

## What's News

### Business & Finance

**Risks of the worldwide economic slowdown** turning into a steeper slump are rising, finance officials around the globe are warning, as strong inflation, high energy costs and climbing interest rates take hold. **A1**

◆ **U.S. workers in China's** domestic chip industry are in limbo under new American export-control rules that prohibit U.S. citizens from supporting China's advanced chip development. **A1**

◆ **Goldman Sachs** plans to fold its biggest businesses into three divisions, undertaking one of the biggest reshuffles in the Wall Street firm's history. **A1**

◆ **Three senior KFC** executives gave notice that they will retire at the end of November as rising interest rates threaten to reduce lump-sum payouts for corporate pensions. **B1**

◆ **Activist investor Starboard** has a sizable stake in Splunk and plans to push the software maker to take action to boost its stock price, according to people familiar with the matter. **B1**

◆ **P&G, Netflix and Tesla** highlight a busy coming week of earnings as persistent inflation and climbing interest rates stoke talk of a recession. **B3**

◆ **SPAC sponsors** made profits while investors in the businesses brought to market experienced significant losses as the black-check-company boom fizzled in recent years. **B4**

### World-Wide

◆ **China's Xi Jinping** in a speech to a Communist Party congress cast himself as the decisive leader his country needs in surmounting great adversity, pledging to build a more secure, powerful and egalitarian nation as he signaled plans to extend his decade-long rule. **A1, A8**

◆ **Russia's failure** to establish air superiority in the war's early days was a critical blunder, Western military officials say, leaving Moscow unable to stop Ukrainian attacks on the invader's forces with U.S.-supplied artillery and other weapons. **A6**

◆ **Democratic candidates** outlasted their Republican opponents in 10 of the most-competitive Senate races as the midterm campaigns headed into the final stretch before Election Day, filed reports show. **A4**

◆ **U.K. leader Truss** is battling to save her job after what many political analysts and members of her Conservative Party regard as the worst start to a British premier's term in modern times. **A20**

◆ **The protest movement** sweeping Iran spread to Tehran's Evin Prison, with detained dissidents chanting antigovernment slogans before violence erupted and a deadly fire engulfed the facility. **A20**

◆ **The State Department** is expanding outreach to U.S. technology firms to get them more involved in some top national-security challenges, U.S. officials said. **A5**

**JOURNAL REPORT**  
5G Technology: The space race for satellite networks. **R1-12**

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Chinese President Xi Jinping surrounded by senior members of the government at the end of the opening ceremony Sunday.

## Xi Sets Ambitions for China, Warns of Force Over Taiwan

By CHUN HAN WONG

HONG KONG—President Xi Jinping of China cast himself as the decisive helmsman his country needs in surmounting great adversity, pledging to build a more secure, powerful and egalitarian nation as he signaled plans to extend his decade-long rule.

In a Sunday speech, opening a Communist Party congress where he is set to defy recent norms and claim a third term as party chief, Mr. Xi issued a robust defense of his record, shaking off concerns over Covid-19, a sluggish economy and troubled ties with the U.S.

He recalled his efforts to curb corruption, rally public support for the party and champion China's political system as a counterweight to Western liberal democracy.

A campaign of "self-revolution," marked by forceful crackdowns on corruption and political dissent, Mr. Xi said, has "ensured that the party will never change in quality, change its color, or change its flavor"—party parlance for threats to Communist rule in China.

In televised remarks delivered from Beijing's Great Hall of the People, Mr. Xi also claimed successes in fighting Covid-19, enforcing order

### Grip Tightens

Tactics in purges echo the methods of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. **A8**

der in Hong Kong and curtailing what he called separatist activism in the island democracy of Taiwan, which Beijing claims as its territory.

He reiterated that Beijing won't renounce the use of force in unifying Taiwan, so as to deter outside interference and splittist elements. "The complete unification of the motherland must be realized, and it will be realized," he said, drawing

loud applause.

Mr. Xi directed parts of his speech to addressing concerns about China's ties to the rest of the world, amid rising geopolitical tensions and Beijing's own Covid-imposed isolation, reaffirming his support for globalization and adherence to a decades-old national policy of "reform and opening up."

While Mr. Xi warned of risks, challenges and "even dangerous storms" ahead, his report to the congress largely promised a continuation of his firm-handed rule at home and a more assertive exercise of power abroad, including by

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## Chip Rules Snag U.S. Executives

By LIZA LIN AND KAREN HAO

SINGAPORE—U.S. workers hold key positions throughout China's domestic chip industry, helping manufacturers develop new chips to catch up with foreign rivals. Now, those workers are in limbo under new U.S. export control rules that prohibit U.S. citizens from supporting China's advanced chip development.

At least 43 senior executives working with 16 publicly listed Chinese semiconductor companies are U.S. citizens, according to an examination of company filings and official websites by The Wall Street Journal. Many of them hold C-suite titles, from chief executive to vice president and chairman.

Almost all of the executives moved to China's chip industry

after spending years working in Silicon Valley for U.S. chip makers or semiconductor equipment firms, according to the companies' filings.

Their work histories reflect the free flow of talent across companies and borders over the years. Some were drawn to China through initiatives including the country's "Thousand Talents" program, which was introduced in 2008 by the Chinese government to boost research standards.

The Commerce Department imposed export controls this month over an array of chips and chip-making technology, marking the U.S.'s biggest salvo against China's tech industry so far.

In a rare move that caught the industry off guard, it also sought to restrict the use of American know-how by bar-

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## 'Sad World': Meta's New Flagship Is Falling Short

Documents depict a glitchy metaverse with uninterested users

Nearly a year after Mark Zuckerberg rebranded Facebook as Meta Platforms Inc. in a bet-the-company move on the metaverse, internal documents show the transition grappling with glitchy technology, uninterested users and a lack of clarity about what it will take to succeed.

By Jeff Horwitz, Salvador Rodriguez and Meghan Bobrowsky

While Mr. Zuckerberg has said the transition to a more immersive online experience will take years, the company's flagship metaverse offering for consumers, Horizon Worlds, is falling short of internal performance expectations.

Meta initially set a goal of reaching 500,000 monthly active users for Horizon Worlds by the end of this year, but in recent weeks revised that figure to 280,000. The current tally is less than 200,000, the docu-

ments show.

Most visitors to Horizon generally don't return to the app after the first month, and the user base has steadily declined since the spring, according to the documents, which include internal memos from employees.

By comparison, Meta's social-media products, including Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp, together attract more than 3.5 billion average monthly users—a figure equivalent to almost half the world's population. Horizon is currently reaching less than the population of Sioux Falls, S.D.

Horizon is designed to be a sprawling collection of interactive virtual spaces, or worlds, in which users appearing as avatars can shop, party and work. Yet there are rarely any girls in the Hot Girl Summer Rooftop Pool Party, and in Murder Village there is often no one to kill. Even the company's showcase worlds, such as Questy's, a virtual arcade featured in a Super Bowl commercial, have few visitors.

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### INSIDE



**BUSINESS & FINANCE**  
KFC parent loses managers as interest rates hit pension plans. **B1**



**PERSONAL JOURNAL**  
Designer Ralph Lauren holds his first fashion show on the West Coast. **A14**

## Goldman to Combine Businesses Into 3 Units

By JUSTIN BAER

Goldman Sachs Group Inc. plans to fold its biggest businesses into three divisions, undertaking one of the biggest reshuffles in the Wall Street firm's history.

Goldman will combine its flagship investment-banking and trading businesses into one unit, while merging asset and wealth management into another, people familiar with the matter said. Marcus, Goldman's consumer-banking arm, will be part of the asset- and wealth-management unit, the people said.

A third division will house transaction banking, the bank's portfolio of financial-technology platforms, specialty lender GreenSky, and its ventures with Apple Inc. and General

Motors Co., the people said.

The reorganization could be announced within days, the people said. Goldman is scheduled to report third-quarter earnings Tuesday.

It is unclear how the makeover will shake up Goldman's senior leadership team, though at least a few executives will have new roles, the people said. Marc Nachmann, the firm's co-head of trading, will slide over to help run the combined asset- and wealth-management arm, they said.

The reorganization is the latest step in Chief Executive David Solomon's push to shift Goldman's center of gravity toward businesses that generate steady fees in any environment. It also reflects the firm's struggle to overcome skepti-

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## Risks of A Deeper Global Slump Escalate

Finance officials warn rising borrowing costs and high inflation boost chances of a recession

By ANDREW DUEHRSEN AND YUKA HAYASHI

WASHINGTON—Risks of the worldwide economic slowdown turning into a steeper slump are rising, finance officials around the globe are warning, as strong inflation, high energy costs and climbing interest rates take hold.

Another bad U.S. inflation report last week is likely to keep the Federal Reserve lifting interest rates at a rapid clip. That could help spur the U.S. dollar higher, further elevating the cost of imports and debt service for many countries. Key energy producers are crimping supply, feeding price pressures and slowing economic activity, particularly in Europe. New data from China showed consumer spending falling sharply, another sign of cooling economic growth.

The uncertainty in the global economy has rolled markets, driving some wild swings. Markets had been hit by almost relentless selling heading into a short-lived rally toward the end of last week.

This coming week, as more companies plan to post third-quarter results, expectations for corporate earnings have

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◆ **The Outlook: Recession** is called more likely. **A2**  
◆ **Best-market rally** seen in wild shifts. **B1**





## No backing down for Iran's Generation Z

BIG READ, PAGE 15

## Renault-Nissan ties unravel after Ghosn

LEO LEWIS, PAGE 16

## Xi warns of 'critical time' for China as he embarks on record third term

◆ Week-long event to solidify rule ◆ Most powerful leader since Mao ◆ Clear message on Taiwan

TOM MITCHELL — SINGAPORE  
PRIMROSE RIORDEAN — HONG KONG

President Xi Jinping has called on the Chinese Communist party's 97m members to steel themselves for a "critical time" in the country's history, as he opened a congress that will solidify his status as its most powerful ruler since revolutionary hero Mao Zedong.

In an almost two-hour speech in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing yesterday, Xi said the party's "mission is glorious beyond compare" as he outlined goals ranging from the unification of China and Taiwan to an "all-out people's war" against the Covid-19 pandemic.

The Chinese premier pledged that the party, which celebrated its centennial last year and has been in power since 1949, would "never renounce the use of force [to achieve unification] and will

Xi has tied his legacy to unification. It is integral to his 'great rejuvenation' plan

Analysis, Page 5

take all necessary measures to stop all separatist movements".

"The resolution of the Taiwan issue is a matter for the Chinese people themselves, to be decided by the Chinese people," said Xi. Without mentioning the US specifically, he added that the party would combat "protectionism and bullying" by other nations.

This is a clear message to Taiwan and to the US," said Sunny Lu, a Hong Kong-based political analyst. "China has the determination to resolve the Taiwan issue within the next decade."

The week-long congress will end on Saturday and a new leadership line-up will be unveiled the following day. Xi's reappointment to a third term as party leader and head of the Chinese military is widely seen as a fait accompli, despite a series of controversial policies that have dramatically slowed growth in the world's second-largest economy and badly strained China's relationship with the US and its allies.



[The party] will take all necessary measures to stop all separatist movements'

Xi Jinping leads the opening ceremony of the 20th national congress of the Communist Party of China  
L. KAMRATI/GETTY

Yesterday, Xi said China had "achieved an overwhelming victory against corruption, eliminating serious hidden dangers within the party, state and military". He added that only continuous "self revolution" could ensure that the party remained in power.

The congress will position Xi, 69, as head of the party and military until at least 2027. Health permitting, it is possible that he will retain both posts until at least 2032, when he will turn 79 — the same age as US president Joe Biden now.

Only one of Xi's two living predecessors, Hu Jintao, was present at the opening of the congress. Jiang Zemin, who is 96 and in frail health, did not attend. In the early years of their respective party leaderships, Hu and Jiang were constrained by powerful predecessors.

That has not been the case for Xi, given the widespread perception that he was a weak leader who presided over a lost decade marked by rampant corruption and environmental destruction.

The party congress will usher in a new 200-member central committee, a politburo comprised of the party's top 25 officials and a seven-seat Politburo Standing Committee, headed by Xi.

Only two of Xi's six colleagues on the Politburo Standing Committee are due to retire, in accordance with an unofficial rule that members aged 68 or older cannot be reappointed — a guideline that does not apply to the party leader. But the age limit could be lowered to 67, which would force another two officials to step down, including Premier Li Keqiang.

Li has been overshadowed for the past decade by Xi, who has usurped most of the authority exercised by previous premiers.

In the run-up to the congress, the party's flagship media outlets reaffirmed the importance of Xi's zero-Covid policy. Health officials boasted last week that they can test 1bn people a day. In September, Girsin told his 700,000 Telegram followers that Russia had "already lost" the war.

Additional reporting by Xinming Liu, Nian Liu and Thomas Hale

## Briefing

► **Truss in survival fight as business and MPs raise heat**  
The UK premier was under pressure to resign last night as her new finance minister hinted he could scrap more of her fiscal plan. — PAGE 3; MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 17

► **Credit Suisse plan widens**  
The board has turned its focus to non-core parts of Swiss Universal Bank as it looks to raise cash from disposals to close a capital hole of around \$4.47bn. — PAGE 5

► **Storm Ian bill up to \$75bn**  
Insurance losses from the hurricane that swept through Florida and South Carolina have put it on course to be the most expensive for decades. — PAGE 7

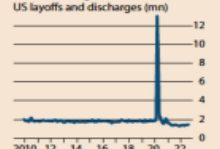
► **Blaze at Iran jail kills 4**  
Authorities have confirmed fatalities in a fire on Saturday at the notorious Evin prison after inmates clashed with security forces. — PAGE 4; BIG READ, PAGE 15

► **EU cash threat to Poland**  
Brussels officials have said the commission is ready to freeze regional aid payments to Warsaw because of the stand-off over judicial independence. — PAGE 2

► **Tunisia reaches IMF deal**  
The government has reached a preliminary accord on a \$1.9bn loan to help ease pressure on an economy plagued by food and fuel shortages. — PAGE 2

## Datawatch

## Harder to get fired



Layoffs in the US have hit a historic low. Economists do not expect the Federal Reserve's efforts to cool the economy to trigger the kind of job losses that Covid sparked because companies are fighting to retain staff amid labour shortages



## Greensill creditors seek clarity in Australian court

A court case in Australia next month could offer light for Greensill Capital creditors struggling to recoup billions of dollars from the collapsed financier. The case hinges on whether founder Lex Greensill acted fraudulently to secure insurance cover on loans issued by the business. Banks such as Credit Suisse, which had \$10bn of funds linked to Greensill loans, will be hoping that the policies are deemed valid and that insurers' claims are dismissed.

Test case — PAGE 6

## Ukraine crowdfunds \$150,000 bounty to capture notorious Russian blogger

CHRISTOPHER MILLER — KYIV

Ukrainians have raised millions of dollars in online fundraisers to buy weapons and equipment for their army fighting Vladimir Putin's invading force — and now they are crowdfunding a bounty for a Russian fighter and blogger.

A campaign launched this weekend has raised more than \$150,000 to reward the capture of Igor Girsin, a prominent Russian nationalist, fundraiser leader Serhiy Stetsenko said. One Ukrainian activist said he hoped the amount would be attractive enough for Girsin's own comrades to turn him in.

Girsin led Kremlin-backed separatists during Putin's first invasion of Ukraine in 2014. Going by the nom de guerre Igor Strelkov, meaning "shooter", he became notorious for his brutality.

On his watch Russian forces shot down Malaysia Airlines flight MH17, killing all 298 crew and passengers. Girsin is one of four defendants in a case about the downing of the plane being tried in the Netherlands.

The court is expected to rule next month. In an interview with a Ukrainian journalist in 2020, Girsin said he felt "indirect responsibility" for the shooting down of MH17.

In August 2014 he was recalled to Moscow, where he appeared on nationalist radio programmes and kept a relatively low profile. But since Putin's full-scale invasion in February he has re-emerged as an influential military blogger and recently became a staunch critic of Moscow's poor performance, advocating escalation.

Earlier this month it was rumoured that he had returned to the battlefield in

Ukraine, and this weekend his wife Myroslava Reginska posted a photo of him in military uniform on his Telegram channel. The apparent confirmation that Girsin had gone to fight in Ukraine triggered the bounty-raising effort.

Ukraine's Luhansk oblast governor Serhiy Hayday and tennis player Sergiy Stakhovsky were among many who donated large sums of money. "€10,000 from me", Hayday wrote on Twitter. "The criminal must answer for his crimes."

Hours later, Ukraine's defence intelligence office, the GUR, tweeted a wanted poster featuring Girsin and his trademark pencil moustache. "GUR guarantees \$100,000 for the captured Girsin," it said. In September, Girsin told his 700,000 Telegram followers that Russia had "already lost" the war.

Ukraine faces cold winter page 2

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## World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Oct 14	Prev	%Chg		Oct 14	Oct 7			Oct 14	Oct 7	Chg
S&P 500	3608.01	3609.91	-1.69	\$/£	0.875	0.9379	6/5	1.025	1.022	US 2 yr	4.51
Nasdaq Composite	10417.04	10540.15	-2.18	\$/¥	1.125	1.113	0/8	0.880	0.898	US 10 yr	4.81
Dow Jones Ind	29787.45	30038.72	-0.84	€/£	0.867	0.879	6/2	1.154	1.138	US 30 yr	5.90
FTSEurofirst 300	1549.64	1543.50	0.40	¥/\$	148.365	145.140	N/E	144.708	142.027	UK 2 yr	3.84
Euro Stoxx 50	3390.74	3382.40	0.24	¥/€	166.963	161.580	E index	77.193	76.391	UK 10 yr	4.33
FTSE 100	6959.79	6959.27	0.12	\$/¥	0.979	0.971	8/16	1.129	1.104	UK 30 yr	4.79
FTSE All-Share	3740.85	3732.80	0.21							JPN 2 yr	-0.05
CAC 40	5931.32	5879.19	0.90							JPN 10 yr	0.25
Xetra Dax	12437.81	12395.58	0.67							JPN 30 yr	1.46
Nikkei	27090.76	28237.42	-3.25							GER 2 yr	1.94
Hang Seng	16507.68	16388.11	1.71							GER 10 yr	2.25
MSCI World \$	2411.69	2367.68	1.86							GER 30 yr	2.39
MSCI EM \$	854.53	865.34	-1.25								
MSCI ACWI \$	598.71	592.37	1.51								
FT Mibexe 2500	4762.08	4867.58	-2.45								
FT Wilshire 5000	37359.04	36463.20	2.45								

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Conscripts saying goodbye at a recruiting office in Moscow. Criticism of the hurried and haphazard mobilization is widespread.

## Explosions Hit Staging Region Used by Russia

This article is by Andrew Higgins,  
Megan Specia and Ivan Necheperenko.

Struggling on the battlefield in southern and eastern Ukraine, Russia felt war on its own territory on Sunday as more than a dozen explosions ripped through a city firmly controlled by Russia and its proxies since 2014, sent a powerful signal that the mayhem unleashed by President Vladimir V. Putin's invasion is spreading far beyond the front lines.

The strikes in the Belgorod region next to Ukraine and the destruction of the municipal administration building in Donetsk, a city controlled by Russia and its proxies since 2014, sent a powerful signal that the mayhem unleashed by President Vladimir V. Putin's invasion is spreading far beyond the front lines.

The blasts, which Russia attributed to Ukrainian shelling, came a day after another sign of disarray in Russia's once-vaunted military machine: Two men opened fire on fellow Russian soldiers at a training camp in the Belgorod region, killing 11 and wounding 15 before being killed themselves.

The Russian Defense Ministry, in a statement cited by the state media outlets RIA Novosti and TASS, described the shootings as a terrorist attack. It said the two gunmen were from a former Soviet nation and had fired on the soldiers during target practice at a firing range.

The episodes, along with an Oct. 8 attack on Russia's only bridge to Crimea, a region occupied by Moscow since 2014, added to a growing impression that what Mr. Putin declared a "special military operation" in February has spiraled in dangerous new directions.

Belarus — Ukraine's neighbor to the north and a close ally of Russia from whose territory it launched an abortive attack on the Ukrainian capital in February — announced on Sunday that trains carrying Russian troops had arrived in preparation for the formation of a new joint Russia-Belarus force. The Belarusian Defense Ministry said on Telegram that the new force, whose exact purpose has not been spelled out, had also

Continued on Page A7

**BABY BUMP** Ukraine's surrogate mothers and agencies manage to continue deliveries. PAGE A8



**BUSINESS B1-8**

### Left Behind in Reno

As companies flock to the Nevada city, workers there are facing high costs for housing, gas and groceries. PAGE B1

### Billionaire's Overseas Address

Peter Thiel, the tech investor and Republican political patron, is said to be seeking Maltese citizenship. PAGE B1

## Inside Russia's Chaotic Draft, Desperation Swells

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

A half-dozen Russian soldiers talk about being shipped to an area of intense fighting in eastern Ukraine just 11 days after their mobilization. Asked about his shooting practice, a bearded conscript says, "Once. Three magazines."

In a town near Yekaterinburg, in central Russia, newly mobilized men march in place in their street clothes. "No machine guns, nothing, no clothes, no shoes," says an unidentified observer. "Half of them are hung over, old, at risk — the ambulance should be on duty."

Elsewhere, scores of relatives of freshly drafted Russian soldiers crowd outside a training center, passing items through its fence to

## Conscripts Deployed 'Like Meat,' Lacking Training and Arms

the recruits — boots, berets, bulletproof vests, backpacks, sleeping bags, camping mats, medicine, bandages and food.

"This is not how it's done," a woman named Elena told the news outlet Samara Online. "We buy everything."

Despite draconian laws against criticizing the "special military operation" in Ukraine, Russian social media is awash with scenes like those above captured in widely circulating videos. Such posts are taking the Ministry of

Defense to task for acting just as Western military experts predicted: rushing thousands of newly drafted, untrained, ill-equipped soldiers to Ukraine, too desperate to plug holes in its defensive lines to mold the men into cohesive units.

"They are giving them at best basics and at worst nothing and throwing them into combat, which suggests that these guys are just literally cannon fodder," said William Alberque, a specialist on the Russian armed forces and the director of the arms control program at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, a research organization based in London.

An extreme sign of disorder came on Saturday, when two men

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The Manhattan Fencing Center. Fencing can be expensive, but is good on a college application.

## Fencing Is Pricey. And It Can Open an Ivy Door.

By STEPHANIE SAUL

At the Manhattan Fencing Center, the athletes don't look much like the swashbuckling heroes in the movies. There are no daring leaps or flips, no slashing or gallivanting around the room. Instead, young fencers methodically attack and parry along a long, narrow strip of floor. A hit — the touch of an opponent's barb — can be missed by the naked eye.

But for families who invest in

## Niche Sports Are Out of Reach of Most

this expensive sport, the main target is quite clear — just look up. Hanging from the ceiling are flags from Duke, Harvard, N.Y.U., Johns Hopkins, Notre Dame, Princeton and Columbia, representing the clique of colleges and universities with N.C.A.A. fencing

teams.

A way with a sword can help students stand out in the college admissions game, according to Yuri Gelman, founder of the Manhattan Fencing Center. "Parents," he said, "realize that fencing is one of the best sports to put your child in a good university, because each good school, especially Ivy League schools, have fencing."

Fencing is also expensive. Beyond coaching, equipment and

Continued on Page A17

## G.O.P. Gains Edge in Poll As Economy Sways Voters

### In Tight Races, Some Calling for Biden. Not That Biden.

By KATIE ROGERS

ORLANDO, Fla. — Jill Biden's weekend included five flights, 11 events and three appearances with Democrats who all requested her help ahead of the midterm elections. There was also a spin class in there somewhere.

During one particularly busy 27-hour chunk of time, Dr. Biden, the first lady, appeared in Atlanta, where the voting rights activist Stacey Abrams is in an uphill race against Brian Kemp, the Republican governor. Then it was on to Florida, where she toured a breast cancer research facility and gave an interview to Newsmax, the conservative network. After that, she appeared with Representative Val B. Demings, who hopes to unseat Senator Marco Rubio, and Charlie Crist, a centrist Democrat who trails Ron DeSantis, the governor and conservative firebrand.

"It's not going to be easy," Dr. Biden, on the last leg of a 15-hour day, told a group of people at a second event to support Ms. Demings on Saturday. "But we know how to win because we've done it before."

With President Biden's job approval hovering at about 40 percent at a moment when Democrats are struggling to hold onto the House and Senate, Dr. Biden has become a lifeline for candidates trying to draw attention and money but not the baggage that an appearance with her husband would bring. According to a senior White House official, she is the most requested surrogate in the administration.

"She does not offend people in a way that a president can because she's much less polarizing and political," said Michael LaRosa, a communications strategist and her former press secretary. "It's why she's so important to Iowa and New Hampshire during the campaign and why she can place now that the president can't."

Modern first ladies are usually relied on to humanize their husbands or translate their policies, but how much they decide to engage is almost always up to them. Melania Trump was more popular than her husband and was a much-requested surrogate, but she did not campaign for him during the 2016 midterms or during the 2020 campaign, often saying she was too busy parenting her

Continued on Page A16

## Tehran's Most Loyal Defenders Have Much to Lose in Protests

By BEN HUBBARD  
and FARNAZ FASSIHI

The intensity of protests that have swept Iran over the past month, with calls to topple the Islamic Republic, have shaken the state. But in some ways, the country's authoritarian clerical rulers have been preparing for this moment since the 1979 Islamic Revolution, which established a conservative theocracy that has held firm until today.

The revolution's founder, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, ordered the creation of the Revolutionary Guards force that same year to defend against coups or defections by the regular army.

With hundreds of thousands of members today, the Guards are Iran's most powerful military force as well as major players in its economy. Many analysts argue Iran is no longer a theocracy ruled by Shiite clerics, but a military state ruled by the Guards.

Along with the domestic police forces, a plainclothes militia



Iran's Revolutionary Guards force was created in 1979.

known as the Basij, a volunteer force under the umbrella of the Revolutionary Guards, has been on the front lines for weeks, using brutal tactics to try to quash the protests, as it has done in past revolts.

But they have failed, and last week, a different breed of defenders began to show up on the streets of Tehran, the capital, and

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**SPORTS D1-8**

### Yankees Stay Alive for Game 5

A homer by Harrison Bader, above, helped even the division series, with a 4-2 win over Cleveland. PAGE D1

### N.B.A. Season Preview

After a busy off-season, including a punch among champions, action on the court is set to begin. PAGES D4-5

## NATIONAL A14-17 Oasis for Venezuelans

At a storage center in Doral, Fla., where more than a third of residents were born in Venezuela, migrants find a contact point. They can also pick up household items and clothes. PAGE A14

## Inmate Accused of Bank Fraud

A Georgia prisoner used a contraband phone to impersonate a billionaire and secure more than \$11 million in gold coins, which were used to buy a house, prosecutors say. PAGE A17

## OPINION A18-19

**Frank Bruni** PAGE A19



**ARTS C1-6**

### Giving a Sculptor His Due

Yale University Art Gallery maps the works of the Nigerian sculptor Moshood Olusomo Bamigboye. Above, a carving of a war general. PAGE C1





## On a racist tape, a familiar colorism

L.A. Latinos fear old prejudices will set back their leadership gains and efforts at building coalitions.

By RACHEL URANGA

On the Eastside streets of Los Angeles, Ana Castro is a political foot soldier of local acclaim, known as “La del Mecedador.”

For decades, the 67-year-old janitor marched in street protests and knocked on doors carrying a floppy string mop as a working-class totem, earning her the Spanish moniker “the Mop Woman.”

Los Angeles City Councilman Kevin de León showed up at Castro’s apartment in Montecito Heights when he was looking for help campaigning for assemblyman, and she started going straight from her night shift cleaning high-rise offices to canvassing for him on the Eastside. She did the same for Councilman Gil Cedillo.

She is *una guerrera*, a warrior, say Latino politicians and activists, fighting for immigrants and tenants and workers, for those too often ignored.

Now, like the legions of Latinos she has marched with, she is bereft — sickened by the racist rhetoric on the leaked conversation among Latino councilmembers that emerged last week, fearing that it will undermine what has become her life’s crusade.

“They did so much damage,” she said. “What are we going to tell people when we call during campaigns?”

The year-old, secretly recorded audio revealed Councilmembers Nury [See Latinos, A6]

## The scramble to replace Martinez

The names of potential District 6 replacements are already popping up. CALIFORNIA, B1

## Racist recording’s forgotten victim

“I’m a Black woman, not a pawn,” Heather Hutt says. CALIFORNIA, B1

## Scandal strikes at heart of Latinidad

Racist comments expose fraught debate on Latino identity. CALENDAR, E1



LUIS SINCO Los Angeles Times

A CONTAINER ship at the Port of Los Angeles in December. Last year, the port saw 56% more emissions of diesel particulate matter, 54% more nitrogen oxides and 145% more sulfur oxides compared with 2020.

## AMERICA UNSETTLED

# Abortion assumptions upended

Democrats used to avoid talking to Latino voters about a woman’s right to end a pregnancy. Then Roe was overturned.

By MELANIE MASON AND NOAH BIERMAN

MIMBRES, N.M. — Gabe Vasquez’s latest campaign ad is simple to the point of austerity: black-and-white portraits of women, a melancholic piano score, and a recitation of his opponent’s stance on abortion.

“I will always protect a woman’s right to choose,” Vasquez, a Demo-

crat, vows, drawing a contrast with his Republican opponent, Rep. Yvette Herrell.

Such a commercial could be running in any number of contested congressional seats, where Democrats nationwide are leaning hard into abortion rights as the November election approaches. Most notable in Vasquez’s pitch, however, is that it is airing, in both English and Spanish, in New Mexico’s 2nd District — the most

Latino seat in the state with the highest percentage, 47.7%, of Latinos in the nation.

Just as the reversal of Roe vs. Wade has scrambled Democrats’ overall midterm playbook, it has also prompted the party to rethink its long-standing approach with Latino voters. The party is putting the abortion issue at the center, discarding decades of conventional wisdom that [See New Mexico, A7]

# His grip on China about to get tighter

An unprecedented third term will allow President Xi Jinping to aggressively pursue his vision for global dominance.

By STEPHANIE YANG AND DAVID SHEN

TAIPEI, Taiwan — In coming days, Chinese President Xi Jinping is expected to further cement his standing as the Communist Party’s most powerful leader in decades. But last week, a flicker of dissent appeared in China’s capital.

Two banners had been hung on an overpass Thursday amid a column of smoke in Beijing’s northern Haidian district. One called for students and workers to strike and oust Xi, labeling him a traitor to his country.

The other condemned life in China during his 10 years as the party’s gen- [See China, A4]



MARK SCHIEFFELBEIN Associated Press

CHINESE PRESIDENT Xi Jinping addresses the opening ceremony of the 20th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on Sunday.

# Roberts expected back, but Dodgers face questions

The manager is likely to return next season. Playoff collapse could prompt other changes.

By JACK HARRIS

After a decade of unprecedented regular-season dominance, a run that however has mostly been marked by playoff disappointment that continued Saturday night with their elimination in the National League Division Series, the Dodgers find themselves in a familiar place entering this offseason.

Trying to sustain the success that included winning a franchise-record 111 games this year — but build a team more consistent come October, where they’ve captured just one World Series title during a stretch of 10 consecutive postseason appearances.



WALLY SKALIZ Los Angeles Times

UNDER DAVE ROBERTS, the Dodgers again excelled during the regular season but fell short in the playoffs, this time losing to the San Diego Padres in the NLDS.

One thing that likely won’t change is the manager.

Dave Roberts, the target of fan frustration following another early exit and for his failure to win more than one championship during his tenure, is expected to return next year for his eighth season as the Dodgers’ manager, according to a person with knowledge of the situation who wasn’t authorized to speak publicly. Roberts is set to begin a three-year contract extension he signed before this season.

But after a disastrous NLDS defeat to the San Diego Padres this past week, which was sealed when the Dodgers blew a three-run lead late in Game 4 on Saturday, there are plenty of other unknowns the club will have to address.

Among them — the future of several players, including franchise cornerstones Clayton Kershaw and Justin Turner. [See Dodgers, A8]

# PORTS REPORT FOUL AIR SURGE IN 2021

Officials at L.A., Long Beach complex blame COVID-19 logjam for the huge increase in harmful emissions.

By TONY BRISCOE

When Janet Schaaf-Gunter peered through the window at San Pedro Bay last year, she saw so many cargo ships it looked as if Southern California was on the brink of an invasion.

As a veil of gray exhaust settled over the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach, Schaaf-Gunter worried about how much more diesel pollution she and her neighbors would be inhaling during the shipping logjam.

“I’m looking out my window, and I have a view of the harbor, which is lovely — and used to be more lovely,” said Schaaf-Gunter, a member of San Pedro Peninsula Homeowners United. “And I’m seeing dozens of ships that are along our coast sitting out there spewing.”

Schaaf-Gunter’s health worries were confirmed recently when port officials announced an unprecedented increase in harmful emissions last year.

At the Port of Los Angeles, cancer-causing diesel particulate matter rose 56% compared with 2020. The emissions of nitrogen oxides, the precursor to smog, increased 54% and lung-irritating sulfur oxides rose 145%.

At the neighboring Port of Long Beach, diesel particulate increased 42%, nitrogen oxides grew 35% and sulfur oxides rose 38%.

In addition to air toxins, the reports said greenhouse gas emissions were up 39% in 2021 at the Port of L.A. and 35% at the Port of Long Beach.

The report has outraged neighborhood activists and clean-air advocates, who say the ports are failing on promises to mitigate the effects of port activity on air quality.

For their part, the ports say the surge was an anomaly, and that they’ve taken steps to reduce the health effects of future slowdowns. Although the increase in pollution was substantial, officials said emissions are still much lower than levels in the mid-2000s.

“We’ve been talking for years about how an efficient [See Port pollution, A8]

## Black voters at center of Senate race

John Fetterman and Mehmet Oz campaign as though the bloc will decide the Pennsylvania winner. NATION, A5

## LAUSD abuse lawsuit settled

The victims of a school wrestling coach will receive \$52 million. CALIFORNIA, B1

## Rams’ losing streak is over

They defeat Carolina 24-10, but trouble spots persist. SPORTS, D1

Weather Clouds, then sun. L.A. Basin: 78/63. B6

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Mostly cloudy 69/44 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny, cool 56/39 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 2022 • B2

## Jackson makes her voice heard from Day 1

New justice dominates questioning, commentary in Supreme Court

BY ROBERT BARNES  
AND ANN E. MARIMOW

On the Friday before the Supreme Court's term began, Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson told a crowd celebrating her investiture as the court's first Black female member that they would be hearing more from her.

"I have a seat at the table now," she said at the Library of Congress event. "And I'm ready to work."

Still, few were prepared for Jackson's venturesome debut in the court's first sitting. Over eight oral arguments, she dominated the questioning and commentary,



speaking twice as much as her next most loquacious colleague. It is probably a record for a new justice, according to Adam Feldman, who tracks such things for his Empirical SCOTUS blog.

Jackson was a persistent questioner in every case. Her contributions ranged from the sweeping — a rejection of an originalist interpretation of a colorblind Constitution that provoked swoons from the liberal legal community — to the kind of mundane minutiae upon which even Supreme Court decisions turn.

To wit, in a case about federal law regarding overtime pay: "You're now suggesting that [Section] 601 is distinguishing highly compensated at the 455 level, but I see that in 600, which is not in the highly compensated."

Janai S. Nelson, president of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, said Jackson's focus on issues large and small "was a delight to witness."

SEE JACKSON ON A4



RAFAEL VILELA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

THE AMAZON, UNDONE

## The killing of Dom and Bruno

A Post reporter's friend was shot dead in Brazil. He went deep into the forest to learn why.

BY TERENCE MCCOY

ATALAIA DO NORTE, BRAZIL — There's nowhere to hide on the water. Looking out from stilt houses high atop the bluffs, the river dwellers have a clear view of everything that putters down the Itaquai. Nothing goes by unnoticed, not even the small aluminum motorboat that rounded the bend here early one Sunday in June.

The boat carried two men. One was Bruno Pereira, an activist investigating poachers in the nearby Indigenous territory. The other was Dom Phillips, a British journalist documenting his work. The men had left their Amazon rainforest encampment at dawn — early enough, they believed, to sneak past the river community where some of the poachers lived and make it back to town.

But a poacher known as Pelado was already awake. The wiry and hardened



BONNIE JO MOUNT/WASHINGTON POST

**TOP:** Curves of the Itui and Itaquai rivers inside the Javari Valley Indigenous Territory in Brazil's Amazonas state. **ABOVE:** British journalist Dom Phillips on a reporting trip in an Awá Indigenous village in Brazil in July 2015. Phillips and Brazilian activist Bruno Pereira were killed in Brazil in June.

fisherman was standing outside his wooden plank house above the water filling a canister with gasoline, according to a confession he gave to police, when he spotted the boat.

He didn't know Dom. But he recognized the bearish man piloting the vessel. It was his nemesis, the man he'd allegedly told others he wanted to shoot: Bruno.

Pelado put down the canister. He went to fetch his gun.

"There he goes," he called to another fisherman, he later told police. "Let's go kill him."

Pelado and the other man headed down to the river, each carrying a 16-gauge shotgun. They climbed into Pelado's boat and took off after the two men, vanishing around the river bend and setting in motion a series of events that would shock the country, draw worldwide attention to the

SEE AMAZON ON A8

## Iran ups its pledge of arms to Russia

OFFICIALS HIGHLIGHT DRONES, MISSILES

New flow has potential to offset losses in Ukraine

BY JOBY WARRICK,  
ELLEN NAKASHIMA  
AND SHANE HARRIS

Iran is strengthening its commitment to supply arms for Russia's assault on Ukraine, according to U.S. and allied security officials, secretly agreeing to send not only attack drones but also what some officials described as the first Iranian-made surface-to-surface missiles intended for use against Ukrainian cities and troop positions.

The increased flow of weapons from Tehran could help offset what Biden administration officials say have been huge losses in Russian military equipment since Moscow invaded in February, and a rapidly dwindling supply of precision-guided munitions of the kind used in last week's strikes against multiple Ukrainian cities.

Independent news outlets in recent days published photos of the remains of what appear to be Iranian-made drones used in strikes against Ukrainian targets, calling into question Iran's repeated denials that it has supplied such weapons to its ally Russia. Pentagon officials also publicly confirmed the use of Iranian

SEE IRAN ON A16

**Russian conscription:** Men are being grabbed off the street. **A15**

**Blaze at Evim:** Massive fire breaks out in notorious Iranian prison. **A17**

## Xi presents China as 'new choice' for humanity

BY CHRISTIAN SHEPHERD  
AND LILY KUO

Chinese leader Xi Jinping pledged Sunday to turn China into a "great modern socialist country" that represents a "new choice" for humanity, as he opened a Chinese Communist Party meeting where he is expected to secure a precedent-breaking third term.

From a lectern onstage at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, Xi spoke without a mask for an hour and 45 minutes to open the twice-per-decade meeting that sets the national agenda for the next five years.

Xi declared that the new "core mission" of the party is to lead a country "united in struggle" to be a powerful, modern socialist nation by 2049, a hundred years after the People's Republic was founded. As the most powerful

SEE CHINA ON A19

## Health of Senate candidate sparks contentious debate

John Fetterman of Pa. draws friends and foes as he recovers from stroke

BY COLBY ITRKOWITZ,  
LENNY BERENSTEIN  
AND AMANDA MORRIS

WALLINGFORD, PA. — A few minutes into his rally, John Fetterman told the crowd he wanted to address the "elephant in the room."

"I had a stroke, you all know that," the Democratic Senate nominee said here Saturday. "I gotta give a loco — excuse me — local shout out to Penn Medicine

for saving my life."

Fetterman, 53, explained that sometimes he stumbles over his words and has "auditory processing" issues. He asked rallygoers to raise their hand if they or someone they love had dealt with a serious health issue. Nearly every hand went up.

Since he suffered a stroke in May days before the primary, Fetterman and his allies have sought to make his recovery a lesson in empathy. The campaign has shared messages from people who say Fetterman inspired them to prioritize their own health. After his event Saturday, Fetterman knelt and spoke with a woman using a wheelchair who had

SEE FETTERMAN ON A6

## In Ohio, manufacturing on the ballot

Industry revamp has taken center stage in competitive Senate race

BY DAVID J. LYNCH



SARAH RICE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Aaron Bates's company, Toledo Solar, is gearing up to produce more solar panels in its highly automated facility.**

PERRYBURG, OHIO — The transformation of American manufacturing that is unfolding here promises to reshape the nation's economy and its politics, with new solar energy, electric vehicle and semiconductor plants sprouting in faded factory towns.

Talk of industrial revival already is starring in the race for Ohio's open U.S. Senate seat, as both Rep. Tim Ryan, the Democrat, and Republican J.D. Vance seek to embed themselves in the state's comeback narrative.

In interviews, Ryan embraced the Biden administration's use of generous government subsidies

SEE OHIO ON A7

## IN THE NEWS



KATHERINE FREY/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Green on the gridiron** With 12 boys who had never played organized football, Clarksburg High is having a transformative season. **D1**

**Abortion fight** In Montana, the race for a seat on the state Supreme Court will test residents' support for access to the procedure. **A3**

**THE NATION** Donald Trump attacked American Jews in an online post, saying they must "get their act together" and show Israel more appreciation "before it is too late." **A4**

**Alaska will cancel** the winter snow crab season in the Bering Sea for the first time and bar fishers from catching king crabs in Bristol Bay for a second straight year. **A20**

**THE WORLD** France threw money at its energy crisis, but anger is still widespread among the working and middle classes. **A14**

**THE ECONOMY** Your boss can monitor your activities without special software, the Help Desk explains. **A21**

**THE REGION** Muslims challenging federal watch lists say government tactics have made it impossible to have their concerns heard in court. **B1**

**For GOP attorney general nominee Michael Peroutka, God's law**

comes before Maryland's. **B1**

**When a high school marching band needed money, Post readers rushed to help. **B1****

### THE WEEK AHEAD

**MONDAY** Vice President Harris participates in a discussion in California on reproductive rights.

**Secretary of State Antony Blinken** discusses technology, diplomacy and more with former secretary of state Condoleezza Rice.

**The Supreme Court** releases orders.

**TUESDAY** Harris delivers remarks

about climate change while in California and attends a Democratic National Committee finance event.

**WEDNESDAY** Housing starts for September are expected at an annualized rate of 1.475 million.

**THURSDAY** Jobless claims for the week ended Oct. 15 are expected at 235,000.

**President Biden** travels to Pittsburgh for a reception for Senate nominee John Fetterman.

**The Senate** meets for a pro forma session.

**FRIDAY** The House meets for a pro forma session.

## INSIDE



### STYLE

**After the storm**

Five years on, where are the men who were accused during the #MeToo movement? **C1**

### Big swings, and some misses

This fall, theater that tackles sensitive subjects and seeks to dissect provocative minds is on the agenda in D.C. **C1**

**BOOKS** NEWS.....A21  
**COMICS**.....C6  
**OPINION** PAGES.....A22  
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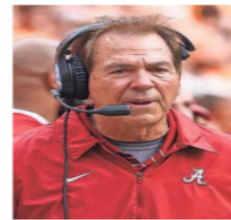


## How Kroger, Albertsons deal will affect shoppers

Kroger CEO: Merger should improve product freshness and private label offerings. **In Money**

## '60 Minutes' journalist persistent 'to a fault'

Veteran correspondent Lesley Stahl talks career and her problem being called tough. **In Life**



RANDY SARTIN/  
USA TODAY SPORTS

## Big bucks for college football coaches

USA TODAY Sports' analysis reveals 15.3% rise in average pay, with Alabama's Nick Saban making the most at \$10.9 million. **In Sports**

# USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 2022

### US-RUSSIA TENSION

## Releasing Griner not a priority for Russia

Putin aide says Biden's push is tied to midterms

John Bacon  
USA TODAY

The release of WNBA star Brittney Griner from a Moscow-area prison is a priority for President Joe Biden but not for Moscow, an aide to Russian President Vladimir Putin said Sunday.

"In this tense situation, I think that he (Biden) is thinking first and foremost about the upcoming midterm elections," said Yuri Ushakov on state-run TV program "Moscow. Kremlin. Putin." "He keeps emphasizing the need to bring (Griner) back home ... however, it's not the main issue that we are concerned about."

Griner has been in Russian custody since her February arrest, days before Russia invaded Ukraine, at a Moscow-area airport on drug smuggling charges. She said she inadvertently packed cannabis oil in her luggage. She pleaded guilty and was issued a nine-year prison sentence, which her lawyers are appealing.

Efforts to arrange a swap to free her have been hampered by the historically poor relations between Russia and the United States.

Biden has said he would be willing to discuss Griner's case with Putin at next month's Group of 20 meeting in Indonesia.



U.S. President Joe Biden says he's open to talking with Russia about Brittney Griner's case in November. ALEXANDER ZEMLIANICHENKO/AP

### DANGEROUS SEAS



Bekah Lane, program coordinator for the Marine Mammal Center in Sausalito, Calif., takes photos of whale flukes to help identify the whales feeding more than 20 miles offshore of San Francisco. BRIAN FEULNER FOR USA TODAY

## Endangered whales are becoming ocean 'roadkill'

A female juvenile fin whale, 38 feet long, lies over the bow of a ship in the port of Long Beach, Calif.

PROVIDED BY ALISA SCHULMAN-JANIGER VIA UC SANTA BARBARA BENIOFF OCEAN SCIENCE LABORATORY



"What we're giving the shipping industry is a risk index. We're telling them how 'whaley' it is on any given day and how important it is that they slow down then."

Douglas McCauley, marine biologist working with Whale Safe

### Scientists work to slow ships near busy ports

Elizabeth Weise  
USA TODAY

OFF THE FARALLON ISLANDS, Calif. – Twenty-eight miles off San Francisco Bay, the sea is alive with whales. Spout after spout shoot from the water as more than two dozen humpbacks feast on glittering schools of anchovies.

From the prow of a small boat, Bekah Lane, program coordinator for the Marine Mammal Center in Sausalito, California, scrambles to track them all.

"There's a group of five over there, and another three over there, and at least four moms with calves," she said, binoculars scanning back and forth over the water. "We're just surrounded by whales here."

Unfortunately, the abundant fish that draw humpbacks here mean these whales are effectively having a picnic on a freeway – and they don't know they're

See WHALES, Page 4A

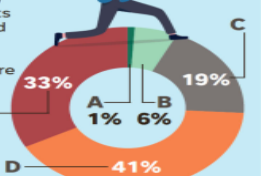


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### USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

#### Health care report card

In terms of cost, how U.S. adults say they'd rate the nation's health care system:



SOURCE: West Health-Gallup survey  
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPING/USA TODAY

## Kinzinger downplays idea of Trump's live testimony

David Jackson  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – A Republican member of the Jan. 6 investigating committee said Sunday that live testimony from Donald Trump would require extensive negotiations on rules, and he expressed skepticism it would ever happen.

"I think that's going to be a negotiation," said Rep. Adam Kinzinger, R-Ill., speaking on ABC's "This Week." "I'll only address that when we know for sure whether or not the president has tried to push to come in and talk to us live."

Kinzinger noted that some Secret Service officials had supposedly pledged to testify, but "they have yet to come in."

The Jan. 6 committee voted Thursday to subpoena the former president and his records, a move that followed a hearing in which committee members



Kinzinger

placed Trump at the heart of a conspiracy to overturn his 2020 election. Members said they also want to talk to Trump about how his efforts led to the violent insurrection of Jan. 6, 2021.

Trump has not said specifically whether he would fight the subpoena, but he did criticize the committee's actions. In a 14-page public memo, Trump argued that the committee should be investigating problems with the 2020 election, not him.

Kinzinger downplayed the prospect that the committee might make a criminal referral of Trump to the Department of Justice, noting it is already conducting its own investigation. "The question of criminal referral really doesn't have much of a point because, obviously, DOJ is moving forward on this anyway," he said.

## Jackson settling in, standing out, at high court

John Fritze  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – She's the newest member of an institution that reveres seniority, but Associate Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson isn't waiting around to make her mark.



Jackson

Two weeks after Jackson was formally welcomed to the Supreme Court, the former appeals court judge has established herself as an aggressive questioner, signed onto her first dissenting opinion and leapt into the fray with conservatives over how to parse the Constitution's original

See JACKSON, Page 5A



## deportes

Se reavivó el torneo  
Boca cayó en Rosario  
y todos hacen cuentas

El xeneize perdió ante Newell's por 2-0 y ya no está tan cómodo en el liderazgo de la Liga. **Página 2**

DEL MORO QUIERE  
"ESTAR A LA ALTURA"  
DE GRAN HERMANO

—espectáculos

El conductor cree que la nueva versión del reality, que se estrena hoy por Telefe, generará empatía en la gente tras las cuarentenas obligadas por la pandemia.

## EL PULSO DEL CONSUMO

Pensar, decidir, vivir en la era de la hipercomplejidad

Guillermo Oliveto

—PARA LA NACION—

**Página 18**

## LA NACION

LUNES 17 DE OCTUBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Por la alta  
inflación,  
suben el piso  
para pagar  
Ganancias

**IMPUESTO.** Massa anunció que elevarán el mínimo a \$330.000 en noviembre y habló de otras medidas frente a la tensión social; expertos advierten que es insuficiente

El ministro de Economía, Sergio Massa, anunció ayer que a partir de noviembre el salario bruto más bajo alcanzado por Ganancias subirá de \$280.792 a una cifra "por encima de \$330.000", para evitar que, por efecto de la inflación y los reajustes salariales, se sigan sumando empleados al grupo de los que tienen descuentos por ese impuesto. En rigor, la variación del índice que se usa para actualizar la cifra avanzó de tal manera que hoy el umbral para tributar debería ser de \$360.453. Por eso, entre los contadores se señala que la medida es insuficiente y se advierte que, al no reajustarse los valores de la tabla de alícuotas, no evita que se produzcan distorsiones ante aumentos salariales.

## EL ESCENARIO

Un tributo  
enredado y  
discrecional

Silvia Stang

—LA NACION—

**Página 17**

Massa también confirmó que esta semana lanzarán un plan para comprar televisores, teléfonos celulares y equipos de aire acondicionado en hasta 30 cuotas fijas, un acuerdo para fijar precios de productos de consumo masivo y el pago de un bono a personas vulnerables. **Página 16**

Fortalecido,  
Xi redobla  
sus amenazas  
contra Taiwán

**CHINA.** PEKÍN.—El presidente de China, Xi Jinping, lanzó ayer un desafiante mensaje al mundo en el inicio del 20° Congreso del Partido Comunista, que le abrirá las puertas a un tercer mandato. Sin mencionarlo, Xi dijo que se preparan para tiempos difíciles con EEUU, y advirtió que nunca reconocerá la independencia de Taiwán ni renunciará al uso de la fuerza en busca de la reunificación. **Página 2**

Sarampión y  
polio: alerta  
por la lenta  
vacunación

**CAMPAÑA.** En las dos primeras semanas de la campaña nacional de seguimiento de la vacunación contra dos enfermedades que tienen en alerta al mundo —la polio y el sarampión—, solo un 22% de los chicos de entre uno y cuatro años recibieron la dosis adicional y obligatoria. Esto genera preocupación por el nivel de protección ante un posible brote. **Página 22**



Gallardo rompió en llanto en medio del amor de River

M. ALFIERI

## GALLARDO, OVACIONADO

"Mi vínculo es para  
toda la vida"

El entrenador dirigió por última vez a River en el Monumental, entre lágrimas y un recuerdo imborrable

Alguna vez iba a suceder. Y fue anoche. El momento que todos los hinchas de River jamás hubieran querido vivir, en medio de una extraña sensación de vacío. Marcelo Gallardo se despidió de la gente en un Monumental colmado por 72.000 simpatizantes que, entre lágrimas y emoción, en todo momento aclamaron al entrenador, que en ocho años y

medio ganó 14 títulos con el club de Núñez. "Muñeco eterno" fue el lema de una noche de nostalgia y recuerdos, en la que la caída ante Rosario Central por 2-1 fue una excusa para ovacionar por última vez a Gallardo. "Mi vínculo con River es para toda la vida. Este club me enseñó una forma de vivir, de ser y de respetar [...] Ya nos volveremos a ver", afirmó. **Deportes**

Dividido, el  
oficialismo  
marcha con  
exigencias  
al Gobierno

**17 DE OCTUBRE.** Habrá reclamos de un refuerzo para salarios y planes

En los tres actos en que se fragmentó el oficialismo para conmemorar el 17 de octubre, el Gobierno enfrentará hoy reclamos para reforzar el salario con una suma fija de 40.000 pesos y un bono para robustecer los planes sociales. La CGT, los gremios duros junto a La Cámpora y los grupos piqueteros, cada uno por su lado, protagonizarán una demostración de fuerza. Alberto Fernández no fue invitado a ningún acto: inaugurará obras en Cañuelas y tendrá una videconferencia con gobernadores. **Página 10**

## EL ESCENARIO

La identidad  
peronista,  
en conflicto

Claudio Jacquelin

—LA NACION—

Con la sabiduría del Viejo Vizcachá, Perón resolvió el interrogante que carcomía a sus seguidores y que tendía a ponerle un corsé ideológico-político. "Peronistas somos todos", dijo para absolver las contradicciones. Aunque nunca logró saldarlas y siempre estallan cuando su poder está en crisis. Como ahora. **Continúa en la página 11**

Detrás de un  
suicidio, una  
megaestafa  
piramidal

**MERCEDES.** Hay miles de víctimas, por varios millones de dólares

**Página 26**



## ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Renáta Uitz Mecanismos antitirania só funcionam se respeitados

Para a pesquisadora húngara Renáta Uitz, Constituições foram feitas para aguentar investidas autoritárias, mas não há mecanismo que contenha políticos dispostos a desrespeitá-las. "No momento, estamos enfrentando líderes que querem mudar essas regras para permanecer no cargo", diz. **Política A14**

# 40% dos deputados novatos tiveram problemas judiciais

Suspeitas envolveram casos de calúnia, mau uso de recursos públicos, estelionato e até homicídio

Cerca de 40% dos 202 eleitos pela primeira vez para a Câmara dos Deputados foram alvo de processos ou de investigações nos últimos anos. As suspeitas que atingem pelo menos 80 futuros deputados envolvem calúnia, mau uso de recursos públicos, estelionato e até homicídio.

Uma parcela desses procedimentos contra os eleitos já foi arquivada, mas vários continuam em tramitação. Em tese, históricos de investigações por suspeita de práticas de crimes ou por responder a processos criminais ou civis podem provocar a inelegibilidade do deputado.

Em Alagoas, Luciano Amaral (PV-AL), primo do governador afastado Paulo Dantas (MDB), é acusado pelo Ministério Público de desviar R\$ 3 milhões em pagamentos feitos a funcionários de deputados estaduais supostamente fantasmas. Procurado, Amaral não se manifestou.

Já dois ex-governadores que estrearão como deputados federais, Beto Richa (PSDB-PR) e Robinson Faria (PL-RN), foram acusados de envolvimento em escândalos relacionados a suspeitas de desvios de dinheiro público. Os advogados de Richa e Faria negam qualquer irregularidade.

No Rio Grande do Norte, o deputado eleito Sargento Gonçalves (PL) enfrentou investigação recente por suspeita de homicídio em uma abordagem policial, que acabou arquivada por ter sido considerada legítima defesa. Também procurado, o deputado não se manifestou. **Política A4**

## China afirma soberania sobre Taiwan e Hong Kong

A caminho de seu terceiro mandato, Xi Jinping reforçou, no início do 20º Congresso do Partido Comunista, o discurso de que a China já alcançou o "controle total" sobre Hong Kong, "transformando o caos em governança".

Já em relação a Taiwan, o líder voltou a afirmar o desejo de promover reunificação pacífica, mas sem descartar a força. **Mundo A12**

## ANÁLISE Igor Patrick Discurso de Xi dá recado ao poder global dos EUA

**Mundo A12**



Membros de minorias étnicas agitam bandeiras enquanto assistem à sessão de abertura do 20º Congresso do Partido Comunista Chinês, em Danzhai **AFP**

## Sucesso da Lei de Cotas esconde desafios regionais

O êxito das ações afirmativas em universidades públicas oculta disparidades regionais e desafios a serem enfrentados.

A reserva de vagas é insuficiente em estados com alta proporção de negros na população. Falta também informação sistematizada sobre o perfil dos alunos cotistas. **Cotidiano B1**

## Desmate, fogo e grilagem impõem medo a indígenas

O avanço do desmatamento, da degradação e das queimadas em Lábrea (AM) —empreendidos por fazendeiros e grileiros— vem cercando povos indígenas isolados, a terra indígena Caititu e assentamentos ao lado da Transamazônica. A situação é de extrema vulnerabilidade, diz associação. **Ambiente B4**

## Bancada da bala já se articula para endurecer penas no país

Cotado para liderar a bancada da bala em 2023, o deputado eleito Alberto Fraga (PL-DF) discute estratégias para aprovar endurecimentos no Código Penal e na Lei de Execução Penal que há anos tramitam na Câmara.

Entre outros pontos, defende a proibição das saídas temporárias nos presídios —as chamadas "saindinhas". **Cotidiano B2**

## Bolsonaro cria ofensiva após fala sobre adolescentes

O presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) organizou uma ofensiva com o intuito de minimizar os danos da declaração em que usa a expressão "pintou um clima" para se referir a adolescentes venezuelanos. Ele fez live na madrugada para justificar a fala, e a primeira-dama foi escalada para rebater críticas. **Política A6**

## Lygia Maria Há algo de podre no reino do CFM

Não satisfeito em liberar a cloroquina na pandemia, indo contra a Organização Mundial da Saúde, o Conselho Federal de Medicina restringiu a indicação médica do canabidiol, princípio ativo da maconha com uso atestado pela ciência. O órgão mostra desprezo pelo sofrimento de milhares de pacientes. **Opinião A2**

## ilustrada C1 Líder do Arctic Monkeys, Alex Turner fala de novo álbum e vinda ao Brasil

## mercado A15 Malha aérea cresce no Brasil e verão terá mais rotas do que antes da pandemia

## mpme A22 Vaquinhas online mudam de perfil e abraçam causas coletivas



Fumaça das queimadas cobre Lábrea, no sul do Amazonas; para moradores, ano é muito pior que anteriores **Lalo de Almeida/Folhapress**

## Kit diferencia maconha de cânabis medicinal Cotidiano B3

## EDITORIAIS A2

**À luz do sol**  
Sobre investigações relativas a emendas de relator.  
**Argentina no labirinto**  
Acerca de medidas econômicas do país vizinho.

## ATMOSFERA



Fonte: [www.climatempo.com.br](http://www.climatempo.com.br)





**Institución deficitaria se da el lujo de abultar su personal con correligionarios**

## Correos se volvió sucursal de la seccional de su director

Al menos una treintena de colorados, adscriptos a unidad partidaria de Asunción de la que el jefe de la Dinacopa, Luis Servín, aspira a ser miembro, fueron contratados en el ente.

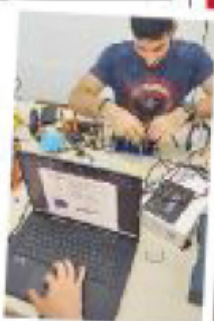
PÁGINA 4

Duarte lamenta debilidad fronteriza  
**Políticos en campaña protegen contrabando, acusa titular de UIP**

PÁGINA 10

Piden ayuda para mostrar su talento en robótica

Viaje a Rumania. Alumnos de UNA buscan apoyo para ir a competencia. PÁGINA 17



## Propaganda a destiempo afea ciudad

**Polución visual.** La publicidad electoral aún no está permitida. Casi ningún sector político respeta la medida. Eso hace que Asunción esté más sucia y desordenada.

PÁGINA 6

Industria es la que más cumple con la SET  
**Servicios, construcción y comercio son los rubros que más evaden al Fisco**

PÁGINA 8

Bolsillo ciudadano está muy golpeado  
**Pese a menor inflación, hay aumentos de precios de los productos básicos**

PÁGINA 12

Incertidumbre en panorama regional  
**Argentina lucha contra subas y Brasil arde a dos semanas del balotaje**

PÁGINAS 34 y 35

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**OPÉRA**  
DANS LES COULISSES DU  
RECRUTEMENT DE LA TROUPE  
DES CHANTEURS PAGE 38

**FIGARO SANTÉ**  
AVC: LA MOITIÉ DES PATIENTS  
N'ACCÈDENT PAS AUX SERVICES  
HOSPITALIERS SPÉCIALISÉS PAGES 15 À 18



## ASIE

Xi Jinping vante  
la supériorité  
du modèle chinois  
PAGE 6

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À Stepanakert, une  
vie en sursis sous  
l'œil des « casques  
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La mémoire  
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honorée  
à la Sorbonne PAGE 12

## AUDIOVISUEL

Après la télé,  
les jeunes délaissent  
déjà les Netflix,  
Disney +, Amazon  
Prime... PAGE 36

**CHAMPS LIBRES**

- Menacé par les éléments, le hameau du Pra lutte pour sa survie
- Où en est la démocratie brésilienne ?
- Les tribunes de Philippe Bas, de Dominique Dupré-Henry et Tanguy Le Dantec
- La chronique de Nicolas Baverez
- La tribune collective du groupe de réflexion Prométhée

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FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON

**Réponses à la question de samedi :**  
Carburants, électricité, transports... croyez-vous à une généralisation des conflits sociaux ?

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**Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr**  
Pensez-vous que l'appel à la grève de mardi sera suivi ?

ÉLÉNA BAUIER - OPÉRA NATIONAL DE PARIS -

# Grèves, 49-3: la semaine à haut risque de Macron

Des raffineries toujours à l'arrêt, un appel de la CGT à la grève mardi et un exécutif prêt à déclencher le 49-3 pour le budget à l'Assemblée. Le climat social et politique se tend.

Trains à l'arrêt et services publics tournant au ralenti pourraient dès mardi s'ajouter à la pénurie de carburant. Dimanche, et malgré la signature d'un accord sur des

augmentations salariales conclu dans la nuit de jeudi à vendredi avec deux syndicats majoritaires, la CFDT et la CFE-CGC, la grève se poursuivait dans trois raffineries

(sur sept) et dans cinq gros dépôts de carburant (sur 200) du groupe TotalEnergies. Parallèlement, Jean-Luc Mélenchon vantait à Paris la naissance d'un « nouveau

Front populaire » et estimait que sa marche contre la vie chère avait rassemblé 140 000 personnes - la police, elle, estimait qu'elles étaient 30 000... Un climat tendu

pour l'exécutif qui ferraille sur le projet de loi de budget à l'Assemblée et devrait déclencher le 49-3 à partir de mardi. Décidément, sa rentrée est périlleuse.

→ COMMENT MACRON VEUT DÉDRAMATISER LE 49-3 → EN MARGE DE LA MANIFESTATION, QUELQUES DÉBOREMENTS MAIS DES BLACK BLOCS MUSELÉS  
→ DANS LA RUE, LA NUPES AFFICHE L'UNITÉ POUR FAIRE OUBLIER LES TENSIONS INTERNES PAGES 2 À 5 ET L'EDITORIAL



Après l'incendie de la prison d'Evin, le régime iranien se prépare à intensifier la répression

Confronté depuis un mois à un mouvement de contestation d'une ampleur inédite, le pouvoir se replie sur un noyau dur et semble prêt à semer le chaos pour mieux justifier une brutale reprise en main. PAGE 8

**ÉDITORIAL** par Vincent Trémolet de Villers vtremolet@lefigaro.fr

## Macron et le poison Mélenchon

« Front populaire », « grande conjonction », la sobriété sémantique n'est pas le genre de Jean-Luc Mélenchon. L'ancien trotskiste aime compenser par l'emphase les carences de son mouvement politique. Le verbe, pense-t-il, s'il est grandiloquent se fera chair. Vieille rengaine marxiste d'autant plus nécessaire aujourd'hui que la réalité politique et sociologique vient profondément contredire les appels au grand soir de « l'insoumission ». Comme le canal Saint-Martin n'est pas la Seine, Paris n'est pas la France, la Nupes n'est pas le peuple. Certes, le cortège entre Nation et Bastille n'était pas ridicule, mais il faut déjà avoir connu Nuit debout et les marches climat pour mêler en une même manifestation le slogan d'Intermarché, « Tous unis contre la vie chère », et celui de Greta Thunberg contre l'inaction climatique. Nul besoin d'être politologue pour savoir que l'agriculteur picard, le chauffagiste lozérien, la France des pavillons, baignoles, pêche à la ligne, « The Voice » et barbecue n'est pas montée dans un car pour marcher au son de Diam's dans Paris et recevoir tous les 50 mètres un tract en écriture inclusive. La classe moyenne houellebecquienne n'est pas venue défiler avec Annie Ernaux.

Mélenchon le sait très bien, qui a voulu dépasser cette faiblesse constitutive par la dynamique de l'union et l'invention dans les urnes d'un autre peuple, composé de diplômés précaires, socialistes en déshérence, minorités urbaines, immigrés des banlieues islamisées. Une application radicale de la stratégie Terra Nova, utilisée par François Hollande en 2012. Cela donne une force politique conséquente, mais certainement pas une force populaire. C'est le paradoxe du moment que nous vivons. Un mouvement syndical déclinant, la CGT, parvient à ralentir le pays, une force politique minoritaire voudrait l'arrêter. En face, une large majorité (qui souffre elle aussi de l'inflation) est condamnée à subir. La faute d'Emmanuel Macron est d'avoir tenté de séduire cette gauche (on se souvient de ses risettes insensées aux mélenchonistes après le premier tour de la présidentielle) en restant indifférent aux angoisses, notamment identitaires, des catégories populaires. À l'Assemblée comme dans la rue, on mesure six mois après le coût mirobolant de ce jeu dangereux. ■

Une  
minorité  
voudrait  
arrêter  
le pays

## Voiture électrique : les chinois en force au Mondial de l'automobile

Au « Salon de l'auto » de Paris qui ouvre ses portes ce lundi, les constructeurs se font plus rares. Mercedes en est par exemple absent. Les marques chinoises, en revanche, sont en force. Elles présentent des modèles de voitures électriques de qualité, mais moins chers que les véhicules européens. La Tan, la Han ou la Coffee entendent bien conquérir le marché européen du véhicule rechargeable, en plein essor. PAGE 26



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