

## What's News

### Business & Finance

The outlook for tech-industry jobs worsened on Thursday, with Lyft and Stripe both announcing major layoffs and Amazon saying it would freeze corporate hiring for months. **A1**

◆ **Twitter** told employees it would notify them about head-count reductions on Friday, a move that comes about a week after Musk acquired the company. **B1**

◆ **General Mills**, **Mondelez**, **Pfizer** and **VW's Audi** are among a growing list of brands that have paused their Twitter advertising. **B6**

◆ **The Bank of England** raised its key interest rate by 0.75 percentage point, the largest increase since 1989, in an effort to tame surging inflation. **A1**

◆ **U.S. stocks** fell and Treasury yields rose amid investor unease over the Fed's rate outlook. The S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow shed 1.1%, 1.7% and 0.5%, respectively. **B1, B13**

◆ **Warner Bros. Discovery** is speeding up the launch of a combined HBO Max/Discovery streaming service. The company's revenue came in below analysts' estimates. **B1**

◆ **Kellogg** said consumers are accepting higher prices for supermarket staples like breakfast cereal and snacks, as it posted a rise in sales. **B1**

◆ **Starbucks** said sales hit a record in its most recent quarter, while planned investment in new equipment and higher wages for employees cut into store-level profit. **B3**

◆ **Luxury giant Kering** is in advanced discussions to buy fashion brand Tom Ford. **B1**

### World-Wide

◆ **Increasingly adversarial** U.S.-China relations are set for their next test as the governments of the two countries try to arrange a summit between Biden and Xi later this month. **A1**

◆ **Netanyahu** won a decisive victory in Israel's election, pulling off a political comeback by successfully uniting his right-wing and religious nationalist bloc. **A9**

◆ **The threat of an Iranian** attack on Saudi Arabia or other Mideast neighbors has eased but not passed, officials said, days after Riyadh and Washington shared intelligence indicating an imminent threat. **A9**

◆ **Ukraine** said its Zaporizhzhia nuclear plant was disconnected from the power grid after Russian shelling damaged transmission lines and left the facility reliant on diesel generators. **A8**

◆ **Officials across the U.S.** are bracing for a range of challenges ahead of midterm elections, including concerns over voter intimidation and abuse of poll workers. **A4**

◆ **Pelosi** said her husband was released from a San Francisco hospital, nearly a week after an attack by a man who broke into their home. **A3**

◆ **A New York judge** required that Trump's family business be subject to monitoring requirements while it faces a civil-fraud lawsuit from New York's attorney general. **A6**

◆ **Former Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan** was shot and injured as he led a protest headed for the nation's capital. **A10**

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## U.S., South Korea Condemn Pyongyang Over Missile Tests



**WARNING: U.S. Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin speaks with South Korean Defense Minister Lee Jong-sup in front of a B1 bomber Thursday at Joint Base Andrews in Maryland as the countries criticized recent North Korea missile tests. A10**

## Bank of England Boosts Rate By Largest Amount Since 1989

By PAUL HANNON AND ANNA HIRTENSTEIN

LONDON—The Bank of England raised its key interest rate by 0.75 percentage point, the largest increase since 1989, in an effort to tame surging inflation, but, by the bank's own estimates, it will likely help drive the U.K. economy into a recession lasting more than a year. The central bank lifted on Thursday its benchmark lending rate for the eighth consecutive meeting to 3% from 2.25%, taking it to the highest level since November 2008.

Higher borrowing costs will hurt an already weak economy as consumers brace for a difficult winter of falling real incomes and rising prices.

The bank said the U.K. economy likely entered a recession in the three months through September, when output fell an estimated 0.5%, and said it expected a lengthy economic contraction, the length and depth of which depended on how high the bank raises rates to corral prices.

"It is a tough road ahead," BOE Gov. Andrew Bailey said. "The sharp rise in energy

prices has made us poorer as a nation."

After the announcement, the pound weakened against the dollar, trading 1.8% lower, and U.K. government bonds sold off. The yield on the 10-year bond rose to 3.51%, from 3.421% the previous day. Shorter-dated bonds initially rallied, but reversed to sell off as well.

The unusually large rate rise underscores the difficult choices faced by European central banks. Across the continent, soaring energy prices from the Ukraine war are driv-

ing inflation even as high energy costs hurt businesses and economic activity far more than in the U.S., where energy costs are lower.

For central banks, raising borrowing costs to contain the inflation will only increase the economic pain.

The Bank of England made it clear that the amount it raises the key lending rate could cause significant damage to economic growth.

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◆ **Heard on the Street:** BOE ignores own forecasts..... B14

## Cost of President's Jets Hits Boeing, Taxpayers

By ANDREW TANGEL

Boeing Co.'s troubled project to replace Air Force One is getting costlier, both for the plane maker's shareholders and U.S. taxpayers who will have to pay to keep the president's aging jets flying longer.

The Arlington, Va., aerospace company said it expected to lose \$766 million more on the high-profile, years-late project to transform two 747-8 jumbo jets into flying White Houses, bringing its total losses related to the effort to nearly \$2 billion, according to securities filings.

The additional costs were part of a larger charge that led Boeing to report a \$3.3 billion third-quarter loss.

The two aging 747 jets currently serving as Air Force One when the president is on board came into service in 1990 during the George H.W. Bush administration. They are already the longest-serving presidential jets in U.S. history, and the Air Force said Boeing's delays could keep them flying through perhaps the 2028 election.

Boeing executives blamed the additional development costs on supplier issues, technical challenges and labor shortages, including finding enough workers with security clearances needed to work on the highly classified jets at its San Antonio facility.

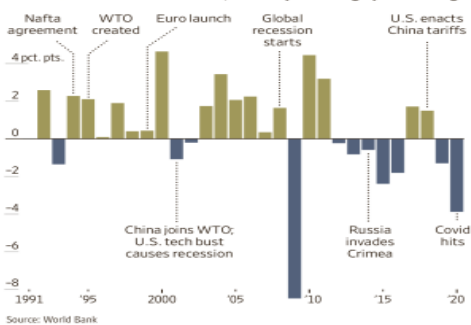
Additional costs for Boeing shareholders follow a string of problems with the company's Air Force One project, including

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## The New World Order Unwinds

Trade conflict. Rising inflation. Global tension. The post-Cold War order promised a world stitched together by markets and cooperation, but that system has come undone. **A11**

Global trade as a share of GDP, annual percentage point change



Source: World Bank

## The Funeral Industry Plots a Rebrand: We're Fun

Mortuaries look to generate 'warm leads' with golf, live music, bouncy castles

By DOMINIQUE MOSBERGEN

Morticians are finding ways to put the fun in funeral to get customers to think about their final farewells—and open their wallets—long before the end.

At an industry convention in Baltimore last month, funeral directors were invited to a workshop on how to "build your preneed customer pipeline" and "generate warm leads." Among the pro tips some have implemented: Dinners at cemeteries, so-called death cafes and burial-plot

lotteries.

"I am selling a product nobody wants, but ultimately everybody has to have it," said Brandon Patterson, one convention attendee.

Mr. Patterson said 500 people showed up for a party at his Shreveport Funeral Home & Cremation Tribute Center in Louisiana in October. There was food, live music and a bouncy castle for kids. His staff raffled prizes including tum-

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## Biden-Xi Summit Is Being Planned As Tensions Mount

By CHARLES HUTZLER AND LINGLING WEI

WASHINGTON—Increasingly adversarial U.S.-China relations are in for their next test, as the two governments try to arrange a summit between President Biden and Chinese leader Xi Jinping later this month.

Senior officials and aides have been wrangling over whether the leaders will meet around the Group of 20 summit of major economies in Indonesia in mid-November. The meeting would be their first face-to-face since Mr. Biden's election, and, people briefed on the discussions said, Chinese officials have only recently re-engaged after ill feelings over the leaders' last exchange.

In a July phone call, Mr. Xi asked Mr. Biden to stop House

Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D, Calif.) from visiting Taiwan, but the U.S. president declined, deferring to Congress's independence from the executive branch, the people said. After Mrs. Pelosi's visit, Beijing conducted large-scale military drills in response and the Biden administration imposed drastic new controls on semiconductor exports aimed at undermining China's ambition to become a tech powerhouse.

Despite the ramped-up tensions, a Biden-Xi summit around the G-20 meeting will most likely take place, the people said, given that officials on both sides said they want to prevent strained relations from deteriorating further.

Regardless of whether they meet, former officials and foreign-affairs specialists said, trend lines in relations still

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## INSIDE



**SPORTS**  
Nets sports Kyrie Irving over refusal to unequivocally disavow anti-Semitism. **A14**



**MANSSION**  
A weekend home in Palm Desert, Calif., blends indoor and outdoor spaces. **M1**





## How long can Japan defy market forces?

BIG READ, PAGE 15

## The US and China's unbreakable chain

JOHN THORNHILL, PAGE 17

Pakistan rally  
Khan shooting  
sparks protest

Supporters of Imran Khan shout slogans during a protest after the former Pakistani prime minister was shot in the leg yesterday in Islamabad, Pakistan.

Khan suffered the gunshot wound in an apparent assassination attempt after an unidentified attacker opened fire on a crowded rally led by the politician.

One of Pakistan's most popular and influential leaders, Khan was leading a march from Lahore to the capital Islamabad to put pressure on the government to call early elections.

Khan, 70, who was ousted as prime minister in a no-confidence vote in April, was not in a critical condition, according to Pakistani officials.

On Monday, Khan described his rally to the capital as "a revolution", adding at the time: "[The] only question is will it be a soft one through the ballot box or a destructive one through bloodshed?"

Assassination attempt page 4



Shahab Alkhatib/RTA/FT/Reuters

## Briefing

► **Musk ready to fire up to half of Twitter workforce**  
Elon Musk is said to have plans to fire up to half of Twitter's 7,500 employees and end homeworking in a cost-cutting shake-up that could come this week. — PAGE 6

► **Hyperinflation alert**  
Hedge fund Elliott Management has warned that the world is heading for hyperinflation and risks the worst financial crisis since the second world war. — PAGE 6

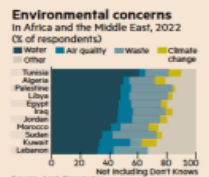
► **Glencore bribery fine**  
Miner and commodities trader Glencore was ordered by a court yesterday to pay £276.4m over bribery linked to securing access to oil across Africa. — PAGE 8

► **Climate cost shortfall**  
The world is far behind on meeting developing nations' need for up to \$340bn a year by 2050 to cope with the effects of climate change, the UN has said. — PAGE 2

► **Azerbaijan gas warning**  
Azerbaijan says the EU will need to make fresh investment in the country's pipelines and sign long-term deals if it is to help the bloc replace Russian gas. — PAGE 2

► **Greensill insurance claim**  
An underwriter who signed off on billions of dollars of insurance for collapsed Greensill Capital has told a court he was misled by founder Lex Greensill. — PAGE 8

## Datawatch



Among citizens of the Middle East and north Africa climate change is one of the lowest priorities for government spending and foreign aid. On the other hand, a third or more in each surveyed territory said water was the top environmental test.

## Bank of England takes dovish stance despite biggest rate rise for 30 years

◆ Increase of 0.75 points to 3% ◆ Optimism over inflation ◆ Contrast with Fed's hawkish position

CHRIS GILES AND DELPHINE STRAUSS  
LONDON

The Bank of England has signalled borrowing costs will not increase in future as much as markets expect, even as it imposed the biggest interest rate rise for three decades to battle soaring inflation.

The pound fell almost 2 per cent against the dollar, which had been buoyed by a contrasting message from the Federal Reserve that US rates would rise more than Wall Street anticipated.

The central bank's 0.75 percentage point rise to 3 per cent took rates to their highest point since 2008. But the BoE issued unusually strong guidance that rates would not need to rise much further to bring inflation back to its 2 per cent target, partly because it forecast a prolonged recession. "We can make no

promises about future interest rates," said BoE governor Andrew Bailey. "But based on where we stand today, we think [rates] will have to go up by less than currently priced into financial markets. That is important because, for instance, it means that the rates on new fixed-term mortgages should not need to rise as they have done."

The BoE's 0.75 rise — the biggest for 30 years — followed identical increases by the Fed on Wednesday and the Euro-

"We think [rates] will have to go up by less than priced into financial markets"

Andrew Bailey, BoE governor

pean Central Bank last week as monetary authorities worldwide seek to contend with inflation that has reached a 40-year high in the UK of 10.1 per cent.

Seven of the BoE's nine Monetary Policy Committee members voted for the rise, maintaining that "a larger increase" this month "would help to bring inflation back to the 2 per cent target sustainably in the medium term, and to reduce the risks of a more extended and costly tightening later".

But their guidance and the economic forecasts published by the BoE suggested it was taking a more dovish stance than the Fed. Jay Powell, US central bank chair, this week called talk of pausing rate rises as "very premature".

The BoE projected that if it increased interest rates to 5.25 per cent, Britain

would be plunged into the longest recession since the second world war — eight quarters of contraction — and inflation would fall to zero in three years' time.

But in a strong signal that it believed it may have already done the bulk of the work needed, the bank highlighted an alternative in which rates would not rise any further from the current 3 per cent.

In this scenario, inflation is projected to peak at 10.9 per cent in this quarter, before falling to 5.6 per cent at the end of 2023, 2.2 per cent at the end of 2024 and below its 2 per cent target in 2025.

Even if rates stay at 3 per cent, the BoE forecasts a recession for five quarters due to high energy and mortgage costs.

By contrast, Christine Lagarde, the ECB president, struck a hawkish note about eurozone policy, saying yesterday

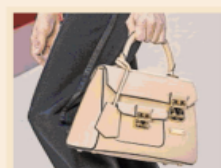
a "mild recession" in the region would not be enough to "tame inflation".

The BoE said most of the MPC believed "further increases" might be required for inflation to return sustainably to target but recent market pricing for the peak in rates had been too high.

The Bank said its forecasts were based on government policy as of October 17. They therefore do not factor in prime minister Rishi Sunak's plans, due to be announced this month, to make £50bn of savings, which would put further downward pressure on inflation.

The MPC said it would "take account of any additional information in the government's Autumn Statement at its December meeting and in its next forecast in February".

Global central bank responses page 3



## Luxury brands hedge bets by expanding across US

Luxury brands including Hermès, LVMH and Cartier are expanding further into cities across the US as demand for expensive handbags, clothes and jewellery remains resilient despite economic concerns. High-end businesses are hedging against a squeeze on sales to wealthy Chinese consumers hit by Covid-19 lockdowns, as well as the loss of Russian clients since the invasion in Ukraine began.

Reaching deeper ► PAGE 9

## War drives Germany's Uniper into one of the biggest losses in corporate history

PATRICIA NILSSON AND MARK WEBBIDGE — LONDON

Uniper, the German energy group in the process of being nationalised, has suffered one of the biggest losses in corporate history after reporting a net loss of €40bn so far this year.

Shares in Uniper, once Europe's largest importer of Russian gas and among the hardest hit companies by the war in Ukraine, have plunged nearly 95 per cent this year.

The company announced yesterday that losses in the first nine months of the year had increased tenfold compared with its €4.7bn loss in the same period last year.

Soaring gas prices have forced Uniper to buy more expensive gas on the spot market after Moscow choked supplies to Europe in the wake of war.

The conflict in Ukraine has plunged Uniper into crisis, with the company losing millions of euros every day.

"To ensure customers' supply security, Uniper has for some time been procuring gas at significantly higher prices and... has thus recorded considerable losses because the replacement costs of procuring new gas are not being passed through to consumers," said Tina Tuomela, chief financial officer.

Berlin said in September that it would intervene with a €29bn bailout, amid fears that a collapse of the country's largest gas importer could spread devastating waves across Germany's energy system and economy.

"We and the federal government are currently finalising the details of the support measures," said Tuomela, adding that implementing the "stabilisation package" was her "highest priority".

The German government's intervention to save Uniper from insolvency will include buying out the group's previous owner Fortum, an €8bn capital injection and a line of credit provided by state-owned KfW Bank totalling €18bn, from which Uniper said that it had already drawn €14bn.

The €40.4bn figure for the first three quarters comes close to full-year losses recorded by some of the worst-hit companies at the height of the financial crisis, including the \$50bn loss reported by Freddie Mac in 2008.

Analysts at UBS said Uniper's figures revealed "further detail on the very large pressures facing [its] business".

Net debt in the first nine months of the year jumped to €10.9bn, compared with €32.4m last year. Revenues of €213bn almost tripled the €78bn reported in the same period last year.

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## World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
S&P 500	Nov 3	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Nov 3	Prev	%Chg	Yield (%)	Nov 3	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	3726.69	3759.69	-0.89	\$/£	0.9176	0.9167	0.01	US 2 yr	4.72	4.55	0.17
Nasdaq Composite	10279.10	10224.80	+0.53	\$/€	1.1118	1.1140	-0.02	US 10 yr	4.15	4.04	0.11
Dow Jones Ind	32020.40	32147.76	-0.40	\$/¥	0.0773	0.0861	-0.10	US 30 yr	4.17	4.08	0.09
Euro Stoxx 50	1620.65	1635.22	-0.89	\$/HK	148.190	147.140	+0.68	UK 2 yr	3.04	2.97	0.06
FTSE 100	3993.14	3922.01	+1.81	\$/IN	165.577	166.067	-0.29	UK 10 yr	3.51	3.39	0.12
FTSE All-Share	3925.25	3910.01	+0.39	\$/JP	0.0089	0.0088	+0.01	UK 30 yr	3.71	3.57	0.15
CAC 40	6243.28	6276.88	-0.54	\$/KRW	144.611	145.256	-0.45	JPN 2 yr	-0.05	-0.05	0.00
Xetra Dax	13130.19	13256.74	-0.95	\$/THB	202.495	201.51	+0.48	JPN 10 yr	0.24	0.24	0.00
Hang Seng	15339.49	15427.17	-0.58	\$/MYR	1539.71	1518.44	+1.40	JPN 30 yr	1.53	1.53	0.00
MSCI World \$	2499.78	2546.40	-1.83	\$/SGD	1.343	1.343	0.00	GER 2 yr	2.07	1.97	0.10
MSCI EM \$	873.02	867.58	+0.63	\$/TWD	88.92	86.00	+3.28	GER 10 yr	2.24	2.13	0.11
MSCI ACWI \$	578.22	567.47	+1.92	\$/NZD	96.38	95.16	+1.28	GER 30 yr	2.17	2.09	0.08
FT Wilshire 2500	4899.14	5030.70	-2.61	\$/AUD	1.493	1.493	0.00				
FT Wilshire 5000	38290.81	39310.52	-2.62								

Prices are listed for reference. Data provided by Bloomberg

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## Path Is Cleared For Netanyahu To Lead Israel

### Return Seemingly Ends Years of Instability

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

JERUSALEM — He lost power in Israel a year ago under a cloud of corruption charges and political dysfunction. But on Thursday, Benjamin Netanyahu cemented his return to the prime minister's post that he has held for longer than any other Israeli leader.

With years of political instability and repeated elections seemingly resolved for now, the question ahead for Israel was how Mr. Netanyahu and his political partners on the far right would wield their new power.

In some senses, the concession of defeat on Thursday evening from the departing prime minister, Yair Lapid, marked a return to the familiar. Mr. Netanyahu has governed Israel for most of the past quarter century. While previously in office, he presided over a rightward drift within Israeli society — the same social shift that propelled him back to power.

In other ways, his return is a leap into the unknown. During his previous stints, Mr. Netanyahu has governed Israel for most of the past quarter century. While previously in office, he presided over a rightward drift within Israeli society — the same social shift that propelled him back to power.

His decision this time to ally only with far right and ultra-Orthodox Jewish parties, unrestrained by any centrist forces, takes Israel into unmapped territory.



AMIT ELIAZAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Benjamin Netanyahu won a clear majority in Parliament.

It remains to be seen whether that frees Mr. Netanyahu to follow the agenda of his far-right allies, or if it forces him to act as a brake on their most extreme excesses.

"Netanyahu has always used in elections a stark fusion of Jewish identity and ultranationalism," said Anshel Pfeffer, a biographer of Mr. Netanyahu. "But allying himself with Jewish supremacists has created a new far-right entity he never envisaged and doesn't know how to accommodate in his government."

Continued on Page A8



ABILETTE BASHISH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Logs in the Nkoi industrial zone in Libreville, Gabon, are inspected for quality. Most are marked with bar codes to curb illegal logging.

## Gabon Pivots To Its Forests As Oil Wanes

By DIORNE SEARCEY

LOANGO NATIONAL PARK, Gabon — Evening and the rainforest. A riverbank packed with elephants. Treestops so dense they obscure all but a chimpanzee's hairy arm. And, as the sun sets, a twilight on the horizon: an offshore oil platform.

The nation of Gabon is so lush with forests and wildlife its nickname is Africa's Eden. It's also one of the continent's major oil producers.

Gabon for decades has relied on petroleum to drive its economy. But officials know their oil won't last forever. So they've turned to Gabon's other abundant resource — a huge Congo Basin rainforest, full of valuable trees — to help make up the difference once the oil is gone.

Gabon is engaging in activities that have become dirty words in the world of climate activism: It allows palm-oil plantations in certain areas and is turning rainforest into plywood. However, unlike Brazil and other countries that have stood by as rainforests are decimated, Gabon has adopted strict rules designed to keep the vast majority of its trees standing. Its aim is to strike an important balance between the needs of a single nation and those of a world facing a climate crisis.

Gabon has banned raw timber exports (France was a major buyer).

Continued on Page A6

## 'Deepfakes' Flourish on TikTok, Raising Alarms

By TIFFANY HSU

The alligators of TikTok are not what they seem.

They appear in posts scattered across the video service, photo-shopped into hurricane-flooded homes, blended into cheetah-pitbull hybrids or awaiting a wrestling match with a digitally engineered avatar of Tom Cruise.

And they are harmless, like much of the manipulated media on TikTok, warranting a few laughs and likes before slipping back into a relentless stream of content. But their existence worries people who study misinformation, because the same techniques are being applied to posts that sow political division, advance conspiracy theories and

### Warping the Truth and Putting Democracy at Risk, Experts Fear

threaten the core tenets of democracy ahead of the midterm elections.

"This kind of manipulation is only becoming more pervasive," said Henry Ajder, an expert on manipulated and synthetic media. "When this volume of content can be created so quickly and at such scale, it completely changes the landscape."

Edited or synthesized material also appears on other online platforms, such as Facebook, which

has nearly three billion monthly active users. But experts said it was especially hard to catch on TikTok, which encourages its estimated 1.6 billion active users to put their own stamp on someone else's content, and where reality, satire and outright deceit sometimes blend together in the fast-moving and occasionally livestreamed video feed.

The spread of potentially harmful manipulated media is hard to quantify, but researchers say they are seeing more examples emerge as the technologies that enable them become more widely accessible. Over time, experts said, they fear that the manipulations will become more common and difficult to detect.

Continued on Page A20



DMITRY KOSTYUKOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Pushed to the Back of the Line

Priority for Ukrainians raises hard questions about Europe's treatment of other refugees. Page A9.

## First-Time Buyers Losing Out to the Older, Whiter and Wealthier

By RONDA KAYSER

American home buyers are older, whiter and wealthier than at any time in recent memory, with first-time buyers accounting for the smallest share of the market in 41 years, the National Association of Realtors found in its annual profile of home buyers and sellers.

White buyers accounted for 88 percent of home sales during the

survey period, up from 82 percent during the same period a year earlier, reaching the highest level in 25 years, according to the association's findings.

The new findings add weight to a hard truth that many young families have experienced as they struggle to save money to buy a home, competing in the most brutally competitive housing market in modern history: They have

### All-Cash Offers Thwart Hopes of Ownership

been elbowed out by buyers who have something they might never have — all cash.

The imbalance has made it nearly impossible for younger people with moderate and even

middle incomes to own a home. The repercussions could be lasting and deepen racial and generational disparities in homeownership. Without access to an investment that is usually a family's biggest asset and a critical way to build generational wealth, a household may be shut out of one of the country's best opportunities for upward mobility.

Continued on Page A22

## Cherokees Asking U.S. to Honor 1835 Pledge for House Delegate

By SIMON ROMERO

TAHLEQUAH, Okla. — In 1835, U.S. officials traveled to the Cherokee Nation's capital in Georgia to sign a treaty forcing the Cherokees off their lands in the American South, opening them to white settlers. The Treaty of New Echota sent thousands on a death march to new lands in Oklahoma.

The Cherokees were forced at gunpoint to honor the treaty. But though it stipulated that the Cherokee Nation would be entitled to a nonvoting seat in the House of Representatives, Congress renegeed on that part of the deal. Now, amid a growing movement across Indian Country for greater

representation and sovereignty, the Cherokees are pushing to seat their delegate, 187 years later.

"For nearly two centuries, Congress has failed to honor that promise," Chuck Hoskin Jr., principal chief of the Cherokee Nation, said in a recent interview in the Cherokee capital of Tahlequah, in eastern Oklahoma. "It's time to insist the United States keep its word."

The Cherokees and other tribal nations have made significant gains in recent decades, plowing income from sources like casino gambling into hospitals, meat-

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BUSINESS B1-7

### Short Showers, No Church

In Europe, people are using less energy, and countries are ramping up supply for a winter with no Russian gas. Page B1

### Musk Begins Layoffs at Twitter

The social media company's employees have braced for job cuts since Elon Musk took it over last week. Page B1

### INTERNATIONAL A4-11

#### India's Drugs Linked to Deaths

The deaths of 70 children in Gambia, most likely from tainted cough syrups, point to loose regulations and a lack of testing in importing nations. Page A4

#### Former Pakistan Leader Is Shot

Imran Khan was leading a political march when the attack occurred, leaving both his legs wounded. Page A11

### WEEKEND ARTS C1-20

#### Bringing Their Vision Home

A survey at the Bronx Museum of the Arts celebrates the works of John Ahearn and Rigoberto Torres. Page C1



SPORTS B8-12

### Will Qatar Be Ready?

As over a million people prepare to descend on the World Cup, construction and skepticism are ongoing. Page B8

### Star Guard Suspended by Nets

After failing to apologize for promoting an antisemitic film, Kyrie Irving won't play for at least five games. Page B11

### NATIONAL A12-24

#### Paul Pelosi Leaves Hospital

The husband of Nancy Pelosi, the House speaker, returned home six days after an attacker seeking his wife beat him with a hammer. He faces a long recovery, Ms. Pelosi said. Page A21

#### Day of the Dead in Uvalde

In a heavily Mexican American community where 21 were killed in a school shooting, a traditional holiday was a chance to set grieving aside and celebrate the young lives lost. Page A12

### OPINION A26-27

#### David Brooks

PAGE A27



OBITUARIES A25, 28

### Architect of a Beach Aesthetic

Resisting "a tsunami of shingles" among Fire Island and Hamptons homes, Harry Bates stuck to clean, modern lines and simple materials. He was 95. Page A28



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**SUPPORTERS OF** a smaller police force block the freeway in July 2020 as they call for the removal of then-Dist. Atty. Jackie Lacey. Tuesday's winning candidates could have a major say on spending at the LAPD.

VALERIE MACON AP/PHOTO IMAGES

## Mayoral contest tightens

Bass holds slim edge, and negative ads put Caruso within striking distance, poll shows.

BY BENJAMIN ORESKES

The race for mayor of Los Angeles was tightening rapidly as it entered its final week, with Rick Caruso cutting deeply into Rep. Karen Bass' lead, putting him within striking distance in the contest to run the nation's second-largest city.

Bass continues to hold an edge, 45% to 41% among likely voters, with 13% saying they remain undecided, according to a new UC Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies poll, co-sponsored by The Times. But Bass' advantage is within the poll's margin of error and strikingly smaller than the 15-point margin she held a month ago.

Support for Bass, a long-time elected official, has not significantly declined — she maintains strong backing among key groups of voters, including women, liberals and registered Democrats.

But Caruso, a billionaire businessman and developer, [See Mayor's race, A7]



LUIS SINCO Los Angeles Times

**RICK CARUSO** waves while crossing 6th Street during a campaign stop in Koreatown on Tuesday.



ALLEN J. SCHADEN Los Angeles Times

**KAREN BASS**, with Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders, greets supporters at a rally last month in Playa Vista.

### Plea for deeds, not words, on skid row

Homeless advocates want coherent plans from candidates, not promises, Steve Lopez says. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

## AMERICA UNSETTLED

## California's 450-mile-long district

Will remapping 'force a connection between city and country' with a new congressman?

BY THOMAS CURWEN

**DARWIN, Calif.** — A little before noon on a recent Wednesday, residents of this improbable town halfway between Death Valley and

Mt. Whitney gathered in front of the post office after the morning delivery.

For the last month their ritual has included tossing out campaign fliers and wondering how strangers can presume to know what's best for them. Today's conversation, however, turned on a friend who had just died and whether the road to the cemetery, rutted by August's rains, was passable.

Perched on a broad alluvial fan dotted with rabbitbrush and Joshua trees, this ragtag community of artists, misanthropes and urban transplants has little time for politicians.

"We'd welcome them if they visited," said Jim Hunolt, his dog, Sabi, at his side, "but we'd be just as happy if they didn't know we existed at all."

Hunolt's happiness is likely to remain unchallenged. Darwin — population 35 — is one of the most easily ignored ZIP codes in California, and a new congressional district, laid out last year in response to the 2020 census, will probably do little to change this.

Nearly 450 miles long, the 3rd Congressional District contains scores of small towns like Darwin from its southern border in the Mojave Desert where Inyo and San Bernardino counties

[See District, A12]

## State Bar kept quiet about allegations against Girardi

Despite scores of complaints, agency took no public action till his firm collapsed.

BY HARRIET RYAN AND MATT HAMILTON

The State Bar of California received 205 complaints against Los Angeles legal legend Tom Girardi alleging that he misappropriated settlement money, abandoned clients and committed other serious ethical violations over the course of his four-decade career, the agency disclosed Thursday in response to a lawsuit brought by The Times.

Despite the drumbeat of concerns that began in 1982, the State Bar took no public action against Girardi until after his Wilshire Boulevard firm collapsed two years ago.

As his stature as a trial attorney and political power broker grew, officials closed scores of complaints against him without doing any investigation and rejected dozens of others for "insufficient evidence," the records show. In 13 cases where the agency did act against Girardi, it used "non-public measures," such as a warning letter, that left his law license and reputation in the legal community unblemished.

Girardi was suspended from the practice of law in March 2021 and finally disbarred by the state Supreme Court in July. Now 83, he has been diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease and is in a court-ordered conservatorship.

In a letter accompanying the record release, the chair of the Bar's governing board, Ruben Duran, acknowledged "serious failures" by the agency and wrote: "There is no excuse being offered here. Girardi caused irreparable harm to hundreds of his clients, and the State Bar could have done more to protect the public. We can never allow something like this to happen again."

Complaints to the State Bar are confidential under the law, but The Times petitioned the state Supreme Court for access to agency records about Girardi under an exception that allows disclosure of information if doing so is "warranted for protection of the public."

Reporting by The Times has shown how the politically powerful Girardi cultivated State Bar officials, including executives, investigators, prosecutors and judges, with free legal representation, boozy lunches,

[See Girardi, A7]



IRFAN KHAN Los Angeles Times  
**TOM GIRARDI** was disbarred by the state Supreme Court in July.

### THE PATH FROM PANDEMIC

## A LESSER THREAT IN OUR MIDST

COVID-19 vaccine holdouts may not be as dangerous now to inoculated Americans.

BY MELISSA HEALY

For almost two years, COVID-19 vaccine holdouts have been the objects of earnest pleading and financial inducements, of social-media shaming and truth campaigns. They've missed weddings, birthday celebrations and recitals, and even forfeited high-stakes athletic competitions. Until last month, they were bared from entering the United States and more than 100 other countries.

Now the unvaccinated are suddenly back in the mix. They're dining in restaurants, rocking out at music festivals and filling the stands at sporting venues. They mingle freely in places where they used to be shunned for fear they'd seed superspreader events.

It's as if they're no longer hazardous to the rest of us. Or are they?

"Clearly, the unvaccinated are a threat to themselves," said Dr. Jeffrey Shaman, an infectious disease specialist at Columbia University. As recently as August, their risk of dying of COVID-19 was six times higher than for people who were fully vaccinated and eight times higher than for people who were vaccinated and boosted, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

But, Shaman acknowledged, "the danger to the rest of us is a more debatable issue." When public officials imposed vaccine mandates, the unvaccinated certainly appeared to pose demonstrable dangers to their communities.

State and local leaders sought not only to suppress spread of the virus, but also to prevent their health-care systems from being overwhelmed, thus degrading care for all. The unvaccinated made those goals harder to achieve since they were more likely to become infected and, when they did, to require hospitalization.

U.S. officials had long hoped to vaccinate the American public into a state of "herd immunity," in which so few people would be vulnerable to the virus that the outbreak would simply sputter out. That objective assumed a uniformly high up-

[See COVID-19, A9]

## Challenges for Latin America's left

Brazil's win is latest in a 'new pink tide,' which now faces high expectations

BY KATE LINTHICUM AND TRACY WILKINSON

**MEXICO CITY** — Over the last four years, leftist candidates have won presidential elections in one Latin American country after the other: Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Chile and Colombia.

Now Brazil has cemented the trend. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's narrow victory Sunday means the left will soon control six of the region's seven largest economies.

Driving the pendulum swing are voters hungry for change amid rising inequality and frustration with how governments handled the pandemic and its economic fallout.

Lula, as Brazil's next [See Latin America, A4]



MATIAS DELACROIX Associated Press

**A SUPPORTER** of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva holds a flag emblazoned with Lula's face after his candidate's presidential win is announced in Sao Paulo, Brazil.

### Car-part theft ring targeted

Federal operation focused on catalytic converters leads to charges against 21 people. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

### Pelosi's husband leaves hospital

Speaker's spouse is released six days after an intruder attacked him in the couple's home. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

### Baffert returns to Kentucky

Breeders' Cup brings the trainer back for the first time since his ban after the 2021 Derby. **SPORTS, B10**

**Weather** Mostly sunny and cool. L.A. Basin: 70/51. **B6**

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# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington



Morning fog 73/61 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 77/63 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 2022 • \$3

## Latinos lean in on abortion rights

Stereotype-defying view is likelier for younger, more assimilated voters

BY SILVIA FOSTER-FRAU AND MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR

Eight years ago, St. Louis resident Carlos Madrid was approached by a close family member with a plea: She needed help paying for an abortion.

"She was not in a solid relationship or a super stable living situation, and she just wasn't really ready to have a kid yet," said Madrid, 42, who is Mexican American. "I'm glad she was able to have that option, otherwise I don't know what she would be doing — she'd be on all kinds of welfare."

That experience has made restoring abortion rights one of Madrid's top concerns as he heads to the ballot box next week, and he's not alone — Latinos rank abortion as their second-biggest issue, after rising prices, according to a Washington Post-Ipsos poll published last month.

For decades, Democrats and

SEE ABORTION ON A4

Michigan: The issue shapes the state's gubernatorial contest. A4

## Fossil fuel industry has many irons in the fire

Nations backslide on emissions pledges amid a scramble for energy

BY EVAN HALPER

The U.N. climate summit in Glasgow last year ended with a resounding repudiation of fossil fuels, with countries including the United States signaling that it would be a costly mistake to move forward with big new oil, gas and coal projects.

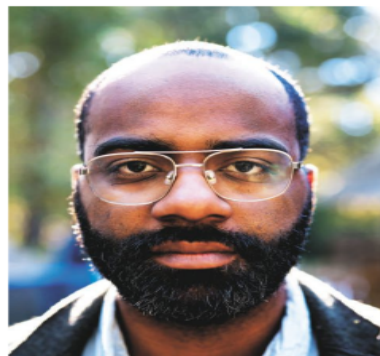
The mounting calls to limit investment in such ventures seemed to resonate: Many major projects had stalled, struggling to line up financing as the world looked toward a future of cleaner energy.

But a year later, the fossil fuel industry is experiencing a remarkable rebound, with sudden momentum behind more than 80 projects that range from coal-fired power plants to hulking gas export terminals, many of which could lock the world into decades of new greenhouse gas emissions.

The backsliding is occurring as nations grope for alternatives to Russian natural gas, cut off by sanctions after the invasion of Ukraine. It will be a major point of tension at this year's global climate summit, which begins Sunday in Egypt. It throws the global carbon budget into further jeopardy, threatening to deluge countries with far more fossil energy than they need to replace supplies from Russia.

"If all of that new infrastructure is built and used until the end of its lifetime, there is no chance

SEE FOSSIL FUELS ON A24



PHOTOS BY DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

THE DECIDERS

## Black voters want their due

BY DAN BALZ

NORCROSS, GA. — It was a Wednesday morning, early-voting sites were open across the state of Georgia, and Darlena Slate was heading to the Pinckneyville Community Center to cast her ballot. But before voting, she stopped at a nearby restaurant to talk about the stakes this year and the implications for Black Americans.

"If Democrats lose control of the

And see a critical moment in the nation's trajectory on race

Darlena Slate, top left, Margus Cole, top right, Dennisha Haynes and Edward Mulrow will help decide the outcome of hard-fought races in Georgia, a top target for both parties in the midterms.

Senate," said Slate, 48, "a lot of those issues that are important to us, they're going to be sidelined again." She talked specifically about abortion rights after the Supreme Court struck down *Roe v. Wade*, but something else gnawed at her: namely, the more overt racism that she and other Black Americans have experienced in recent years. She said she feared that Republican victories will provide more ammunition for people

SEE DECIDERS ON A10



Dan Cox celebrates after winning the Republican primary for Maryland governor in July.

## A candidate shaped by Christian home schooling

Dan Cox's family helped spur the movement

BY PETER JAMISON

Dan Cox's time had come. It was the spring of 2015, years before Cox would be elected to the Maryland House of Delegates, let alone win the Republican nomination for governor. Cox was an all-but-unknown lawyer. The figure whose endorsement would one day propel his political fortunes — Donald Trump — was still weeks away from announcing his first presidential run.

It was nevertheless a special day for Cox and for the home-schooling organization, Walkersville Christian Family Schools, whose students he was preparing to address. His father, pastor Gary Cox, had founded the group more than three decades earlier to help conservative Christians provide

their children with an alternative to the secular education offered in public schools.

Gary Cox stood at the microphone at a Baltimore County church, recalling how he had delivered a commencement speech when Dan, the oldest of his 10 children, completed the group's home-schooling curriculum 23 years earlier. Now it was Dan's turn to deliver the speech, and his son Josiah — Gary's grandson — was among the graduates.

It was "a precious opportunity for one generation to the next," Gary Cox said, ceding the lectern to his son.

Dan Cox, wearing a suit and tie, delivered a 33-minute exposition of biblical themes in which he repeatedly warned the class that

SEE COX ON A6

## IN THE NEWS

**Imran Khan** Pakistan's ex-prime minister was shot at a protest march and accused top officials of orchestrating the attack. A17

**'Divisive topics'** Tip-line messages released by Virginia's governor after a lawsuit by media companies vary from "Beowulf" complaints to gripes about "groomers." B1

**THE NATION** In Nevada, a tribe is fighting a renewable power plant, arguing it will harm a native toad. A3

**THE WORLD** Ukrainian soldiers are preparing for what may

be the biggest battle of the war, retaking the southern region of Kherson. A13

**THE ECONOMY** Members of President Biden's staff have kept a close eye on gas prices, which track closely with

the president's approval ratings. A18

**Airline pilot** unions increased pressure in pay negotiations at three major carriers this week. A20

**THE REGION** Shoe leather, numerous campaign signs and political jabs mark comedian Rodney "Red"

Grant's long-shot bid for D.C. mayor. B1

**An unusual election** for the D.C. Council has three incumbents and five challengers vying for two at-large seats. B1

**A lawsuit** in Virginia is targeting school placement decisions that involve children with disabilities. B1

## WEEKEND

**On the big screen** A guide to fall's buzziest films, including Oscar bait and action sequels.

## SPORTS

**Irving suspended** Amid his antisemitism saga, the star guard is given a five-game ban by the Brooklyn Nets. D1

**BUSINESS NEWS** A18  
**COMICS** C4  
**OPINION PAGES** A21  
**LOTTERIES** B3  
**OBITUARIES** B6  
**TELEVISION** C6  
**WORLD NEWS** A13

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# USA TODAY WEEKEND

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | NOVEMBER 4-6, 2022



## A BATTLE TO SURVIVE

Illustrated stories show how normal life has disappeared after siege of Mariupol, Ukraine

In Weekend Extra



HOOVER BY CAITIE MCMEKIN/USA TODAY NETWORK; BENNETT BY DALE ZANINE/USA TODAY SPORTS

## Bennett, Hooker unlikely QB stars

Their play will be critical in this weekend's Georgia vs. Tennessee high-stakes game. In Sports

## The game is afoot for Henry Cavill

Star reprises roles as pop-culture icons Sherlock Holmes and Superman. In Life

# Migrants bused to NYC struggle for a foothold



In the four months since arriving in New York City, Jhonny Ramos, who is from Venezuela, has been shuttled from homeless shelter to homeless shelter. He plans "to keep going forward with God's help." JOSH MORGAN/USA TODAY

## With few options, they often are the city's new homeless

Rick Jervis USA TODAY

NEW YORK — On a Wednesday morning, Jhonny Ramos stepped out into the 40-degree chill of midtown Manhattan, a bevy of concerns weighing in on him.

He hadn't found consistent paying jobs. With his immigration status up in the air, he didn't have work authorization.

He needed to rush to the subway to get to a Western Union store in another borough, but the stitches from his recent appendectomy pulled at his skin, reminding him to walk slower so they don't reopen.

Then he needed to make it back to the shelter in time so he would not miss his next meal.

Most pressing, though: He needed to find a

**More than 20,000 asylum-seekers**

have arrived in New York City on buses from Texas and Arizona since June.

decent pair of pants. Ramos had only a pair of shorts, and winter in New York was coming.

The next day, 7 miles away in the South Bronx, Ariadna Phillips slammed shut the tailgate of her Kia Sorrento. Soon, she would be helping children find shoes that fit and their parents a place to sleep.

Her car was crammed with boxes of donated clothes, shoes, peanut butter and jelly sandwiches, apples and loaves of bread. Her phone was filled with WhatsApp contacts.

In New York, Ramos and Phillips are on opposite ends of an immigration pipeline that began on the border with a bus ride.

For much of 2022, long-haul bus rides have

See HOMELESS, Page 5A

## MIDTERM ELECTIONS

# Cost of candidate spending? Billions

Erin Mansfield USA TODAY

Candidates and their supporters are spending billions of dollars trying to get their message out to the public to prove they deserve to take or keep their seat in the House or Senate.

By the time the election is over Nov. 8, their spending could top \$9.3 billion, according to nonpartisan watchdog group OpenSecrets, a number that does not include any money spent on races for governor, secretary of state, or state legislative seats.

The candidate who spends the most money almost always wins the election. For the past 20 years, data from OpenSecrets has shown that the House or Senate candidate with the most money wins between 71% and 98% of the time.

USA TODAY set out to find out where the money was coming from, and where the money was going.

Here are some takeaways, 4A



Physician Cody Tigges checks on a young RSV patient last year in Iowa City, Iowa. JESSICA KOSCIELNIAK/USA TODAY

# Decadeslong dream for an RSV vaccine close to reality

Karen Weintraub USA TODAY

Across the U.S., pediatric hospital wards are filled with children fighting a virus few adults know much about.

Respiratory syncytial virus, which infects nearly everyone by age 2, usually goes unnoticed because it mostly causes a common cold.

But RSV is a leading cause of hospitalizations among newborns and children: 58,000 in a typical year.

"A lot of parents who come into the hospital and their babies are really sick with it tell me: 'I had no idea this even existed. I had no idea my baby could get so sick from this,'" said Dr. Elizabeth Schlaudecker, medical director of the Division of Infectious Diseases at Cincinnati Children's.

RSV also strikes at the other end of life: It causes more than 177,000 hospitalizations and 14,000 deaths among older adults every year.

See RSV, Page 8A



OREN ZIV/AP

# Netanyahu to bring in right-wing government

Benjamin Netanyahu's return to power will usher in one of the most right-wing governments in Israel's history. The far-right Religious Zionism party is expected to play a crucial role in Netanyahu's government. The party is known for its anti-LGBTQ policies and harsh rhetoric against Arab-Israelis and Palestinians. It also could affect Israel's relations with the U.S., its most important ally.

Rise of religious parties and their implications, 3A



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## USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

### Moving on and up

In an upturned labor market, workers who change jobs are seeing better pay. The percentage earning a better wage over the same month a year earlier:

April 2020-March 2021 April 2021-March 2022



SOURCE: Pew Research Center  
AMY BARNETTE, TRACIE KEETON/USA TODAY



**espectáculos**

**El gran año de Lali, una estrella que brilla en todas las plataformas**

Música, streaming, cine y TV en España: la artista desplegó su carisma por todos los medios.



**REPENTINO ADIÓS DE PIQUÉ: DESDE MAÑANA, EXFUTBOLISTA**

—deportes

El caudillo de Barcelona anunció su retiro, aunque tenía contrato hasta 2024; contra Almería, en el Camp Nou, cerrará a los 35 años una magnífica carrera. **Página 8**

**UNA ARGENTINA LLEGA A HOLLYWOOD DE LA MANO DE SCORSESE**

—cultura

Ariana Harwicz es la autora de la novela *Matate, amor*, la historia de "una mujer que sufre el posparto y se vuelve loca"; el director producirá la película. **Página 25**

# LA NACION

VIERNES 4 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

## El Presidente rechaza la presión de Cristina y Massa y mantendrá las PASO

**INTERNA.** La Casa Rosada respondió que "es una buena ley", que "implica más democracia"

La Casa Rosada, a través de la portavoz Gabriela Cerruti, reafirmó ayer que las elecciones primarias (PASO) "están vigentes y es una buena ley". De esa forma, descartó anularlas como pretenden el kirchnerismo y el ministro Sergio Massa.

En las últimas semanas, desde La Cábora habían reforzado la pre-

sión contra Fernández para que retroceda en su intención de presentarse como precandidato a la reelección dentro de la interna del Frente de Todos y suspenda las primarias.

El reclamo entrelazó a diferentes figuras, como Máximo Kirchner, hasta el ministro de Interior, Eduardo "Wado" de Pedro. "El

proceso de convocatoria a las PASO está en marcha porque son el año que viene. Es una buena ley que implica más democracia, más participación", afirmó ayer Cerruti. La respuesta exacerbó la pulseada interna en el kirchnerismo por las definiciones electorales para 2023.

**Página 10**

### Reaparece la vicepresidenta y en el Gobierno esperan críticas

**Página 11**

## Oficializan una suba en las tarifas de luz de hasta 30%

**SERVICIOS.** Recibirán el aumento los usuarios de Edenor y Edesur

El Gobierno oficializó ayer el aumento de tarifas de electricidad para los usuarios del AMBA luego de que días atrás confirmara una suba en los precios mayoristas de la energía a partir de este mes, para reflejar la segunda etapa de la quita de subsidios por la segmentación. Los clientes de Edenor y Edesur de niveles 1 (altos ingresos) y 3 (medios) tendrán un ajuste de hasta 30% para sus consumos que superen los 400 kWh mensuales. **Página 17**

## Trampa mortal en una cueva de hielo en el sur



GENDARMERÍA

**sociedad** — Un turista brasileño, que llevaba meses recorriendo el país solo en motorhome, murió anteayer cuando una gran masa de hielo se desprendió del techo de la Cueva de Jimbo, en una zona de glaciares a varios kilómetros de Ushuaia y dentro del Parque Nacional Tierra del Fuego. Dennis Cosmo Marín, de 37 años, se acercó peligrosamente al interior del reducto, que está vedado al público. **Página 24**

### La grúa solo se podrá llevar un auto si bloquea la circulación

**EN CABA.** La Legislatura porteña aprobó limitaciones al acarreo en la vía pública. **Página 24**

### Padres que levantan la voz. Buscan evitar el adoctrinamiento en las aulas porteñas

Formaron una agrupación a partir de las tomas y proponen un debate público

Las recientes tomas de escuelas secundarias porteñas fueron el detonante para que madres y padres de estudiantes que no estaban de acuerdo con esas medidas se aglu-

tinaran en Voces No Escuchadas, una agrupación para plantear cómo evitar el adoctrinamiento y el proselitismo dentro de las aulas. Ya son unas 120 familias y tra-

bajan con legisladores de distintos espacios políticos y con el Ministerio de Educación porteño para legislar cómo evitar que los chicos se vean perjudicados. **Página 22**

**DESDE ADENTRO**

### Massa prepara medidas para su "plan Navidad"

**Florencia Donovan**

—PARA LA NACION—

**S**ergio Massa ya piensa en las Fiestas. El Mundial podrá retener la atención de muchos en las próximas semanas, pero en Economía saben que al final no hará que los números de la macrocierre. La Argentina todavía tiene que hacer deberes para cumplir con las metas fijadas en el acuerdo con el Fondo. Continúa en la **página 19**

### Un juez demanda a Fernández por atacarlo

**REACCIÓN.** El camarista Leopoldo Bruglia se siente agraviado por la acusación del Presidente: "No soy ilegítimo". **Página 16**



## Plataforma de Tarcísio repete diretrizes de Bolsonaro

As propostas do governador eleito Tarcísio de Freitas (Republicanos) que tiveram mais visibilidade seguem diretrizes da gestão de Jair Bolsonaro (PL) e não priorizam problemas específicos de São Paulo.

Tarcísio debateu a privatização de serviços essenciais e a ampliação de ferrovias pela iniciativa privada, mas não detalhou questões como o aumento de moradores de rua na Grande SP. **Política A15**

## Claudia Costin Ser adulto ou ser criança

Há algo a ser urgentemente implementado: a educação para convivência pacífica entre pessoas diferentes, a base da coesão social, para formar adultos que controlem seus impulsos. Como fazê-lo se muitos em famílias e governos se portam como crianças, não sabem perder? **Opinião A2**

## Presidente deve ganhar cargo e salário no PL

O presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) deverá ganhar cargo e receber salário em seu partido com intuito de liderar a oposição depois de deixar o Planalto. A ideia já foi discutida com o líder da sigla, Valdemar Costa Neto, que aceitou. **A13**

## Facebook passa a remover postagens que pedem golpe

Sem anúncio formal, Facebook e Instagram começaram a remover postagens com pedidos de golpe militar no Brasil. Controladora das plataformas, a Meta reinterpreto suas diretrizes diante do cenário político. Já o YouTube não tem removido esse tipo de conteúdo. **Política A7**

# Equipe de Lula vai propor PEC que permita gasto extra

Valor não foi definido; medida visa, entre outras coisas, furar teto e manter auxílio a R\$ 600

A equipe de transição do presidente eleito, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), e o senador Marcelo Castro (MDB-PI), relator do Orçamento de 2023, planejam uma proposta de emenda à Constituição que autorize despesas fora do teto de gastos. A medida visa, por exemplo, manter o Auxílio Brasil em R\$ 600.

O montante desses gastos extras, que estariam na chamada "PEC da transição", não foi definido. A proposta de Orçamento enviada pelo governo Jair Bolsonaro (PL) prevê um valor médio de R\$ 405,21 para o Auxílio Brasil e impõe cortes severos em programas habitacionais e na Farmácia Popular.

Castro e os integrantes da futura gestão afirmam que as limitações do Orçamento aprovado provocariam um "apagão social" no ano que vem. Por isso, em vez de propor um total exato, a ideia é estabelecer uma lista de políticas que teriam uma espécie de licença (ou "waiver") para furar o teto.

Os articuladores, contudo, rejeitam chamar essa licença de "cheque em branco". A minuta deve ser apresentada a Lula na segunda (7) e ao relator do Orçamento na terça (8). Além do auxílio de R\$ 600, deve incluir o benefício adicional de R\$ 150 por criança até 6 anos e aumento real do salário mínimo.

Em entrevista à Folha na terça (1º), Castro estimara o gasto extra em pelo menos R\$ 100 bilhões. O tamanho dessa conta é acompanhado de perto pelo mercado financeiro, que teme uma expansão fiscal exagerada e uma consequente trajetória explosiva da dívida pública nos próximos anos. **Mercado A19**



Gabriela Biló/Folhapress

## ALCKMIN É RECEBIDO POR BOLSONARO APÓS REUNIÃO DE TRANSIÇÃO

Aloizio Mercadante, Gleisi Hoffmann e o vice-presidente eleito, Geraldo Alckmin, no Palácio do Planalto, onde tiveram reunião de transição com ministros; encontro do ex-governador com o presidente, que lhe teria prometido colaborar com processo, ocorreu no gabinete do mandatário sem presença de fotógrafo

## Centrão e aliados de Lula negociarão emendas de relator

Aliados de Lula (PT) admitem a continuidade das emendas de relator, embora com alterações das regras a serem negociadas com líderes do centrão, que tentam manter maior controle sobre o Orçamento. Durante a campanha, o presidente eleito criticou o mecanismo. **Política A4**

## Moraes chama de criminosos protestos antidemocráticos

O presidente do Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE), ministro Alexandre de Moraes, definiu como "movimentos criminosos" as manifestações antidemocráticas de grupos bolsonaristas que contestam a vitória de Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) nas eleições e prometeu punir os responsáveis.

Após o fim do pleito, apoiadores de Jair Bolsonaro (PL), derrotado nas urnas, bloquearam estradas e promoveram atos em frente a prédios das Forças Armadas pedindo golpe. **Política A10**

**Bloqueios em estradas despencam e atingem apenas MT, PA e RO A10**

## ENTREVISTA Gilberto Kassab

**Para ser base, temos de nos sentir governo**

O presidente do PSD, que se define como centro-direita, afirma que pode integrar a base da gestão de Lula (PT) se puder fazer indicações de cargos e tiver apoio a aliados e à recondução de Rodrigo Pacheco no Senado. **A6**

## Petrobras aprova R\$ 43,7 bilhões a acionistas neste ano

**Mercado A22**

## Herança maldita é a de Bolsonaro, não de FHC, diz Appy

**Mercado A20**



Rebecca Andrade no Mundial de ginástica artística em Liverpool, Inglaterra. Ben Stansall/APP

## EDITORIAIS A2

**A ordem dos fatores**  
Acerca de prioridades para o ajuste do Orçamento.

**Novo rumo no clima**  
Sobre conferência da ONU e perspectivas sob Lula.

## ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



## esporte B6

## Campeã mundial

Rebeca Andrade é 1ª ginasta do Brasil ouro no individual geral

## ilustrada C1

Primavera Sound chega a SP com Björk, Travis Scott e Lorde

## guia C9

Frango frito ganha novos temperos na capital paulista

Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br



**Atividades gratuitas acontecerão amanhã e domingo em toda a cidade**

**Veja a programação Pág. C1**

EstúdioFOLHA:

**JHSF**  
apresenta

Village Gardens & Village Parks.

Dois exclusivos condomínios com clubes reservados e lotes residenciais.



Veja nas páginas A8 e A9.



**Autoridades de la previsional se excusan para no hablar sobre el tema**

## IPS sigue sin hacer la denuncia por falsificación contra Potî

La Dirección Jurídica lo había recomendado al Consejo de Administración hace 44 días. La empresa supuestamente presentó a la licitación para el servicio de limpieza documentos adulterados.

PÁGINA 21

**Mantienen posturas abiertas  
SET y gremios buscan  
consenso sobre la  
deducibilidad del IVA**

PÁGINA 12

**Ejecutan sentencia de Tribunal  
Los bancos empezaron a  
transferir a Senabico los  
fondos comisados a RGD**

PÁGINA 48

**Black Friday**  
Ciudad del Ene

Faltan  
**7 DÍAS**

**CON ESTA EDICIÓN**

- STICKERS DE LA GRANJA DE ZENON N° 2
- POSTER COMIC CON PARAGUAY

Gratis con el diario

**COMPRA OPCIONAL**

COLECCIÓN PEPPA  
PAG N° 5  
Rompecabezas + libro  
G. 45.000



### Anita recibida con latidos de amor

**Felicidad.** Con un nuevo corazón latiendo más fuerte, Anita se retiró ayer del Acosta Ñu para ir a su casa en Zeballos Cué, donde le brindaron un gran recibimiento.

PÁGINA 22

**Guerra por robo de energía  
Mafia de criptominerías  
amenaza de muerte a  
funcionario de la ANDE**

PÁGINA 15

**Exoneraciones y  
rebajas en Expo  
Universidades**

PÁGINA 24



**Multicondenado ex intendente  
Por fin: Tribunal ordena  
que Roberto Cárdenas  
vaya a la penitenciaría**

PÁGINA 50

**ETIOS**  
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# LE FIGARO

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



## RÉCIT

LA DROITE, UNE AFFAIRE DE FAMILLE RACONTÉE PAR CONSTANCE PONIATOWSKI PAGE 13

## LUXE

RÉOUVERTURE À PARIS DU 13, RUE DE LA PAIX

CAHIER SPÉCIAL EN PARTENARIAT AVEC CARTIER



**ASSEMBLÉE**  
Polémique autour des propos d'un député RN PAGE 4

**ÉTATS-UNIS**  
Face à la montée des tensions, la démocratie « en danger », selon Biden PAGE 5

**IRAN**  
Le gouvernement à la recherche d'un parapluie sécuritaire russe PAGE 8

**RELIGION**  
Le pape prône la « liberté religieuse totale » à Bahreïn PAGE 9

**ÉCONOMIE**  
Le « zéro Covid » laisse la France orpheline de ses touristes chinois PAGE 18

**LE FIGAROSCOPE**  
Les bistrots tradis de Paris, un week-end à Nancy PAGES 32 À 35

# Entre Macron et Le Pen, LR cherche son cap

Éric Ciotti, Bruno Retailleau et Aurélien Pradié, les trois candidats à la présidence du parti de droite, ont un mois pour convaincre les militants qu'il a encore un avenir.

Trois hommes pour un siège. On saura le 3 décembre prochain qui d'Éric Ciotti, d'Aurélien Pradié ou de Bruno Retailleau sera à la tête des Républicains. Mais

que saura-t-on de la ligne choisie par le parti ? Les LR semblent pris dans un étau idéologique et politique entre Emmanuel Macron et Marine Le Pen. Cette hésitation sur la ligne est illustrée par notre sondage Odoxa-Backbone, qui montre qu'une majorité nette de sympathisants LR est favorable, à la fois, à une

alliance des droites (avec RN et Reconquête!), à 54 %, et à un rapprochement avec Emmanuel Macron (58 %). Deux rapprochements possibles, mais

contradictoires. Avec 85 000 votants attendus pour ce scrutin, le parti LR veut faire la preuve qu'il reste encore un acteur politique de premier ordre.

→ « IL EST DU DEVOIR DES CANDIDATS DE NE PAS HYPOTHÉQUER LE RASSEMBLEMENT » → AMINE ELBAHI SE RALLIE À ÉRIC CIOTTI POUR « RENFORCER » SON PROJET CONTRE L'ISLAMISME → À CHERBOURG, BRUNO RETAILLEAU ANCRE SES SOUTIENS NORMANDS PAGES 2, 3 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



Brigitte Giraud pour *Vivre vite* (Flammarion) et Simon Liberati pour *Performance* (Grasset) ont reçu hier au restaurant Drouant, à Paris, deux des principaux prix de cette rentrée littéraire. PAGES 26 ET 27

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

## Dernière chance pour la droite

Plus de 30 % au premier tour de l'élection présidentielle de 2007, moins de 5 % quinze ans plus tard. Ce n'est pas une mauvaise passe, c'est un effondrement. La baisse du nombre de militants accompagne ce déclin. La droite qui s'autoproclame « de gouvernement » n'a plus aucun ancien ministre au Parlement, et, pire encore, cette famille politique, autrefois centrale, est réduite dans le jeu démocratique au rôle marginal des forces d'appoint. Le destin qui lui assignent ses rivaux ? Parapet pour la majorité présidentielle, marchepied pour le Rassemblement national. Il faudrait être fou pour croire que la fin de Macron rendra mécaniquement le pouvoir à LR; inconscient pour oublier, dans l'habileté des petits calculs, que le privilège de l'alternance a été aboli. Le défi est existentiel : ce que joue LR, ce n'est pas le retour aux affaires mais la survie politique. Éric Ciotti, Bruno Retailleau et Aurélien Pradié, avec des mots différents, ne disent pas autre chose. La gravité de la situation pour ce dernier mois de campagne leur impose la vérité sur le fond, la retenue dans la forme. Leur

responsabilité est aussi grande que cette élection est petite tant la démocratie aurait à perdre si la droite classique devenait contingente. Les deux offres qui voudraient l'effacer - Macron et Le Pen - tentent de singer (de façon erratique) ce qui fait le cœur de la France libérale et conservatrice. Pourtant, ni le président ni sa principale opposante n'incarnent une proposition politique qui joindrait à la lucidité du constat les qualités de courage, de constance, d'ingéniosité et de compétence indispensables à l'exercice du pouvoir. Plutôt que de se définir en fonction du RN et de la majorité, l'objectif pour la droite est de faire revenir les deux sociologies populaires et élitaires qui, lassées des lâchetés et des renoncements des Républicains, les ont abandonnés. Notre sondage - et l'histoire politique - montre que ce pari extraordinairement difficile n'est pas impossible. Pour être gagnant, il exige des convictions, une incarnation, beaucoup de travail, de patience, de l'audace et... de la chance. ■

## Le cavalier seul du chancelier Scholz en Chine

Premier Européen à se rendre en Chine depuis trois ans, Olaf Scholz signifie à ses partenaires que la politique étrangère de l'Allemagne continuera à faire passer ses intérêts - et la dépendance de son industrie envers le marché chinois - avant ceux du bloc communautaire. PAGES 6 ET 7

**CHAMPS LIBRES**  
• La tribune de Gilbert Casaus  
• Un entretien avec François Gemenne  
• Le bloc-notes de Laurence de Charette  
• L'analyse d'Étienne Jacob PAGES 14 ET 15

**FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON**

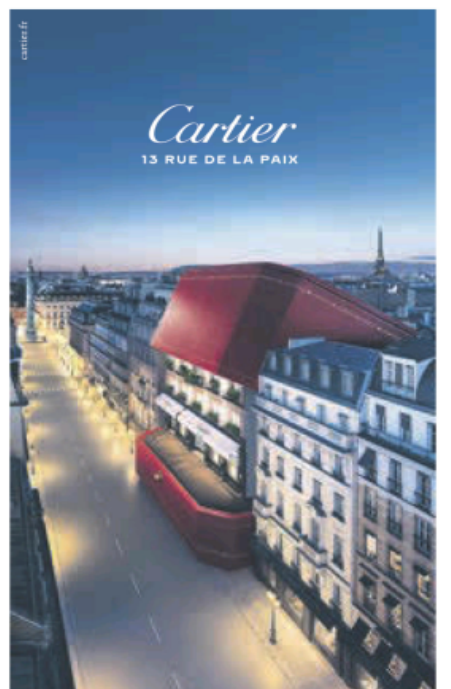
Réponses à la question de jeudi : La France a-t-elle besoin de plus d'immigration de travail ?

OUI 23% NON 77%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 198 869

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr  
Goncourt, Renaudot... Les prix littéraires influencent-ils vos choix de lecture ?

COLLECTION PERSONNELLE





## Finding Selena Gomez

The making of My Mind & Me

G2 Film & Music



## Are they still different class? Pulp's best songs - ranked!

G2 Film & Music



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# The Guardian

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# 'Failed at every stage' - family's anger at Arena bomb response

Victims of attack faced 'interminable' wait for help from 999 services

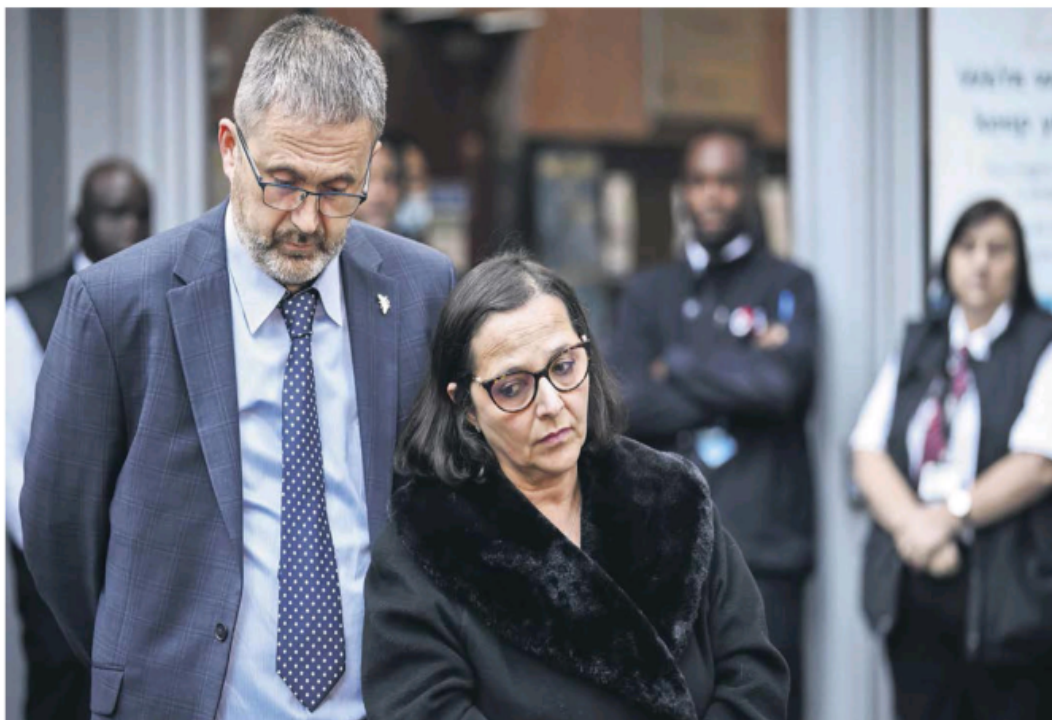
Helen Pidd  
North of England editor

The family of a man who would probably have survived the Manchester Arena attack had he not been left to bleed to death by the emergency services said he had been "totally failed at every stage".

The Manchester Arena inquiry into the atrocity identified failures in the emergency services' response that left victims with an "interminable" wait for treatment. The family of John Atkinson said it "should simply never have been allowed to happen", adding: "It is crystal clear that due to those failings, John died from injuries he could and should have survived."

The chiefs of Greater Manchester police (GMP), Greater Manchester fire and rescue service (GMFRS) and North West Ambulance Service (NWAS) all issued unreserved apologies yesterday after the inquiry found "a great deal went wrong in the emergency response to the attack", particularly at command level.

Failures in planning, coordination and the response across emergency services



▲ Figen Murray, mother of the bomb victim Martyn Hett, with her husband, Dr Stuart Murray, after the report was published PHOTOGRAPH: JAMES SPEARMAN/PA

## Asylum seekers' 'shock' at being abandoned in capital

Amelia Gentleman  
Rajeev Syal

Asylum seekers from Manston immigration holding centre in Kent have described their dismay at being deposited late at night in central London without accommodation, appropriate clothing or money.

Amid growing controversy over the circumstances in which large

numbers of people were bussed out of the acutely overcrowded camp, the Home Office has insisted that it only released asylum seekers who told staff that they had family or friends that they could stay with.

But two asylum seekers from Afghanistan told the Guardian they were taken to London without having a clear idea of where they could stay. They describe scenes of rushed confusion as staff ushered them on to buses at the centre. They were later abandoned at Victoria station.

Their words can be disclosed hours after the home secretary, Suella Braverman, visited the holding centre near Ramsgate yesterday, amid calls for her to consider her position

over conditions there. Lawyers on behalf of the charity Detention Action and a woman held at Manston have sent an urgent pre-action letter to the Home Office. It is the first action against the home secretary for "the unlawful treatment of people held at the facility".

Braverman is also facing demands from the London mayor, Sadiq Khan, to launch an urgent review into how dozens of people were abandoned in the capital.

A young asylum seeker from Afghanistan was among a group of 11 people left on the street outside Victoria station on Tuesday evening. He said that he had told Home Office staff during an

*'I was very scared. I hadn't eaten. It was almost 12 o'clock at night and we were left by the road'*

Afghan asylum seeker

## Recession 'may last until 2024' Bank warning as interest rate increases to 3%

News Page 14 →



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