

Democrats Say Party Stumbles On Messaging

Lacking Strategy for a Case on the Economy

This article is by Lisa Lerer, Katie Glueck and Reid J. Epstein.

Top Democratic officials, lawmakers and strategists are openly second-guessing their party's campaign pitch and tactics, reflecting a growing sense that Democrats have failed to coalesce around one effective message with enough time to stave off major losses in the House and possibly decisive defeats in the tightly contested Senate.

The criticisms by Democrats in the final days before the midterm elections signal mounting anxiety as Republicans hammer away with attacks over the economy and public safety. For weeks, Democrats have offered a scatter-shot case of their own, accusing their opponents of wanting to gut abortion rights, shred the social safety net and shake the foundations of American democracy.

Yet as the country struggles with high gas prices, record inflation and economic uncertainty, some Democrats now acknowledge that their kitchen-sink approach may be lacking.

Even among the kibitzing chorus, there's little agreement over exactly what could cost the party control of Congress. In areas where victory depends on high Black voter turnout, Democrats worry that they are not mobilizing that constituency. Others say there has been too much focus on abortion rights and too little attention on worries about crime or the cost of living. And across the country, Democrats point to an inadequate economic message and an inability to effectively herald their legislative accomplishments.

"The truth is, Democrats have done a poor job of communicating our approach to the economy," said Representative Elissa Slotkin, a Democrat from Michigan who is one of this year's most competitive races. "I have no idea if I'm going to win my election — it's going to be a nail biter. But if you can't speak directly to people's pocketbook and talk about our vision for the economy, you're just having half a conversation."

Ms. Slotkin is far from alone in her criticism.

Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont has sounded alarm bells that Democrats are struggling to motivate working-class voters. Former President Barack Obama, who is traveling the country to campaign in some of the tightest races for Senate and governor, urged Democrats not to be "a buzz kill" by making people feel as if they were "walking on eggshells" when it came to issues like race and gender.

And several prominent Democrats have worried that their party has not fully acknowledged the pain of rising prices — or effectively.

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FOR PRICETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sneaky, Scrappy and Effective

Outnumbered and under fire, a Ukrainian unit scouts out enemy weak spots. How they do it and what they find left behind. Page A8.

Cheney Offers Trail Support To Democrats

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

EAST LANSING, Mich. — As political speeches go, Representative Liz Cheney's address to a packed crowd of Democrats on Tuesday evening was hardly a barn burner. But her message was deeply serious, and the aim of her visit was extraordinary for a Wyoming Republican: to re-elect a Michigan Democrat, Representative Elissa Slotkin.

"The chips are down for us. This is our time of testing," Ms. Cheney told a crowd of Democrats who were quick with their applause. "We all must stand and defend the republic."

For the first time in her political career — in her life, she said — Ms. Cheney was campaigning for a Democrat. Her appearance is part of a broader last-ditch push by Republican opponents of former President Donald J. Trump to try to thwart a comeback of his political movement in the midterm elections next week, even if that means endorsing and campaigning for Democrats and independents in crucial states and House districts.

But the question remains, if Democrats have struggled for months to elevate the meaning of the 2022 midterms, to impress upon voters that sometimes pocketbook issues like inflation must take a back seat to existential is-

Continued on Page A19

Bolsonaro Agrees to Transition of Power in Brazil

By JACK NICAS
and ANDRÉ SPIGARIOL

BRASILIA — Two days after losing Brazil's presidential election, President Jair Bolsonaro agreed to a transition of power on Tuesday, easing fears that the far-right leader would contest the results after warning for months that the only way he would lose would be if the vote were stolen.

In a two-minute speech, Mr. Bolsonaro thanked his supporters, encouraged protesters to be peaceful, celebrated his accomplishments, criticized the left and

Refuses to Admit He Was Beaten by Lula in a Fair Election

said he had always followed the Constitution. What was absent was any acknowledgment that he had lost the vote or that the election had been free and fair.

Instead, after Mr. Bolsonaro spoke, his chief of staff took the lectern and said that the government would hand over power to

the incoming administration.

"President Bolsonaro has authorized me — when requested, based on the law — to start the transition process," said Mr. Bolsonaro's chief of staff, Ciro Nogueira.

The question now remains of how the president's comments will be received by his thousands of supporters who have blocked hundreds of highways across Brazil in a bid to "paralyze" the country and somehow overturn the election.

Mr. Bolsonaro said on Tuesday

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DAVID GALLERIE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Jair Bolsonaro, center, and his ministers arriving at a news conference Tuesday in Brasilia.

ROCKETING PRICES OF FOOD ELEVATE COMPANY PROFITS

SHOPPERS KEEP PAYING

Increases at Restaurants
and Stores Exceed the
Cost of Inflation

By ISABELLA SIMONETTI
and JULIE CRESWELL

A year ago, a bag of potato chips at the grocery store cost an average of \$5.05. These days, that bag costs \$6.05. A dozen eggs that could have been picked up for \$1.83 now average \$2.90. A two-liter bottle of soda that cost \$1.78 will now set you back \$2.17.

Something else is also much higher: corporate profits.

In mid-October, PepsiCo, whose prices for its drinks and chips were up 17 percent in the latest quarter from year-earlier levels, reported that its third-quarter profit grew more than 20 percent. Likewise, Coca-Cola reported profit up 14 percent from a year earlier, thanks in large part to price increases.

Restaurants keep getting more expensive, too. Chipotle Mexican Grill, which said prices by the end of the year would be nearly 15 percent higher than a year earlier, reported \$257.1 million in profit in the latest quarter, up nearly 26 percent from a year earlier.

Although food companies are prominent examples of how rapid inflation is being passed from producers to consumers, the trend is evident across a wide variety of industries. Executives from banks, airlines, hotels, consumer goods companies and other firms have said they are finding that customers have money to spend and can tolerate higher prices.

And this makes it harder for the Federal Reserve to achieve its goal of bringing down inflation by aggressively increasing interest rates. Fed officials are set to announce their latest rate decision on Wednesday afternoon.

For years, food companies and restaurants generally raised prices in small steps, worried that big increases would frighten consumers and send them looking for cheaper options. But over the last year, as wages increased and the cost of the raw ingredients used to make treats like cookies, chips, sodas and the materials to package them soared, food companies and restaurants started passing along those expenses to customers.

But amid growing concerns that the economy could be headed for a recession, some food companies and restaurants are continuing to raise prices even if their own inflation-driven costs have

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RIISING PRICES Some themes in corporate earnings reports might catch the Fed's eye. PAGE B1

Innovator Transformed the Flow of Atlanta Rap

The Atlanta trio Migos' 2013 breakout hit "Versace" represented a clear demarcation line between the city's older generation of rappers and its new vanguard.

JON CARAMANICA
AN APPRAISAL
Tightly clustered syllables that landed like quick jabs.

"Versace" was such an immediate sensation that Drake, at the time the genre's most important ascendant superstar, volunteered his services for a remix, mimicking the group's peppery flow and, by extension, introducing it to



RICH PURVIS/GETTY IMAGES FOR GLOBAL CITIZEN
Takeoff, of Migos. The rapper was fatally shot in Houston.

the rest of the world.

By all accounts, Takeoff — who was shot and killed in Houston early Tuesday morning — was the primary engine of what came

to be called the Migos flow.

The rapper, who was 28, was one of three people who were shot around 2:30 a.m. after a private gathering at \$10 Billiards & Bowling ended in an argument. (The other two victims are expected to survive. No arrests have been made, the authorities said.)

The triplet pattern that became a Migos signature wasn't new to hip-hop: It was a fixture in Memphis rap for years, in the work of Three 6 Mafia and others, and it was part of the cadence-bending arsenal of the Cleveland sing-rap pioneers Bone Thugs-N-Harmony. But Migos made the style sound

Continued on Page A22

Colleges Face Generation of Students Left Behind

By ELIZA FAWCETT

Jazeba Ahmad was a junior in high school when Covid-19 hit and her math education faltered. Ms. Ahmad was enrolled in an international baccalaureate math class intended to provide a strong foundation in areas like algebra, geometry, statistics and calculus.

But her high school in Columbus, Ohio, made a rocky transition to remote learning, she said, and soon, math classes passed with little to show for them. By her first year at Columbus State Community College, Ms. Ahmad, 19, was floundering in something that should have been mastered: algebra.

"I missed out a lot in those two



MAURICE HUGUENY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Jazeba Ahmad said she had little to show for remote classes.

years," Ms. Ahmad said. "If I had learned those skills in high school, I feel like I would have been better equipped to do well in that class." Colleges are now educating

their first waves of students who experienced pandemic learning loss in high school. What they are seeing is sobering, especially because the latest dismal results from the national exam of fourth and eighth graders suggest that they could face year after year of incoming students struggling to catch up. In almost all states, there were significant declines in eighth-grade math, and most states also showed a dip in reading for fourth and eighth graders.

In interviews across the country, undergraduates discussed how their disjointed high school experiences have trailed them in their first years of college; some professors talked about how

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Canada Seeks Immigrants

The country is looking for 1.45 million immigrants by 2025 to fill the one million jobs open nationwide. PAGE A9

Likud Leads in Israeli Election

Benjamin Netanyahu, the right-wing ex-prime minister, was projected to have won a narrow victory. PAGE A10



NATIONAL A12-22

Pelosi Wasn't the Only Target

The man accused of attacking the husband of Speaker Nancy Pelosi planned to confront other lawmakers and a professor, the authorities said. PAGE A15

Overwhelmed by R.S.V.

Children's hospitals say they are swamped by the respiratory infection, prompting long waits for treatment and worries about the winter. PAGE A21

Graham Is Told to Testify

The Supreme Court ruled that Senator Lindsey Graham must answer a Georgia grand jury's questions about calls he made after the 2020 election. PAGE A16

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Off Field, a Question of Justice

The troubled life of Britt Reid, a son of Kansas City Coach Andy Reid, led to a drunken-driving crash and a much-criticized plea deal. PAGE B7

FOOD D1-8

Ingredients for a Gay District

Restaurants, kitchen classes and gardening are part of an effort to create an L.G.B.T.Q. enclave in Cleveland. PAGE D1

A Senegalese Stew

Maafé, with its mix of vegetables and proteins, is one of Yewande Komolafe's favorite seasonal comforts. PAGE D5

ARTS C1-8

Is That Painting Upside Down?

A curator said a Mondrian had been hung at a German museum the "wrong way around." But had it really? PAGE C1

Photography's Great Trickster

In a new show, Boris Mikhailov casts an eye on Ukraine's history. Below, from "Yesterday's Sandwich." PAGE C1



BUSINESS B1-6

Growth at Truth Social

The right-wing social network faces two federal investigations but has still managed to outpace its rivals. PAGE B1

'Fast Furniture' and Its Waste

Mass-produced desks and chairs don't last long, and many wind up clogging American landfills. PAGE B1

OPINION A24-25

Bret Stephens

PAGE A25



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COLUMN ONE

Abloom with life to honor the dead

Every year, an L.A. empire pivots to produce a Día de Muertos essential: the marigolds of Oaxaca.

GUSTAVO ARELLANO

The 20,000 marigolds were blooming at just the right time.



They had to be picked and sold in five days, to beam their orange glory from Día de Muertos altars across Southern California.

Zeferino Garcia and a crew of eight men had been working under automobile high beams and halogen lights since 3 a.m. Friday, pulling each 5-foot-tall marigold plant from its base, cutting it with a curved, serrated knife, then placing the stalks on the ground in bunches. They angled themselves to avoid tumbling down the slope where the marigolds clustered tightly, resembling an immense, flattened Home Depot bucket.

At Garcia's five-acre farm, Mi Rancho Conejo, cradled in the Ventura County hills near Moorpark, they also were harvesting 20,000 *cresta de gallo* — cockscomb, in colors ranging from deep scarlet to wispy pink — for the holiday. The men were working for free in a mutual aid arrangement called *gozona* from their native region of Sierra de Juarez in Oaxaca, Mexico.

Once the sun rose, Garcia logged onto Facebook Live.

"A wonderful beauty," [See Arellano, A12]



THE OAK FIRE left behind a charred landscape near Mariposa, Calif., in July. Researchers say their study of the southern Sierra shows the grave effects of climate change but also offers insights that could help forests.

Valley could decide mayoral race

Polling shows Bass and Caruso in a tie among the area's likely voters

By BENJAMIN ORESKES

One of Rick Caruso's first developments was a mall in Encino. It opened in 1994 after the Northridge earthquake and turned what had been seen as an eyesore into something "compatible with the neighborhood," as one resident put it.

Rep. Karen Bass was married for several years to a Cal State Northridge graduate from the San Fernando Valley, and they lived in the city of San Fernando for a time. Her work on protesting abuses by the Los Angeles Police Department regularly linked her up with activists from the area.

The two candidates for mayor are most closely associated with other parts of the city, yet each has deep personal or professional ties [See Valley, A6]



TRISHA DEXTER, right, talks to Van Nuys resident Amira Saunders while campaigning for Karen Bass. Bass has narrowed Rick Caruso's lead in the region.

DECADE OF LOSS FOR THE SOUTH SIERRA

Climate change helped wipe out a third of conifer forests, study says.

By HAYLEY SMITH

As climate change continues to transform California's landscape in staggering and often irreversible ways, researchers have zeroed in on yet another casualty of the shift: the forests of the southern Sierra Nevada.

Between 2001 and 2020, wildfires, drought and bark beetle infestations contributed to the loss of nearly a third of all conifer forests in the lower half of the mountain range, according to a recent study published in the journal *Ecological Applications*. Eighty-five percent of the southern Sierra's high-density mature forests either lost density or became non-forest vegetation.

The losses could have grave consequences for California wildlife, including protected species such as spotted owls and Pacific fishers that rely on mature tree canopies for their habitats. Researchers said the findings not only are another indication of the state's shifting climate regime, but also offer new insights that could help guide forest management and conservation strategies.

"Thirty percent of conifer forests in the southern Sierra Nevada are no longer considered forests," said Zachary Steel, a research scientist with the United States Forest Service's Rocky Mountain Research Station and the lead author of the study. "They're either [See Sierra, A9]"



TRAFFICKED Malaysians are back home after being rescued last month in Cambodia, which allows Chinese mobsters to enslave foreigners for cybercrime.

Tricked into cyberscam slavery

Workers are lured to Cambodian job sites, forced to rip off victims

By DAVID PIERSON

BANGKOK — The hustle started as it often does, with a post on Facebook promising job seekers generously paid customer service positions in Cambodia, no experience necessary.

Soraton Charekphunpol, a Thai cook scraping by

in a restaurant in Bangkok, couldn't resist the offer to earn more than double his \$470 monthly salary.

Late one evening last year, after another grueling shift, Soraton answered the ad. Within hours, a man arrived at his door to take him to the Cambodian border city of Poipet.

It wasn't long before Sor-

aton realized he had made a mistake. Dumped in a high-rise building above a casino, he was turned over to mobsters who seized his passport and put him to work bilking gamblers on a sham sports betting app.

"The bosses said if I tried to leave they would just sell me to another gang," said [See Cambodia, A4]

Netanyahu, allies lead in exit polling

The ousted Israeli prime minister may be coming back for another term. Election results are expected Friday. WORLD, A3

Pelosi suspect eyed others

David DePape had additional political targets in mind, according to San Francisco prosecutors. CALIFORNIA, B1

Orange County sees viral spike

Health emergency declared as pediatric units see surge of young children with respiratory illness. CALIFORNIA, B1

Weather

Isolated showers. L.A. Basin: 66/49. B6

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.



2 L.A. Democrats carve their niches in race for House

Battle between Kim and Gomez comes down to what style of politics voters prefer.

By JEONG PARK

As the recording of a racist conversation between Los Angeles labor and political leaders plunged the city into a political crisis unlike any other, David Kim and Jimmy Gomez took different paths.

Gomez, an incumbent congressman, sat next to mayoral candidate Rep. Karen Bass and former Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa in a room at Los Angeles Trade-Technical College, calling for unity.

Kim, an immigration and child dependency attorney

running against Gomez, stood in a crowd of protesters in front of City Hall. With profanity, he decried how special interests are corrupting the city and called for continued demonstrations.

We need a moral revolution in Los Angeles," Kim yelled, holding a microphone. In the leaked conversation, the Latino leaders mocked people in racist terms and plotted to undermine Black political power.

Whether Gomez or Kim prevails in the midterm election, California's 34th Congressional District, which includes Koreatown, downtown L.A., Eagle Rock and Boyle Heights, will have a Democratic congressman.

What the election — a rematch of the 2020 race that Gomez won by 6 percentage [See Congress, A7]

BUSINESS INSIDE: Independent lab seeks more dry shampoo recalls due to benzene. A8

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FDIC

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington

Partly sunny 72/52 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 70/52 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 2022 • B3

Panicked calls did not avert disaster

South Korean officials apologize as early reports of crush are released

BY MICHELLE YEE HEE LEE
AND MIN JOO KIM

SEOUL — Several top South Korean officials apologized Tuesday for the response to the crowd crush in the Itaewon area in Seoul this weekend that left at least 156 dead. Hours before the crush, partygoers placed emergency calls that showed mounting desperation and included repeated warnings, according to logs released Tuesday.

South Korea's police chief said the crowd control was "inadequate." South Korean Prime Minister Han Duck-soo pointed to a lack of a "crowd management system" as a cause of the accident and called for measures to address the issues. "The government is responsible for lives and safety of the people, and it is our absolute duty."

Transcripts of 11 emergency call logs released by police Tuesday included pleas for emergency personnel to intervene and manage the crowd.

One of the calls came four hours before the first deaths were reported.

"There are a lot of people going up and down this alley, I'm very nervous about it," the caller said. SEE SOUTH KOREA ON A12

Will Biden run again? A 'yes' plan takes form

BY MICHAEL SCHERER
AND TYLER PAGER

President Biden and first lady Jill Biden have been meeting since September with senior advisers at the White House residence to prepare a potential 2024 reelection campaign, according to multiple people familiar with the planning.

The meetings of what advisers describe as a "very small group" come as the Democratic National Committee has been making plans to respond on President Biden's behalf to former president Donald Trump or other potential presidential contenders who could announce campaigns in the coming months. The national party is also drafting plans to reengage with grass-roots supporters from the 2020 campaign who are not involved in the Democratic midterm effort, the people said.

Biden, who would turn 86 before the end of a second term, has not yet made a final decision on another presidential campaign, his advisers say, but he has indicated. SEE BIDEN ON A4

Visit to Florida: President criticizes Scott, Rubio and DeSantis. A6



ADRIANO MACHADO/REUTERS

Bolsonaro steps toward transition

2 days after his defeat in Brazil, incumbent signals exit without conceding

BY ANTHONY FAIOLA,
GABRIELA SA PESSOA
AND PAULINA VILLEGAS

RIO DE JANEIRO — Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro on Tuesday broke two days of silence after his election loss to former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva with an ambiguous pledge to follow the constitution without acknowledging the victor or conceding defeat as his supporters

staged protests across the country aimed at bringing Latin America's largest nation to a halt.

The right-wing incumbent, who had remained out of view for 45 hours after the race was called Sunday night for Lula, spoke for less than two minutes Tuesday afternoon at the Alvorada Palace in Brasília, thanking his voters and describing the blockading of highways throughout Brazil as a rightful expression of "indignation and a sense of injustice."

"The right has truly emerged in our country," Bolsonaro said. "Our robust representation in Congress shows the strength of our values: God, country, family and freedom."

SEE BOLSONARO ON A15



PILAR OLIVEIRA/REUTERS

TOP: President Jair Bolsonaro arrives for a brief statement in Brasília, after which his chief of staff said Bolsonaro had authorized a transition. ABOVE: An election protest in Rio state.

BLACK OUT

When a team crumbles, they clean up the mess

Black coaches are a popular pick as interim leaders but face a daunting road to the full-time job

BY EMILY GIAMBALVO

With the losses mounting and their top two quarterbacks injured, the Carolina Panthers in early October did what failing National Football League franchises often do: They fired their coach.

The Panthers' search for a new coach is likely to span months and will help shape the future of the franchise. But for the rest of this season, owner David Tepper needed someone to keep things from falling even further apart. After dismissing Matt Rhule, he turned to Steve Wilks, who was coaching the team's secondary, to be its interim leader.

It's a daunting position in which success is a rarity for any coach. But like most things in NFL coaching circles, it is even more daunting for a Black coach. An analysis of coaching data by The Washington Post shows that the biases entrenched in NFL

SEE COACHES ON A16



GRANT HALVERSON/GETTY IMAGES

Steve Wilks, right, took over as interim coach of the Carolina Panthers five games into this season. After two trades hampered its offense, his team upset the Tampa Bay Buccaneers.

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

Police missed Pelosi attack

SECURITY CAMERA NOT MONITORED

Break-in shows difficulty of guarding lawmakers

BY AARON C. DAVIS,
CAROL D. LEONNIG,
MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR
AND PAUL KANE

Inside the command center for the U.S. Capitol Police, a handful of officers were going through their routines early Friday morning, cycling through live feeds from the department's 1,800 cameras used to monitor the nearby Capitol complex as well as some points beyond, when an officer stopped. On a screen showing a darkened street nearly 3,000 miles away, police lights were flashing outside the home of House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), officials say.

The officer in D.C. quickly pulled up additional camera angles from around Pelosi's home and began to backtrack, watching recordings from the minutes before San Francisco police arrived. There, on camera, was a man with a hammer, breaking a glass panel and entering the speaker's home, according to

SEE SECURITY ON A8

Attack suspect: Court papers say he also planned to target others. A8

Netanyahu likely back on top with Israeli vote

BY SHIRA RUBIN
AND CLAIRE PARKER

TEL AVIV — Former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his right-wing allies have won just enough seats to form a narrow majority in Israel's parliament, the Knesset, according to preliminary exit polls released Tuesday night, marking a potential comeback for the country's longest-serving and most polarizing leader.

The election on Tuesday — the fifth since 2019 — was a referendum on Netanyahu, who until last year had ruled Israel for 12 consecutive years. While critics feared a Netanyahu victory would empower the ultranationalist far right, others hoped it would mark the end of a political crisis that has paralyzed the country.

Exit polls published by the three main Israeli television channels showed that Netanyahu's right-wing bloc was set to secure 61 or 62 seats, the minimum required to form a ruling coalition. The current government is helmed by centrist caretaker Prime Minister Yair Lapid, leader of the Yesh Atid party.

SEE ISRAEL ON A11

IN THE NEWS



RICHARD SPOTWELL/INVISION/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Rapper Takeoff killed The 28-year-old member of the group Migos was fatally shot in Houston early Tuesday, police said. C1

THE NATION

Sen. Ben Sasse (R-Neb.) was unanimously approved as the next president of the University of Florida by its board of trustees. A2
The former Kansas schoolteacher who led an all-female battalion in the Islamic State was sentenced to 20 years in federal prison. A3
A GOP push to monitor voting in the county that includes Houston has officials and voter advocates fighting about fair elections and intimidation. A7

THE WORLD

Colombia's new president, Gustavo Petro, met with Venezuela's Nicolás Maduro, cementing a new era in regional diplomacy. A10
The United States is racing to deploy new methods to track the weapons it has supplied to Ukraine to ensure they aren't stolen or misused. A15

THE ECONOMY

National security fears could curb economic prospects between the United States and China, worrying corporate executives. A19

THE REGION

Federal prosecutors expect to dismiss dozens of gun and drug cases tied to a D.C. violent crime squad, after an internal probe raised questions about the officers' credibility. B1
The Montgomery County Council unanimously passed a resolution to address and combat antisemitism amid some pushback from community groups. B3

THE D.C. COUNCIL

To delay its coronavirus vaccine mandate for students over 12 until next school year. B1
EmpowerK12's list of Bold Performance Schools recognized 14 D.C. campuses for outperforming peers. B1

OBITUARIES

Julie Powell, 49, was the food writer behind a blog following Julia Child's recipes that became the book and then film "Julie & Julia." B5

INSIDE



FOOD

A taste of history An old family cookbook helps revive dishes from before the Holocaust. E1

STYLE

A life in motion Animated artwork offers a glimpse into Anthony S. Fauci's long career. C1

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Burnout rates increasing, especially among womenReport: Lack of flexible work and rising stress among execs are contributing factors. **In Money****Bono tunnels into music and mortality in memoir**U2 frontman's "Surrender" recalls heart surgery and drinking with Frank Sinatra. **In Life****Irving's antisemitic film support draws fire**Responses from NBA and Nets do not come close to addressing seriousness of situation, columnist Dan Wolken writes. **In Sports****USA TODAY**

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VINCENT CARCHIETTA/
USA TODAY
SPORTS**WATER CRISIS IN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI****Years of poverty, neglect, racism propel failures**

The J.H. Fewell Water Treatment Plant in Jackson, Miss., treats much of Jackson's surface water. It can draw up to 25 million gallons a day from the Pearl River. JOE ELLIS/USA TODAY NETWORK

System was flawed from the start, worsened while politicians pointed fingersEmily Le Coz, Daniel Connolly, Hadley Hitson and Evan Mealin
USA TODAY

More than a century before failing infrastructure left Jackson, Mississippi, without running water this summer, thousands of the capital city's residents gathered in a park downtown to celebrate the new water filtration plant that promised to turn the muddy liquid flowing into people's taps into "clean, pure water."

People poured in from nearby schools and factories to witness history that morning in November 1914, according to the account in the Jackson Daily News.

Train whistles blew, cheerleaders carried large banners, and city leaders spoke from a stage decorated with flags, pennants and bunting.

"Our historic capital city has many causes for congratulation," said Edgar S. Wilson, a prominent and politically connected businessman who presided over the event, "but clear water is her crowning glory, her greatest asset; a blessing that will pass from generation to generation."

See JACKSON, Page 6A



"Not enough money, natural age and loss of skilled people. You put that together, and anything's going to fail."

Ronald Gilbert Worked at the J.H. Fewell and O.B. Curtis water treatment plants

Bishop Phillip Marks and his wife, Tenae Marks, load water onto a truck at Fresh Word Fellowship Church in Fayetteville, N.C., on Sept. 15. The church drove the water to Jackson, Miss., because of its water crisis.

ANDREW CRAFT/
USA TODAY NETWORK**Pelosi has faced threats for years**

Vitriol against leaders on both sides reflects today's political climate

Nick Penzenstadler
USA TODAY

The FBI has investigated a series of threats of violence against House Speaker Nancy Pelosi dating back nearly a decade, although federal prosecutors rarely pursued charges.

Records released to USA TODAY through the Freedom of Information Act show the U.S. Capitol Police passed on threats to the FBI at least four times from 2013 to 2017. The Capitol Police's Threat Assessment Section handles most threats but escalates some of the most urgent and serious cases to the FBI.

Though not comprehensive, the records offer a window into threats the speaker has faced, which were typical for Democratic and Republican Party leaders alike.

On Friday, police say a man broke into Pelosi's San Francisco home and attacked her 82-year-old husband, Paul Pelosi. Authorities say the ham-



Pelosi

See THREATS, Page 5A

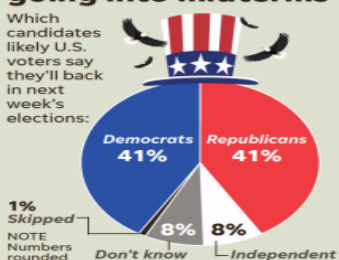
Pelosi suspect pleads not guilty

SAN FRANCISCO — The man accused of seriously injuring the husband of House Speaker Nancy Pelosi in a home invasion pleaded not guilty Tuesday in his first court appearance since the stunning assault that underscored the threat of violence against political leaders in a polarized nation. David DePape, 42, said little as his court-appointed public defender, Adam Lipson, entered the plea for his client. DePape will remain in custody at the San Francisco County Jail.

— Jorge L. Ortiz and Kevin Johnson



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1-800-872-0001, USATODAYSERVICE.COM**USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS ©****Voters ambivalent going into midterms**SOURCE: FiveThirtyEight/Ipsos poll, Oct. 13-23
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPLING/USA TODAY**WAR IN UKRAINE****Winter 'a test for our endurance'**

Zelenskyy warns Russia will do everything it can to break the resistance

John Bacon
USA TODAY

Winter comes early in Ukraine, and the Kremlin knows it.

As the fighting grinds on, Ukrainians are bracing for winter under historically harsh conditions. Seven months of war have taken a toll on a nation that was Europe's poorest even before Russia's military belligerence damaged or destroyed thousands of residential buildings, schools, hospitals and community buildings.

In recent weeks, water systems and energy plants have been the focus of Russian missiles and exploding drones. The collapse of infrastructure has put millions of people at risk of losing access to electricity, water and even shelter, the International Rescue Committee warns.

Volodymyr Omelyan, the former Ukraine infrastructure minister, estimates that 40% of the nation's energy sector has been damaged or destroyed.

See UKRAINE, Page 4A

A worker repairs power line equipment that was damaged in a missile strike on a power plant in an undisclosed location of Ukraine on Oct. 27.
SERGEI SUPINSKY/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES**IN NEWS**Report: Iran sending additional 1,000 weapons to Russia. **4A**

deportes

Mundial en riesgo

Lo Celso puso en shock a la selección

El desgarro del volante de Villarreal sería más grave y podría perderse la Copa en Qatar.



TINI, LA SORPRESA EN OTRA GRAN NOCHE DE COLDPLAY

—espectáculos

La cantante argentina fue invitada por la banda británica a subir con ellos al escenario en el concierto de ayer; fue un gran momento en River.

DISTINGUIERON EN EL CONGRESO A JOSÉ IGNACIO LÓPEZ

—política

En un emotivo acto, el destacado periodista y exvocalero de Raúl Alfonsín recibió la Mención de Honor Juan Bautista Alberdi en la Cámara de Diputados. Página 17

LA NACION

MIÉRCOLES 2 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

El Gobierno revisará las ganancias de empresas que hayan subido los precios

AMENAZA. Aplicaría la ley de competencia; está en sintonía con planteos de Cristina Kirchner

La Secretaría de Comercio iniciará investigaciones contra empresas vinculadas a la producción y comercialización de productos de consumo masivo para determinar si los aumentos de precios que hayan hecho durante 2022 fueron resultado de un "abuso de posición dominante" en el mercado y si eso les aumentó sus ganancias, como había

señalado Cristina Kirchner, que las responsabilizó por la inflación.

Matías Tombolini, titular del área, instruyó a la Comisión Nacional de Defensa de la Competencia a hacer un informe para detectar prácticas anticompetitivas. Según pudo saber LA NACION, las compañías que están siendo investigadas son 15. Aún no trascendió cuáles son; sin embargo,

en las redes sociales de funcionarios y simpatizantes kirchneristas empezó a circular en las últimas horas un listado de marcas a las que se llama a boicotear por haber aplicado "aumentos excesivos". Incluye a Coca-Cola, los fideos Lucchetti, SanCor y Ledesma, entre otras. También la prepa OSDE fue apuntada tras las críticas de Cristina Kirchner. Página 18

Claves del informe en el que se basa la embestida

José Luis Brea
Página 18

El BCRA vendió en tres días US\$180 millones

Javier Blanco
Página 19

Un video reavivó la pelea interna en la oposición

JUNTOS POR EL CAMBIO. Se difundieron imágenes en las que Bullrich increpa al jefe de Gabinete de Larreta

Matías Moreno
LA NACION

Mientras el kirchnerismo redobla la presión contra el presidente Alberto Fernández para suspender las PASO, en Juntos por el Cambio se libra una pelea sin cuartel por las candidaturas y la estrategia para volver al poder en los comicios de 2023. La difusión de un video en el que Patricia Bullrich increpa duramente a Felipe Miguel, jefe de Gabinete de Horacio Rodríguez Larreta, motivó ayer una nueva escalada en la confrontación interna de la coalición opositora. Continúa en la página 10

Bolsonaro: "Cumpliré con la Constitución"

BRASIL. El presidente no mencionó la derrota electoral ni se refirió a Lula, pero habilitó la transición



Bolsonaro dio ayer un discurso de menos de tres minutos rodeado de su equipo de gobierno en el Palacio de la Alvorada

EVARISTO SAI/APP

Guillermo Idiart
ENVIADO ESPECIAL

SAN PABLO. — Luego de más de 44 horas de silencio, que sumergieron a Brasil en un incierto escenario de tensión social, con cientos de cortes de rutas e incidentes con

la policía por todo el país, el presidente Jair Bolsonaro quebró ayer el hermetismo en un mensaje de menos de tres minutos, en el que evitó hablar de su derrota en el ballottage y no mencionó al ganador, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, aunque ordenó iniciar la transición con el

futuro gobierno. "Como presidente y ciudadano, continuaré cumpliendo todos los mandamientos de la Constitución", afirmó.

"Siempre fui rotulado de antidemocrático, pero a diferencia de mis detractores siempre jugué dentro de las cuatro líneas de la Constitu-

ción", afirmó el presidente ultraderechista, en un mensaje leído en el Palacio de la Alvorada, en Brasilia. Además, Bolsonaro se refirió a los bloqueos de rutas y les envió un mensaje a los manifestantes, que rechazan el resultado electoral.

Continúa en la página 2

Avanza una vacuna contra la bronquiolitis

SALUD. El laboratorio Pfizer informó alentadores resultados de un ensayo clínico para producir una vacuna que se aplica a embarazadas y logró proteger a sus hijos recién nacidos contra la bronquiolitis grave. Brindó una protección del 81,8% contra la infección por el virus sincicial respiratorio en los primeros 90 días de vida, con una eficacia que se mantuvo en el 69,4% a los seis meses. La enfermedad es la primera causa de muerte en menores de un año. Página 22

Desgarrador mensaje del hijo de Blaquier

DOLOR. Escribió una carta conmovedora dirigida a su padre; llama a no cultivar el rencor. Página 26

corrida B8
Juliano Maderada, de 'Tá na Hora do Jair Já Ir Embora', explodiu com jingle pró-Lula

ilustrada C2
Morto há cem anos, Lima Barreto teve obra antes rejeitada que hoje soa atual

esporte B7
Torcida do Atlético-MG fura bloqueios, e outras organizadas prometem o mesmo



Juliano Maderada, coautor de jingle pró-Lula Reprodução

Bolsonaro inicia transição e condena bloqueio de vias

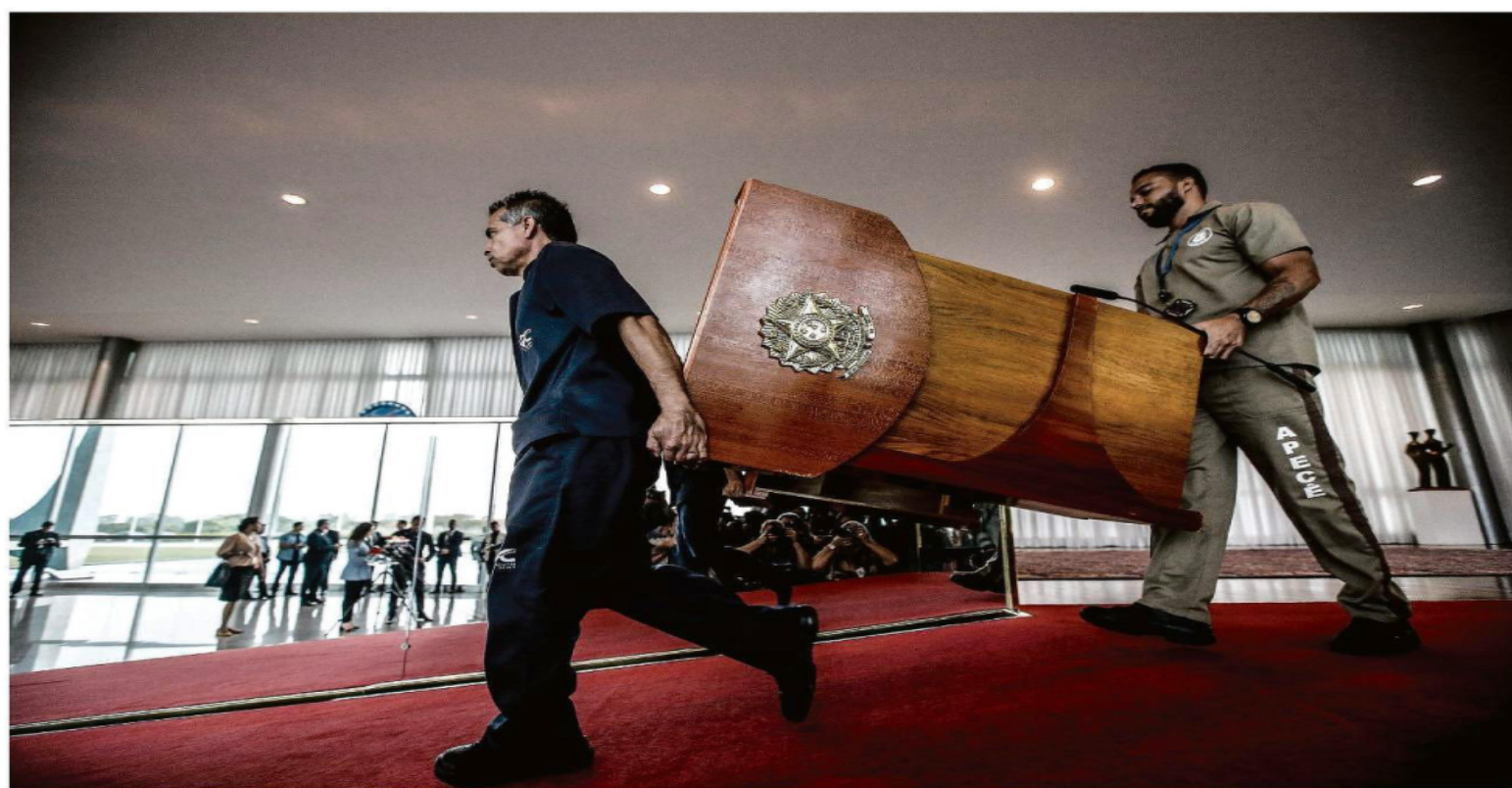
Presidente reconhece pleito e diz a seguidores que não cerceiem direito de ir e vir

Quase 45 horas após Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) ser anunciado vencedor das eleições presidenciais, o presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) reconheceu o resultado e determinou o início da transição administrativa. No discurso, de dois minutos, ele criticou os bloqueios rodoviários por seus apoiadores.

"Manifestações pacíficas sempre serão bem-vindas, mas os nossos métodos não podem ser os da esquerda, que sempre prejudicaram a população, como invasão de propriedade, destruição de patrimônio e cerceamento do direito de ir e vir", afirmou, ladeado por ministros, no Palácio da Alvorada.

Sem citar o sucessor, Bolsonaro agradeceu por seus 58,2 milhões de votos — 2,1 milhões a menos do que Lula, vantagem que encolheu dos 6,2 milhões do primeiro turno — e atribuiu os protestos, parte dos quais, golpistas, a indignação e um suposto sentimento de injustiça ante o processo eleitoral.

Este, porém, transcorreu sem maior irregularidade. Coube a Ciro Nogueira (Casa Civil), que coordena os trâmites, anunciar a transição. Em nota, o Supremo Tribunal Federal disse que Bolsonaro reconheceu o pleito ao determinar a transição. O presidente visitou o STF logo depois. Política A4 e A6



Funcionários levam púlpito presidencial para que Bolsonaro discursar no Palácio da Alvorada sobre eleição e protestos de apoiadores; declaração durou dois minutos Gabriela Bilá/Folhapress

EDITORIAIS A2

Sem esperneio

Ao quebrar quase dois dias de silêncio, Jair Bolsonaro (PL) agradeceu aos 58 milhões de eleitores que o sufragaram e destacou o surgimento de lideranças da direita. Não mencionou o adversário vitorioso, mas prometeu cumprir a Constituição até o fim do mandato.

Com o anúncio da transição, a derrota estava reconhecida. Ao citar atos antidemocráticos, considerou a indignação justificada, mas repudiou o cerceamento ao direito de ir e vir. A demora do gesto decerto não engrandeceu sua gestão, mas isso não importa mais.

Ilona Szabó

É hora de trazer o Brasil ao presente

País precisa almejar se tornar uma superpotência verde e liderar a transição justa no âmbito global. A volta ao multilateralismo de um ator como o Brasil, com legado de construção e cumprimento das regras internacionais, é mais que necessária. Cotidiano B2

Alckmin vai liderar transição, que terá Mercadante e Gleisi

O vice-presidente eleito, Geraldo Alckmin (PSB), será o coordenador da equipe de transição de governo. Aloizio Mercadante (PT) fará levantamento técnico para decidir indicados por tema, e Gleisi Hoffmann (PT) ficará com a articulação política. A13 e A22

PRF intervém, mas barreiras continuam em 19 estados

A Polícia Rodoviária Federal agiu para dispersar os bloqueios golpistas de rodovias pelo país por apoiadores de Jair Bolsonaro (PL), mas as interdições prosseguiram em 19 estados. Em Santa Catarina, o efetivo policial deixou o local sem cumprir a função.

As barreiras iniciadas após a vitória de Lula (PT) afetam escoamento de produção, e mercados alertam para desabastecimento, dizem entidades. Caminhões não chegam à Ceagesp, em São Paulo, e distribuição de flores para o Dia de Finados será prejudicada. Mercado A19 e A21

Israel pode ter volta ao poder de Netanyahu, diz boca de urna

O Likud, do ex-premiê direitista Binyamin Netanyahu, foi o partido mais votado nas eleições de Israel, aponta pesquisa de boca de urna. A coalizão deve assumir o poder. A16

Petista terá Congresso mais dividido e com centro esvaziado

Análise de Deltafolha sobre o Congresso eleito mostra que Lula (PT) terá de lidar com Legislativo mais conservador que o atual, embora com esquerda também fortalecida. A12

ENTREVISTA
Silas Malafaia
O cara ganhou? Meu papel é orar por ele A13

Interdições atrasam viagens, e SP tem terminais lotados

Os atos antidemocráticos obstruíram o acesso ao aeroporto de Guarulhos, e as rodovias do Tietê e da Barra Funda, em São Paulo, registraram mais de 880 viagens canceladas. Passageiros dormiram no chão dos terminais. O rodízio de veículos foi suspenso hoje. Cotidiano B1



EDITORIAIS A2

Cores em jogo
Sobre manifestações LGBTQIA+ no Qatar.

Homem morre após PM pôr joelho sobre pescoço
Cotidiano B2

ATMOSFERA
São Paulo hoje
15°
11°
0h 6h 12h 18h 24h

André Janones
Plano de Guedes definiu eleição a favor de Lula A14



Continúa el misterio sobre el paradero del secuestrado ex vicepresidente

Tras bochorno: Hijas de Denis buscan información fidedigna

Familia del político decidió presentar una querrela adhesiva para acompañar más de cerca la pesquisa y acceder a la carpeta fiscal. Detienen a dos supuestos colaboradores del EPP.

PÁGINA 2 a la 5

**Imputan a dos ex funcionarios
Fiscalía acusa y pide
juicio para Hugo Javier
por obras fantasmas**

PÁGINA 6

**González Daher citado a audiencia
El JEM enjuicia a otro
fiscal por formar parte
de la rosca de RGD**

PÁGINA 40



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**La gente recupera
sus tradiciones**

Pospandemia. Desde ayer en Día de Todos los Santos y hoy de Difuntos, más devotos acuden a los cementerios para honrar la memoria de sus seres queridos.

PÁGINA 18

**Legislativo hace lo que quiere con PGN
La Bicameral crea fondos
para gastos salariales de
estatales en año electoral**

PÁGINA 10

**Vuelve el Gallo de Oro,
la mayor distinción
a la publicidad gráfica**

PÁGINA 22



**Esgrime que ley reducirá informalidad
Gremio de contadores
urge por la deducibilidad
del IVA en las compras**

PÁGINA 14

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



BÉRÉNICE LEVET
« L'ESPRIT FRANÇAIS
L'EMPORTERA
SUR LE WOKISME » PAGE 16

ROUTE DU RHUM
POUPON, CHABAUD ET JOURDAIN :
TROIS LÉGENDES REVIENNENT
DANS LA COURSE PAGE 12



EXÉCUTIF

Nucléaire :
le gouvernement
veut accélérer
la construction
de nouveaux
réacteurs PAGE 4

ÉTATS-UNIS

« Midterms » :
le jeu du
« gerrymandering »
PAGES 6 ET 17

AFRIQUE DU NORD

À Alger, les pays
arabes en ordre
dispersé PAGE 8

ÉDUCATION

Lecture :
des « pédagogies
inacceptables »
toujours à l'œuvre
en classe de CP
PAGE 10

SANTÉ

Les services de
pédiatrie débordés
par la bronchiolite
PAGE 11

JEUX VIDÉO

La Paris Games
Week fait
son retour PAGE 24

CHAMPS LIBRES

- La vigogne, « gazelle des Andes » et toison d'or des créateurs
- Quelles sont les 400 communes disposant d'un budget participatif ?
- La chronique de Bertille Bayart
- Un entretien avec André Kaspi PAGES 14 À 17

FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de mardi :
Deux-Sèvres :
Gérald Darmanin a-t-il
raison de parler
d'« écoterisme » ?

OUI 83% NON 17%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 178 791

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Approuvez-vous
l'instauration
d'un contrôle technique
pour les deux-roues ?

ILLUSTRATION F. CLAIREFOND ;
A. COURCOUX ; A. NOVAK / HANS LUCAS
VIA REUTERS CONNECT

Ukraine : comment l'hiver va durcir la guerre



Gel et grand froid modifient les conditions de la bataille, compliquent la logistique et ralentissent les offensives. Les deux camps s'y préparent. PAGES 2, 9 ET L'EDITORIAL

La fin de l'eldorado chinois pour l'industrie automobile européenne

La Chine représente un tiers des ventes des constructeurs allemands. Mais, pour Berlin comme pour toute l'Europe, les parts de marché diminuent dans l'empire du Mi-

lieu. Les ventes de véhicules électrifiés y sont en plein essor et les acteurs chinois convoient, produisent et vendent avec succès ces voitures high-tech. PAGE 20



Le contrôle technique des deux-roues déclenche la colère des motards

Rendue obligatoire par une décision du Conseil d'État, désavouant au passage le gouvernement, cette nouvelle formalité a provoqué l'ire des conducteurs de deux-roues.

« Après les automobilistes, les motards sont considérés comme des vaches à lait », s'indigne Christophe Arconnerie Beriol, le président de la Fédération des bikers de France. PAGE 9

ÉDITORIAL par Philippe Gélie pgelie@lefigaro.fr

L'épreuve de la chaussette

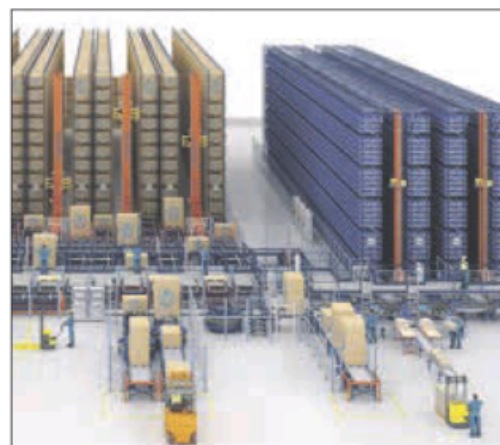
L'histoire militaire abonde en épisodes où les conditions climatiques, en particulier les rigueurs hivernales, ont pesé dans l'issue des batailles. Malmené par un ennemi dont il croyait ne faire qu'une bouchée, Vladimir Poutine mise désormais sur la détérioration de la météo pour ralentir la progression des forces ukrainiennes, gagner du temps et tâcher de se relancer au printemps prochain à la tête d'une armée remise sur pied. Le mytique « général Hiver », réputé avoir sauvé la Russie face à Napoléon et à Hitler, serait tout naturellement de son côté. Non seulement les grands froids de décembre à février, qui éprouvent les soldats et les matériels, la neige qui révèle les traces et complique la dissimulation, mais aussi la *raspoutitsa* (« saison des mauvaises routes ») qui engluie dès novembre les artilleurs dans les sols boueux.

La « guerre du gaz » déclarée aux Européens et le pilonnage des infrastructures énergétiques en Ukraine procèdent du même calcul : mettre l'hiver de son côté en le rendant aussi invivable que possible pour l'adversaire. Cette stratégie n'a de chances de réussir que si elle prend ses cibles au dépourvu. Or, les Ukrainiens sont chez eux et leur capacité de résistance n'a rien

à envier à celle de la division russe enrôlée comme chair à canon. Si le froid et le gel peuvent infliger leurs propres blessures, s'ils posent des défis supplémentaires aux armées, en particulier pour lancer des offensives d'envergure, il reste qu'à ce jeu-là c'est le mieux préparé qui gagne.

Face aux défis de l'hiver, c'est le mieux préparé qui gagne

différence, pour la mobilité du soldat comme pour son moral. Ajoutons-y gants, bonnets, uniformes chauds que les armées de l'Otan livrent en ce moment par dizaines de milliers aux Ukrainiens, et l'avantage supposé de la Russie reste à démontrer. Il dépendra en bonne part de sa capacité à remporter l'épreuve de la chaussette. Que le général Poutine y prenne garde : l'hiver est un égalisateur des forces, et souvent un accélérateur des dynamiques militaires déjà en cours. ■



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Revealed: secret 'war game' plans to cope with seven-day blackouts

Exclusive
Pippa Crerar
Alex Lawson

The government has "war-gamed" emergency plans to cope with energy blackouts lasting up to seven days in the event of a national power outage amid growing fears over security of supply this winter.

The Guardian has seen documents, marked "official sensitive", which

warn that in a "reasonable worst-case scenario" all sectors including transport, food and water supply, communications and energy could be "severely disrupted" for a week.

They show ministers will prioritise getting food, water and shelter to the young and the elderly, as well as those with caring responsibilities, if blackouts occur, with the Met Office warning that Britain faces a higher risk of a cold winter.

Whitehall officials are currently

stress-testing Programme Yarrow, the confidential plan for coping with a power outage, and have held exercises with government departments and councils in recent days. The blueprint was first drawn up in 2021, before Russia invaded Ukraine, to improve planning and resilience in the event of a major technical fault in the National Grid. It is unrelated to the energy outlooks published by the National Grid for this winter.

However, concerns over the

impact of a blackout have grown as a result of the war, with government insiders admitting the planning had taken on a new urgency as a result of the energy crisis, which has sent household energy bills soaring.

Ed Miliband, the shadow climate secretary, said: "All governments do contingency planning for worst-case scenarios but the truth is that we are vulnerable as a country as a direct consequence of a decade of failed Conservative energy policy. Banning

onshore wind, slashing investment in energy efficiency, stalling nuclear and closing gas storage have led to higher bills and reliance on gas imports, leaving us more exposed to the impact of Putin's use of energy as a geopolitical weapon."

The type of technical fault envisaged includes flood damage or a lightning strike on a sub-station, but could also cover an attack on sub-sea power cables.

The leaking of the 15 →



PHOTOGRAPH: JEREMY SELWYN/REX

Hancock's a celebrity - and he's suspended

Jessica Elgot
Nadia Khomami
Henry Dyer

Matt Hancock had the Tory whip suspended yesterday after it emerged that he was entering the jungle for I'm a Celebrity... Get Me Out of Here!

The former UK health secretary will be the 12th contestant to enter the ITV reality show, which features

▲ Matt Hancock agreed to go on I'm a Celebrity because he was 'curious' and the government was 'now stable'

famous faces performing gruelling tasks such as being smothered in insects or eating kangaroo penis.

But the MP for West Suffolk faced a fierce criticism from Conservative MPs and his constituency party for taking part - and will now sit as an independent. The show overlaps with

time when the Commons is sitting. The Tory chief whip, Simon Hart, said he believed the matter was "serious enough to warrant suspension of the whip with immediate effect", while Andy Drummond, the deputy chair of the West Suffolk Conservative Association, said: "I'm looking forward to him eating a kangaroo's penis. You can quote me on that."

Rishi Sunak's spokesperson said the prime minister 11 →

Vetting of police lets 'predators' join force

Vikram Dodd

Police and crime correspondent

Defective vetting and failures by police leaders have allowed a "prevalent" culture of potentially thousands of officers who are "predatory" towards women to join and stay in the ranks, a damning official report will today conclude.

Officers staged unwarranted stops of women in an abuse of power known as "booty patrols", with crimes such as sexual assault covered up and ignored along with large scale harassment of women officers and members of the public.

The report from HM Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services was ordered after the kidnap, rape and murder of Sarah Everard in March 2021 by a serving Metropolitan police officer, Wayne Couzens.

It details senior officers pursuing women for sex, watching pornography on duty, misogynistic comments about crime victims and the public that policing serves, and from which it needs consent to use 2 →