

What's News

Business & Finance

Fewer companies than usual are beating Wall Street's expectations so far in the third-quarter earnings-reporting season amid a host of challenges to profits, including persistent inflation, rising interest rates and a generational surge in the dollar. **A1**

◆ **Amazon, Apple and Meta Platforms** are among the tech heavyweights featured in a packed week of earnings that investors will probe for indicators about the economy. **B3**

◆ **The Biden administration** is offering to buy oil at fixed future prices to refill the nation's emergency petroleum reserve, but oil companies are wary of boosting output. **A1**

◆ **China's GDP expanded** by 3.9% in the third quarter as the country bounced back modestly from crippling Covid lockdowns in the spring. **A8**

◆ **The Nasdaq** has quietly halted listings of small-cap Chinese companies after a series of meteoric run-ups and dramatic collapses in IPOs this year. **B1**

◆ **Upstart e-commerce service Meesho** is winning more new shoppers in India than Amazon and Walmart's Flipkart, posing a challenge to the U.S. retailing titans. **B1**

◆ **Rising U.S. interest rates** and the surging dollar are creating problems for riskier companies in Asia that had flocked to the U.S. dollar-denominated bond market when yields were much lower. **B1**

◆ **Died:** Dietrich Mateschitz, Austrian entrepreneur who made Red Bull energy drink a global sensation, 78. **B3**

World-Wide

◆ **Xi Jinping cemented** his status as China's most formidable leader since Mao Zedong by extending his term as Communist Party chief into a second decade and declining to elevate a clear potential successor. **A1, A8-9**

◆ **The new slate of China's top leaders**, packed with allies of Xi, has some economists fearing a further erosion of checks on the power of a Chinese leader. **A8**

◆ **Former U.K. Chancellor** of the Exchequer Rishi Sunak took a major step toward becoming Britain's next prime minister after his main rival for the job Boris Johnson pulled out the race. **A1**

◆ **U.S. schools** this year recorded the largest-ever drop in math scores, with fourth- and eighth-grade students in nearly every state showing significant declines, according to Education Department data. **A3**

◆ **Venezuelans, Cubans** and Nicaraguans drove a wave of migration over the past year, as total annual arrivals at the southwestern U.S. border reached an all-time high. **A3**

◆ **The criminal tax-fraud trial** of the Trump Organization is set to begin with jury selection Monday. **A3**

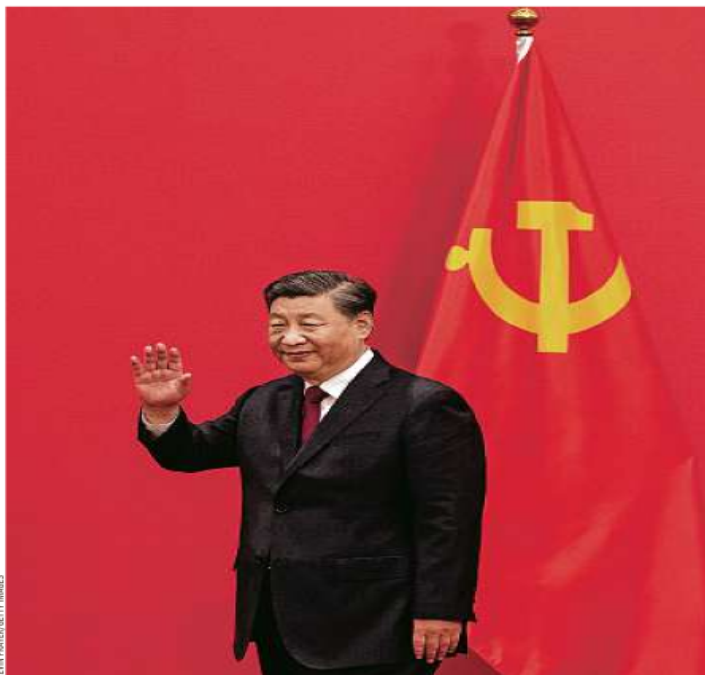
◆ **With less than three weeks left** in Charles Rettig's term as IRS commissioner, Biden hasn't picked anyone to succeed him. **A5**

◆ **Iran's labor unions** are helping antigovernment protests maintain momentum by calling for strikes at oil facilities, schools and factories. **A18**

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Chinese President Xi Jinping, shown Sunday inside Beijing's Great Hall of the People.

Xi Extends His Control Over China

Leader sidelines rivals and elevates no clear successor as he takes a third five-year term

By KEITH ZHAI
AND CHUN HAN WONG

SINGAPORE—China's Xi Jinping embarked Sunday on his third term with his rivals out of the way and no clear successor in sight, deepening his control over the world's second-largest economy as the country's most formidable leader since Mao Zedong.

Mr. Xi, 69 years old, received a third five-year term as the Communist Party's general secretary, emerging first as China's new seven-man leadership strode onto a red-carpeted dais inside Beijing's Great Hall of the People on Sunday. That followed a closed-door conclave of about 370 senior officials.

The lineup of the new Politburo Standing Committee, the inner sanctum of power in China, was dominated by Mr. Xi's allies and protégés, though none of them with the combi-

nation of age and experience that would mark them out as a viable successor.

By extending his rule without any heir apparent, Mr. Xi has effectively obliterated the party's decadeslong efforts to ensure regular leadership succession and prevent a return to Mao-style dictatorship. While the party doesn't set term limits on its top political office, Mr. Xi is breaking with the 10-year leadership cycle set by his predecessor.

Since taking power in 2012, Mr. Xi has reversed the party's embrace of collective leadership, concentrated decision-making authority in his own hands and scrapped constitutional term limits on the presidency.

These power plays also swept aside officials once seen

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Power Play

- ◆ China's GDP grows 3.9% in rebound.....A8
- ◆ Loyalists make up new slate of leaders.....A8
- ◆ Predecessor's surprising exit at congress.....A9

Markets Eye Lackluster Earnings

By HANNAH MIAO

Early results from the third-quarter earnings season haven't provided much comfort to jittery investors.

While some corporate leaders noted glimmers of hope for consumers and the economy, many have reported a host of challenges to profits, including persistent inflation, rising interest rates and a generational surge in the dollar that has pressured revenue generated overseas.

So far, fewer companies than usual are beating Wall Street's

earnings expectations. With about 20% of companies in the S&P 500 having reported third-quarter results, 72% have topped analysts' consensus earnings estimates, according to FactSet. That is below the five-year average of 77%.

Investors also are punishing corporations that miss the mark. Shares of S&P 500 companies that have underperformed Wall Street's earnings expectations have slipped 4.7% on average in the two days before their report through the two days after, according to FactSet. That compares with

the five-year average of 2.2%.

Even some earnings beats aren't wowing investors as much as usual. Tesla Inc., for example, topped consensus earnings estimates, yet shares dropped 6.7% in the session after the electric-vehicle maker's report.

"The bar was set really low going into earnings season," said Gene Goldman, chief investment officer at Cetera Investment Management. "We were hoping for easier beats because everything had been revised lower, but the earnings releases we're seeing now have

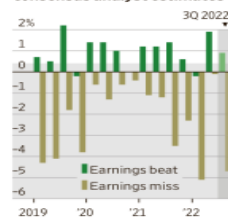
not been that great."

The quarterly reporting period marks the latest test for stocks battered by this year's brutal market conditions. Declining bond prices and surging yields have recalibrated investors' appetite for riskier assets. The S&P 500 is on pace for its worst year since the 2007-08 financial crisis.

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- ◆ Outlook: Rate-effect lag adds to puzzle for Fed.....A2
- ◆ Companies' inflation strategies diverge.....B1
- ◆ Apple, Meta and McDonald's headline week's earnings.....B3

Average share price change for S&P 500 companies that have beat or missed consensus analyst estimates*



*Two days before earnings release through two days after. *As of Oct. 21. Source: FactSet.

Orders for Cocaine, Deaths by Fentanyl

New Yorkers texted same delivery service

By MARGOT PATRICK

NEW YORK—Ross Mtangi, a trading executive at Credit Suisse Group AG, left his Manhattan penthouse in March 2021 with his laptop and told his pregnant partner he was going to work.

He checked into a nearby hotel and tuned in to work calls. Later, he texted for cocaine from a drug delivery service. A man wearing a baseball cap, cross-body bag and face mask appeared on hotel surveillance.

Mr. Mtangi, 40 years old, missed a follow-up meeting. His sister and her partner found him dead at the hotel

the next day. Police found on a table translucent black baggies that contained lethal fentanyl mixed in with the cocaine.

In the East Village, first-year lawyer Julia Ghahramani, 26, texted the same delivery service the same day. She also died. She had just started her career remotely at Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP.

Social worker Amanda Scher, 38, died the same. She died in the Greenwich Village apartment she shared with her Chihuahua-Gorgi rescue dog. It was a stone's throw from where she had received

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New Owners of Feral Dogs Hope For Fido, End Up With Cujo

Israel's 33,000 strays test those who adopt them; 'VEEERRY difficult dog'

By DOV LIEBER

TEL AVIV—After hours of training, Oly has learned to bound, tail wagging, toward his owners when called. But the big shaggy pooch still sometimes growls in a back-of-the-neck warning when owner Itai Linzen touches him.

"It's a bit like having a grumpy teenager," said Mr. Linzen, who describes Oly as a mixed breed, part Dr. Je-

kyll, part Mr. Hyde.

Israel is a dog-friendly country, but a lot of its canines aren't very sociable. An estimated 33,000 strays wander the country, including feral Fidos raised without human help beyond the scrap-rich trash dumps where they feed.

Oly belongs to a generational litter of feral pets adopted by people seeking to turn them from churlish to



Good boy?

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INSIDE



WORLD NEWS

Executive held for years in Venezuelan prison describes his ordeal. **A18**

SPORTS

The World Series is set: Philadelphia Phillies vs. Houston Astros. **A14**

Johnson Quits Race For U.K. Leader, Giving Sunak Edge

By MAX COLCHESTER

LONDON—Former U.K. Chancellor of the Exchequer Rishi Sunak took a step toward becoming the country's next prime minister after his main rival for the job, Boris Johnson, pulled out of the race on Sunday evening, averting a head-to-head contest between the two men that had threatened to split the ruling Conservative Party and further roil financial markets.

The decision by Mr. Johnson—who was forced to step down as prime minister and party leader over the summer after a series of scandals—leaves Mr. Sunak as the heavy

favorite to replace Liz Truss in the top job.

Ms. Truss, who took office Sept. 6, said last week she was quitting after her economic program imploded, making her the shortest-serving prime minister in British history. The only other remaining candidate for her position is Penny Mordaunt, the leader of the House of Commons.

The contest could be over by Monday afternoon, when candidates need to secure at least 100 nominations from fellow Tory lawmakers to stand as leader of the party. On Sunday, Mr. Sunak had at least 128 public backers, while

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Biden Plan to Refill Oil Reserves Raises Doubts About Production

By BENOÎT MORENNE

After releasing the most oil yet from the U.S. emergency petroleum reserve, the Biden administration is signaling it will refill soon, a multibillion-dollar undertaking that it hopes will rouse sluggish domestic drilling activity.

The pitch is likely to be a hard sell for many domestic producers, industry executives and analysts said. "It's a little bit more [complex] than this," said Olivier Le Peuch, chief executive of oil-field services company Schlumberger Ltd.

On Wednesday, President

Biden said for the first time that the Energy Department would begin purchasing oil to refill the U.S. Strategic Petroleum Reserve when oil prices are \$87 to \$72 per barrel, or less. Officials also said the department has made a final rule that would allow it to purchase crude at a fixed future price, which they hope would encourage producers to drill more.

Energy executives and analysts expressed doubts the plan would spur a large increase in production in the short term. Many oil companies are wary of locking in sales when com-

modity markets have swung wildly. They hope to capture high oil prices while they are in place. Rising drilling costs and pressure from investors to limit production and return excess cash to shareholders are also dimming the outlook for production growth, they said.

As he said his administration would refill the reserve, Mr. Biden said an additional draw of 15 million barrels is to be delivered in December, completing a sale of 180 million barrels he ordered earlier this year to temper soaring oil prices. The Energy Department

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Steven Pinker: rational reasons for optimism

HENRY MANCIE INTERVIEW, PAGE 13

Surveillance has led to productivity paranoia

RANA FOROORHAR, PAGE 17

Power play Russia steps up energy attacks

Firefighters in the Rivne region of western Ukraine work to extinguish a blaze at an energy infrastructure site that had been struck by a Russian missile attack this weekend.

Russian forces have fired dozens of cruise missiles at Ukraine's power infrastructure in the latest phase of the eight-month war.

Kyiv officials said the barrage was the most intense yet in a campaign that started earlier this month with the aim of depleting Ukraine's power stations and other infrastructure before winter.

Kyrylo Tymoshenko, deputy head of President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's administration, said the strikes had cut off electricity for nearly 1.5m people. Ukraine has introduced rolling blackouts in cities and towns with officials estimating that 30-40 per cent of generation capacity has been damaged.

Energy crisis page 2



Vitaliy Koval/Telegram Channel via AP/Getty Images

Briefing

Top Biden adviser argues US can avoid recession

The US economy is resilient enough to avoid a recession, according to President Joe Biden's top economic adviser, despite the threat from inflation and rising interest rates. — PAGE 2

Bonuses keep flowing

Executives at some leading US companies will keep earning big bonuses, despite falling share values, after boards relaxed the rules on incentive plans. — PAGE 6

Tech revenues set to fall

Some of the world's biggest tech companies are expected to report a sharp slowdown in revenues this week, spurring a renewed focus on their costs. — PAGE 6

Yen support put at \$30bn

Japan is estimated to have spent more than \$30bn last week to support the yen after the currency fell to a 32-year low against the dollar. — PAGE 4

Goldman split on Marcus

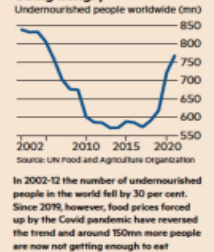
The decision by Goldman Sachs to step back from its consumer bank Marcus reportedly followed disagreement between boss David Solomon and executives. — PAGE 8

Crossword and Lex

The Lex column and the FT crossword can be found inside today. — PAGE 11

Datawatch

Going hungry



Xi confirms growing hold over China after unveiling of loyalist senior team

◆ Most significant leader since Mao ◆ Precedent-breaking third term ◆ Ex-rival prematurely retired

TOM MITCHELL — SINGAPORE
PRINCESE BORDAN
AND GLORIA LI — HONG KONG
RYAN MCCORROD — SHANGHAI

Xi Jinping yesterday secured a precedent-breaking third term in office as head of the Chinese Communist party and unveiled a new leadership team packed with loyalists, consolidating his grip on power.

At the climax of the party's congress, which is held every five years to appoint its leaders, Xi walked on to a red carpet trailed by the officials who will sit on his seven-member Politburo Standing Committee. The announcement came a day after his former rival premier Li Keqiang had been prematurely retired from the party's top ranks.

More than 2,200 delegates to the con-

gress approved revisions to the party's constitution that effectively proclaimed Xi as Communist China's most important leader since revolutionary hero Mao Zedong, recognising him as "the core of the whole party".

Xi said his new team would "work diligently in the performance of our duties to prove ourselves worthy of the great trust of the party and our people". He also trumpeted the strength of China's economy and said its "strong funda-

"This will speed up decision-making, but there will be a complete lack of checks and balances"

mentals will not change". Xi's zero-Covid policy has dramatically slowed economic growth.

Eswar Prasad, a China expert at Cornell University, said the appointments constituted "quite a show of force by Xi". Prasad added: "I see some dark days ahead as Xi now turns to rallying the country behind his muscular foreign policy vision."

"Xi has scored a big victory in the constitutional revision," said Willy Lam, a party politics expert at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. "Everyone must obey Xi Jinping. On the one hand this will speed up decision-making, but on the other hand, there will be a complete lack of checks and balances."

The committee's four new members are all Xi allies and include Shanghai

party boss Li Qiang, Beijing party chief Cai Qi, Ding Xuexiang and Li Xi, the party's highest ranking official in the southern Guangdong province. Their rankings suggest Li Qiang will succeed Li Keqiang as premier, although government positions will not be confirmed until parliament convenes in March.

Anti-corruption tsar Zhao Leji and ideological guru Wang Huning remain on the Politburo Standing Committee but will be given new portfolios.

"It represents a massive consolidation of Xi's power that is unprecedented since the Mao era," said Neil Thomas, senior China analyst at the consultancy Eurasia Group.

Earlier in the weekend Xi's predecessor Hu Jintao, 79, was abruptly ousted off the leadership rostrum after an offi-

cial tried to lift him out of his seat. China's Xinhua news agency said that Hu "insisted on attending the closing session" but "was not feeling well". Victor Shih, a Chinese politics expert at the University of California, San Diego, said Hu's exit was "simply astonishing".

The congress declared that Xi's leadership had "eliminated serious dangers within the party, government and military" — a veiled reference to corruption during Hu's 10 years in power.

Xi replaced more than half the members of the 24-member politburo. Many new appointees worked for him when he was a provincial party official. No women were appointed.

Additional reporting by Xinning Lu, Nian Lu, Edward White and Eleanor Olcott
News & Analysis page 4



The selling spree that set banks on massive gilt trip

Britain's ill-fated September 'mini' Budget and its prospect of unfunded tax cuts put some pension schemes, which invest heavily in sovereign bonds, at risk of default when they were forced to ditch assets. But they were not the only potential victims. The use by high-street banks of 'reverse repo', by which they lend cash to pension funds through corporate treasuries and take government bonds as collateral, also left them exposed.

Bond market explosion — PAGE 7

Sunak favourite for UK premiership as Johnson scrabbles to meet numbers

GEORGE PARKER — LONDON

Boris Johnson was yesterday seeking Conservative MPs' support for his comeback bid as he tried to secure the 100 nominations needed to enter today's ballot to become Britain's next prime minister.

Tory MPs must decide whether to put Johnson, who was forced out of office in July after a series of scandals, on to the ballot paper to succeed Liz Truss as the party's leader. If more than one candidate gets over 100 nominations, the two with the most MPs' votes will face a run-off poll of Tory party members later this week.

Rishi Sunak, former chancellor, launched his candidacy yesterday and became the clear favourite. By contrast, Johnson gained only a handful of new publicly declared backers over the

course of the day. By early evening he had 52 while Sunak had 137.

The former prime minister urged Penny Mordaunt, the third candidate, to abandon her leadership bid and back him. Mordaunt, who has fewer than 30 backers, told Johnson he could not unite the party, according to her supporters.

Johnson has made no public comments, nor has he officially declared he is standing. His rivals claimed he could pull out of the contest if it looked impossible to win enough backers. But one of Johnson's most prominent supporters, the business secretary Jacob Rees-Mogg, insisted party members wanted to return the former prime minister to Downing Street. "It's all systems go," he said.

If neither Mordaunt nor Johnson secure 100 nominations by 2pm today, Sunak will become the next Tory leader

and the country's third prime minister in a matter of weeks. He is seen by investors as the candidate with the most economic credibility. "I have the track record of delivery, a clear plan to fix the biggest problems we face and I will deliver on the promise of the 2019 manifesto," Sunak said.

In a blow to Johnson, Suella Braverman, the former home secretary, backed Sunak. James Cleverly, foreign secretary, backed Johnson. "Boris has learned lessons from his time in No10 and will ensure the focus is on the needs of the country," he said.

Steve Baker, former head of the pro-Brexit European Research Group, said a Johnson comeback should be avoided at all costs. "It's a guaranteed nailed-on failure — we cannot allow it to happen," he said.

Lewis Baston page 17

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Oct 21	Oct 14	Prev %chg		Oct 21	Oct 14	Prev %chg		Oct 21	Oct 14	Chg
S&P 500	3710.03	3665.78	1.21	\$/£	0.980	0.975	0/5	US 2 yr	4.48	4.56	-0.08
Nasdaq Composite	10718.51	10614.04	0.99	\$/¥	1.117	1.125	-0/8	US 10 yr	4.22	4.17	0.06
Dow Jones Ind	36761.23	36333.58	1.17	€/¥	0.877	0.867	0/1	US 30 yr	4.31	4.17	0.14
FTSE 100	1572.29	1579.47	-0.45	\$/₹	148.990	148.365	0/4	UK 2 yr	3.65	3.54	0.11
Euro Stoxx 50	3472.83	3482.05	-0.57	\$/₹	167.478	168.963	-0/9	UK 10 yr	4.05	3.91	0.14
FTSE 250	6969.73	6943.91	0.37	\$/₹	0.985	0.979	0/6	UK 30 yr	4.05	3.95	0.10
FTSE All Share	3796.89	3796.95	0.16	€/₹	191.18	190.42	0/4	JPN 2 yr	0.01	-0.03	0.02
CAC 40	6025.29	6046.90	-0.35	€/₹	1296.15	1292.67	1/5	JPN 10 yr	0.25	0.25	0.00
Nikkei	12730.90	12767.41	-0.29	€/₹	1296.15	1292.67	1/5	JPN 30 yr	1.80	1.52	0.08
Hang Seng	16211.12	16290.22	-0.42	€/₹	1296.15	1292.67	1/5	GER 2 yr	2.60	2.10	-0.07
MSCI World	2428.26	2439.30	-0.41	€/₹	1296.15	1292.67	1/5	GER 10 yr	2.41	2.40	0.01
MSCI EM	664.76	665.91	-0.13	€/₹	1296.15	1292.67	1/5	GER 30 yr	2.43	2.36	0.07
MSCI ACWI	563.06	565.21	-0.38	€/₹	1296.15	1292.67	1/5				
FT Worldex 2500	4772.41	4811.02	-0.80	€/₹	1296.15	1292.67	1/5				
FT Worldex 5000	3727.22	3757.15	-0.80	€/₹	1296.15	1292.67	1/5				

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Johnson Ends Comeback Bid As Rival Rises

Path Clears in the Race
to Lead Britain

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — Boris Johnson pulled out of the race to succeed Liz Truss as Britain's prime minister on Sunday evening, ending a quixotic bid to reclaim a job he lost three months ago amid a cascade of scandals, and leaving his rival, Rishi Sunak, in a commanding position to be the country's next leader.

The result of the contest will not be known until Monday afternoon at the earliest, and there is still room for further twists. Mr. Johnson did not endorse Mr. Sunak, and another ambitious candidate, Penny Mordaunt, remains in the hunt. But Mr. Johnson's withdrawal removes much of the suspense from a race that was shaping up as an epic battle between the former prime minister and his onetime chancellor.

Mr. Johnson said he believed he had a path to victory, even though the BBC estimated he had lined up the public support of only 57 Conservative lawmakers. It was well short of the threshold of 100 required to be on the ballot, though he claimed he had 102 votes.

Whatever the case, he said in a statement, "I have sadly come to the conclusion that this would simply not be the right thing to do."

Mr. Johnson, 58, said he did not believe that he could govern effectively without a unified Conservative Party in Parliament. Despite what he said were his efforts to reach out to Mr. Sunak and Ms. Mordaunt to create some kind of unity ticket, "we have sadly not been able to work out a way to do this."

Mr. Johnson's departure ends a feverish three days following Ms. Truss's resignation in which he once again gripped public attention and dominated the political conversation. But his campaign never really gained momentum. Party leaders threw their support behind Mr. Sunak as a better option to unify a divided party and put the chaos of the last few months — much of it caused by Mr. Johnson — behind it.

For Mr. Sunak, the 42-year-old son of Indian immigrants, the dizzying events appeared to cap a remarkable turnaround in his fortunes. In September, he lost his leadership bid to Ms. Truss in a vote of the party's members, de-

Continued on Page A11

Sunak's Vision, Once Ignored, Now Lifts Him

By ESHE NELSON

LONDON — Rishi Sunak would have every right to be weary. Throughout the summer, Mr. Sunak, Britain's former finance minister — and now the front-runner for prime minister — warned against the economic policies of Liz Truss as he competed with her for the nation's top job, and then lost. From the first television debate, when he described the plan as a "fairy tale," to the final days of the contest, when he said he "struggled to see" how Ms. Truss's tax cuts and spending plans would "add up," he sounded the alarm.

For the past six weeks, Mr. Sunak has been lying low as his economic predictions have played out at a dizzying speed. Investors balked at Ms. Truss's widespread tax cuts and increased borrowing; the pound slumped; government borrowing costs soared; the mortgage market was upended; and the central bank had to intervene. After just 44 days as prime minister, Ms. Truss resigned last week.

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Finding Camaraderie in Recovery

At an old medical center in western Ukraine, war amputees are forming a community as they adjust to their new lives. Page A6-7.

In Third Term, Xi Strengthens Grip on Power

This article is by Chris Buckley, Keith Bradsher and Chang Che.

When China's leader, Xi Jinping, led six dark-suited men onto a bright red stage on Sunday, the scale of his victory became clear as one by one he introduced the country's new ruling inner circle. Each was an acolyte of Mr. Xi, making his grip over China's future tighter than ever.

Mr. Xi's groundbreaking third term as leader, following a week-long Communist Party congress, was entirely expected. But even seasoned observers who thought that they had taken the full measure of Mr. Xi have been astonished by how thoroughly he shook up the party's top tiers.

"He was dominant already and is even more dominant now," said Dali Yang, a professor at the University of Chicago who researches Chinese politics. "He owns it."

Mr. Xi has stacked the Politburo Standing Committee, the party's top body, with his loyalists. He has also appointed to the broader leadership a number of domestic security officials, military commanders, ideologues, engineers and technocrats, underscoring his ambition of accelerating China's rise as a military and technological superpower while keeping it under unyielding Communist Party control.

For the world, this may portend a China newly energized to pursue Mr. Xi's agenda. Beijing is likely to remain defiant in the face of international criticism of its hard-line behavior. It is seeking greater self-sufficiency in strategic technologies. It wants to become the pre-eminent military force in the region and to strongly assert its claim over Taiwan. At the congress, Mr. Xi also said that China would promote its own initiatives to solve global development and security problems.

To the party's supporters and many people in China, Mr. Xi's centralized control can be a strength. The party has pushed images showing how the pandemic devastated other countries. Mr. Xi has contrasted the vast mobilizing capacity of the Chinese state with what he calls the "chaos of the West."

"A third term for Xi Jinping very much represents continuity in all of China's current policies, unlike the United States' flip-flopping

Continued on Page A12

Suspicion and Blame as Their America Vanishes

By MICHAEL H. KELLER and DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK

When Representative Troy Nehls of Texas voted last year to reject Donald J. Trump's electoral defeat, many of his constituents back home in Fort Bend County were thrilled.

Like the former president, they have been unhappy with the changes unfolding around them. Crime and sprawl from Houston, the big city next door, have been spilling over into their once bucolic towns. ("Build a wall," Mr. Nehls likes to say, and make Houston pay.) The county in recent years has become one of the nation's most diverse, where the former white majority has fallen to just 30 percent of the population.

DEMOCRACY CHALLENGED
Where Election Doubt Thrives

Don Demel, a 61-year-old salesman who turned out last month to pick up a signed copy of a book by Mr. Nehls about the supposedly stolen election, said his parents had raised him "colorblind." But the reason for the discontent was clear: Other white people in Fort Bend "did not like certain people coming here," he said. "It's race. They are old-school."

A shrinking white share of the population is a hallmark of the congressional districts held by the House Republicans who voted to challenge Mr. Trump's defeat, a New York Times analysis found — a pattern political scientists say

shows how white fear of losing status shaped the movement to keep him in power.

The portion of white residents dropped about 35 percent more over the last three decades in those districts than in territory represented by other Republicans, the analysis found, and constituents also lagged behind in income and education. Rates of so-called deaths of despair, such as suicide, drug overdose and alcohol-related liver failure, were notably higher as well.

Although overshadowed by the assault on the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, the House vote that day was the most consequential of Mr. Trump's plays to overturn the election. It cast doubt on the cen-

Continued on Page A18



ANNE MULLIGAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Richmond, Texas, in Fort Bend County, where the former white majority has fallen to 30 percent.

Ryan, Stressing 'Ohio' Over 'Democrat,' Puts Senate Race in Play

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER

COLUMBUS, Ohio — Tim Ryan is the kind of candidate who appears to put some thought into appearing to put no thought into appearances.

His daily uniform exudes well-practiced campaign casual: an Ohio State hoodie on game day; a T-shirt from Dropkick Murphys, the union-minded Celtic punk

band, for a recent speech at an A.F.L.-C.I.O. gathering, where he took the stage to Metallica's "Enter Sandman"; untied white Nikes for a canvass kickoff in the capital, laced tastefully days later for a condolence visit to a Toledo union hall.

His stump speech is a hits reel befitting an eastern Ohio congressman, as if culled from the down-home liner notes of a Springsteen track about the in-

dustrial Midwest.

"My grandfather was a steelworker . . ."

"I'm campaigning for the exhausted majority . . ."

"Star of the high school football team . . ."

"O-H!" (I-O.)

Most political races are about authenticity on some level: who tries too hard, who does not try hard enough, who can read the electorate without staring. Mr.

Ryan, 49, has made Ohio perhaps the country's unluckiest Senate battleground by taking this premise to its logical extreme.

He is seeking to depict his Republican opponent, J. D. Vance, the author and venture capitalist made famous by a memoir of life in Appalachia, as something of a political fabulist — a playacting fraud ("Uncomfortable in Flannel," the text flashes in one attack

Continued on Page A15



BUSINESS B1-7

Staving Off a Heating Crisis

The Netherlands' central location and web of gas pipelines could keep Europe warm as Russia cuts supplies. PAGE B1

Starbucks Stalemate

The company moved to contain the labor push. Now, organizers seek to regain momentum. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Israel Votes, Again

To regain power, Benjamin Netanyahu will likely need the support of Itamar Ben-Gvir, a far-right leader. PAGE A12

Saudi 'Davos in the Desert'

Some top U.S. business leaders are headed to the conference, but Biden officials are staying away. PAGE A11

OBITUARIES A22-23

Political and Spiritual Leader

As a Democratic Party boss and a city councilman, the Rev. Louis Gigante helped build thousands of affordable units in the Bronx. He was 90. PAGE A22



ARTS C1-6

On Hoping for Magic

Martyna Majok, whose play "Cost of Living" is now on Broadway, talks about "the precarity of life." PAGE C1

Like Tracy and Hepburn

A new film and other team-ups show the onscreen chemistry of George Clooney and Julia Roberts. PAGE C1

NATIONAL A13-20

Trump Business Under Threat

The Trump Organization's trial on tax fraud and other charges begins Monday in Manhattan, raising questions about the future of the former president's family business. PAGE A17

A Challenge for the Mayor

Eric Adams, the mayor of New York City, has struggled to address the arrival of thousands of migrants on buses, and he has received criticism from every corner. PAGE A16

OPINION A24-25

Pamela Paul

PAGE A24



SPORTS D1-8

Phillies Make World Series

Philadelphia, the last team to qualify for the N.L. playoffs, celebrated not long after Bryce Harper's homer brought a 4-3 victory over the Padres. PAGE D6



0 354 613 9

Water bills soar, and many can't pay

Newsom vetoes a rate assistance program for low-income families. The problem will only get worse, experts say.

By DORANY PINEDA

Several months ago, Rosario Rodriguez faced a financial dilemma that has become all too common for millions of drought-weary Californians: either pay the electric bill, which had skyrocketed to about \$300 during a scorching summer in western Fresno County, or pay the \$220 combined water, sewer and trash bill.

"Our water is expensive, even though we can't drink it because it's contaminated," Rodriguez said in Spanish.

In the end, Rodriguez opted not to pay the electric bill from May to July, knowing she could get help from the Fresno Economic Opportunities Commission, a local nonprofit. No such assistance that she knew of was available for water.

For a family of four living off \$25,000 a year, a water bill of more than \$200 a month is an economic burden. Now, with 1 in 10 California households falling into arrears on water payments, calls are mounting for the state to step in and help.

"If we had a water discount, we'd have a little extra money for food or to buy our daughters clothes, shoes and other things they need for school," said Rodriguez, whose family rents a home in the rural, unincorporated community of El Porvenir.

The Rodriguez family is among an estimated 13 million Californians living in low-income households who bear the brunt of soaring water costs, experts say.

Although the state has declared that all residents have a right to clean, safe and affordable drinking water, officials have yet to make [See Water, A12]

An overcrowded housing problem

Solving the crisis in L.A. requires more building and more subsidies, experts say. CALIFORNIA, B1

Chargers can't stop Seahawks

Despite Austin Ekeler's two touchdowns, Seattle ends L.A.'s winning streak, 37-23. SPORTS, D1

Netflix may add games to library

Streaming platform sees video games as the future. Do developers have a reason to be wary? CALENDAR, E1

Weather

Lots of sun. L.A. Basin: 77/56. B6

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.



GOV. GAVIN NEWSOM, left, touted California's economic growth during his debate with state Sen. Brian Dahle, who blamed Newsom's policies for high gas prices, struggling schools and cost-of-living problems.

Dahle, Newsom trade barbs at debate

Governor candidates clash over economy, homelessness and abortion rights during the only debate between the two gubernatorial candidates in an otherwise sleepy race for the most powerful post in the state of California.

By TARYN LUNA AND HANNAH WILEY

SAN FRANCISCO — Gov. Gavin Newsom and state Sen. Brian Dahle clashed over gas prices, homelessness and abortion rights during the only debate between the two gubernatorial candidates in an otherwise sleepy race for the most powerful post in the state of California.

Newsom is expected to win a second term in the November election against the Republican farmer from rural Northern California, who hammered the governor on Sunday for focusing more on his national ambitions than fixing the problems vexing the state.

"The governor is focused on his message to America," Dahle said. "Californians are fleeing California for one reason — because they can't afford to live here — and he's out of touch with everyday hardworking middle-class Californians."

The matchup, hosted by KQED on a sunny day in San Francisco, marked one of the few times Newsom has acknowledged his opponent's existence since the contest began. In the sometimes intense debate, Newsom cast the state senator [See Debate, A12]

COLUMN ONE

A story of life and death row

Jarvis Jay Masters says he knew little about the murder of a correctional officer two levels below his cell in San Quentin State Prison. But then another inmate — his superior in the violent Black Guerrilla Family gang — ordered him to copy a set of notes detailing the deadly conspiracy.

Marjorie Burchfield says she found out about the murder from a knock at the door, a hushed conversation and her stepmother's walls in the middle of the night. She didn't need details to know her father was dead.

It was June 1985, and correctional Sgt. Hal Burchfield, a 37-year-old father of five, had

been stabbed in the chest while making rounds at the state's oldest and most notorious lockup on San Francisco Bay. Inmates would later describe the weapon as a San Quentin special: a piece of metal bed frame, sharpened and attached to the end of a makeshift spear formed from tightly rolled newspaper. One of the notes Masters says he copied — known as "kites" for the way they are thrown between levels on string — bragged, with a smug face, that the spear's tip was so sharp it could "chop a T-bone."

In the ensuing months and years, the kites, clearly in [See Death row, A6]

By Kevin Rector



A GRAY WHALE calf and its mother swim near a boat in Laguna San Ignacio in Baja California, Mexico. Killer whales have visited the area at least twice this year.

Is peril lurking in those pods?

Predatory orcas breach a gray whale refuge in Baja

By SUSANNE RUST

A deadly new threat may be on the horizon for gray whales — a species already suffering from a mysterious decline in population.

For the first time in known history, orcas have been observed in the grays' Mexican refuge: the warm, shallow lagoons of the Baja Peninsula, where the 40-plus-foot leviathans go to calf, nurse and mate in peace. Until now,

conservationists had considered the area a shelter for gray whales from shipping, fishing gear and killer whales — the ocean's apex predator.

According to reports from researchers and local fishermen, Laguna San Ignacio has been visited by orcas twice this year.

One pod showed up in January and was videotaped fatally attacking two resident bottlenose dolphins. They may have also [See Orcas, A8]

More antisemitic hate seen in L.A.

Demonstrators give Nazi salutes behind a 405 Freeway banner endorsing remarks made by Kanye West.

By KEVIN RECTOR

Kanye West's weeks-long spate of antisemitic comments drew a well-known hate group to Los Angeles over the weekend for a demonstration of support on a 405 Freeway overpass, raising alarms from local officials and residents that the rapper's rhetoric was inspiring more public bigotry.

West, also known as Ye, has attracted widespread criticism and was locked out of his Instagram and Twitter accounts in recent weeks for comments online and in TV interviews espousing antisemitic conspiracy theories that have spurred hate and violence against Jewish people in the past — including that they have outsized power and influence in the media. In addition to freezing

his social media accounts, West's comments have drawn public demands that he lose lucrative endorsements and further threatened his waning celebrity cachet.

On Saturday, demonstrators gave Nazi salutes as they stood behind a large overpass banner that read, "Kanye is right about the Jews," according to images collected by antidiscrimination organizations and Jewish residents appalled by the group's message.

"It's not just words," said Sam Yebrli, a lawyer and former Anti-Defamation League board member who lives in Westwood and took to Twitter to denounce the event. "There is clearly a connection to white supremacy and neo-Nazi movements."

Responding to the overpass demonstration, Los Angeles County Dist. Atty. George Gascón said Sunday on Twitter that antisemitism "cannot be tolerated and that it stands with the Jewish community."

"We cannot tolerate the [See Antisemitism, A8]

BUSINESS INSIDE: Social media is still rife with election misinformation, critics say. A9



The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington



Clearing 68/58 • Tomorrow: Partly cloudy 71/59 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, OCTOBER 24, 2022 • B3

As covid evolves, a racial shift in deaths

White people are now more likely to die than Black Americans. Why?

BY AKILAH JOHNSON
AND DAN KEATING

SOMERVILLE, TENN. — Skill Wilson had amassed more than three decades of knowledge as a paramedic, first in Memphis and then in Fayette County. Two places that felt like night and day.

With only five ambulances in the county and the nearest hospital as much as 45 minutes away, Skill relished the clinical know-how necessary to work in a rural setting. Doing things like sedating patients to insert tubes into their airways.

But when it came to covid-19, despite more than 1 million deaths nationwide, Skill and his family felt their small town on the central-eastern side of Fayette County, with its fields of grazing cattle and rows of cotton and fewer than 200 covid deaths since the start of the pandemic, was a cocoon against the raging health emergency.

"It was a lot easier to stay away from others," his widow, Hollie Wilson, said of the largely White and predominantly conservative county of about 42,000 residents. "Less people. Less chance of exposure."

Covid seemed like other people's problem — until it wasn't.

The imbalance in death rates among the nation's racial and ethnic groups has been a defining part of the pandemic since the start. To see the pattern, The Washington Post analyzed every death during more than two years of the pandemic. Early in the crisis, the differing covid threat was evident in places such as Memphis and Fayette County. Deaths were concentrated in dense urban areas, where Black people died at several times the

SEE CORONAVIRUS ON A6

"It's like he was in prison, except even hardened criminals get sunlight and exercise."

Cheryl Chafos, mother of autistic teen Zach Chafos



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Before she and her husband, Tim, lost their son Zach last year, Cheryl Chafos agonized over the total of 76 days that the autistic teen spent in a Maryland emergency room waiting for a psychiatric bed.

A long wait for a precious bed

An autistic teen needed mental health help. He spent weeks in an ER instead.

BY WILLIAM WAN

By his fourth week waiting for help in the emergency room, Zachary Chafos's skin had turned pale white from lack of sun.

His mother, Cheryl Chafos, bathed her autistic teenage son daily in the ER's shower, trying to scrub the sickly pallor off him. His father, Tim Chafos, held the 18-year-old's hand, trying to soothe his son's pain and confusion

over what was happening.

They'd brought Zach to Howard County General Hospital on Nov. 12, 2020, amid a severe mental crisis. All his life, he'd been the joyful center of their family. But after months of pandemic isolation, Zach had become uncontrollably angry and begun physically assaulting his parents and his younger brothers.

Now he and his parents found themselves in medical purgatory, wait-

ing for psychiatric treatment that never seemed to arrive. Every day, Zach's case manager in the ER would call to see if a psychiatric bed had opened up.

Every day, the answer was no. In the state of Maryland, there are roughly 1,040 licensed psychiatric beds for adults in general and private hospitals and another 240 for children and teens. The majority are almost always full.

SEE WAITING ON A22

Inflation negates signs of growth

REBOUND EXPECTED
IN GDP REPORT

But many economists say struggles are unabated

BY ABHA BHATTARAI

The U.S. economy is expected to have grown robustly in a sharp rebound from the first half of the year, but most Americans are unlikely to notice anything about the turnaround.

Persistent inflation continues to weigh heavily on both economic growth and household budgets, and has become a key flash point ahead of the midterm elections. A strong reading on the next gross domestic product report, scheduled to be released Thursday, would be welcome news for Democrats, who have been struggling to convince voters they have a plan to contain rising prices and put the economy on more stable footing.

Although the newest numbers are likely to look like improvements on paper, economists say they don't reflect major changes in the economy, which could be headed for a recession in the next year.

"This is going to look better than the previous two GDP reports, but conditions on the ground haven't changed very much," said Douglas Holtz-Eakin, president of the American Action Forum and a former director of the Congressional Budget Office.

SEE GDP ON A16

China's Xi is granted power not seen since days of Mao

BY LILY KUO
AND CHRISTIAN SHEPHERD

A somber Xi Jinping walked across the plush red stage of the Great Hall of the People in Beijing and took his place at the center. A line of men followed silently behind, falling in on both sides of him.

And with that one short, stiff walk and a quick wave, Xi was announced Sunday as China's uncontested leader for five years, if not many more, as he concentrates power to a degree not seen since the days of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, and positions his country defiantly against the West.

At a party plenum on Sunday that followed the close of the twice-a-decade Communist Party congress, Xi secured a third term as general secretary and head of the Central Military Commission, the party's two most important positions. The men at his side, all allies, make up the newly chosen members of the seven-member standing committee, the party's apex of power. Xi is at the top.

SEE CHINA ON A15

Democrats fear ground is shifting under midterm map

Polls show Republican gains amid concerns over crime, the economy

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

The liberal Navigator public tracking poll flashed a major warning sign for Democrats in mid-October, reporting a 20 percentage point jump since September in the share of independent voters concerned about the economy and gas prices.

That was not the only data showing a turning of the tide in the battle for Congress. Regional challenges had shown up in internal Democratic polls from deep blue sanctuaries in the Pacific Northwest, New York and even Rhode Island, Democratic strategists say. Crime, a major focus of

Republican advertising, has also risen as a major issue in several races.

Candidates say they have felt the ground shift.

"The economic concern is definitely worse, and I think that is probably part of what has corroded concern about abortion rights," said Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, 34, a Democratic candidate for Congress in southern Washington State.

Perez is a symbol of the Democratic struggles, fighting in a margin-of-error race against exactly the kind of "ultra-MAGA" candidate Democrats have elevated this year — Republican Joe Kent, who denies the outcome of the 2020 election, argues U.S. Capitol rioters have been mistreated and wants a moratorium on all legal immigration. But Democrats in Washington have not yet been able to invest directly in her race.

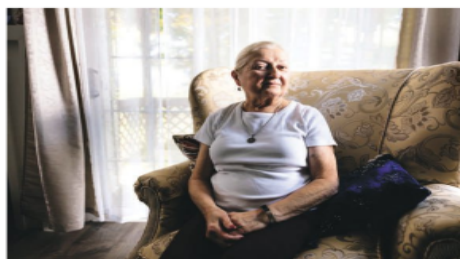
SEE DISTRICTS ON A8

ELECTION 2022

On a war footing in Ohio

Question of aid has made single-issue voters of Ukrainian Americans

BY CARA MCGOOGAN



MEGAN KILGUS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Irena Stolar, a Ukrainian immigrant and resident of Parma, Ohio, says she will cast her first vote for a Democrat because of GOP Senate nominee J.D. Vance's opposition to military aid for Kyiv.

Iowa: Longtime GOP Sen. Grassley is in a tight race, a poll shows. A3

Roadshow: Events push Christian nationalism before midterms. A10

SEE OHIO ON A4

IN THE NEWS

Power vacuum Boris Johnson suddenly dropped a comeback bid, leaving Rishi Sunak the favorite to become Britain's premier. A14

In this House district, everyone who has won the seat has gotten divorced afterward. C1

The Commanders outlasted Green Bay as Taylor Heinicke made his first start this season. D1

OPINIONS

The Trump tapes

To understand the former president as a singular danger, look to audio, Bob Woodward writes. A18



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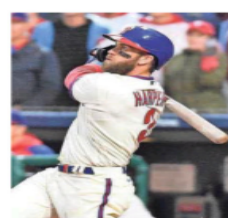
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As job market cools, back to office may be looming

Employers are gaining bargaining power and could end remote work. **In Money**

A very different version of Beatles' 'Yellow Submarine'

Reissue of 1966 "Revolver" album includes John Lennon's original sad take of the song. **In Life**



HARPER BY ERIC HARTLINE/USA TODAY SPORTS

8th inning homer sends Phillies to World Series

Bryce Harper blast lifts Philadelphia over San Diego for National League title, and "it was magical," writes columnist Bob Nightengale. **In Sports**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | MONDAY, OCTOBER 24, 2022

GOP eyes takeover of school boards

How race is being taught is central to its message

Chris Quintana
USA TODAY

School board contests this election season have the look and feel of the kind of partisan sparring once reserved for top-of-ballot races, complete with party endorsements for what are mostly nonpartisan races and eye-popping sums fueling some campaigns.

The sometimes little-noticed races present an opportunity, Republican leaders say, to oversee what children are taught and advance a broader conservative agenda. Frustration with pandemic restrictions, teaching about civil rights and allowing accommodations for transgender students are among the animating issues for GOP-backed candidates, many of them new to politics or education policy.

"There's no question school boards are the target of takeovers. The localities are losing control, and it's national movements that are taking over."

Dan Domenech
Executive director of the AASA, the School Superintendents Association

Already, some of these candidates have won big, taking over school boards in majority-white pockets of the country, buoyed by national money and big-name endorsements.

Republicans are following the blueprint left by former President Donald Trump, who banned racial sensitivity training in the federal government, criticized Black Lives Matter social justice protesters and called for the nation's schools to adopt a "patriotic education." Critics of Trump's education plan said it whitewashed the country's history.

Groups including Moms for Liberty and local political action committees are also helping drive interest in these races. They are endorsing and raising money for candidates, many of whom

See SCHOOLS, Page 4A



Sumalya Jahan, a home-based child care provider in Virginia who employs two assistants, listens as one of the children tells a story. Jahan says she used ARP funds to offset lost income but costs continue to rise. ALIA WONG/USA TODAY

Boost child care providers got from US aid is waning

1 in 7

eligible children are covered by the federal child care grant program in place since before the pandemic.

8 out of 10

licensed centers – covering every state and territory and, in most states, virtually all counties with persistent poverty – were helped by the stabilization funds, according to The White House.

3 million

child care spots were estimated to be saved by federal funding as a result of helping 75,000 providers avoid permanent closures, according to a study from the left-leaning Century Foundation.

16,000

child care providers permanently closed between December 2019 and March 2021, according to Child Care Aware of America, a research and advocacy organization.

Money helped many weather pandemic, but as programs end, worries increase

Alia Wong
USA TODAY

Enrollment at Good Shepherd Christian Academy, a child care center in Fort Worth, Texas, plummeted almost as soon as the pandemic hit, from 84 kids to just 10.

It's been one thing after another since, said Ontara Nickerson, the center's director. The paltry number of children meant shortened workdays: Many of the center's hourly workers couldn't make do with reduced pay and quit in search of better wages.

Yet Nickerson and her team have managed to stick it out, largely thanks to federal relief dollars that started flowing into child care centers last year. Good Shepherd Christian Academy was one of more than 200,000 providers nationwide that received aid through the American Rescue Plan, according to data shared exclusively with USA TODAY by the White House, money that helped the vast majority of recipients avoid closures despite unrelenting economic and public health pressures.

"The stabilization grants came right at the moment when our program was

unsure of how much longer we'd be able to keep our doors open," Nickerson said. It "allowed us to withstand the worst of the pandemic."

The ARP, signed into law by President Joe Biden in 2021, included \$24 billion for a Child Care Stabilization Program. It provided emergency relief, distributed by states, to child care providers that could then be used for basic costs to keep centers running, like wages, rent and materials. Never before had a federal economic rescue package made child care reform – seen as key to getting parents back to work – a central tenet of its recovery plan.

The money ultimately reached as many as 9.5 million kids and 1 million child care workers. Close to half of the providers that received assistance are owned and run by people of color, the data show, and more than half are located in the country's most racially diverse communities.

But that cash was a temporary fix. Efforts by the Biden administration to continue such support failed. And expanded child tax credits, which provided monthly payments that 1 in 4 families

See CHILD CARE, Page 6A



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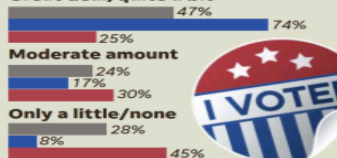
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USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

Election suspicions

How much confidence Americans say they have that votes in next month's elections will be counted accurately:

All U.S. adults Democrats Republicans



NOTE: Numbers rounded
SOURCE: AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research
AMY BARNETTE, TRACIE KEETON/USA TODAY

POLITICS

Trump subpoena sets legal battle

The Jan. 6 panel subpoenas the former president, who has not yet said whether he would comply.

Requests of order, 3A

Student debt relief plan halted

Federal appeals court blocks Biden administration's program aiming to forgive billions of dollars in loans.

What temporary stay means, 3A



LUCAS BOLAND/USA TODAY NETWORK

NATION+WORLD

Odor may make you mosquito magnet

Do you feel as if mosquitoes always seem to target you and attack more frequently than others? Now there's a study that may explain why: The production of a chemical tied to smell makes some people mosquito magnets.

Details of study, 2A

Rishi Sunack, a un paso de ser el nuevo premier británico

Boris Johnson se retiró de la carrera para suceder a Liz Truss y dejó vía libre al exministro de Finanzas; podría ser nominado hoy mismo. **Página 4**



POROTO CAMBIASO LLEVÓ A LA DOLFINA A LA FINAL

—deportes

El hijo de Adolfo marcó 12 goles en el clásico ante Ellerstina (victoria 14-6), y el equipo de Cañuelas definirá el Abierto de Hurlingham contra La Irenita. **Página 8**

EN EL COLÓN, UNA PUESTA APOCALÍPTICA DE LOS PESCADORES DE PERLAS

—espectáculos

Con el acento en la emergencia ecológica y la violencia de género, se estrena mañana la ópera de George Bizet, en plan "Mad Max".

LA NACION

LUNES 24 DE OCTUBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Con la salida de Ferraresi, Fernández perdió al cuarto ministro en dos semanas

CASA ROSADA. El Presidente enfrenta grandes dificultades para retener a los funcionarios

El presidente Alberto Fernández anunció ayer que Jorge Ferraresi dejará su cargo al frente del Ministerio de Desarrollo Territorial y Hábitat a fin de mes y regresará a su distrito, el municipio de Avellaneda, para intentar su reelección el año próximo. Lo reemplazará el actual secretario de Vivienda, Santiago Maggiotti.

La salida del kirchnerista Fe-

rraresi se suma a las renuncias de Elizabeth Gómez Alcorta, Juan Zabaleta y Claudio Moroni, quienes en las últimas dos semanas dejaron los ministerios de Mujeres, de Desarrollo Social y de Trabajo. La semana pasada, el jefe de Gabinete, Juan Manzur, había anunciado que dejará el cargo el año próximo para competir en las elecciones de Tucumán.

La salida incesante de ministros es una muestra de las dificultades del Gobierno para contener a funcionarios en un contexto de división interna e incertidumbre electoral para el oficialismo. En ese escenario, los ministros abandonan los cargos para regresar a sus territorios, en un intento de resguardar sus espacios de poder más allá de 2023. **Página 8**

EL ESCENARIO
La pregunta que el Gobierno no quiere hacerse
Claudio Jacquelin
Página 11

Fuertes críticas al recorte de fondos para educación

PRESUPUESTO 2023. Padres, especialistas y oposición cuestionaron el proyecto

Especialistas en educación, padres y referentes de la oposición y de los gremios cuestionaron ayer el recorte de fondos en el área de educación en el proyecto de presupuesto para 2023, que según un análisis del Observatorio Argentino por la Educación sería del 15%. Desde el ministerio que conduce Jaime Perczyk anticiparon que trabajan para rectificar las partidas y evitar el ajuste previsto por Economía. **Página 20**

Un campeón sin polémicas

Gritó Boca tras una definición tan increíble como transparente



El plantel de Boca celebra la conquista de la Liga Profesional con sus hinchas, en una Bombonera repleta

SANTIAGO FILIPUZZI

La definición de la Liga Profesional fue electrificante. Y transparente, después de una antesala de suspicacias. Boca empató 2 a 2 con Independiente, en la Bombonera, y aprovechó la derrota de Racing por 2 a 1 contra River, en Avellaneda, para coronarse.

Le alcanzó al conjunto de Hugo Ibarra, que caminó por la cornisa cuando, con su partido igualado en dos, la Academia dispuso de un penal para ponerse en ventaja y conquistar el campeonato, pero Franco Armani detuvo el disparo de Jonathan Gal-

ván. Minutos después, el equipo de Marcelo Gallardo—en su último partido oficial como DT de los millonarios—se impuso e inmediatamente en la ribera se desató el festival xeneize. Una fiesta que se extendió del Obelisco a todo el país. **Deportes**

Camino al título, nunca se quedó sin cartas en la mano

Pablo Lisotto
Página 4

Alertan que la inflación superaría el 7% este mes

PRECIOS. La inflación de este mes se ubicaría entre 6,5% y 7,2%, según anticipan las consultoras privadas. La actualización de las tarifas de energía, por la aplicación efectiva de la segmentación, y los aumentos en prepagas, combustibles y peajes serían las principales causas, a las que se sumarán algunos alimentos estacionales y los precios de la indumentaria. **Página 16**

Massa y el pragmatismo: alivio de algunos, desazón de otros
José Luis Brea **Página 17**

Xi Jinping, encumbrado como un líder incuestionable

CHINA. Accedió a un inédito tercer mandato en el partido y nombró a un nuevo Comité Permanente

Página 2

Na China, Xi elege nomes leais e firma 3º mandato

Os sete homens que comandarão a política chinesa pelos próximos cinco anos foram apresentados ontem em Pequim. Sem surpresa, Xi Jinping, 69, foi reconduzido e vai presidir o Comitê Permanente do Politburo. Ele também implantou mudanças nas regras do partido que permitiriam estender sua liderança além do inédito terceiro mandato. **Mundo A12**

Regime militar tentou desindefenir salário e fracassou

O plano de reajustar o salário mínimo pela meta da inflação, e não pelo índice passado, como pretende o ministro da Economia, Paulo Guedes, é similar a projeto do governo Castelo Branco (1964-1967). Medida, considerada inviável já então por impor perda de renda, é criticada por especialistas. **Mercado A15**

Brasil tem inflação abaixo de EUA pela 1ª vez em 15 anos

Mercado A16

Ilustrada C1

Ziraldo, 90, por inteiro

Ao sair de Caratinga (MG), aos 18, Ziraldo Alves Pinto queria se tornar o maior desenhista do mundo. Em sete décadas de carreira, ele demonstra que não foi pequeno o esforço para cumprir o sonho.



Luiz Galvão, dos Novos Baianos. **UH/Folhapress**

Ilustrada C2 e C3

Morre Luiz Galvão, fundador dos Novos Baianos, aos 87 anos

Esporte B7

Projeto arrecada doações para figurinhas da Copa do Mundo

EDITORIAIS A2

Distorção eleitoral
Acerca de falhas na concepção do Auxílio Brasil.

Crença e voto
Sobre peso da religião para a decisão dos eleitores.

Roberto Jefferson é preso após atacar PF com granadas e fuzil

Ex-deputado dispara mais de 20 tiros contra agentes enviados por Moraes; Bolsonaro renega aliado



Apoiadores acompanham o momento em que Jefferson é levado por policiais. **Ricardo Moraes/Reuters**



Agente chega à casa do ex-deputado; sangue sob o mesmo carro, após o ataque. **Fotos Reprodução**



Jefferson conversa com agente federal que, à dir., recebe de Padre Kelmon arma do petebista

O ex-deputado Roberto Jefferson (PTB), aliado próximo do presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL), foi preso ontem após ter atacado agentes da Polícia Federal com duas granadas e mais de 20 tiros de fuzil. Dois policiais foram feridos pelos estilhaços do artefato e, após breve hospitalização, tiveram alta.

O político de extrema direita estava em sua casa na cidade de Comendador Levy Gasparian, a 140 km do Rio, sob prisão domiciliar. Os agentes executavam ordem do ministro Alexandre de Moraes, do Supremo Tribunal Federal, para levá-lo.

A movimentação em torno da casa, que atraiu apoiadores de Jefferson, durou toda a tarde até que ele se entregasse. Padre Kelmon, que o substituiu na chapa presidencial do PTB, levou à polícia parte das armas.

Um cinegrafista da Inter TV, afiliada da rede Globo, foi agredido por militantes.

Moraes, no mandado, afirma que o ex-deputado violou as regras da prisão domiciliar — ele é réu em processo de calúnia, incitação ao crime de dano contra patrimônio público e homofobia. Na véspera, Jefferson xingara de prostituta a ministra Cármen Lúcia, do STF, em vídeo nas redes.

O petebista pode responder por tentativa de homicídio. Em vídeo gravado na casa durante negociação com policiais, ele diz ter usado granada de efeito moral e não ter mirado os agentes.

Em segundo nas pesquisas a uma semana da eleição, o presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) renegou o aliado e repudiou a agressão. Foi seguido pelo filho, Flávio, e por Sérgio Moro. **Política A4**

ANÁLISE

Bruno Boghossian

Ataque cola marca de violência à campanha do presidente

O esforço por conter danos após o ataque dá a dimensão do episódio na campanha de Bolsonaro (PL). O caso cola uma marca de violência a um dos principais itens da plataforma do presidente. **Política A6**

Armas e corrupção assinalam carreira de ex-deputado

O ataque armado do ex-deputado Roberto Jefferson, cacique do PTB cujo passado abarca a atuação contra o impeachment de Fernando Collor, a denúncia e condenação no mensalão do PT e a virada ao bolsonarismo quando o governo aderiu ao centrão. **Política A6**

Lira vê 'pico do absurdo'; Lula diz haver risco à democracia

O ex-presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) afirmou que o episódio com Roberto Jefferson demonstra o risco à democracia que Jair Bolsonaro (PL) representa.

O presidente da Câmara, o bolsonarista Arthur Lira (PP-AL), também reagiu dizendo que "não admitiremos atentados contra nossa democracia". **Política A6**

Site do PL alista apoiadores para fiscalizar segundo turno A7

“Do início da votação à hora de abrir as urnas da sua cidade, você será os olhos e o coração do presidente na sua seção”

Vídeo que convoca apoiadores

ENTREVISTA DA 2ª

Jacob Mchangama

Apoio à liberdade de expressão tem limites no Brasil

Para o advogado dinamarquês, o apoio à liberdade de expressão, tema no qual se especializa, mostra limites no país, conforme pesquisa recente de seu instituto. Autor do livro "Free Speech", ele diz que "ninguém pode garantir o resultado de fornecer voz livre e instantânea para bilhões". **Política A14**

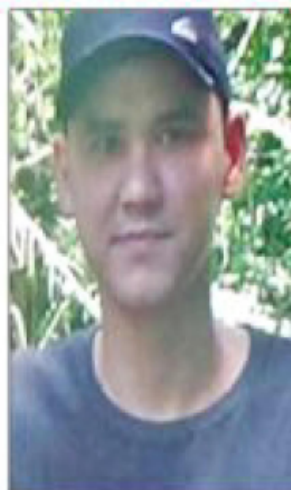
Giovana Madalosso A favor da família somos nós

Sabe quem é a favor da família? A Carolina, mãe solo, catadora de papel. O Paulo e o Alexandre, que têm um dos casamentos mais bonitos que eu conheço. Eu que não acredito em Deus, mas nas pessoas e por isso estou aqui falando com você. **Opinião A2**



Fruto de un operativo de inteligencia en Cerro Guazú, según autoridades

La FTC abatió a Osvaldo Villalba, líder de la banda criminal del EPP



Osvaldo Villalba, alias Comandante Alexander.



Luciano Argüello, ex miembro de ACA.

● También murieron Luciano Argüello y otra persona conocida como alias Simón

● Epepistas habían asesinado antes a dos miembros de una comunidad indígena

● Abdo fue al Norte y pidió a los miembros del grupo armado que se entreguen

PÁGINAS 2 y 3

Recolectarán datos el 9 de noviembre
Con el censo se sabrá cómo quedó el país después del Covid-19

PÁGINA 15

CON ESTA EDICIÓN
FASCÍCULO RECORDAR 1
SOLVENTES
Nº 3



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NÚMOS 1 Y 2
LIBRO
C. 30.000



Investigación periodística transnacional

Ribereños del Pilcomayo beben aguas con metales pesados

Peligroso. La corriente arrastra tóxicos y no se ha notificado del riesgo a los moradores que beben de ella.

PÁGINAS 16 y 17



Habrà audiencia pública en el Congreso
Cuestionan intento de dar privilegios para el Plan Maestro de la Hidrovía

PÁGINA 30

El más influyente luego de Mao
Xi Jinping logra inédito tercer mandato en el Partido Comunista Chino

PÁGINA 33

Caso fue denunciado por Telefuturo
Pese a denuncias sigue la explotación sexual de menores indígenas en MRA

PÁGINA 36

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LE FIGARO

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



LOUIS XV
À VERSAILLES, UNE EXPOSITION
MAGISTRALE SUR LA VIE PRIVÉE
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LES ANTIDÉPRESSEURS
MONTRENT LEURS LIMITES
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L'appel de Sarkozy
à un accord avec
Macron ne fait pas
l'unanimité à droite
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CHAMPS LIBRES
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**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**
Réponses à la question
de samedi :
Royaume-Uni :
souhaitez-vous le retour
de Boris Johnson ?

OUI 27% NON 73%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 234719

**Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr**
Les entreprises
en font-elles assez
pour maintenir les seniors
dans l'emploi ?

ALAMY STOCK PHOTO VIA REUTERS
CONNECT

Entre la France et l'Allemagne, la grande crise de confiance

Le partenariat avec Paris n'est plus au cœur de la politique de Berlin, qui a opéré un virage géopolitique en se rapprochant des pays de l'est et du nord de l'Europe.

À Berlin, où l'attention du gouvernement est focalisée sur les difficultés économiques domestiques, la brouille avec Paris, qui a culminé avec le report du Conseil des ministres franco-allemand du 26 octobre, est passée relati-

vement inaperçue. Cette apathie n'est pas faite pour rassurer la France, qui y voit le symptôme d'une désaffection unilatérale. Au pire, le prélude d'un abandon. Dans un discours prononcé cet été à Prague, le chancelier,

Olaf Scholz, a nourri l'inquiétude en ignorant superbement les projets de coopération militaro-industriels développés en plusieurs décennies par les deux partenaires. Il a surtout défendu l'idée d'un élargissement plus à l'est, de 27 à 30,

voire 36 membres, de l'Union européenne. L'idée est défendue de Prague à Tallinn en passant par Varsovie. À l'inverse, Paris privilégie le développement d'un « noyau dur » de pays engagés à approfondir l'intégration.

→ **BERLIN FAIT CAVALIER SEUL**
SUR LES PROJETS D'ARMEMENT

→ **ÉCONOMIE, ÉNERGIE,
SPATIAL... DES ACCORDS
SUR TOUTE LA LIGNE**

→ **LA GUERRE EN UKRAÏNE**
MALMÈNE LE TANDEM
MACRON-SCHOLZ
PAGES 2, 4, 6 ET L'EDITORIAL



**Giorgia Meloni prend les commandes de l'Italie
et donne des gages à Bruxelles**

La souverainiste s'est efforcée de rassurer les Européens en désignant à des postes clés de son gouvernement des ministres eurocompatibles et en neutralisant Matteo Salvini, nommé au ministère des Infrastructures. PAGE 12

ÉDITORIAL par Philippe Gélie pgelie@lefigaro.fr

Dérive des continents

Les relations glaciales au sein du « couple » franco-allemand commencent à faire jaser dans le village européen. Pour faire taire les cancaniers, Emmanuel Macron recevra Olaf Scholz ce mercredi à l'Élysée : les deux hommes feront assaut d'amabilité et de promesses de coopération pour surmonter des divergences d'analyses ou d'intérêts qu'ils s'emploieront à minimiser. Mais qui sera dupe ? Ce qui est à l'œuvre aujourd'hui relève d'un basculement géostratégique profond, une dérive des continents amorcée de longue date et promise à transformer pour longtemps le visage de l'Europe.

On mesure parfois mal, en France, l'ampleur du choc provoqué outre-Rhin par la guerre en Ukraine. L'agression russe y suscite tout à la fois une remise en cause du modèle économique, une prise de conscience des défis sécuritaires et un sentiment de culpabilité envers des voisins en première ligne au nord et à l'est. L'Allemagne redevient brutalement un acteur géopolitique, et ce n'est pas pour faire de la figuration : 100 milliards d'euros sur la table destinés à bâtir la première armée conventionnelle du continent, à prendre la tête du pilier européen de l'Otan (en sonnant

au passage le glas d'une défense européenne autonome), à acheter des matériels américains (aux dépens, en particulier, des projets franco-allemands), à créer un bouclier anti-aérien aux dimensions de l'ancienne ligue hanséatique (c'est-à-dire sans nous)...

Dans cette tectonique des plaques, ce n'est pas l'Allemagne qui risque « l'isolement », comme s'en inquiète Emmanuel Macron, mais la France, qui disparaît du projet européen du chancelier. Décomplexé, Berlin se voit comme le centre d'une Europe considérablement élargie

à l'est, de l'Ukraine aux Balkans. Paris s'en trouverait relégué à la tête du « Club Med » - Italie, Espagne, Grèce... -, sympathiques destinations de vacances aux économies fragiles et à la puissance déclinante. À nous de redéfinir sans tarder nos priorités, de réinventer notre politique européenne, d'assainir nos comptes publics au lieu de mendier l'aide de Bruxelles, de développer nos capacités industrielles et militaires, pour mériter de poursuivre un dialogue d'égal à égal avec l'Allemagne, essentiel au maintien de la cohésion de l'Europe. ■

Les pistes du gouver- nement pour améliorer l'emploi des seniors

En plus du relèvement de l'âge de départ, Olivier Dussot réfléchit à de nouveaux dispositifs pour améliorer le recrutement et le maintien en poste des plus de 55 ans dans le cadre de la réforme des retraites, dont il a la charge. Une concertation a actuellement lieu sur le sujet au ministère du Travail. Des exonérations de cotisations, des actions de formation ou une aide au maintien de salaire sont sur la table. PAGES 28 ET 29

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→ G2



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Sunak on the brink of No 10 as Johnson quits Tory race

● Ex-chancellor racks
up 165 nominations
across party factions

● Now 'not right time',
says former PM after
struggling for backers

Rowena Mason
Whitehall editor

Boris Johnson has withdrawn from the race to be Conservative leader, leaving Rishi Sunak within touching distance of becoming prime minister

After senior Tories warned a Johnson comeback would lead to chaos by the end of the week, the former prime minister admitted he did not have the backing of enough MPs to lead a united party.

Johnson said last night he believed he could have led the Tories to victory in 2024 but it was "simply not the right thing to do" and "not the right time".

Johnson's move piles pressure on Penny Mordaunt, the third candidate in the race, to withdraw and accept that Sunak had the support of the parliamentary party, with almost half of MPs backing him. She had only 30 public backers by last night – 70 short of the number needed to get on the ballot paper. **4** →



▲ Rishi Sunak formally entered the Conservative leadership race yesterday, declaring that 'fixing the economy' is his priority PHOTOGRAPH: BELINDA HAO/YA WIRE

Terror to joy
Ukrainian
PoW on her
ordeal in a
Russian cell

Exclusive
Daniel Boffey



It was like something from the cold war. After five months in the most notorious jail in occupied Ukraine, Alina Panina, 25, found herself at the foot of a bridge over a river in no-man's land with 107 fellow female Ukrainian prisoners of war.

Behind lay Russian-occupied territory and her experiences of the siege of Mariupol's Azovstal

steelworks and subsequent surrender and captivity in Olenivka prison in Donetsk, where she was witness to the aftermath of an explosion that killed 53 male prisoners, a blast said by Kyiv to have been engineered by Moscow to silence the victims of torture.

Ahead stood the Russian PoWs for whom Panina and the other women were, it seemed, being swapped – and free Ukraine. The freedom Panina, a junior sergeant in the national border guard, had yearned for while counting off the hours with 28 other women in a cell

designed for four. No reason was given – "We were told nothing" – but then the order came to cross.

They walked in near silence over the bridge in Kam'yans'ke, a small village that stands between the two militaries. Unsure until the last that they would make it to safety, the drivers of the coaches that brought them kept their engines on so they could be taken back as quickly as they had arrived, Panina recounted in the first major interview by any of the freed women since their release on 17 October.

Then, sheer elation.

**Rushdie blind
in one eye
after attack**

Author has also lost use of one of his hands after being set upon on stage in August, agent reveals

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