



Janet
Yellen's
Learning
Curve
REVIEW

WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND



Should You Buy
An EV Now?
OFF DUTY

DOW JONES | News Corp *****

SATURDAY/SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22 - 23, 2022 - VOL. CCLXXX NO. 96

WSJ.com ★★★★★ \$6.00

What's News

World-Wide

The House committee investigating the Jan. 6, 2021, Capitol riot issued a subpoena to Trump demanding documents and testimony, setting the stage for a tense standoff between lawmakers and the former president. **A1**

A federal judge sentenced Bannon to four months in prison for defying a subpoena from the Jan. 6 panel and said the former Trump strategist would remain free while he appeals his conviction. **A4**

Months after his own party's lawmakers pressured him to step down as U.K. prime minister, Johnson is poised to attempt a comeback in the wake of Truss's resignation. **A10**

A federal appeals court temporarily stopped the Biden administration from moving forward with its plan to forgive up to \$20,000 in student-loan debt for millions of Americans. **A3**

Ukrainian artillery struck the ferry crossing in the city of Kherson, the only regional capital captured by Moscow since the invasion, as Russian forces pounded the cities of Zaporizhzhia and Kharkiv. **A8**

Venezuela's biggest opposition parties are taking steps to remove Guaidó as their leader and phase out a U.S.-led strategy in which he was recognized as the legitimate president. **A10**

Business & Finance

Fed officials are barreling toward another interest-rate rise of 0.75 percentage point at their meeting next month and are likely to debate then whether and how to signal plans to approve a smaller increase in December. **A1**

The U.S. budget deficit narrowed last year, but a cooling economy and rising interest rates put it on track to widen in coming years, setting up new challenges for Biden and Congress. **A2**

Banks that committed to help finance Musk's takeover of Twitter plan to hold all \$13 billion of debt backing the deal rather than sell it, according to people familiar with the matter. **A1**

Major stock indexes ended sharply higher on Friday, with the Dow, S&P 500 and Nasdaq adding 2.5%, 2.4%, and 2.3%, respectively. All three notched weekly gains of at least 4.7%. **B1**

The employee contribution limit for 401(k) and similar workplace plans will jump \$2,000 to \$22,500 for 2023 after inflation adjustments made by the IRS. **A3**

Whirlpool slashed production of refrigerators, dishwashers and other home appliances by more than a third during its most recent quarter to shrink inventories as demand diminished. **B1**

NOONAN
A Week in the Life
Of a Worried Land **A17**

CONTENTS
Opinion..... A15-17
Books..... C7-12 Sports..... A24
Business News..... B3 Style & Fashion D2-3
Food..... D4-5 Travel..... D6-7
Gear & Gadgets D11 U.S. News..... A2-46
Hearst on Street..... B12 Weather..... A14
Obituaries..... A12 World News A8,10-11



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

Water Level Keeps Falling, Snarling Mississippi, Tributaries



HIGH AND DRY: Boats lie in the mud along the Wolf River, which feeds into the Mississippi River at Memphis, Tenn., on Friday. Barge traffic continues to struggle along the Mississippi and its tributaries as low water causes vessels to run aground. **A6**

Banks Backing Musk Are Stuck With Debt in a Tighter Market

By LAURA COOPER
AND ALEXANDER SAEEDY

Banks that committed to help finance Elon Musk's takeover of Twitter Inc. plan to hold all \$13 billion of debt backing the deal rather than sell it, people familiar with the matter said, in another blow to a market that serves as a crucial source of corporate funding.

The banks decided to park

the debt on their balance sheets to avoid selling it at a loss to bond and loan fund managers, who have grown increasingly skittish amid rising market turmoil, the people said.

Banks would likely face losses of around \$500 million or more if they tried to sell Twitter's debt at current market prices, The Wall Street Journal previously reported.

If all the banks hold the

debt instead, they can mark it at a higher value on their books on the premise that prices will eventually rebound.

Twitter could have the dubious distinction of being the biggest so-called hung deal of all time, surpassing a crop of them in the global financial crisis, when banks were stuck with around \$300 billion of committed debt they struggled to sell to investors.

The Twitter move threatens

to bring the faltering leveraged-buyout pipeline to a standstill by tying up capital that Wall Street could otherwise use to back new deals.

The \$44 billion Twitter takeover is backed by banks including Morgan Stanley, Bank of America Corp. and Barclays PLC, which signed agreements in April to provide Mr. Musk with the debt financing he needed to buy the

Please turn to page A6

Fed Eyes Slowing The Pace Of Rate Increases

Fourth consecutive 0.75-point rise seems likely at next meeting; debate on future raises

By NICK TIMIRAGOS

Federal Reserve officials are barreling toward another interest-rate rise of 0.75 percentage point at their meeting Nov. 1-2 and are likely to debate then whether and how to signal plans to approve a smaller increase in December.

"We will have a very thoughtful discussion about the pace of tightening at our next meeting," Fed governor Christopher Waller said in a speech this month.

Some officials have begun signaling their desire both to slow down the pace of increases soon and to stop raising rates early next year to see how their moves this year are slowing the economy. They want to reduce the risk of causing an unnecessarily sharp slowdown.

Others have said it is too soon for those discussions because high inflation is proving to be more persistent and broad.

The S&P 500 closed up 2.4% on Friday, with all 11 sectors posting gains. The 10-year Treasury yield fell to 4.212%, from 4.225% on Thursday. Still, yields on the benchmark note rose 0.207 percentage point on the week, marking the 12th

Please turn to page A2

U.S. stock indexes notch big gains for week..... **B1**

U.S. Ethics Czars Struggle To Enforce Trading Laws

U.S. has rules limiting officials' stock investing. They can be waived.

Mark Wu held more than \$1 million of Amazon.com Inc. stock when President Biden tapped him to help craft a trade policy that would benefit U.S. technology companies and online retailers.

By Brody Mullins, Rebecca Ballhaus
and Joe Palazzolo

Ethics officials at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative said they gave Mr. Wu two options: Get rid of the stock or recuse himself from digital trade issues.

He did neither.

For several months, Mr. Wu continued working on the trade matter while keeping the shares. He had "not followed the re-

quirements," the U.S. Trade Representative's chief of staff told him in a June 2021 phone call, an email describing the call shows.

Eventually, Mr. Wu quit, citing family issues. He kept his Amazon stock.

Mr. Wu said he didn't work on trade issues specific to Amazon and left the government when the restrictions became too much of a burden on his family.

The U.S. has a law aimed at preventing the nation's thousands of obscure but powerful federal officials from using their influence on regulations, policies and investigations to benefit themselves.

With penalties up to \$50,000 and five years in prison, the law is supposed to en-

Please turn to page A13

House Committee Subpoenas Trump

By SCOTT PATTERSON

WASHINGTON—The House select committee investigating the Jan. 6, 2021, Capitol riot issued a subpoena Friday to Donald Trump demanding documents and testimony, setting the stage for a tense standoff between lawmakers and the former president heading into the midterm elections.

The subpoena demands that Mr. Trump produce phone records, text messages and other documents by Nov. 4 and appear on Nov. 14 for deposition testimony under oath in Washington or by videoconference. Election Day is Nov. 8, when

voting finishes in races nationwide to determine control of the House and Senate.

The panel took the step as it wraps up its investigation into Mr. Trump's actions surrounding the riot, in which his supporters tried to stop the counting of electoral votes in the 2020 presidential election. It is also probing his efforts to get state and federal officials, as well as his own vice president, to block President Biden's win based on false claims of a stolen election.

A lawyer who represents

Please turn to page A4

Bannon sentenced to four months in prison..... **A4**

Here's the Dirt On 'House of the Dragon'

In fantasy dramas, looking authentically grimy isn't as easy as it seems

By JOHN JURGENSEN

In a recent "House of the Dragon" episode, search parties hunt for a prince hiding in

Flea Bottom, a slum lined with brothels and itchy-looking commoners. Scenes were shot in the Spanish city of Cáceres, where medieval authenticity came with a catch:

Crews were restricted on the amount of simulated filth they could slather on the ancient walls and cobblestone streets

of the tourist destination, a UNESCO World Heritage site.

"The disadvantage is it can look a little Disney-fied and clean," said Jim Clay, the show's production designer.

Expect a more disgusting Flea Bottom next season. Producers of the prequel series plan to build a backlot set for the slum, as "Game of Thrones" did. "Then we can really go to town and make it as dirty as we want," Mr. Clay said, envi-

Please turn to page A12

EXCHANGE



WORKPLACE WARS

Productivity, pay, commuting and more. There's a lot for us to argue over now. **B1**

Chess Scandal Was 'Ticking Time Bomb'

By ANDREW BEATON
AND JOSHUA ROBINSON

A month before Magnus Carlsen and 19-year-old American grandmaster Hans Moke Niemann found themselves battling each other at the center of a high-profile chess cheating scandal, they were two guys pushing pawns on the beach in Miami.

Hanging around for a tournament promotion, they played on a board in the sand, watched by only a handful of people, including Dutch grandmaster Anish Giri. The games were casual, but the results were decisive. Mr. Carlsen, the five-time world champion from Norway and the highest-rated player of all time, wiped

the beach with Mr. Niemann, according to Mr. Giri.

Over the following days, Mr. Niemann's play hardly improved as he toiled through a tournament in Miami. He lost every series of games and ended with zero points. Mr. Niemann's performance, combined with his showing on the beach, advanced Mr. Carlsen's doubts about his opponent's abilities, said a person familiar with Mr. Carlsen's thinking.

So when Mr. Niemann beat 31-year-old Mr. Carlsen weeks later at a prestigious September tournament in St. Louis, Mr. Carlsen was stunned. After the jarring upset, Mr. Carlsen quit the tournament in protest, setting the chess world

Please turn to page A11



Could the Tory turmoil get even worse?

BIG READ, PAGE 6

'Johnson cannot be allowed the last laugh' — CAMILLA CAVENDISH, PAGE 9

FT magazine/Kat-Ruth Dearden

Investors take fright at prospect of Johnson return as UK premier

◆ Allies seek 100 MP backers ◆ Contest with Sunak risks infighting ◆ Gilts and pound wobble

GEORGE PARKER, SEBASTIAN PAYNE AND TOMMY STUBBINGTON — LONDON
Investors and some Conservative MPs took fright yesterday as Boris Johnson considered running for a second stint as UK prime minister, with warnings that he risked sparking further political and economic chaos.

Johnson backers are working to secure the 100 nominations needed from Tory MPs to enter Monday's ballot to replace Liz Truss, who resigned on Thursday after only six weeks in power. Johnson, forced to resign as his personal conduct, could end up facing off

against his former chancellor and rival Rishi Sunak, risking further infighting. Lord William Hague, ex-Tory leader, said a Johnson comeback was "the worst idea" he had heard in 46 years of party membership. Foreign Office minister Jesse Norman warned that returning Johnson to Downing Street would be "an absolutely catastrophic decision".

Jane Foley, head of currency strategy at Rabobank, said Johnson's government had been "very distracted by one scandal after another" and "the chance that that could come back is not going to be welcomed by markets". The 10-year gilt yield rose 0.22 percentage points to

4.13 per cent yesterday, reflecting a fall in price, before edging back to 4.06 per cent. The pound fell 1.4 per cent against the dollar before recovering.

Simon French, an economist at Panmure Gordon, said the UK would benefit from a "dullness dividend" if Sunak replaced Truss. Sunak's supporters expect him to keep Jeremy Hunt as chancellor, a combination French forecast would close the spread between gilts and sovereign debt held by other G7 countries by 50 basis points, equating to a £7bn reduction in the 2026/27 fiscal gap.

Berenberg analysts said there were greater risks from a Johnson govern-

ment and that Sunak and Penny Mordaunt, the Leader of the House who declared her candidacy yesterday, would be likely to preside over predictable centre-right administrations.

"Given that a majority of Conservative MPs probably do not want Johnson as their leader, the prospects of mass resignations and a further descent into chaos would loom large," the bank said.

Sunak is expected to reach 100 nominations in the next 24 hours. By yesterday evening, he had 70 declared backers, Johnson 30 and Mordaunt 17.

Additional reporting by Jim Pickard and Daniel Thomas

How To Spend It wisely The sustainability issue

HTSI



Iranian climber Elnaz Rekabi Person in the News

OPINION



Trump without the drama? Ron DeSantis and the GOP

LIFE & ARTS



New wave Bordeaux

Jancis Robinson

LIFE & ARTS



Trump ex-aid Bannon given 4 months in jail for defying Capitol attack inquiry

STEFANIA PALMA AND JOE MILLER
WASHINGTON

Donald Trump's former chief strategist Steve Bannon has been sentenced to four months in prison for defying a subpoena from the congressional panel investigating the January 6 attack on the US Capitol.

Judge Carl Nichols also imposed a \$6,500 fine, adding that Bannon, who did not take the stand during his trial, had not taken responsibility for his actions. He will remain at liberty while he appeals against his conviction.

Speaking outside the courthouse after the hearing yesterday, Bannon said he had "total respect" for the legal process.

A jury found Bannon guilty on two counts of contempt of Congress in July, for failing to appear before the panel or provide the records it had requested.

Bannon's legal team claimed that he believed he was protected under Trump's executive privilege, even though he left the White House in 2017.

However, government lawyers pointed out that Bannon had refused to co-operate with the committee even after Trump had waived his executive privilege claim and that much of the evidence requested was not privileged.

Prosecutors had asked the judge to impose a six-month sentence — the most severe punishment possible under the guidelines — and a \$200,000 fine for Bannon's "sustained, bad-faith contempt of Congress".

Bannon's lawyers had asked for probation, arguing that he had merely followed legal advice in refusing to comply with the subpoena.

Trump's former political adviser received a subpoena in September 2021

from the committee probing the January 6 attack on the Capitol. In November, he was indicted by a federal grand jury for contempt of Congress.

The panel of lawmakers was seeking information from Bannon linked to meetings he attended at the Willard Hotel in Washington before riots aimed at blocking certification of Joe Biden's 2020 presidential election victory.

Prosecutors alleged that Bannon attempted to persuade members of Congress to block the certification of Biden's election, pointing to a podcast recording in which he predicted "all hell is going to break loose tomorrow", on the eve of January 6.

In its most recent session, the January 6 committee voted unanimously to issue a subpoena to Trump, whom lawmakers have blamed for the violence at the Capitol.



Xi tirade on 'excessive' wealth sparks alarm

An increasing emphasis on wealth redistribution by Chinese president Xi Jinping is stirring unease among investors that a harsh crackdown on business and those deemed 'too rich' might stifle the country's economy just as it is facing an abrupt end to years of growth. In his opening address to the Communist party congress this week, Xi promised oversight of "the means of accumulating wealth" and "excessive incomes".

People first agenda — PAGE 4

Subscribe In print and online

www.ft.com/subscribe
Tel: 1 800 628 8088
For the latest news go to
www.ft.com

© THE FINANCIAL TIMES LTD 2022
No: 41152

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 21	Prev	%chg	Pair	Oct 21	Prev	%chg	Yield (%)	Oct 21	Prev	Diff
S&P 500	3710.03	3665.28	1.21	\$/£	0.980	0.984	-0.4	US 2 yr	4.48	4.58	-0.09
Nasdaq Composite	10718.51	10614.84	0.96	\$/€	1.117	1.132	-1.3	US 10 yr	4.22	4.17	0.05
Dow Jones Ind	30761.23	30333.58	1.41	£/¥	0.077	0.069	0.8	US 30 yr	4.31	4.17	0.14
FTSE 100	1512.39	1539.47	-1.8	W/\$	145.990	145.545	0.3	UK 2 yr	3.65	3.54	0.11
Euro Stoxx 50	3472.83	3492.85	-0.57	W/€	167.478	169.358	-1.1	UK 10 yr	4.05	3.91	0.14
Hang Seng	6669.73	6843.91	-2.6	S\$/¥	0.985	0.985	0.0	UK 30 yr	4.05	3.95	0.10
FTSE All-Share	3796.89	3790.95	0.16	CRYPTO				JPN 2 yr	-0.01	-0.03	0.02
DAX 40	6625.59	6596.30	0.45	Bitcoin (\$)	19118.85	19042.18	0.40	JPN 10 yr	0.25	0.25	0.00
Aexx Dow	12730.80	12767.41	-0.29	Ethereum	1296.15	1282.87	1.05	JPN 30 yr	1.60	1.52	0.08
Nikkei	26690.58	27006.96	-1.1					GER 2 yr	2.03	2.10	-0.07
Hang Seng	16211.12	16260.22	-0.42					GER 10 yr	2.41	2.40	0.01
MSCI World	2429.26	2439.30	-0.41					GER 30 yr	2.43	2.38	0.05
MSCI EM	664.76	665.51	-0.11								
MSCI ACWI	563.06	565.21	-0.38								
FT Wilshire 2500	4772.41	4811.02	-0.80								
FT Wilshire 5000	37277.22	37579.15	-0.80								

Prices are latest for addition
Data provided by Morningstar

A Nikkei Company



design + made in denmark

LINDBERG

CO

Trump Backers Use 'Devil Terms' to Rally Voters

Incendiary Rhetoric Fuels Polarization

By JENNIFER VALENTINO-DeVRIES and STEVE EDER

As Representative Mary Miller embarked on her first congressional campaign, she described herself in salt-of-the-earth, all-American terms: a mother, grandmother and farmer who embodied the "Midwestern values of faith, family and freedom."

"Hard work, using God-given talents, and loving each other well," a voice declared over video clips of Ms. Miller, a 63-year-old Illinois Republican, embracing her family, praying and walking on her farm in an ad in early 2020.

"In the world today," the ad continued, "we could use a lot more of this."

DEMOCRACY CHALLENGED 'Us Versus Them'

But there is another side to Ms. Miller's wholesome image. Since entering Congress, she has routinely vilified Democrats and liberals, calling them "evil" communists beholden to China who want to "destroy" America and its culture. And President Biden's plan, she seethed on Twitter this spring, is to "flood our country with terrorists, fentanyl, child traffickers, and MS-13 gang members."

Ms. Miller's inflammatory words underscore the extent to which polarizing rhetoric is now entrenched among Republicans in the House of Representatives, especially among those like Ms. Miller who voted against certifying the Biden victory, according to an examination by The New York Times of partisan language over the past 10 years.

The analysis of tweets, Facebook ads, newsletters and congressional speeches — more than 3.7 million items in all — relied largely on natural language processing, a technique that uses software to extract information from large amounts of text. The Times tallied words that were linked in academic research to divisive political content, as well as those identified by linguists and computer scientists to be used in polarizing ways — "fascist" and "socialist," for example, "far right" and "far left."

Republican representatives have ratcheted up such rhetoric since former President Donald J. Trump took office, the analysis found. In the year and a half after the Jan. 6 Capitol riot, Republicans on average used divisive words and phrases more than twice as often as Democrats in tweets, and six times as often in emails to constituents.

Mary Miller @MillerCongress
We will never surrender our country to the Democrats, the Marxists, and the Hate-America leftists who want to destroy this country.
God is on our side and we will WIN!
8:01 p.m. • June 25, 2022

Kevin McCarthy @GOPLeader
Just look at the first week of the Biden Administration. It's been America last and China first.
8:11 p.m. • Jan. 26, 2021

Lauren Boebert @laurenboebert
Democrats hate Voter ID because it makes it harder for them to cheat.
Democrats hate free speech because it makes it harder for them to lie.
Democrats hate the Second Amendment because it makes it harder for them to steal your liberty.
1:00 p.m. • June 9, 2022

Rep. Barry Moore @RepBarryMoore
Pelosi is no longer a benevolent dictator - she's a tyrant.
9:22 a.m. • July 30, 2021

Mo Brooks @RepMoBrooks
Never have I feared so much for America's future. America-hating Socialists seek to upend the American way of life based on freedom and liberty and replace it with dictatorial government that controls every aspect of our lives.
7:36 a.m. • May 14, 2021

Louie Gohmert @replouiegohmert
The Jan. 6 commission has become an out-of-control political tool for Democrat vigilantes to target their opponents. We're going to need a select committee to investigate the civil rights abuses of this commission. #J6
5:51 p.m. • Dec. 9, 2021

Madison Cawthorn @CawthornNC
...AOC's top congressional priorities:
1) Photoshoots ✓
2) Virtue Signaling ✓
3) Destroying America ✓
10:27 a.m. • April 5, 2021

Rep. Pat Fallon @RepPatFallon
Joe Biden needs to take a cognitive test. Now.
11:51 a.m. • June 21, 2021

The Times analyzed 3.7 million statements, such as tweets, with language processing software.

At the forefront of this polarization are Republicans who voted to reject the Electoral College results that cemented Mr. Trump's defeat last year. A recent Times investigation revealed how those lawmakers helped engrave the myth of a stolen election in party orthodoxy. Now, a Times analysis shows that the language of the 139

objecting members is markedly more hostile than that of other Republicans and Democrats. In their telling, those who oppose them not only are wrong about certain policies but also hate their country.

The Times found that in the current Congress, representatives

Taken by Russia, Children Become the Spoils of War

Putin Uses Adoptions to Resettle Thousands — Many Felt They 'Had No Choice'

By EMMA RUBOLA

As Russian forces laid siege to the Ukrainian city of Mariupol this spring, children fled bombed-out group homes and boarding schools. Separated from their families, they followed neighbors or strangers heading west, seeking the relative safety of central Ukraine.

Instead, at checkpoints around the city, pro-Russian forces intercepted them, according to interviews with the children, witnesses and family members. The authorities put them on buses headed deeper into Russian-held territory.

"I didn't want to go," said Anya, 14, who escaped a home for tuberculosis patients in Mariupol and is now with a foster family near Moscow. "But nobody asked me."

In the rush to flee, she said, she left behind a sketchbook containing her mother's phone number. All she could remember were the first three digits.

Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine began in February, Russian authorities have announced with patriotic fanfare the transfer

of thousands of Ukrainian children to Russia to be adopted and become citizens. On state-run television, officials offer teddy bears to new arrivals, who are portrayed as abandoned children being rescued from war.

In fact, this mass transfer of children is a potential war crime, regardless of whether they were orphans. And while many of the children did come from orphanages and group homes, the authorities also took children whose relatives or guardians want them back, according to interviews with children and families on both sides of the border.

As Russian troops pushed into Ukraine, children like Anya were fleeing newly occupied territories were swept up. Some were taken after their parents had been killed or imprisoned by Russian troops, according to local Ukrainians.

Continued on Page 12

BARRAGE Russian missiles struck Ukraine's power infrastructure and heating systems. PAGE 11

Fears Over Fate of Democracy Leave Voters Feeling Defeated

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

LA CROSSE, Wis. — Alysse Barba, a 34-year-old in the insurance industry, watched excitedly upstairs at ThruLine's Classic Cocktails as Mandela Barnes, the youthful Democrat running for the Senate, tore through his stump speech just 19 days before the election.

Then Ms. Barba reflected on the politics of her state: the divide between the blue dot of downtown La Crosse and the surrounding red reaches of western Wisconsin, where she said she could not have a civil conversation; the Republican favored to win the seat in her congressional district, who was at the Capitol riot on Jan. 6, 2021; and

a Legislature so gerrymandered that her Democratic Party does not stand a chance.

"It is disheartening to live in a state where nothing happens," she said glumly. "Voting isn't making a difference right now."

Seventy-one percent of all voters believe that democracy is at risk, according to a recent New York Times/Siena College poll, but only 7 percent identified that as the most important problem facing the country. Americans face more immediate concerns: the worst inflation in 40 years, the loss of federal abortion rights after 50 years and a perception that

Continued on Page 16

Xi's Omissions Speak Volumes And May Signal Trouble Ahead

By CHRIS BUCKLEY

As China's leader, Xi Jinping, laid out his priorities last week for a breakthrough third term in power, officials parsed his words for signs of where the country was headed. What he did not say was as revealing.

The omission of two phrases from his key report to a Communist Party congress exposed his anxieties about an increasingly volatile world where Washington is contesting China's ascent as an authoritarian superpower.

For two decades, successive Chinese leaders have declared at the congress that the country was in a "period of important strategic opportunity," implying that China faced no imminent risk of major conflict and could focus more on economic growth.

For even longer, leaders have said that "peace and development remain the themes of the era," suggesting that whatever may be going wrong in the world, the grand trends were on China's side. But the two slogans, so unvarying that they rarely drew atten-



China's leader, Xi Jinping, left two slogans out of his speech.

tion, were not in Mr. Xi's report to the congress, which began last Sunday and ended Saturday. Not in his 104-minute speech summarizing the report. Nor in the 72-page Chinese full version given to officials and journalists.

Their exclusion, and Mr. Xi's somber warning of "dangerous storms" on the horizon, indicated that he believed international hazards have worsened, especially since the start of the war in

Continued on Page 10

Health Officials Warn of Rough Winter as Three Pathogens Swirl

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

For more than two years, shuttered schools and offices, social distancing and masks granted Americans a reprieve from flu and most other respiratory infections. This winter is likely to be different.

With few to no restrictions in place and travel and socializing back in full swing, an expected winter rise in Covid cases appears poised to collide with a resurgent influenza season, causing a so-called twindemic — or even a triple pandemic, with a third pathogen, respiratory syncytial virus, or R.S.V., in the mix.

Cases of flu have begun to tick up earlier than usual, and are expected to soar over the coming weeks. Children infected with R.S.V. (which has symptoms similar to those of flu and Covid), rhinoviruses and enteroviruses are already straining pediatric hospitals in several states.

"We're seeing everything come back with a vengeance," said Dr. Alpna Waghmare, an infectious-diseases expert at Fred Hutchinson Cancer Center and a physician at Seattle Children's Hospital.



A Covid test center at Esperanza Health Center in Chicago last month. Cases are low, but rising.

Most cases of Covid, flu and R.S.V. are likely to be mild, but together they may sicken millions of Americans and swamp hospitals, public health experts warned.

"You've got this waning Covid

immunity, coinciding with the impact of the flu coming along here, and R.S.V.," said Andrew Read, an evolutionary microbiologist at Penn State University. "We're in uncharted territory here."

The vaccines for Covid and flu, while they may not prevent infection, still offer the best protection against severe illness and death, experts said. They urged every-

Continued on Page 20

INTERNATIONAL 4-13

Europe's Fiercest Train Critic

One man is on a mission to expose all the flaws of rail travel in the European Union as it tries to increase ridership, a key to achieving climate goals. PAGE 4

SPORTS 28-31

On the Brink in the Bronx

The Astros, who are undefeated in the postseason, beat the Yankees to take a commanding 3-0 lead in the American League Championship Series. PAGE 31

METROPOLITAN

A Mystery, With Money

A Jane Doe in a hospital emergency room turned out to be Birgit Thyssen-Bornemisze, a baroness from one of Europe's wealthiest families. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Life as Work

To get ahead, many millennial and Gen Z workers embraced the idea of the personal brand. This can feel freeing. It can also feel grueling. PAGE 10

SUNDAY OPINION

Megan K. Stack

PAGE 6



Regent
SEVEN SEAS CRUISES
AN UNRIVALED EXPERIENCE

FIRST CLASS IN EVERY WAY

FREE FIRST CLASS AIR*
on select Alaska, Caribbean, Canada & New England voyages

Last call - offer expires October 31, 2022

*VISIT [RSSC.COM/SPECIALS](https://www.rssc.com/specials) OR CALL 1.844.473.4368



ANGIE DAVILA, 20, organizes her belongings in her family's apartment in the Pico-Union neighborhood, where the median household income is \$38,294. Eight family members share a one-bedroom unit.

DESPITE THE SPRAWL, L.A. IS AMERICA'S MOST OVERCROWDED PLACE

COVID-19 exploited an enduring paradox: The promise of plenty, built by cheap laborers packed into small homes

By **BRITNEY MEJIA, LIAM DILLON, GABRIELLE LAMARR LEMEE AND SANDHYA KAMBHAMPATI**
Photographs by **GARY CORONADO**

The virus first struck Leonardo Miranda, who rented a shed and shared the kitchen, bathroom and dining room in the main house.

It spread to a man who slept on three red cushions in the laundry room. Then to a grandfather and grandson who wedged two mattresses into one room. By the time COVID-19 was finished with the three-bedroom home, shared by eight, Miranda and the grandfather were dead.

Miranda's death in January 2021 would become part of a calamitous pattern. Los Angeles' most overcrowded neighborhoods have experienced COVID-19 death rates that are at least twice as high as those with ample housing.

This public health disaster was the inevitable consequence of more than a century of decisions that resulted in L.A. growing more like an endless suburb than a towering city.

At the heart of the storied metropolis of single-family-home sprawl, L.A.'s leaders created a cruel paradox: It is also the country's most crowded place to live.

More homes are overcrowded in Los Angeles than in any other large U.S. county, a Times analysis of census data found — a situation that has endured for three decades, with no sign of abating.

In places like the Pico-Union neighborhood, where Miranda lived, generations of families squeeze into tiny apartments. Construction workers, seamstresses and dishwashers live in close quarters. Day laborers bunk with half a dozen or more strangers in living spaces intended for one or two people.

Within these confines, COVID-19 advanced without mercy: orphaning children, killing breadwinners and shattering families.

[See Crowding, A10]

PACKED IN: A TIMES INVESTIGATION explores the contradiction of Los Angeles' crowding and sprawl. Our reporters reviewed historical archives, oral histories and newspaper accounts; analyzed decades of U.S. Census Bureau data; and conducted dozens of interviews with academic experts, public officials, residents of cramped apartments and people whose family legacies in the region date back more than a century. Read all the articles in this investigation online at latimes.com.



Private jet set takes heavy fire

Celebrities transform Van Nuys Airport into hub for high-end travel. Valley residents are fuming. **CALENDAR, E1**

Oregon passer carves up UCLA

Quarterback Bo Nix throws for 283 yards and five touchdowns, handing the Bruins a 45-30 loss. **SPORTS, D1**

New subvarians could be trouble

Coronavirus cases are rising as a long decline in infections flattens amid hints of a winter wave. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Weather

Mostly sunny. L.A. Basin: 73/54. **B12**

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper

7 85944 10300 9

Keep it confidential? Not in Capitol misconduct cases

Ruling that an ex-state lawmaker has the right to know his accusers' names raises concern.

By **TARYN LUNA AND HANNAH WILEY**

SACRAMENTO — As women came forward at the height of the #MeToo movement with stories of pervasive harassment and discrimination in California politics, confidentiality became central to calls to reform the culture at the state Capitol.

Accusers demanded the ability to anonymously blow the whistle. Lawmakers relied on that desire for secrecy to shield details of their probes. And targets of the investigations decried having to defend themselves against anonymous allega-



KIRK MCCOY Los Angeles Times

A 2020 ruling granted accused lawmaker Matt Dababneh a witness list.

Then, in the summer of 2020, a California judge tentatively ruled that former California Assemblyman Matt Dababneh had a right to know the identities of the 52 witnesses who had participated in a state Assembly investigation two years earlier into a sexual misconduct

allegation against him. The ruling lifted the veil of confidentiality around workplace investigations at the state Capitol — a bedrock of the Legislature's efforts to reform itself and create an environment where victims feel protected — and highlights the conflict between confidentiality and due process rights in workplace investigations.

"This is the reason why many survivors don't come forward," said Carrie McFadden, who thought she spoke with investigators confidentially in February 2018 about her allegation that Dababneh offered her a raise to persuade a college student to sleep with him when they worked for a California congressman.

The investigators interviewed McFadden and dozens of others in response to an allegation that Dabab-

[See Capitol, A14]

Leak may push L.A. further left in election

Racist audio could cut different ways, experts say, with outsiders most likely to benefit.

By **JULIA WICK AND DAVID ZAHNISER**

Dissatisfaction with Los Angeles City Hall has been simmering for years, with residents growing exasperated over the protracted homelessness crisis, anxious over crime and exhausted by a string of corruption indictments targeting various city leaders. But publication of an incendiary leaked audio recording less than a month before election day provided yet another damning argument against the city's political establishment — and perhaps the most explosive.

Angelenos who rarely thought about municipal government turned their eyes toward City Hall in disgust. Residents who were already frustrated are now breathing fire.

Amid the collective fury, left-wing political organizers see a potential tipping point about the Nov. 8 election. Their grass-roots movement already had tremendous momentum, with [See Election, A16]



UKRAINIAN troops unload military aid. The U.S. has committed more than \$40 billion to Ukraine.

GOP questioning aid for Ukraine

The party may soon have the power to block it. Experts call the idea dangerous.

By **ELI STOKOLS AND TRACY WILKINSON**

WASHINGTON — For months, Western diplomats and foreign policy experts have worried that Europe's support for Ukraine might falter as winter arrives and fuel shortages leave people freezing in their homes. But as Republicans' polling numbers improve ahead of next month's midterm elec-

tions, even the United States' continued assistance for the embattled Ukrainians is suddenly in doubt.

With less than three weeks until election day, Republicans have retaken a national lead on the generic ballot. And last week, the House Republican leader, Rep. Kevin McCarthy of Bakersfield, suggested that he may block further defense and humanitarian aid to Ukraine if he is installed as speaker of the House next year.

"I think people are gonna be sitting in a recession, and they're not going to write a [See Ukraine, A4]

'Coca proletariat' awaits promised plan

Small farmers support Colombian leader's policy shift, but still, cocaine pays the bills.

By **PATRICK J. MCDONNELL**

SAN JOSE DEL GUA-VIARE, Colombia — The grizzled farmers had come on motorcycles and in pickups from jungle homesteads to a soccer field hours from the nearest town of any consequence.

They sat patiently in white plastic chairs in the sweltering heat as government representatives gave their pitch: Plant legal crops like sugar cane and pineapple — or turn to livestock — and abandon coca leaf, the raw ingredient in cocaine.

Cash subsidies await those who sign up, the speakers vowed. We will help you market your new products, build new roads. There were few takers. The *cocaleros*, as the growers are known, had heard it all before.

"We tried this already,

and the government never complied with its promises," explained one of the men, a 44-year-old father of three who offered only his first name, Elver.

"We tore up our plants, but we never got the help we needed," he said. "So now we are back to planting coca. It is the only way to make a living here."

That is something that Colombia's first leftist president is vowing to change, even as acreage sown with coca leaf soars to new heights and the Biden administration watches warily.

Exactly how Gustavo Petro plans to proceed remains a major question for a leader who took office in August and is also endeavoring to guide his country out of more than five decades of civil war and fix a reeling economy. The odds are stacked against him.

Colombia, long the world's largest cocaine producer, had a record 504,100 acres of coca plants — enough to make 1,400 metric tons of cocaine — under cultivation at the end of 2021, according to a report re-

[See Colombia, A6]

Sperm shortage
A dearth of Black donors leaves an agonizing choice for some **BUSINESS**



Ride into darkness
Cormac McCarthy's "The Passenger" fuses mystery with physics **BOOK WORLD**



Houston in control
Astros deliver a three-hit shutout and take a 3-0 lead in the ALCS **SPORTS**

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

Mostly cloudy 67/53 • Tomorrow: Mostly cloudy 72/54 **C12** Democracy Dies in Darkness SUNDAY, OCTOBER 23, 2022 • **5**

Successes, missteps and failures of Biden's presidency

President Biden gathered his advisers, with mounting frustration, as televised images and classified cables tracked in real time the unraveling of his long-planned withdrawal from Afghanistan. Even fellow Democrats, friends he had known for years, had begun to criticize the chaotic withdrawal — the frenzied mobs at the airport, the desperate Afghans clinging to planes — and he didn't

understand why they weren't appearing on television to defend him and his decision. "Call them. Call their offices," an exasperated Biden ordered his aides in August 2021, according to someone familiar with the president's demand. "See why they're not out there." What the president did not understand was that the problem was not a lack of television book-

The story of the first half of the term is a roller coaster — complicated and contradictory, with remarkable achievements and enormous disappointments

BY ASHLEY PARKER, TYLER PAGER AND MICHAEL SCHERER

ers. The problem instead was that most of his allies were unwilling to publicly defend him against the images from overseas. Just months earlier, Biden had been riding high, predicting "a summer of freedom, a summer of joy." His approval ratings hovered in the mid-50s, the coronavirus was in retreat and economic expectations were rising. But that was all about to come

undone. Not with the delta variant spreading, staff were once again wearing masks in the White House. Inflation was proving less transitory than the administration had insisted. The legislative gears were grinding to a halt amid **SEE BIDEN ON A9**
Splitting tickets: These voters could be key in battlegrounds. **A13**

Measuring a storm toll in things kids lost

Hurricane Ian stole toys and shoes from children, but also stability, homes

BY MORIAH BALINGIT

ESTERO, FLA. — Here are some of the things kids lost when Hurricane Ian came ashore: A Mickey Mouse plush toy that had been named "Baby." Miniature hangers that once hung doll clothes. Three pairs of Converse sneakers — one blue, one black and one white. Polaroids of friends making funny faces. Three "All About Me" books, which siblings had filled in to mark their fifth birthdays. A mango tree. A pet chameleon named Rex. School days. Karate lessons. Home. The magnitude of this storm has been measured in many ways — the dollar amount of the damage it wrought, the height of the storm surge, the death toll, the number of households that lost power. None of those numbers really capture what this storm has meant for young people, who are often afterthoughts in storm response. Lee County's 94 schools and programs, which educate more than 90,000 students, shuttered the day before the storm, hallways emptying of students and, in some places, filling with evacuees who slept on the tile floors to wait out the hurricane. Out of the classroom, young people were severed from cafeterias — **SEE STORM ON A22**



WOJCIECH GRZEDZINSKI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Russian mercenaries pour blood for symbolic prize

BY LOUISA LOVELUCK AND ROBYN DIXON

BAKHMUT, UKRAINE — The crash and roar of artillery rarely stops in this eastern Ukrainian city. In the cold and broken houses, residents huddle by candlelight and pray that they have safety in numbers. On the battlefield, soldiers on both sides are dying in droves. While Ukrainian advances have redrawn the battlefield map elsewhere, the front line in Bakhmut, in the Donetsk region some 10 miles from the border of Luhansk, has barely moved in four months of heavy fighting. Of all the battles in the east, President Volodymyr Zelensky said earlier this month, the "most difficult" is here. Yet in this fight for control of a shattered city, military experts say the ambitions of a Russian oligarch, Yevgeniy Prigozhin, founder of the Wag-

ner mercenary group, may have eclipsed all strategic logic. After a disorderly Russian retreat from nearby Izium, the battle for Bakhmut is no longer part of any coordinated military operation. Instead, Prigozhin is pouring waves of mercenaries from Wagner into battle, appearing to see political advantage in capturing Bakhmut as a military trophy while President Vladimir Putin's regular forces are on the back foot elsewhere. Outgunned and outnumbered, exhausted Ukrainian troops are relying on nimble tactics to withstand the brutal battle, monitoring enemy lines **SEE UKRAINE ON A24**

Lights out: Another barrage of Russian strikes hits Ukraine's electric grid. **A25**

Poll finds a conflict over race in college

Most support a ban on its use in admissions but want diverse campuses

BY NICK ANDERSON, ROBERT BARNES, SCOTT CLEMENT AND EMILY GUSKIN

More than 6 in 10 Americans support a ban on the consideration of race in college admissions, according to a Washington Post-Schar School poll, but an equally robust majority endorses programs to boost racial diversity on campuses. The findings illuminate the turbulent crosscurrents of public opinion on affirmative action as the Supreme Court revisits the fraught subject barely six years after it upheld the limited use of race in admissions at the University of Texas at Austin. On Oct. 31, the justices will hear arguments in cases challenging race-conscious admissions at Harvard University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. If the court's conservative majority reverses decades of precedent and prohibits the consideration of race and ethnicity, the Post-Schar School poll conducted this month finds 63 percent of adults would support the change. At the same time, 64 percent say programs designed to increase racial diversity of students are a good thing. Support for boosting diversity is high across racial and ethnic groups, while Black Americans are less supportive of banning race as a factor in admissions. **SEE POLL ON A6**

Can Australia tame its remote Outback Way?

Debate over this rugged 1,700-mile route through the nation's heart stirs hope, fear and anger

BY MICHAEL E. MILLER WITH PHOTOS BY MICHAEL ROBINSON CHAVEZ NEAR JERVOIS STATION, AUSTRALIA

The cross is easy to miss amid the desert dust and scrub. Only in the evening, when a string of small lights illuminates a toy bulldozer and a few other sun-bleached mementos, is it clear that something terrible happened here. Steven Connolly died of a severed artery suffered in a horrific car crash. As with so much in this lonely stretch of Australia, the 12-year-old's fate was determined by the dirt. The dirt road that caused his mother's car to flip. The dirt that blinded her as she lay injured next to him. The dirt — 90 miles of it to the nearest town — that meant an ambulance couldn't arrive in time. The cross marking where the boy died sits on the side of a series of roads known as the **SEE OUTBACK ON A16**



"This is old road, never changed," said Benedict Bird, an Aboriginal man, with his 3-year-old son, Kurtien, as he looks down a paved part of the Outback Way, known as "Australia's longest shortcut."

A surprise about your sweets: Halloween candy is skimpier

It's 'shrinkflation,' along with the result of efforts to reduce calorie counts

BY LAURA REILEY

Standing in the center aisle of the drugstore, with its seasonal display of spooky bat decorations, vampire teeth and fun-sized bags of chocolate, don't be surprised if something seems off. It isn't a nightmare. Your Halloween candy just got smaller. A bag of dark chocolate Hershey's Kisses is now a couple of ounces smaller than before. A two-pack of Reese's Peanut Butter Cups is a tenth of an ounce lighter. And Cadbury milk chocolate bars are about 10 percent skimpier. Consumers can partly blame "shrinkflation" — the phenomenon of manufacturers reducing the size of their products rather than increasing the price. Over the past two years, companies have downsized paper products, salty snacks and many other consumer packaged goods as their ingredient, labor and transportation costs have skyrocketed. But it's also part of a years-long plan to make Americans **SEE CANDY ON A26**



ELIZABETH REINSTRUM/ILLUSTRATION FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

ARTS.....E1
BOOK WORLD.....E1
BUSINESS.....E1
CLASSIFIEDS.....G11
COMICS.....INSERT
EDITORIALS/LETTERS.....A27
LOTTERIES.....C3
OBITUARIES.....C6
STOCKS.....G9
TRAVEL.....F1
WEATHER.....C12
WORLD NEWS.....A29

CONTENT © 2022
The Washington Post / Year 145, No. 322

0 70628 27100 7



USA TODAY WEEKEND

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | OCTOBER 21-23, 2022

Drug issues in NFL still a concern

MARK J. REBILAS/USA TODAY SPORTS

Hopkins' return from suspension underscores anabolic battle. **In Sports**



COVID-19 testing failures

System too privatized, too slow to adequately respond to pandemic. **In Weekend Extra**



Superhero debut for Johnson

Actor declined every DC Comics character in order to play "Black Adam." **In Life**

KARWAI TANG/WIREIMAGE

THE MIDTERM ELECTIONS

Democrats leaning on young voters

Abortion, climate, student debt are motivators, but will that translate to turnout?

Mabinty Quarshie and Ella Lee
USA TODAY

For years Amini Bonane suffered from abnormal menstrual cycles. Getting doctors to take her and her reproductive health seriously was hard, until she was finally diagnosed with fibroids.

So when the Supreme Court's Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization decision overturning Roe v. Wade

was announced in June, Bonane was furious. The decision, she feared, would add even more difficulty for women like herself – especially young Black women – to get the care they need.

"It's really disheartening that there's decisions being made by people who aren't affected by these things," said Bonane, 27, a women's rights community organizer.

The same day the Dobbs decision was

announced, Bonane protested in Washington, D.C. and started Fight for Fairfax, a PAC that advocates for women.

"My reaction is always going to be – because I'm a solution-oriented person – to join the collective and have our voices heard," Bonane said.

Democrats are betting that a summer of unprecedented news could motivate

See **YOUTH VOTE**, Page 2A

The issues

Gen Z women, transgender and nonbinary participants are concerned about:

- Health care
- Mass shootings
- Mental health
- Racial inequality
- Abortion

In a mid-May IGNITE survey of 3,200 respondents across 50 states.

Britain's Liz Truss resigns; scramble to fill seat is on

Kim Hjelmggaard
USA TODAY

LONDON – Liz Truss became the shortest-serving leader in British political history after she resigned Thursday less than two months into the job.

Her announcement came after her attempt to roll out aggressive tax cuts aimed at spurring economic growth but instead dramatically roiled financial markets, led to unprecedented central bank intervention and drove her poll ratings to the lowest ever recorded for a prime minister.

Truss, 47, lasted 45 days in office. Because Britain elects a party, not a specific leader, she will be replaced by another lawmaker from her ruling Conservative Party. The process to replace Truss will take place within the next week.

Truss will remain as prime minister until then.

"I came into office at a time of great economic and international instability," Truss said in a brief statement outside No. 10 Downing Street in London. "I recognize, given the situation, I

See **TRUSS**, Page 3A

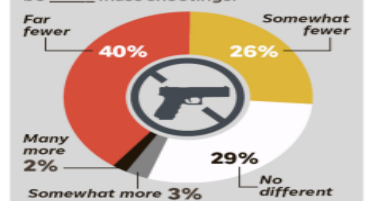


HOME DELIVERY
1-800-872-0001, USATODAYSERVICE.COM

USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

Can gun laws curb mass shootings?

If it were harder to obtain guns legally, Americans think there would be ____ mass shootings:



SOURCE: UChicago Harris/AP-NORC Poll, July 28-Aug. 1
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPLING/USA TODAY



Howard University in Washington, D.C., has found itself the target of eight bomb threats this year. JACQUELYN MARTIN/AP

Bomb threats at Black colleges build fear – and frustration

As months pass with no arrests, schools demand support, accountability

Tiffany Cusaac-Smith and Francesca Chambers
USA TODAY

North Carolina Central University officials have noticed a change in students since a bomb threat in January at the historically Black university: more depression, anxiety and distress.

"With the recent bomb threats, we saw interruptions to how students felt safe and secure on our campus," said Charnequa Kennedy, director of the public liberal arts institution's counseling center.

NCCU received the bomb threat at about 5:30 p.m. on Jan. 4. The campus went into lockdown. Students were relocated. The call to the university's Durham campus was among at least half a dozen threats aimed at historically Black colleges and universities that day.

By the end of Black History Month in February, bomb threats at HBCUs had swelled to at least 57 – leaving administrators and students on edge and rekindling a history of violence aimed at Black students seeking educa-

See **HBCUS**, Page 4A

"With the recent bomb threats, we saw interruptions to how students felt safe and secure on our campus."

Charnequa Kennedy, director of the counseling center

Behold: Birthplace of stars

Images released by the James Webb Space Telescope give us a fresh look at the famed Pillars of Creation. The region appears with columns of "cool interstellar hydrogen gas and dust" that are incubators for new stars.

Beyond the pillars, 5A



The Pillars of Creation look like arches and spires rising out of a desert landscape. This is where young stars are forming. NASA, ESA, CSA AND STSCI

Winter to be drier, warmer

This winter is expected to be dominated by the La Niña climate pattern, federal forecasters say, which will bring warmer-than-average weather for much of the South and East. Drought is forecast across the South.

Details of forecast, 4A

Los museos no durmieron y mostraron sus encantos nocturnos

Con gran cantidad de público, se realizó la Noche de los Museos, esta vez con foco en el arte y el medio ambiente; el Malba, Colón Fábrica y la Usina (foto), entre los más convocantes; deslumbró el despliegue de una obra digital en el Sívori. **Página 26**



BOCA Y RACING VAN POR EL TÍTULO, EN UN FINAL ELECTRIZANTE

—deportes

Desde las 17, se define la Liga Profesional: Boca-Independiente y la Academia con River. El xeneize lleva un punto de ventaja y tiene más chances.

LA NACION

DOMINGO 23 DE OCTUBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Empieza el aumento de tarifas y afectará al triple de los hogares previstos

SEGMENTACIÓN. La promesa oficial era que la quita de subsidios solo abarcaría al 10% de los suministros; el impacto en la inflación

Mariano Spezzapria
LA NACION

El Gobierno se jugará en los próximos días una parada decisiva. Más de 5,5 millones de hogares y comercios de todo el país empezarán a recibir las facturas de luz con

aumentos a raíz de una quita del 20% de los subsidios a las tarifas, en la primera fase de la segmentación, que también regirá para 3,7 millones de suministros de gas. De acuerdo con fuentes oficiales, al menos el 33% de los usuarios comenzarán a pagar a partir del 1° de

noviembre facturas con aumentos, pese a que la promesa original era que la población afectada no superaría el 10 por ciento. El Ministerio de Economía calcula que el aumentotarifario tendrá un impacto de 0,3 puntos en el índice de precios. Continúa en la página 12

EL ESCENARIO

En busca de la derrota digna

Martín Rodríguez Yebra
—LA NACION—

El ocaso prematuro del gobierno de Alberto Fernández enreda a su gabinete en un juego retorcido en el que gana quien consigue salir a tiempo. Como la casa de *Gran Hermano*, pero al revés.

El empeño del Presidente por retener a Juan Manzur, que le puso fecha a su regreso sin gloria a Tucumán; a Gabriel Katopodis, ya Jorge Ferraresi refleja su ansiedad por evitar otro ejercicio tortuoso de recambio en un gobierno sin incentivos para atraer a primeras figuras. Continúa en la página 17

EL ANÁLISIS

Una Cristina desesperada ahora va por más

Joaquín Morales Solá
—LA NACION—

Necesita que los jueces le tengan miedo. Cristina Kirchner sabe que la aguarda un tiempo de decisiones judiciales adversas. Hay desesperación en ella. Es probable que sea condenada a prisión por hechos de corrupción antes de fin de año, y es igualmente factible que se abran otros juicios orales y públicos por haber hecho del dinero público una cuestión familiar. Intentó cambiar a la Corte Suprema, al jefe de los fiscales y hasta a los jueces que deben juzgarla. Continúa en la página 39

Conurbano. Crece el temor vecinal por la falta de policías

Hay quejas por la escasez de patrullajes en las zonas más peligrosas

Gustavo Carabajal
LA NACION

Lomas de Zamora, San Martín, Quilmes y La Matanza son los distritos más inseguros del conurbano. Según estadísticas oficiales, en esos departamentos judiciales hubo delitos que registraron un crecimiento de hasta 10% con respecto al año pasado.

La información oficial marca aumentos en el hurto automotor y las agresiones sexuales, mientras que establece descensos en robos y homicidios.

Sin embargo, las estadísticas no revelan un intangible que quedó expuesto durante la recorrida realizada por LA NACION: el temor de los vecinos de las zonas más calientes del Gran Buenos Aires ante la falta de respuestas de la policía provincial y la ausencia de patrullajes. Continúa en la página 32

Escándalo en el centro de poder chino



el mundo—PEKÍN (AP).—El Congreso del Partido Comunista Chino (PCCh), que reforzó el poder total de Xi Jinping y lo encaminó a su tercer mandato, quedó marcado por un confuso incidente, cuando su antecesor, Hu Jintao, que estaba sentado junto al presidente, fue retirado a la fuerza del cónclave en Pekín. **Página 6**

Reducen más de 15% los fondos para Educación

INFORME. Surge del análisis del presupuesto nacional para 2023

A pesar de las dificultades en el aprendizaje de los niños y adolescentes, tras las restricciones de presencialidad por la pandemia, el presupuesto nacional del año próximo contempla una reducción de fondos superior al 15% para el Ministerio de Educación. Así surge del análisis del Observatorio Argentino por la Educación del proyecto que se debate en el Congreso. Educación es una de las seis carteras que tendrán menos fondos el año próximo. **Página 28**

La oposición intenta evitar Ganancias para los jueces

DEBATE. En JxC rectifican su postura; la Corte recibe a magistrados y define una estrategia. **Página 14**

NOEL CELIS/AFP

TSE adota tese para intervir em redes

Sob Moraes, tribunal usa conceito de 'desordem informacional' para coibir fake news; PGR pede veto a texto, e Fachin nega

O Tribunal Superior Eleitoral adotou linha mais dura contra as fake news na reta final das eleições e passou a usar o combate à "desordem informacional" como tese para intervir nas redes sociais e na propaganda obrigatória.

Sob esse tipo de justificativa, os ministros do TSE mandaram apagar publicações baseadas em reportagens jornalísticas. Nos casos de mais divergência, tem se consolidado um placar de 4 a 3 a favor da retirada.

Para Alexandre de Moraes, presidente da corte, parte da mídia tradicional se presta a manipular informações com "premissas verdadeiras" para chegar a conclusões falsas, como se "alugasse" uma origem confiável às fake news.

Dentro da nova posição do tribunal, Moraes conseguiu aprovar a resolução que aumenta poderes contra a desinformação. A Procuradoria-Geral da República solicitou a derrubada do texto, negada pelo ministro Fachin.

Integrantes da corte com abordagem menos intervencionista têm explicitado que tomam algumas decisões, como de remoção de conteúdo ou concessão de direito de resposta, para seguir a tese consolidada do colegiado.

A inação da Procuradoria-Geral Eleitoral diante do uso da máquina pública por Jair Bolsonaro (PL) também é alvo de queixas. **Política A4 e A5**

Presidente ameaça frear Judiciário se reeleito A9

EDITORIAL

Ameaça autocrática

Concentrar poder é o verdadeiro programa de governo de Jair Bolsonaro

Nunca foi tão avassaladora a maioria de brasileiros que consideram a democracia a melhor forma de governo, de 79% segundo o Datafolha. Nunca na Nova República um presidente ameaçou a estabilidade constitucional como o atual mandatário.

Jair Bolsonaro (PL) valeu-se do cargo para constranger e ameaçar Poderes independentes, insultar autoridades e propagar uma farsa contra o sistema eleitoral diante de brasileiros e estrangeiros.

Promoveu tratamentos ineficazes de uma doença letal, retardou a aquisição de vacinas, debochou de famílias enlutadas, protegeu os filhos de investigações e aticou militares contra o poder civil.

Conclamou arruaceiros a cercarem as seções de votação no próximo domingo (30).

A agenda que deveria ser a do futuro — educação, saúde, infraestrutura, inovação, redução da pobreza e das desigualdades — ocupou-se de temas que já deveriam estar superados. A sociedade e as instituições tiveram de gastar energia preciosa para proteger regras básicas da convivência democrática.

Agora, como nos outros oito pleitos presidenciais realizados desde 1989, os votos serão dados livremente, a apuração revelará a vontade majoritária, e o eleito tomará posse e governará com as prerrogativas e as obrigações de chefe de Estado.

Esperar que o próprio candidato à recondução tenha compreendido e acatado os limites do mandato seria pouco realista diante do que se vê desde 2019.

É melhor trabalhar com a hipótese corroborada pela experiência — tornar-se autocrata é o verdadeiro programa de governo de Jair Bolsonaro para um eventual segundo mandato.

A ameaça do arbítrio é nova apenas em aspectos acessórios, como no uso intensivo de redes sociais para disseminar ignorância, culto ao chefe e ordens de ataque. No mais, obedece ao roteiro de conhecidos movimentos subversivos da história.

Não é necessário um golpe militar para liquidar o Estado democrático de Direito. Se não for tenazmente neutralizada, a corrosão cesarista com o tempo dissolve as cartilagens que articulam as liberdades civis e a competição política.

As instituições republicanas deram seguidas demonstrações de solidez ao impedir a deriva autoritária nos últimos quatro anos. Estarão prontas, haja vista a inequívoca convicção democrática da população, para um novo período de bloqueio das investidas tirânicas caso a maioria do eleitorado brasileiro soberanamente decida pela reeleição.



Karime Xavier / Folhapress

Corte concede a Lula 116 direitos de resposta

O Tribunal Superior Eleitoral decidiu ontem, por unanimidade, conceder a Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) 116 direitos de resposta no tempo originalmente de Jair Bolsonaro (PL) na TV. A pedido da campanha de Bolsonaro, a ministra Maria Claudia Buchianieri reviu as 164 inserções que havia determinado antes e levou o caso ao plenário. **Política A5**

Lula e PT pregam contra abstenção em evento em BH

Política A8

Antonio Prata

Do 23 ao 30: guia de sobrevivência

De que adianta ganharmos as eleições se antes enfartarmos? Procure se alimentar bem, hidratar-se, fazer esporte e, se possível, evite bebidas alcoólicas. Caso seja impossível, viva à base de cachaça com x-salada e de sobremesa vá de pudim de Frontal com Rivotril em calda. **Cotidiano B4**

Custo extra de promessa eleitoral supera R\$ 84 bi

Estimativa da Folha indica que as promessas eleitorais de Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) e Jair Bolsonaro (PL) demandarão, se efetivadas, ao menos R\$ 84,3 bilhões extras em 2023, entre aumento de gasto ou redução de receita, que não estão no Projeto de Lei Orçamentária. **Mercado A17**

Baixa vacinação lança alerta para poliomielite no país

Saúde B1

Queda de Truss catalisa piora de crise na Europa

A renúncia, em semana com tensões diversas também na Itália, na Alemanha e na França, prenuncia "inverno do descontentamento global". **Mundo A14**

EDITORIAIS A2

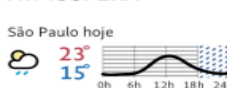
Com quem andas

Sobre relações de Lula e Bolsonaro com ditaduras.

Guerra dos chips

Acerca de disputa geopolítica entre EUA e China.

ATMOSFERA



Fonte: www.climatepro.com.br

Antecessor de Xi é retirado do Congresso do PC

Hu Jintao, antecessor de Xi Jinping no comando da China, foi retirado abruptamente do encerramento do Congresso do Partido Comunista ontem. Acena intrigou analistas políticos. O partido alegou questão de saúde. **Mundo A15**

AUMENTA NÚMERO DE BUSCAS POR DESAPARECIDOS

Reencontrado após 29 anos, Olavo André Nogueira, 86, retornou à família, em Diadema (SP); país registrou 65.225 desaparecimentos em 2021, alta de 3,2% em relação a 2020 **Cotidiano B3**



MÔNICA BERGAMO
Modelo indígena Zaya Guarani fala de infância na Amazônia e critica Bolsonaro **C2**

Governar em Cristo

Em conferência de três dias em Brasília, bispos e pastores pops profetizam país a ser refundado pela igreja após eventual reeleição de Bolsonaro, relata Eliane Trindade **C6**

equilíbrio B6
Harmonização facial muda foco por mais naturalidade e realce de traços individuais

esporte B7
Luta livre volta à TV brasileira e quer ser vista como esporte de entretenimento



El jueves y el viernes estará en Paraguay para dialogar con autoridades

Enviado de EEUU es un experto en la aplicación de sanciones

Jefe anticorrupción de la administración de Biden considera que la aplicación de estas medidas tiene resultados positivos. Se reunirá con el ministro de la Secretaría Antilavado.

PÁGINA 3

Más de 90 mil contribuyentes beneficiados
Pedidos para fraccionar el pago de los impuestos ya superan los G. 1 billón

PÁGINA 15

Abdo usa su investidura para hacer campaña en Alto Paraná

PÁGINA 2

Gobierno se plantará en el rechazo al peaje por uso de la Hidrovía

PÁGINA 12

CON ESTA EDICIÓN

- REVISTA PAUSA
- FASCÍCULO COMICS GUERRA DEL CHACO Nº 6

Gratis con el diario

COMPRA OPCIONAL

COLECCIÓN DE COMICS Nº 34

libro: 500.000

En Primera Persona



Mejor egresada e instructora Lince

PÁGINA 25

Historia de superación. Nancy Núñez llegó del interior cargada de sueños, superó el duro entrenamiento y ahora es instructora de un grupo de élite.

Telefuturo alertó de la situación
Clan Rotela estaría tras el microtráfico en comunidad Maká

PÁGINA 56

Si tocan al Médanos, tocarán a tirika y otras especies valiosas

PÁGINAS 22 y 23

DOMINGO

Pedro Román, presidente de Petropar
El plan es seguir creciendo en el mercado

PÁGINA 14

Carlos Arregui, candidato a FGE
La Fiscalía está sometida y cooptada por un grupo empresarial poderoso

PÁGINA 8

ETIOS
MÁS POR DESCUBRIR

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



+595 21 518000
www.etios.com.py
LATA UNICAP
★★★★★



HYBRID EDITION



lefigaro.fr

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

GASTRONOMIE
DUCASSE-ANTON,
UN COMBAT DE CHEFS
SUR LA SEINE **PAGE 32**

MÉDITERRANÉE
MOBILISATION EN CORSE
POUR SAUVER LE DENTI
PAGE 16



LR Le mystère
Lisnard aiguise
la curiosité **PAGE 4**

EELV
Relégués au second
plan à gauche, les
Verts se cherchent
un nouveau chef
PAGE 6

FAIT DIVERS
Meurtre de Lola : le
profil déconcertant
de Dahbia B.
sur les réseaux
sociaux **PAGE 10**

CONFLIT SOCIAL
À Gonfreville,
les grévistes
de la raffinerie
n'abdiquent pas
PAGE 11

ITALIE
Meloni dévoile
son gouvernement
PAGE 13

ENTREPRISES
L'inflation renforce
l'appétit pour les
marques de
distributeurs **PAGE 24**

CHAMPS LIBRES

- À Nancy, la mue pharaonique du plus grand HLM de France
- La tribune de Léon Gautier et trois cosignataires
- Un entretien avec François-Joseph Schichan
- La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté

PAGES 19 À 21

**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**

Réponses à la question de vendredi :
Êtes-vous favorable à l'interdiction à la vente des voitures thermiques neuves en Europe d'ici à 2035 ?

OUI 18% NON 82%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 140 510

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr
Royaume-Uni : souhaitez-vous le retour de Boris Johnson ?

LIONEL BONNAVANTURE/AFP-FRANÇOIS BOUCHON/LE FIGARO-PAUL DE OLIVERA/BIOGRAPHY VIA AFP-HENRY NICHOLS/REUTERS

Bataille autour de l'héritage de Georges Brassens



La vente parisienne, prévue ce samedi à Drouot, d'objets et de manuscrits ayant appartenu au chanteur et détenus par la fille de son plus fidèle compagnon de route a été interdite par la justice. Cette procédure initiée par le neveu de l'artiste révèle une guerre entre la famille et les amis de l'auteur des *Copains d'abord*. **PAGE 35**

ADRIEN ALLEAUME

JO 2024 : Paris face au défi de la sécurité

Selon le dernier baromètre Fiducial-Odoxa pour « Le Figaro », 58 % des Français doutent de la capacité du gouvernement à assurer la sécurité des Jeux olympiques.

Défi majeur se dressant à la moitié du second mandat d'Emmanuel Macron, l'organisation des Jeux olympiques de Paris est un réel sujet d'inquiétude chez les Français. Cinq mois après le fiasco de la finale de la Ligue des champions au Stade de France, le gouvernement doit toujours faire face à la défiance de la population, qui

émet de sérieux doutes sur la capacité des autorités à assurer la sécurité pendant les JO. L'inedite et ambitieuse cérémonie d'ouverture, programmée sur la Seine le 26 juillet 2024, cristallise les craintes. Seule une faible majorité de Français (53 %) penche en faveur de son maintien et 45 % d'entre eux suggèrent de « changer ce

format, car il est trop risqué ». Alors que le ministre de l'Intérieur prévoit un plan sécuritaire maximal, avec des forces supplémentaires, il compte aussi sur le recrutement d'étudiants pour pallier le manque de candidats dans le secteur de la sécurité privée. Les analystes, eux, s'inquiètent d'un impact sur la fréquentation des Jeux.

→ **CÉDRIC PAULIN : « IL NOUS MANQUE DÉJÀ 20 000 AGENTS DE SÉCURITÉ PRIVÉE »**

→ **PROTÉGER 10 500 ATHLÈTES ET 40 SITES : L'« IMMENSE » DÉFI DES ORGANISATEURS**

→ **GÉRALD DARMANIN MISE SUR LES ÉTUDIANTS POUR LA SÉCURITÉ DES JO** PAGES 8, 9 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



Royaume-Uni : et si Boris Johnson revenait ?

Depuis les Caraïbes, où se terminent ses vacances, l'ancien premier ministre fait passer le message : lui seul pourrait éviter une déroute électorale au Parti conservateur après le naufrage express de Liz Truss, qui lui a brièvement succédé. Un come-back aussi sensa-

tionnel, moins de quatre mois après la cabale qui l'avait chassé du 10 Downing Street, est-il réalisable ? Si « Bolo » obtient cent parrainages parmi les élus d'ici à lundi, sa cote de popularité auprès des militants toriers pourrait lui donner l'avantage. **PAGE 12**

ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thérard ythear@lefigaro.fr

Un immense enjeu

Pour la deuxième fois de l'histoire, la France réinvente les Jeux. La première, c'était en 1896, quand le baron Pierre de Coubertin, auteur des fameux anneaux olympiques, a relancé l'antique compétition, à Athènes. Cent vingt-huit ans plus tard, pour les JO d'été de 2024, notre pays entend donner à l'événement un caractère inédit. Ainsi la cérémonie d'ouverture, symbole de cette innovation, ne se tiendra-t-elle pas dans une enceinte fermée, mais au cœur de Paris, sur la Seine. Une grande parade fluviale, accessible à quelque 400 000 spectateurs, accueillera le défilé des délégations sur 6 kilomètres. Le spectacle promet d'être aussi original que grandiose. Mais, au-delà des performances athlétiques des participants, la vocation des Jeux n'est-elle pas précisément de faire briller la ville hôte de par le monde ? De donner à voir du rêve à des milliards d'individus ? L'enjeu est autant géopolitique et économique que sportif.

Le défi est donc immense. Et il repose moins sur les épaules de nos champions, jugés sur les médailles qu'ils récoltent, que sur notre capacité à mettre au point une or-

ganisation tirée au cordeau. La première victoire à viser est celle de la sécurité. Comment la garantir sur un espace non délimité, ouvert à tous les vents, quand la menace est multiple ? Mouvements de foule, attentats, agressions par drones, protestations en tous genres sont à anticiper... Sans oublier les caprices climatiques et les raids informatiques qui perturbent les communications, la billetterie et les transports. Les JO de Tokyo, en 2021, auraient été la cible de milliards de cyberattaques !

Aux JO, la première victoire à viser est celle de la sécurité d'un pari impossible. Un récent rapport sénatorial a pointé le flou budgétaire qui entoure l'opération et les retards de la préparation. Le fiasco de la finale de la Ligue des champions au Stade de France, le 24 mai dernier, n'est pas là non plus pour rassurer. Il reste vingt mois aux autorités pour apporter la preuve qu'elles ont bien pris la mesure des risques. ■

NEW BR-X5

CALIBRE MANUFACTURE • 470 H DE RÉSERVE DE MARCHE • CERTIFIÉ CHRONOMÈTRE



ADVANCED
TIME INSTRUMENTS

Bell & Ross

NOUVELLE BR-X5 • INSTRUMENTS DE MESURE DU TEMPS PERFECTIONNÉS