HR 30 kg/m³  
Suspensions lattes de bois
- **Facile à vivre**  
Dédoussable  
4 configurations

**LIT GIGOGNE**

**J'Y GAGNE !**

**EspaceTopper®**  
Maison familiale depuis 1926

**Lits gigognes Paris 12 et 15 - 7J/7**  
54 cours de Vincennes Paris 12 - 01 40 21 87 53 - M° Nation  
63 et 66 rue de la Convention Paris 15 - 01 45 77 80 40 - M° Javel  
147 rue Saint-Charles Paris 15 - 01 45 75 02 81 - M° Javel  
Canapés, literie, mobilier sur 3000 m² : nos adresses sur [www.topper.fr](http://www.topper.fr)



### World-Wide

Business &amp; Finance

**NOONAN**

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

## ◆ Morgan Stanley's profit slides by 29%..... B13

## ◆ U.K. markets are wary of BOE's safety net..... B13

\*Whole Foods Market      Source: JPMorgan



LAURA BOUSINAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



From left: Anna Noha, Oksana Sulyma and Lyudmyla Shchekhlova were among the hundreds of people killed during Russia's occupation of Bucha, Ukraine, in the spring. Top: The basement where Ms. Noha was detained before her body was found.

## The Lives of 3 Women, Brutally Lost in Bucha

By CARLOTTA GALL  
and OLEKSANDR CHUBKO

**BUCHA, Ukraine** — One woman was badly beaten and shot through the eye. Another, held captive by Russian soldiers, was found in a cellar, shot in the head. An 81-year-old grandmother was discovered hanging in her garden, perhaps killed, perhaps driven to suicide.

They were three victims among hundreds during the Russian occupation of Bucha in the spring. Bucha, a suburb of Ukraine's capital, Kyiv, quickly became the main focus of atrocities by Russian soldiers before they withdrew from the area.

The crimes gained worldwide attention.

### Survivors, Then Victims, in a City Ravaged by Russia

But these women were unknown, their deaths unseen and unexplained.

My New York Times colleagues and I reported at the time on the Russian brutality and came across these cases. So we went back to Bucha, the place of so many deaths, to learn about these three women — to find out about their lives and who they were.

We found that each woman, in her own way, was a fighter, struggling to survive weeks of hunger, cold, bombardment and

shooting, yet tragically vulnerable to the ruthless violence of an occupying army.

Many of the circumstances of their last days remain unclear, but for their families and Ukrainian officials, there is no doubt that they were victims of Russia's aggression against their country.

Oksana Sulyma, 34, was in Bucha only by chance.

A former public servant, she lived in Kyiv with her 5-year-old daughter, but had visited Bucha to stay with friends only 48 hours before the war began in February. Within days, Russian troops had stormed the wooded suburb and roads and transport links had been cut. Oksana was stuck, said Oleksi, a childhood friend, who asked

Continued on Page 9

## Seeking Office, Veterans Lean Into Trumpism

### Skepticism Runs Deep on War and Jan. 6

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

In early 2019, as the Defense Department's bureaucracy seemed to be slow-walking then-President Donald J. Trump's order to withdraw all U.S. forces from Syria, Joe Kent, a C.I.A. paramilitary officer, called his wife, Shannon, a Navy cryptologic technician who was still in Syria working against the Islamic State.

"Make sure you're not the last person to die in a war that everyone's already forgotten about," Mr. Kent said he told his wife. "And that's exactly what happened," he added bitterly.

The suicide bombing that killed Ms. Kent and three other service members days later set off a chain of events — including a somber encounter with Mr. Trump — that has propelled Mr. Kent from a storied combat career to single parenthood, from comparing notes with other antiwar veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan to making increasingly loud pronouncements that the 2020 presidential election was stolen and that the Jan. 6 rioters are political prisoners.

In five weeks, Mr. Kent, 42, a candidate for a House seat in Washington State that was long represented by a soft-spoken moderate Republican, may well be elected to Congress. And he is far from alone.

A new breed of veterans, many with remarkable biographies and undeniable stories of heroism, are running for the House on the far right of the Republican Party, challenging old assumptions that adding veterans to Congress — men and women who fought for the country and defended the Constitution — would foster bipartisanship and cooperation. At the same time, they are embracing anti-interventionist military and foreign policies that, since the end of World War II, have been associated more with the Democratic left than the mainline G.O.P.

Alek Skarlatos, 30, a Republican candidate in Oregon, helped thwart a terrorist attack on a packed train bound for Paris, was honored by President Barack Obama and played himself in a Clint Eastwood movie about the incident. Mr. Skarlatos now says the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol has been used as an excuse "to demonize Trump supporters."

Eli Crane, 42, running in a Republican-leaning House district in Arizona, saw five wartime deployments with SEAL Team 3 over 13

Continued on Page 26

## DEMOCRATS QUIET ON AID VICTORIES AS PRICES SPIRAL

### FEARING G.O.P. ATTACKS

### Trillions to Buoy Families in Pandemic Become Midterm Weapon

By JIM TANKERSLEY

**DUNWOODY, Ga.** — In the midst of a critical runoff campaign that would determine control of the Senate, the Rev. Raphael Warnock promised Georgia voters that, if elected, he would help President-elect Biden send checks to people digging out of the pandemic recession.

Mr. Warnock won. Democrats delivered payments of up to \$1,400 per person.

But this year, as Mr. Warnock is locked in a tight re-election campaign, he barely talks about those checks.

Democratic candidates in competitive Senate races this fall have spent little time on the trail or the airwaves touting the centerpiece provisions of their party's \$1.9 trillion economic rescue package, which party leaders had hoped would help stave off losses in the House and Senate in midterm elections. In part, that is because the rescue plan has become fodder for Republicans to attack Democrats over rapidly rising prices, accusing them of overstimulating the economy with too much cash.

The economic aid, which was intended to help keep families afloat amid the pandemic, included two centerpiece components — for households: the direct checks of up to \$1,400 for lower- to middle-class individuals and an expanded child tax credit, worth up to \$300 per child per month. It was initially seen as Mr. Biden's signature economic policy achievement, in part because the tax credit dramatically reduced child poverty last year. Polls suggested Americans knew they had received money and why — giving Democrats hope they would be rewarded politically.

Liberal activists are particularly troubled that Democratic candidates are not focusing more on the payments to families.

"It's a missed opportunity and a strategic mistake," said Chris Hughes, a founder of Facebook and a senior fellow at the Institute on Race, Power, and Political Economy at The New School, who is a co-founder of the liberal policy group Economic Security Project

Continued on Page 26

## Amid New York's Housing Crisis, Progressives Warm to Developers

By MIHIR ZAVERI

For years, elected officials from across the political spectrum in New York City have scored points by attacking a common enemy: real estate developers.

Politicians routinely quashed projects. Some officials argued they were protecting a neighborhood's character and property values. Others said they were fighting corporate greed. On Friday, a left-leaning City Council member, Julie Won, said she would oppose a big new project in her Queens district, calling it a "gentrification accelerator."

But a housing shortage and affordability crisis may be changing the political calculus for some progressives who have traditionally been among the most fervent critics of the real estate industry.

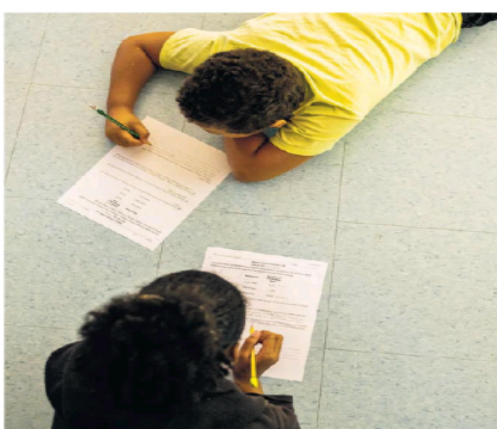
Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who opposed the construction of an Amazon campus near her district, said recently

that she would support local officials who make way for more housing, and a number of City Council members on the left have embraced new developments, even in cases where most of the units would not be affordable for working-class New Yorkers.

Tiffany Cabán, a democratic socialist councilwoman from Queens, recently voted for a project that was slated to bring more than 1,300 apartments to a vacant waterfront lot in her district. A quarter of the units will rent at below market rates.

Ms. Cabán said she would prefer public housing or housing owned by local residents, but "it's not as simple or easy as 100 percent affordable or nothing." She said not approving the project, known as Halletts North, would risk letting the lot languish as a truck depot or parking lot for decades.

Continued on Page 24



CHRISTOPHER CAPOZZELLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

At Benjamin Franklin Elementary School in Meriden, Conn., students spend more time working on problems in small groups.

## They Made Each Minute Count To Avert Pandemic Dip in Math

By SARAH MERVOSH

**MERIDEN, Conn.** — It is just after lunchtime, and Dori Montano's fifth-grade math class is running on a firm schedule.

In one corner of the classroom, Ms. Montano huddles with a small group of students, working through a lesson about place value: Is 23.4 or 2.34 the bigger number? Nearby, other students collaborate to solve a "math mystery." All the while, Ms. Montano watches the time.

At 1:32 p.m., she presses a buzzer, sending students shuffling: "Ladies and gentlemen, switch please!"

This is what pandemic recovery looks like at Benjamin Franklin Elementary in Meriden, Conn., where students are showing promising progress in math, a subject that was hit hard during the shift to remote learning, even more so than reading.

The school's math progress

may not look like much: a small improvement amounting to a single decimal point increase from spring 2019 to the spring of this year, according to state test results.

But by pandemic standards, it was something of a minor miracle, holding steady when test scores nationally have fallen, particularly among low-income, Black and Hispanic students, the children that Franklin serves. About three in four students at the school qualify for free or reduced lunch, and a majority are Hispanic, Black or multiracial.

The groundwork was laid before the pandemic, when Franklin overhauled how math was taught.

It added as much as 30 minutes of math instruction a day. Students in second grade and above now have more than an hour, and fourth and fifth graders have a full

Continued on Page 18

### INTERNATIONAL 4-15

#### Floods and Grief in Pakistan

With many cemeteries submerged, and deaths from malaria and other diseases mounting, families are struggling with where to bury loved ones. PAGE 4

#### Fortress for Beijing's Moment

China is locked down again, this time for the Chinese Communist Party congress, where Xi Jinping is expected to claim a third term. PAGE 12

#### Ramping Up the Rhetoric

By threatening Greece, Turkey's president may have created the crisis he needs with elections approaching during challenging economic times. PAGE 15



### SUNDAY STYLES

#### This Is the New 'It' Shoe

Good luck finding Birkenstock's Boston. Social media has turned it into the clog equivalent of the Birkin bag. PAGE 1

#### Can't We Just Exercise?

Practitioners of the Pilates program are in a legal battle over the founder's legacy and photos. PAGE 14

### SPORTS 37-41

#### Yankees Lose in the Ninth

Aaron Judge homered, but a three-run rally gave host Cleveland a 6-5 victory and a 2-1 lead in a best-of-five A.L. divisional series. PAGE 41

### NATIONAL 16-33

#### Searching for Lost Graves

Families and volunteers seek out and restore abandoned African American cemeteries as a way of recovering their own personal stories. PAGE 16

### SUNDAY OPINION

#### Danielle Carr

PAGE 3



### ARTS & LEISURE

#### Still Fearing the Reaper

Jamie Lee Curtis talks about the return to her horror roots in "Halloween Ends" and the pursuit of freedom. PAGE 12

#### Blast From the Past

An excerpt from Cormac McCarthy's first novel since his 2006 Pulitzer winner, "The Road." PAGE 14

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### The Fight Against High Rents

Tenants in cities far from the high-cost coasts are uniting to push for more rights and relief from rising costs. Their tactics aren't always polite. PAGE 1

### METROPOLITAN

#### An Attack, a Dog and a Divide

After a park incident killed a golden retriever, Park Slope neighbors rallied around the owner on an online forum. Then sympathies flipped. PAGE 1



0 354753 6

That perfect sound Vinyl is booming in the digital age. Why does it feel so out of reach? **ARTS & STYLE**



Botanist's surprise bestseller 'Braiding Sweetgrass' blends science, Indigenous wisdom **BOOK WORLD**



What if he wins? It's 2025. Trump is in power. A portrait of a democratic crackup. **MAGAZINE**

SAVE \$100 SUNDAY COUPON INSERTS

# The Washington Post

Pieces may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington



Mostly cloudy 73/57 • Tomorrow: Mostly cloudy 69/43 **C12**

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 16, 2022 • \$5

## Florida serves as alarm for Democrats

Party's slipping grip on Hispanic voters could tilt the national landscape

BY MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR AND SILVIA FOSTER-FRAU

KISSIMMEE, FLA. — The first major indicator that Democrats might be losing their hold on the Hispanic community here came during Sen. Bill Nelson's 2018 reelection bid.

Gov. Rick Scott, his Republican challenger, was making inroads with Puerto Rican voters after his engaged response to Hurricane Maria. Hispanic political strategists tried to sound the alarm, warning the Democratic Party committee in Washington that Nelson's outreach to the Hispanic community was close to nonexistent. The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee told them not to worry, according to people who took part in the discussions: The Democrats had Florida locked up.

Nelson ended up losing by 10,000 votes, a slim defeat that strategists from both parties concluded could have been avoided had Democrats aggressively targeted Florida's 2.5 million Hispanic registered voters.

A Democrat has not won a national race in Florida since.

This year's midterms are expected to feature historic Democratic investment in advertising and outreach to Hispanic voters, an effort to stunt significant GOP gains and prevent similar inroads in states with burgeoning Hispanic communities.

Despite the investment, Democrats' 27-point edge with Hispanics is down from 2018. **A16**

## Listen up: Hearing aids will soon be easier to buy

BY CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND AND AMANDA MORRIS

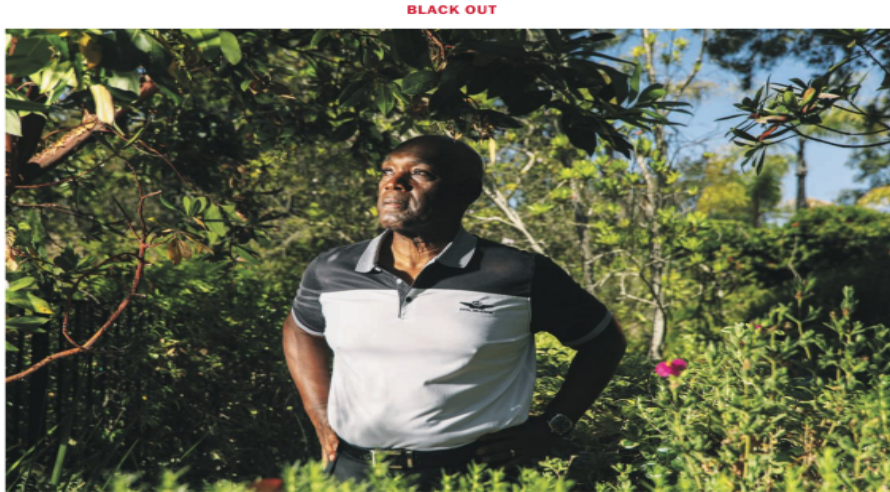
The government on Monday will begin allowing pharmacies and big-box stores to sell hearing aids without prescriptions, a move that is expected to shake up an industry that has long been dominated by a handful of manufacturers under a model of care that critics said raised costs and stifled innovation.

Backers of the change say the move to over-the-counter hearing aid sales will usher in a revolution of lower prices and new technologies, and expand access for millions of people with untreated hearing loss.

But while the shift holds the promise of improving the lives of millions of people who have untreated mild to moderate hearing loss, it also is a sweeping test of consumer-driven health care.

For first-time users, hearing aids require fine-tuning and a degree of patience as the brain becomes accustomed to processing sounds that have been muffled for years, audiologists experts say. It's not like popping on a new pair of glasses and instantly seeing clearly. It sometimes takes

SEE HEARING AIDS ON A19



BLACK OUT

After spending more than two decades as an NFL assistant coach, Clarence Shelmon walked away from the league following the 2011 season. "[When] you have success and nothing changes, it can be daunting — mentally, physically and emotionally," he said.

BY DAVE SHEININ

RANCHO SANTA FE, CALIF. — The boxes started showing up, one by one, in the garage of Clarence and Nancy Shelmon's house outside San Diego midway through the 2011 National Football League season. Nancy opened them and recognized their contents: photos that once adorned the walls and desk of Clarence's office at San Diego Chargers headquarters, playbooks from previous seasons, various keepsakes and mementos from the career of a lifelong football man.

"Clarence, are you trying to tell me something?" she asked her husband, at the time the Chargers' offensive coordinator. "Have you quit?"

## Lost generation of football coaching talent

Scores of Black assistants were denied head coaching roles in the NFL — as well as the generational wealth that comes with them

nator. "Have you quit?"

His reply: "I'm just preparing."

But by that point, he already had made his decision: At the end of that season, Clarence Shelmon, football lifer, would be walking away from the sport, walking away from the NFL, walking away — at 59 — from the only job description he had known since he was straight out of college in 1975: football coach.

His dream of becoming an NFL head coach, which he had harbored for 21 years as an assistant in the league — the last 10 of which, with the Chargers, produced five playoff appearances and just one losing season — was officially

SEE COACHES ON A10

This fall, The Washington Post is examining the NFL's failure to equitably promote Black coaches to top jobs despite the multibillion-dollar league being fueled by Black players. There have been 191 head coaches since 1990. Just 25 have been Black.



Residents gather for folk music performances at a square in Yan'an in China's Shaanxi province Saturday, one day before the beginning of the much-anticipated Communist Party congress.

## China stays stuck inside its zero-covid trap

BY LILY KUO

High season in the southern Chinese beach resort town of Sanya usually coincides with National Day on Oct. 1, which across the country kicks off what's known as "Golden Week." During this celebration of patriotism and consumerism, residents eat, shop and travel in honor of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Li Chajia owns guesthouses in Sanya — the "Hawaii of China," the city calls itself — and

hoped pent-up spending power from two pandemic years would be channeled toward vacations there. After repeated lockdowns, markets had started to reopen in late September and dining-in was being allowed again.

Instead, China's zero-covid campaign only became stricter and more extreme, carried out nationwide with revolutionary zeal by local officials under orders from the central government. After two cases were discovered in Sanya, officials there carried out mass testing and

SEE CHINA ON A24

## SEC filing alleges bitter feuds at Trump Media

BY DREW HARWELL

Will Wilkerson, then an executive at former president Donald Trump's start-up Trump Media & Technology Group, was at a Fort Lauderdale, Fla., coffee shop with company co-founder Andy Litinsky last October when Trump called Litinsky with a question: Would he give up some of his shares to Trump's wife, Melania?

Trump Media, the owner of the fledgling social network Truth Social, had just been boosted by a huge merger agreement and a flood of investment that had made the stake worth millions of dollars. Trump had already been given 90 percent of the company's shares in exchange for the use of his name and some minor involvement, leaving everyone else to split the rest.

Litinsky tried to brush it off, telling Trump "the gift would have meant a huge tax bill he couldn't pay," Trump said in an interview. "Trump didn't care. He said, 'Do whatever you need to do.'"

Five months later, Litinsky, who first met Trump in 2004 as a contestant on the TV show "The Apprentice," was abruptly removed from the company's board. Wilkerson said he believes it was payback for his refusal to turn over a small fortune to the former president's wife. Litinsky thought so, too, according to an email



Will Wilkerson, co-founder of Trump Media, has since sought whistleblower protections.

Wilkerson and his attorneys shared with The Washington Post and the Securities and Exchange Commission. In that email, Litinsky complained that Trump was "retaliating against me" by threatening to "blow up the company" if his demands are not met.

Litinsky did not respond to emails and phone messages. It is unknown whether he still retains his shares.

The email — one of hundreds of previously unreported company messages, documents, photos and audio recordings that Wilkerson has provided to the SEC in connection with a whistleblower submission — reveals a stunning portrait

SEE TRUMP ON A12

ARTS ..... C3  
BOOK WORLD ..... C12  
BUSINESS ..... B1

CLASSIFIEDS ..... G8  
COMICS ..... JNS2  
EDITORIALS/LETTERS ..... A27

LOTTERIES ..... C3  
OBITUARIES ..... C7  
STOCKS ..... G6

TRAVEL ..... F1  
WEATHER ..... C12  
WORLD NEWS ..... A21

CONTENT © 2022  
The Washington Post / Year 145, No. 315

0 70628 127100 7



GENARO MOLINA Los Angeles Times

### OAXAQUEÑOS MARCH FOR JUSTICE

Hundreds of Oaxacans and Indigenous leaders rally in downtown L.A. on Saturday to demand the resignations of City Council members who made racist remarks on a secret recording. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

## L.A.'S COALITION GAME

Alliances drive city politics. Despite the vitriol on that tape, Black and Latino leaders have long united on major goals.

By JESSICA GARRISON, RUBEN VIVES, MARISA GERBER, ANGEL JENNINGS AND DAVID ZAHNISER

Jorge Nuño learned the hard way how race, power and politics work in Los Angeles. Nuño, 45, the son of immigrants from Jalisco, Mexico, grew up in South Los Angeles near Vernon Avenue and Main Street, then built a successful graphic design business and a printing business, launched a multiracial youth services nonprofit, and threw himself into grassroots organizing among both Black and Latino groups in his neighborhood.

With this background, he decided to run for City Council representing the 9th District — its constituents majority Latino — expecting his campaign would garner at [See Alliance, A10]



JOE KENNEDY Los Angeles Times

IN 1962, Gilbert Lindsay, left, was appointed to the City Council seat left vacant when Edward Roybal, right, left for Congress. Roybal, who had been elected to the seat in 1949, supported the appointment.



BROCK COX Los Angeles Times



WALLY SKALIS Los Angeles Times

### AFTER 111 WINS, A QUICK EXIT

The Dodgers watch during the seventh inning of Game 4 of the NLDS as the Padres rallied for 5 runs to eliminate their division rivals. **SPORTS, D1**

#### COLUMN ONE

## Looking to the animal kingdom to gain insights into our health

By CORINNE PURTILL

**Z**ainabu was in good health in the days before she gave birth to her fourth baby, despite the fact that her blood pressure was likely somewhere around 280/220. For a human, such a

reading would be catastrophic. Spiking blood pressure in a pregnant or recently postpartum woman is a sign of preeclampsia, a common but potentially fatal condition that can affect the heart, lungs, liver and kidneys.

Zainabu, fortunately, is a Masai giraffe at the Los Angeles Zoo. Giraffes have

the highest known blood pressure in the animal kingdom, but this has no apparent effect on fetal or maternal health.

For Dr. Barbara Natterson-Horowitz, a UCLA cardiologist with a long-standing interest in cross-species health, this raises some compelling [See Researcher, A8]

## Should L.A. scrap the maps and start over?

In furor over racist audio, calls grow to throw out last year's council redistricting.

By DAVID ZAHNISER AND BENJAMIN ORESKES

For nearly a week, activists and city officials have demanded the ouster of three Los Angeles City Council members, calling it the only acceptable response to secretly recorded audio of them engaged in a conversation with racist and derogatory language.

But in and outside City Hall, some have begun discussing another, potentially more dramatic step to address the public's outrage in the wake of the scandal: scrapping the maps of the council's 15 districts and drawing new ones.

The audio that sparked the uproar captured Councilmembers Nury Martinez, Gil Cedillo and Kevin de León talking about redistricting, the once-a-decade process of drawing new boundary lines for each council district.

During that conversation, they discussed the need to preserve and expand Latino political power while ensuring they and their allies would have districts that help them win reelection. They also sounded exasperated by the continued political might of the city's Black voters, who make up less than 10% of the populace.

The council finalized its maps in December, two months after the meeting was held.

### Is L.A. at a turning point?

Community leaders hope chaos at City Hall can spur unity, Steve Lopez writes. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

"I don't think that these [district] lines are credible at this point in the eyes of many in the city," City Atty. Mike Feuer said Thursday. "The only way to erase the taint of what was recently disclosed, and to assure the legitimacy of the lines we have, is to redraw them."

Feuer wants the council to ask voters next spring to authorize an independent commission to create new district maps in time for the March 2024 election. Under [See Maps, A12]

#### AMERICA UNSETTLED

## Inflation claims compete in O.C. contests

House candidates insist only their party can help with the high prices stressing voters.

By HANNAH FRY

At the Winery Restaurant in Newport Beach, which has sweeping views of the harbor and a luxurious wine list, the chile-lime-rubbed mahi-mahi served with tropical fruit chutney and jasmine rice cost diners about \$32 in early 2020. Now the meal will set them back \$40. Owner JC Clow says that he doesn't enjoy raising his prices, but that rampant inflation has left him little choice.

The cost of meat and fish has gone up by nearly double digits since last summer. Even the price of coffee has climbed, and customers who buy bottles of expensive wine to pair with meals are hunting for the best price, he said.

"We have to watch every dime, every nickel, every penny," the 57-year-old said. "You can't just pass everything on to the guests."

The Newport Beach restaurant is in one of four congressional districts primarily in Orange County that are expected to be among the nation's most competitive in this year's midterm election as Democrats fight to keep hold of the House. [See Orange County, A14]

### USC's dreams dashed by Utah

A 43-42 loss to the Utes crushes Trojans' hopes for an unbeaten season under Lincoln Riley. **SPORTS, D1**

### Venezuelans get stuck in Mexico

Amid an influx, the Biden administration turns to a Trump-era policy to expel migrants. **WORLD, A3**

### Weather

Clouds clearing. L.A. Basin: 72/60. **B10**

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.

## The bleak Ukraine landscape Russian forces leave behind

Corpses in the garden, land mines and fear: Suffering doesn't stop with occupation's end.

By NILS ADLER

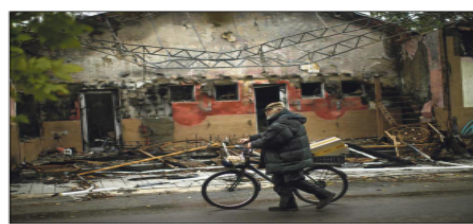
**SVIATOHIRSK.** Ukraine — Corpses in need of reburial, traumatized villagers, rocket remnants strewn across sunflower fields: In eastern Ukraine, this is the bleak landscape left behind when Russian troops fled.

Over the last six weeks, Ukrainian troops have recaptured thousands of

square miles of territory in the north, east and south. Racing a cold-weather clock, Ukraine is pressing ahead with a multi-front offensive despite Russia's punishing bombardment of heavily populated areas far from the battlefield and its relentless attacks on the country's energy infrastructure.

For those living in newly liberated towns and villages that spent months under Russian occupation, wreckage is everywhere, and paralyzing fear is slow to dissipate.

In the riverside town of Sviatohirsk, in the northern [See Ukraine, A4]



FRANCISCO SECO Associated Press

**A MAN** makes his way through eastern Ukraine after picking up food aid last week.

## USA TODAY WEEKEND

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | OCTOBER 14-16, 2022

## Deadwyler generates Oscar buzz

Actress discusses her performance in "Till" and Black trauma controversy. **In Life**

LYNSEY WEATHERSPOON/  
ORION PICTURES

## Connection. Identity. Home.

## Rich history of influence, contributions

Special section explores range of cultural roots and connections, and what it means to be Hispanic. **In Weekend Extra**

QB JALEN HURTS BY MARK J. REBILAS/USA TODAY SPORTS

## Eagles flying high for now

Philadelphia off to strong start after five straight wins. They face Dallas on Sunday. A look at four things that could derail the team. **In Sports**

NEWS ANALYSIS JAN. 6 COMMITTEE

## Panel demands Trump testimony under oath



Former President Donald Trump's image loomed large at the Jan. 6 committee on Thursday. JACK GRUBER/USA TODAY

## Former president defiant as midterms will likely alter outlook



**Susan Page**  
Washington Bureau Chief  
USA TODAY

Now what?

After an investigation that has lasted more than a year, the House Jan. 6 committee voted unanimously Thursday to subpoena former president Donald Trump, saying the demand for his testimony under oath was necessary to put down a marker, for history's ledger.

There is little doubt that legal challenges and the prospect the panel will

soon be disbanded makes it unlikely it will ever hear from him. But the vote spotlighted the committee's tightening focus on the single biggest question ahead: Whether Trump should be held accountable for his role in the violent assault on the Capitol — and if so, how.

"He is required to answer for his actions," committee chair Bennie Thompson, D-Miss., said before the somber, 9-0 vote. "We have left no doubt — none — that Donald Trump led an effort to upend American democracy that directly resulted in the violence of Jan. 6."

For his part, Trump was defiant.

See JAN. 6, Page 3A

**"(Donald Trump) is required to answer for his actions. We have left no doubt — none — that Donald Trump led an effort to upend American democracy that directly resulted in the violence of Jan. 6."**

**Rep. Bennie Thompson, D-Miss.**  
Committee chairman

## Inflation is easing but still stubborn

Core price indicator hits new 40-year high

**Paul Davidson**  
USA TODAY

Inflation drifted lower last month, but the descent from historic highs remains painfully slow and a key measure set a new 40-year record.

Consumer prices increased 8.2% from a year earlier, down from an 8.3% rise in August and a four-decade high of 9.1% in June, as climbing food and rent costs again offset falling gasoline prices, according to the Labor Department's Consumer Price Index. Last month's increase defied forecasts for a more rapid slowdown in inflation.

On a monthly basis, consumer prices edged up a larger-than-expected 0.4% after a 0.1% increase in August. And while overall inflation is softening gradually, a key measure of

See INFLATION, Page 5A

## Social Security recipients will see a hefty boost

Cost-of-living adjustment means checks will rise by 8.7% next year. **1B**



Ryan Petty comforts Ilan Alhadeff as they await the verdict of Nikolas Cruz on Thursday. AMY BETH BENNETT VIA AP

## Parkland families voice outrage after life sentence

**Hannah Phillips, Valentina Palm and Jorge Millan**  
Palm Beach Post  
USA TODAY NETWORK

FORT LAUDERDALE, Fla. — Jurors on Thursday recommended life in prison without parole for Nikolas Cruz, who pleaded guilty to killing 17 people in the 2018 school massacre in Parkland, Florida.

Victims' family members seated in the gallery scowled, shook their heads, or held them in their hands as circuit judge Elizabeth Scherer read the recommendation. The 12-person jury came to a decision after seven hours of deliberations over two days, ending a three-month trial where stories of the victims' execution were retold in graphic detail.

"I'm disgusted with those jurors. I'm

See PARKLAND, Page 6A



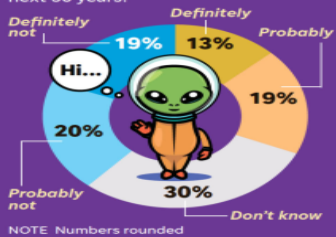
©COPYRIGHT 2022  
USA TODAY  
A division of  
Gannett Co., Inc.

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

## USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

## Cosmic contact

U.S. adults on the odds we'll make contact with alien life within the next 50 years:



SOURCE: YouGov poll, Sept. 9-12  
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPLING/USA TODAY

## WAR IN UKRAINE

## Drone-delivered bombs pummel Kyiv region

**John Bacon and Jorge L. Ortiz**  
USA TODAY

Russian bombs delivered by Iranian-built drones hammered the Kyiv region Thursday as Ukraine's capital again took the brunt of Russian President Vladimir Putin's wrath.

The attack comes three days after missile strikes that marked the first assault on the city since the early days of the war, when Russia's march to Kyiv was driven back by Ukrainian forces.

"Another attack by kamikaze drones on critical infrastructure facilities," the deputy head of the presidential office, Kyrylo Tymoshenko, said on the instant messaging service Telegram. "The relevant services are already ... documenting the consequences of shelling. Do not neglect safety, stay in shelters during alarms!"

The British Defense Ministry said

the low-flying drones were unlikely to provide strike options deep into Ukraine, and many were reportedly destroyed before they hit their targets.

Also Thursday:

• Russian attacks killed 13 people and wounded 37 across Ukraine in the past 24 hours, the Ukrainian presidential office said. Three of the deaths were in the southern city of Mykolaiv when missile strikes destroyed an apartment building, but an 11-year-old boy was pulled out of the rubble.

• NATO defense ministers gathered in Brussels for a second day of talks to assess the war after the alliance committed more air defense aid.

• Qatar's emir, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, thanked Putin for what he said was Russia's support in organizing the soccer World Cup, which starts Nov. 20.

Contributing: The Associated Press



**MÚSICA** Yo-Yo Ma: "La música clásica es alfabetización cultural"

P39

**EL PAÍS SEMANAL** Luca Guadagnino y el idilio entre la moda y las pantallas



Una pantalla emite la imagen de Xi Jinping en el centro de prensa del XX Congreso del Partido Comunista chino, ayer en Pekín. / K. FRAYER (GETTY)

## China refuerza a Xi mientras busca un nuevo orden mundial

**El XX Congreso del Partido Comunista consolidará el tercer mandato del líder**

**El pensamiento del presidente chino quedará fijado en la Constitución**

**El mandatario busca una relación de fuerzas alejada de los valores de Occidente**

GUILLERMO ABRIL / ANDREA RIZZI  
**Pekín / Madrid**

China y el mundo asisten desde hoy a una cita que se presume histórica por su relevancia para la segunda economía del planeta y para el orden mundial. Xi Jinping, el hombre que ha estado al frente de la superpotencia durante una década, el dirigente que no deja de acumular poder, que ejerce un férreo control y vigilancia

sobre los ciudadanos y obliga a estudiar su pensamiento en las escuelas, prevé consolidar un tercer mandato sin precedentes durante

el XX Congreso del Partido Comunista chino que se celebra esta semana en Pekín.

La consagración de Xi, cuya

ideología quedará previsiblemente fijada en la Constitución —a la altura de la de Mao Zedong—, supone un desafío colosal para Occidente. El mandatario aspira a devolver a China el poder global del pasado y busca un nuevo equilibrio de fuerzas. Su objetivo es cristalizar un sistema centrado en la relación entre Estados y alejado de los derechos humanos y libertades individuales. **PÁGINAS 3 A 5**

### NEGOCIOS

**El dragón se queda sin gasolina**

### EDITORIAL

**Xi Jinping se impone**

PÁGINA 16

Dos bandas enfrentadas de menores armados aterrorizan algunos barrios de Ceuta

## “Están convirtiendo a chavales en sicarios”

**NACHO CARRETERO, Ceuta**  
“Es una guerra”. Un chaval del barrio ceutí de El Príncipe resume así la espiral de violencia que vive la ciudad. Dos bandas juveniles, dos barrios donde arden los coches, patrullan motocicletas con menores armados, se suceden los tiroteos y la policía se ve desbordada. “A los chicos les dan 2.000 o 3.000 euros y están reclutados”, dice un exmiembro de una banda. “Están convirtiendo a chavales en sicarios”, añade un abogado. **P24 y 25**



Rezo por el cabo Dris Amar, asesinado el lunes en Ceuta, en el cementerio musulmán Sidi Embarek. / P. P.



SCIAMARELLA

**El mando ruso en Ucrania desarrolló en Siria una ofensiva brutal**

## Surovikin, un general despiadado

J. G. CUESTA / Ó. GUTIÉRREZ  
**Moscú / Madrid**

La gran esperanza de Putin para dar un vuelco a la invasión de Ucrania, que se le resiste, se llama Serguéi Vladimirovich Surovikin, tiene 56 años, la máxima distinción militar de la Federación rusa, y una reputación de héroe de guerra despiadado ganada por su papel en Chechenia y Siria. Su reciente elección al frente de las Fuerzas Armadas rusas se debe justo a eso, sus “tácticas brutales”, señala un experto. **PÁGINA 7**

**La guerra abre fisuras entre Putin y las élites en Rusia**

P6

**El calvario de un ‘mosso’ acusado de ‘narco’ y absuelto 12 años después**

P26

**El ‘efecto wasap’ en adolescentes: faltas de ortografía y gramática**

**EMANOELLE SANTOS, Madrid**  
Lo anormal en WhatsApp es la corrección con el lenguaje. Lo normal es que los mensajes se escriban con abreviaciones y sin tildes. Los estudios apuntan a que esa libertad no empeora la capacidad de escritura, pero en las aulas se nota. Los profesores advierten sobre la ortografía, la gramática y la coherencia textual. **PÁGINA 36**

—Día de la Madre

## Una historia de coraje y esperanza detrás de un triunfo de la vida

Laura Aladro (ex-Leona) recibe el mejor regalo en su día: el abrazo de Isidro (4), recuperado de un trasplante de corazón. **Página 26**



## PUEDE REEMPLAZAR A GALLARDO: CÓMO ES MARTÍN DEMICHELIS

—deportes

Mientras en el Monumental se despedirá hoy al DT de River, Demichelis es uno de los candidatos al puesto; su vida y trabajo en Alemania y el gran desafío. **Página 3**

# LA NACION

DOMINGO 16 DE OCTUBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

## Bajo presión interna, Massa busca un nuevo acuerdo de precios

**INFLACIÓN.** El kirchnerismo reclama acciones urgentes; Economía intenta cerrar un compromiso por 90 días con empresas alimentarias

El ministro de Economía, Sergio Massa, apura medidas para intentar contener el avance de la inflación, en medio de fuertes presiones del kirchnerismo, que reclama resultados urgentes en la batalla contra una escalada de precios que ha deteriorado dramáticamente su base de apoyo político.

Pese a que descartó de manera ta-

jante un congelamiento, el ministro negocia con 20 empresas líderes del sector alimentario para lograr un acuerdo de precios por 90 días, según revelaron fuentes oficiales. La intención es que rijal al menos hasta finales de año, mientras esperan que haga efecto el ajuste fiscal instrumentado en los últimos dos meses.

El reclamo interno llegará a la

Plaza de Mayo mañana, durante la movilización por el 17 de octubre que lideran sectores del sindicalismo kirchnerista y La Cámpora. "Hay que darle un corte rápido a la suba de precios. Esperamos que desde Economía se elaboren medidas para el pueblo trabajador", dijo ayer el gremialista Walter Correa, ministro de Trabajo de Buenos Aires. **Página 14**

### EL ANÁLISIS

## Gobierno de sonámbulos

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

**P**arecen sonámbulos. Políticos que duermen y sueñan mientras caminan como si estuvieran despiertos. ¿Por qué debaten ahora la candidatura de Alberto Fernández para la reelección? ¿Por qué Sergio Massa supone que él será el candidato triunfante en las próximas presidenciales? ¿Por qué Cristina Kirchner cree que tomando distancia del Presidente y de Massa conservará su poder electoral, cuando fue ella la que los entronizó a los dos? **Continúa en la página 39**

### EL ESCENARIO

## Un país en caída libre

Jorge Fernández Díaz

—LA NACION—

**S**e viaja no para buscar el destino sino para huir de donde se parte, decía Unamuno. Pero supongo que también se viaja para verse desde lejos con mayor objetividad. Viajar es malo para el prejuicio, la intolerancia y la estrechez de mente, añadía Mark Twain. Aludo, aquí y ahora, a quienes aun en medio de esta tragedia económica poseen la dicha de tomar distancia. **Continúa en la página 38**

## Secretos de un hito histórico que supera la ficción

—política

Los excamaristas Gil Lavedra, Ledesma, Arslanian y Valerga Aráoz reviven en un encuentro íntimo los días del Juicio a las Juntas y analizan el fenómeno social que desató Argentina, 1985

**Página 24**



Reunidos en la casa de Arslanian, los excamaristas comparten una memoria histórica

SANTIAGO FILIPUZZI

### EL HILO DEL MUNDO

## China inaugura su presidencia imperial: ¿afectará a la Argentina?

Inés Capdevila

—LA NACION—

**X**i Jinping en pocos días está por convertirse en el líder más poderoso del mundo. Claro que su influencia global hasta hoy era indiscutida, pero cuando esta semana

el Partido Comunista apruebe su tercer mandato seguido, el presidente chino se habrá deshecho de la última traba para sobrepasar a quien le compete, Joe Biden. **Continúa en la página 6**

## Chicos con discapacidad. Un modelo de integración

En La Pampa, el 98,5% va a una escuela común

Lorena Oliva  
ENVIADA ESPECIAL

**SANTA ROSA.**— La Pampa es la primera provincia del país que les garantiza a todos los chicos con discapacidad poder estudiar

en escuelas comunes. El modelo les permite poder elegir la institución estatal que quieran y, de ser necesario, el Estado garantiza el transporte. A nivel nacional, con cifras de 2020, solo el 60% va a escuelas comunes. **Página 28**

## Un jefe narco, detrás de las amenazas a periodistas en Rosario

**VIOLENCIA.** Sospechan que René Ungaro ordenó los ataques por un cambio de prisión. **Página 33**

# Boca

A la búsqueda de un golpe decisivo

Visita a Newell's, River homenajea a Gallardo y Racing se queda sin Vecchio.

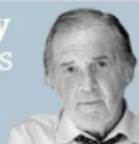
P. 60

Fervor. La recepción a Boca en Rosario

Borensztein  
La Ley de Oro kirchnerista



Van der Kooy  
Contrapuntos de Cristina con Máximo



Carlin  
La sed de venganza



Elena Roger  
Un fenómeno a la medida de Piaf

SPOT



# Clarín

Un toque de atención para la solución argentina de los problemas argentinos

Domingo 16.10.2022

BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA - PRECIO: \$ 400,00

No hay consenso en el oficialismo

## El kirchnerismo archiva el plan para eliminar las PASO por la falta de acuerdo

La idea era impulsada por algunos gobernadores kirchneristas y por La Cámpora, con el apoyo tácito de Cristina Kirchner. Pero ahora en el propio kirchnerismo admiten que no saben si

les conviene eliminar las Primarias. Máximo Kirchner pidió retrasar esa discusión, y el autor del proyecto de reforma de la ley electoral postergó la presentación. El Presidente quiere

mantenerlas porque cree que las necesita para mantener su idea de ser candidato. Además de los desacuerdos en el Frente de Todos, la oposición sostiene que hay que mantener las PASO. P. 14

EL ESTADO EMPRESARIO

## Las empresas públicas ya pierden 5.363 millones de dólares por año

Son datos del Ministerio de Economía y del proyecto de Presupuesto que el Gobierno envió al Congreso. La más deficitaria es Enarsa. La siguen los trenes, Aerolíneas Argentinas, AySA y el Correo. El año próximo el gasto real de esas empresas crecerá un 8%. P. 6

Día de la Madre. Cecilia, con sus "mellizastros" y su hijo biológico Fidel.



EMMANUEL FERNÁNDEZ

## Las nuevas "madrastros"

Para la Real Academia, la palabra significa "madre que trata mal a los hijos". Pero aquel estereotipo ya fue superado por un nuevo perfil en las familias ensambladas. Y de las "malas de la película" pasaron a ser las madres del corazón. P. 42

ESTUDIO INTERNACIONAL

## Cuatro de cada diez enfermos de Covid quedaron con secuelas

La pesadilla va quedando atrás. Pero un amplio estudio -sobre casi 100 mil personas- y difundido por Nature, señala que cuatro de cada diez personas sostienen que "no se recuperaron del todo" hasta varios meses después. Los síntomas más frecuentes son la falta de aire y la dificultad para concentrarse. P. 46

Del Editor

Ricardo Kirschbaum

La contraofensiva de Alberto, el final de Manzur y Larreta vs Macri

P. 3

## Crescimento do PL muda centrão; PP de Lira se move

Após o PL de Jair Bolsonaro eleger quase cem deputados federais e se tornar a maior bancada da Câmara, o PP de Arthur Lira (AL), presidente da Casa, aposta na reeleição de Bolsonaro na tentativa de preservar seu poder no governo e dentro do centrão.

A ofensiva de Lira para criminalizar institutos de pesquisa faria parte do plano de agradar ao Planalto de olho em 2023. **Política A4**

## PAINEL S.A.

### Pela primeira vez na vida, digitarei o 13, diz Amoêdo

Fundador do partido Novo, o empresário João Amoêdo afirma que desistiu de lutar no segundo turno e resolveu votar em Lula, apesar de criticar o petista. "Atual presidente apresenta um risco substancialmente maior." **A20**

### 49% dão muita importância para a fé do candidato

**Política A6**

### Lula e Bolsonaro fazem 1º debate só entre eles hoje

**Política A7**

'Pintou um clima', diz presidente sobre menor Em entrevista a um podcast, Jair Bolsonaro (PL) disse que "pintou um clima" ao se referir a adolescentes venezuelanas que encontrou em passeio de moto na periferia do DF. Flávio Bolsonaro saiu em defesa do pai. **Política A6**

Eleitos têm R\$ 23,8 mil em multas ambientais Levantamento em base do Ibama com dados desde 2003 mostra que eleitos no primeiro turno somam R\$ 23,8 milhões em multas ambientais. O PL, de Jair Bolsonaro, o PSD e o União Brasil são as legendas com mais infratores, cinco em cada. **Ambiente B1**



Karime Xavier/Folhapress

## MST FAZ 'REBRANDING' E SE APROXIMA DE CIDADES E DA CLASSE MÉDIA

Iranice Ferreira Pereira, 76, no roçado onde planta principalmente milho na Comuna Irmã Alberta, em Perus, zona norte de São Paulo; ligada ao movimento, ocupação tem produção vendida na capital por meio de grupos que se organizam para comprar cestas quinzenais ou mensais ou via ecommerce **Mercado A24 e A25**

# Só 1 em cada 4 jovens espera que Brasil melhore em 10 anos

Datafolha entrevistou mil pessoas de 15 a 29 anos em 12 capitais do país; 76% gostariam de emigrar

### JOVENS DO BRASIL

Apenas 1 em cada 4 jovens diz acreditar que o Brasil estará muito melhor em dez anos, ainda que 2 em cada 3 estejam otimistas com a ascensão pessoal. Ao todo, 76% almejam deixar o país.

Os dados estão em pesquisa Datafolha que ouviu mil jovens de 15 a 29 anos em 12 capitais brasileiras, em 20 e 21 de julho deste ano, sobre situação socioeconômica, saúde, comportamento, tecnologia e cultura.

Os resultados serão publicados a partir de hoje na Folha. Entre outros dados, o estudo revela que estabilidade financeira/ficar rico é prioridade para mais deles (20%) do que ter boa formação e terminar a escola (8%).

Segundo o Banco Mundial, cada ano adicional de estudo no Brasil representa até 15% a mais na renda futura, acima dos 8% de impacto registrado na média global. A diferença vem de o país ter menos adultos qualificados.

A Folha ouviu jovens que abriram mão do desejo de se formar em engenharia e medicina em troca de ocupações mais precárias e que concluíram apenas o ensino médio a fim de obter renda o quanto antes. **Mercado A19**



Antonio Lavareda rebate críticas a institutos de pesquisa eleitoral **C6**

### MÔNICA BERGAMO

Carolina Jabor fala sobre o filme 'Transe', feito às vésperas da eleição de 2018 **C2**

### esporte B8

Sérvia faz 3 a 0, e Brasil adia Mundial no vôlei feminino



Eduardo Knapp/Folhapress

Kimberly Gomes de Souza, 16, vive na periferia de Guarulhos (SP) com parte da renda do Auxílio Brasil da mãe e da avó

## PC chinês inicia congresso para dar 3º mandato a Xi

O Partido Comunista Chinês abre hoje seu 20º Congresso para chancelar um inédito terceiro mandato a Xi Jinping, líder da segunda maior economia do mundo.

Xi terá como desafios a crise econômica interna, a posição na Guerra da Ucrânia e a condução da relação cada vez mais conflituosa com os EUA. **Mundo A15 a A17**

### Reinaldo José Lopes A importância de ser infante

Há excelentes razões para acreditar que o lentíssimo ritmo desse processo é um dos elementos-chave para transformar o Homo sapiens no que ele é hoje. Sem nosso tipo muito particular de infância, não haveria humanidade. **Ciência B6**

### EDITORIAIS A2

Na mesma Sobre a corrida presidencial, segundo o Datafolha.

Saúde no rótulo Acerca de novas normas para bebidas e alimentos.



embratel

## Habilite sua empresa para o próximo nível.

Fale com nossos especialistas pelo 0800-721-1021

ou acesse **embratel.com.br**



**Embratel**

habilite sua empresa para o próximo nível

5G



**Sector industrial reclama mayor efectividad a las instituciones del Estado**

## Contrabando inunda CDE por controles oficiales miopes

Comercios del Este venden sin problema pollos, aceite y otros artículos ilegales, en especial en el Mercado de Abasto. Situación es alarmante también en Nanawa.

PÁGINA 16

Condenado por usura  
**Burda maniobra de RGD para no pagar millonaria deuda al Fisco de su bolsillo**

PÁGINAS 12 y 55

**DOMINGO**

Cerro y Olimpia juegan esta tarde al todo o nada

PÁGINA 61

Empresario cuenta su singular historia de superación

PÁGINA 46

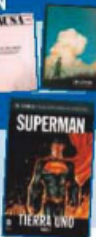
**CON ESTA EDICIÓN**

- REVISTA PAUSA
- FASCÍCULO COMICS GUERRA DEL CHACO Nº 5

**COMPRA OPCIONAL**

COLECCIÓN DC COMICS Nº 13

Libro: G. 50.000



**Un éxito que debe marcar un camino**

Odesur. Culminaron los Juegos ASU2022 con una excelente organización y un gran apoyo del público. En la clausura, anoche, Tirika recibió su medalla por su gran protagonismo.

PÁGINAS 14, 22, 23, 62 y 63



DARDO RAMÍREZ

Auditoría de Contraloría Irregular: Dibén rinde cuentas con planillas de excel y no con las facturas

PÁGINA 27

Veto a gastos superfluos  
**Ejecutivo seguirá con los rechazos a solicitudes de aumentos de los salarios**

PÁGINA 6

**En Primera Persona**

Ana Paula Fernandes Castro

"Al principio encarar mi miedo al agua fue uno de mis mayores desafíos"

PÁGINA 24



**ETIOS**  
MÁS POR DESCUBRIR

CUOTAS DE **\$269**  
SIN REFUERZOS  
SEGURIDAD  
ECONOMÍA DE CONSUMO  
SUSPENSIÓN REFORZADA



+595 21 6190000  
@10YOTAPY  
LATIN NCAP  
★★★★★



PETROBRAS LUBRAX