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What's News

World-Wide

Ukraine's forces swept into the key southern city of Kherson after Russian troops completed their withdrawal from the regional capital, in one of the largest strategic and symbolic defeats for the Kremlin since it launched its invasion. **A1**

◆ **Sen. Mark Kelly** prevailed in his re-election bid against GOP challenger Blake Masters in Arizona, according to the AP, boosting Democrats' prospects of maintaining their Senate majority. **A4**

◆ **China eased** pandemic controls, as the country's leaders seek to lessen the pain of a stringent zero-Covid policy that has exacted a heavy economic toll and stoked growing public resentment. **A7**

◆ **Biden is moving** to tighten restrictions on emissions of methane and boost funding for developing countries to adapt to the effects of climate change and transition to cleaner technologies. **A8**

◆ **The head of U.S. Customs and Border Protection** is being forced out of his job, according to three officials familiar with the situation. **A5**

◆ **Demonstrators in Iran** clashed with security forces as they gathered to mourn the deaths of dozens of people killed during antigovernment protests. **A6**

Business & Finance

◆ **Cryptocurrency platform FTX** filed for chapter 11 protection in the largest crypto-related bankruptcy ever and CEO Sam Bankman-Fried resigned, a demise remarkable for its swiftness as well as its size. **A1, B11**

◆ **Disney CEO Chapek** announced companywide cost-cutting measures and told division leaders that layoffs are likely, according to an internal memo viewed by The Wall Street Journal. **A1**

◆ **SoftBank reported** a profit of more than \$21 billion for the latest quarter after it aggressively unwound its stake in e-commerce giant Alibaba, interrupting two quarters of losses. **A1**

◆ **Twitter appears** to have stopped offering its paid subscription service after people were using it to impersonate companies, brands and celebrities, sowing confusion on the platform. **B1**

◆ **Stocks capped** a volatile week with the biggest gains in months, as the S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow advanced 5.9%, 8.1% and 4.1%, respectively, over the five sessions. **B1**

◆ **The U.K. economy** shrank in the three months through September, as high energy prices and rising interest rates push the country toward what policy makers expect will be a long-lasting recession. **A6**

NOONAN
Maybe Republicans Will Finally Learn **A13**

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Still images from videos show Ukrainians celebrating on Friday in Kherson's Freedom Square before the nation's military forces swept into the key southern city and jubilant residents greeting the first troops to arrive in the square.

Ukraine's Forces Enter Kherson As Russia Leaves Southern City

By JARED MALSEN
AND ANN M. SIMMONS

Ukraine's forces swept into the key southern city of Kherson on Friday after Russian troops completed their withdrawal from the regional capital in one of the largest strategic and symbolic defeats for the Kremlin since it launched its invasion.

Cheering Ukrainians welcomed the arriving troops and raised their national flag in a public square in the center of Kherson, the only regional capital that Russia had seized since February, according to videos posted online by Ukrainian officials. A crowd of jubilant residents hoisted Ukrainian soldiers on their



shoulders. Residents also raised a European Union flag, a sign of many Ukrainians' longstanding aspirations to forge closer ties with the bloc. "Glory to heroes. Death to enemies. Ukraine above all!" shouted the crowd. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky said the Ukrainian forces entering Kherson

on Friday were special military units and that more would follow, saying that the occupying Russian forces had left explosives rigged to key infrastructure and that demining would be an early priority. Mr. Zelensky also warned Russian soldiers and Ukrainian collaborators left behind in

Kelly Wins Arizona Race



Democratic Sen. Mark Kelly, above, defeated GOP opponent Blake Masters, according to the Associated Press. **A4**

Disney Tightens Belt And Signals Layoffs

By ROBBIE WHELAN

Walt Disney Co. Chief Executive Bob Chapek announced companywide cost-cutting measures on Friday and told division leaders that layoffs are likely, according to an internal memo viewed by The Wall Street Journal. The austerity measures, which include a ban on all but essential work travel and a freeze on new hires for all but a few critical positions, come days after Disney reported lackluster quarterly earnings and a \$1.5 billion quarterly loss at its streaming business,

significantly wider than Wall Street analysts had predicted. In the memo, which was addressed to all executives at the senior vice president level or above, Mr. Chapek said a task force, led by finance chief Christine McCarthy and general counsel Horacio Gutierrez, would review marketing, content and administrative spending across the entire company and recommend cuts. "I'm fully aware this will be a difficult process for many of you and your teams," Mr. Chapek said in the memo. "We are going to have to make tough

In Days, FTX Chief Went From Golden Boy to Villain

Sam Bankman-Fried's downfall casts shadow on broader use of crypto

By GREGORY ZUCKERMAN
AND ALEXANDER OSIPOVICH

In a matter of days, Sam Bankman-Fried has gone from crypto hero to villain. His billion-dollar fortune has collapsed. He is facing Justice Department and Securities and Exchange Commis-

sion investigations. His firm, FTX, is bankrupt, and with it many hopes for the future of crypto itself. An outwardly genial 30-year-old commonly referred to as SBF, Mr. Bankman-Fried was until this week the industry's leading champion. His

SoftBank Logs Profit Despite Startup Losses

By MEGUMI FUJIKAWA
AND ELIOT BROWN

TOKYO—Masayoshi Son's SoftBank Group Corp. posted a profit of more than \$21 billion last quarter after it aggressively unwound its stake in e-commerce giant Alibaba Group Holding Ltd.

The enormous gain, reported in SoftBank's earnings Friday, interrupted two quarters of losses and more than offset the continued negative impact of SoftBank's other tech holdings. The shift away from Alibaba leaves SoftBank increasingly reliant on its startup investment unit, the Vision Fund, where losses continue to deepen. The unit posted a \$10 billion loss in the three months through September. That was due partly to slumping shares of companies including WeWork Inc., real-estate brokerage Compass Inc. and DoorDash Inc., as well as

its holdings of private startups that have fallen in value more gradually. SoftBank took a \$5.8 billion markdown on its holdings of more than 300 startups, which include companies in an array of areas including biotech, autonomous driving and cryptocurrency. SoftBank's chief financial officer said Friday the company had an investment of about \$100 million in FTX. Multiple FTX investors have said they expect the value is now zero as the cryptocurrency exchange is seeking billions of dollars in rescue financing. Problems in the Vision Fund were overshadowed by the Alibaba sell-down, however. Exiting much of its Alibaba stake marks the end of an era for Mr. Son. SoftBank led a

For Seahawks, Germany Feels Like Home

NFL game in Munich thrills diehard local fans

By DAVID UBERTI

Like many Germans, Lukas Spiess loves football. Like a lot fewer Germans, he means the American kind, and the Seattle Seahawks in particular. He likes the Seahawks so much that he flew nearly 5,200 miles from Stuttgart to Seattle to take in the spectacle of his team's season opener in September. "It's very different from the classic European sports event," he said, pointing to extravagant pregame tailgating and opposing fans commingling in the stands. "Maybe there's a bit of smack talk," he

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HTSI EXPERT GIFT GUIDE

THE HOLIDAY
ISSUE

Crypto world rocked by fall of FTX empire

- \$32bn group files for bankruptcy
- Founder Bankman-Fried resigns

JOSHUA OLIVER, SCOTT CHIPOLINA
AND NIKOU ASGARI — LONDON

The once high-flying cryptocurrency group FTX has filed for bankruptcy protection in the US, marking a stunning collapse of the \$32bn empire built by the colourful 30-year-old entrepreneur Sam Bankman-Fried.

The filing in Delaware federal court yesterday included the main FTX international exchange, its US crypto marketplace, Bankman-Fried's proprietary trading group Alameda Research and about 130 affiliated companies.

FTX's failure came after Bankman-Fried desperately sought billions of dollars this week to save the exchange after it was unable to meet a torrent of customer withdrawals in a run prompted by concerns over its financial health and links to Alameda.

The collapse of such a prominent group, which advertised during the US Super Bowl and whose shorts-sporting, charismatic founder was a leading donor to the Democratic party, has rocked the volatile crypto industry. Bitcoin dropped 5 per cent to a fresh two-year low of \$16,492 after the FTX bankruptcy was announced.

Changpeng Zhao, chief executive of rival exchange Binance, which first offered to rescue FTX then pulled out,

said the fall of FTX left crypto facing a financial crisis akin to 2008 and that more businesses could fail in its wake.

Bankman-Fried, who had boasted a \$24bn personal fortune and close links with Wall Street, resigned as FTX chief executive. John R Ray, a restructuring specialist who oversaw the Enron and Nortel Networks bankruptcy cases, will take the reins. "The FTX group has valuable assets that can only be effectively administered in an organised, joint process," Ray said.

In just over three years, FTX had secured a \$32bn valuation and wooed a roster of blue-chip investors, including Paradigm, SoftBank, Sequoia Capital and Singapore's Temasek. Venture capital firms Sequoia and Paradigm marked down their investment to zero.

The sprawling business empire run by a tight-knit group of longtime associates around Bankman-Fried, many of whom lived together in a penthouse in Nassau, Bahamas, has about 100,000 creditors and \$10bn-\$50bn of assets and liabilities, according to the filing.

The US Securities and Exchange Commission is investigating FTX, according to a person familiar with the matter.

Person in the news page 9
FTX collapse pages 12 & 13
Lex & Katie Martin page 18

Taste of freedom Kherson citizens rejoice in Russian troops' departure



Residents in Kherson celebrate the liberation of the city yesterday by posing for a Ukrainian soldier's selfie after Russian forces completed their withdrawal across the river Dnipro, sealing one of Kyiv's biggest victories since the February invasion. Report, page 6; FT View, page 8

World Cup special How to win the ultimate prize

LIFE & ARTS



Simon Schama

Hurrah for American democracy
OPINION



Cosy armchairs
Luke Edward Hall
HOUSE & HOME



Katie Martin on markets
Is this bounce the big one?
THE LONG VIEW



China relaxes quarantine rules even as new Covid cases hit highest since April

FT REPORTERS

China has eased coronavirus quarantine rules for close contacts and international travellers in the first relaxation of Xi Jinping's zero-Covid policy since the policy was reaffirmed at the Communist party congress last month.

The State Council, China's cabinet, pared the mandatory quarantine for close contacts of positive Covid-19 cases and overseas arrivals from seven days to five, while maintaining three further days of home isolation.

The latest changes also included ending the tracing of second-degree close contacts of confirmed positive cases.

China has remained an outlier on pandemic restrictions, persevering with Xi's zero-Covid playbook of locking down buildings, suburbs or entire cities,

as well as mass testing, quarantine and electronic contact tracing.

Speculation surged in recent weeks that Beijing was considering a more significant relaxation, despite Xi's administration consistently signalling that it would prioritise protecting the health of China's 1.4bn people over the damage wrought by the curbs on the world's second-biggest economy.

China reported more than 10,000 new Covid-19 cases yesterday, the highest daily tally since late April when Shanghai was in the throes of a heavy-handed two-month lockdown.

Guangzhou, the capital of the southern manufacturing hub Guangdong, is now teetering on the brink of a citywide lockdown with millions of residents subject to mass testing and home isolation to try to curb a worsening outbreak.

The city of almost 19m people reported

2,824 new local cases for Thursday.

The policy tweaks came after the Politburo Standing Committee, led by Xi, met on Thursday and reaffirmed the zero-Covid strategy while promising to optimise its implementation.

Bruce Pang, chief economist for greater China at JLL, warned against a "too optimistic" reading of Beijing's easing. "China's Covid policy will only be fine-tuned in the short term with the focus shifting between eliminating cases and making more precise measures," he said, adding that China's leaders had reiterated that the policy changes should not be "misread" as a reopening.

In June, China halved the quarantine requirement for international arrivals to one week and reduced the home self-isolation period to three days.

Edward White in Seoul, William Langley in Hong Kong and Ryan McMorris in Beijing



Murdoch sours on Trump for new favourite DeSantis

The Republicans' disappointing results in the US midterms has led to a schism between Donald Trump and Rupert Murdoch, with the mogul's media empire calling the ex-president a "loser". Trump tweeted: "News Corp, which is Fox, the Wall Street Journal, and the no longer great New York Post... is all in for Governor Ron DeSantis, an average REPUBLICAN Governor with great Public Relations." Affections stray — PAGE 3
FT Big Read — PAGE 7

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World Markets

| STOCK MARKETS | | | | CURRENCIES | | | | GOVERNMENT BONDS | | | |
|------------------|----------|----------|-------|------------|---------|---------|-------|------------------|--------|-------|-------|
| | Nov 11 | Prev | %Chg | Pair | Nov 11 | Prev | %Chg | | Nov 11 | Prev | %Chg |
| S&P 500 | 3960.17 | 3966.37 | 0.10 | \$/£ | 1.033 | 1.016 | 1.6% | US 2 yr | 4.32 | 4.34 | -0.02 |
| Nasdaq Composite | 11202.89 | 11114.15 | 0.79 | \$/€ | 1.178 | 1.168 | 0.8% | US 10 yr | 3.82 | 3.85 | -0.03 |
| Dow Jones Ind | 33476.48 | 33715.37 | -0.71 | \$/¥ | 0.877 | 0.872 | 0.6% | UK 2 yr | 4.66 | 4.11 | 0.06 |
| FTSEurofirst 300 | 1700.82 | 1704.26 | -0.04 | \$/₹ | 130.665 | 141.565 | -8.4% | UK 10 yr | 3.19 | 3.14 | 0.05 |
| Euro Stoxx 50 | 3670.58 | 3696.56 | -0.02 | \$/₹ | 162.777 | 165.267 | -1.5% | GER 2 yr | 3.26 | 3.29 | -0.03 |
| FTSE 100 | 7318.04 | 7375.34 | -0.78 | \$/₹ | 0.977 | 0.965 | 1.2% | UK 30 yr | 3.49 | 3.40 | 0.09 |
| FTSE All-Share | 4036.84 | 4054.69 | -0.44 | \$/₹ | 0.977 | 0.965 | 1.2% | JPN 2 yr | -0.07 | -0.06 | -0.01 |
| CAC 40 | 6594.82 | 6596.93 | 0.03 | \$/₹ | 162.777 | 165.267 | -1.5% | JPN 10 yr | 0.23 | 0.24 | -0.01 |
| Xinhua Daxi | 14224.86 | 14146.09 | 0.56 | \$/₹ | 162.777 | 165.267 | -1.5% | JPN 30 yr | 1.43 | 1.51 | -0.08 |
| Nikkei | 26263.57 | 27148.10 | -2.36 | \$/₹ | 162.777 | 165.267 | -1.5% | GER 2 yr | 2.18 | 1.98 | 0.20 |
| Hang Seng | 17325.66 | 16981.04 | 2.74 | \$/₹ | 162.777 | 165.267 | -1.5% | GER 10 yr | 2.15 | 2.01 | 0.15 |
| MSCI World \$ | 2636.55 | 2598.77 | 1.49 | \$/₹ | 162.777 | 165.267 | -1.5% | GER 30 yr | 2.11 | 1.99 | 0.12 |
| MSCI EM \$ | 889.60 | 900.32 | -1.19 | \$/₹ | 162.777 | 165.267 | -1.5% | | | | |
| MSCI ACWI \$ | 607.66 | 582.21 | 4.37 | \$/₹ | 162.777 | 165.267 | -1.5% | | | | |
| FT Wilshire 2000 | 5118.63 | 4971.89 | 2.79 | \$/₹ | 162.777 | 165.267 | -1.5% | | | | |
| FT Wilshire 5000 | 40228.27 | 38960.17 | 3.20 | \$/₹ | 162.777 | 165.267 | -1.5% | | | | |

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DEMOCRATS HOLD THE SENATE WITH NEVADA WIN



HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS Kherson, Ukraine, on Saturday. Despite the city's joy, there was no heat, water or electricity. Page 8.

Ukraine Signals No Slowdown During Winter

By CARLOTTA GALL

As jubilant Ukrainian troops hoist their national flag over Kherson after a comprehensive Russian retreat, they give no sign of stopping their offensives for the winter, or allowing the war to settle into a stalemate.

In the east, Ukrainian forces continue to grind forward and have repelled repeated Russian efforts to seize towns like Bakhmut and Pavlivka, reportedly killing hundreds of Russian soldiers. In the south, they are striking deep behind Russian lines, hitting Moscow's troops before they can settle and build defenses on the eastern bank of the Dniester River, across from Kherson.

And there are growing hints from troops on the ground, and volunteers close to them, that the Ukrainians are preparing for a new land offensive between those two fronts, south through the Zaporizhzhia region toward Melitopol, challenging Russia's hold on the entire southern area that it seized in the invasion that began in February.

"The logic of war is not to pause and somehow continue to move forward," said Senior Lt. Andriy Mikheichenko, a commander of an anti-tank unit defending the embattled town of Bakhmut, in the eastern Donbas region. "I think there will be counterattacks."

Continued on Page 10

U.K. Legal Tactic Unevenly Hits Black People

By JANE BRADLEY

MANCHESTER, England — The United Kingdom's highest court delivered what seemed like a major victory for civil liberties in 2016, ruling that prosecutors had overreached for decades in using a tactic that sent hundreds of people to prison for life — for murders committed by others.

Defense lawyers, academics and activists had waged a decade-long legal battle, arguing that these so-called joint enterprise cases were unfair and racially biased. They rejoiced at the Supreme Court decision — heralded as historic in headlines around the country — and expected a sharp drop in prosecutions, as well as scores of overturned convictions.

Six years later, none of that has happened.

Rather than be constrained by the ruling, senior prosecutors

Despite Ruling, Group Prosecutions Persist

have quietly devised strategies to keep bringing joint enterprise cases and winning convictions. New data, obtained by The New York Times through public records requests, reveals that the Crown Prosecution Service, the national prosecutor, has actually stepped up the pace of such prosecutions since the ruling — even as the homicide rate remained largely stable.

"The C.P.S. said: 'Don't worry. It's not going to be this radical change,'" said Simon Harding, a senior detective who ran a homicide unit at London's Metropolitan Police until 2021. "By the time all the questions had been asked, it was business as usual."

The zealous use of these prosecutions is one example of how British leaders from both parties have pursued criminal justice policies that have disproportionately punished Black people. Black defendants are three times as likely as white defendants to be prosecuted for homicide as a group of four or more — a widely accepted measure of joint enterprise cases — according to the new data.

Joint enterprise itself is not a charge. Rather, it is a legal principle that gives prosecutors the power to charge multiple people with a single crime. It became notorious more than a decade ago in a string of highly publicized cases. In one, a teenager was imprisoned and then deported for a murder he did not even witness, much less carry out. In another, a partly blind 16-year-old, who said he

Continued on Page 12

Trump's Grasp On the G.O.P. Poses Conflict

By LISA LERER
and REID J. EPSTEIN

Before the votes are even fully counted in the 2022 midterm election, Republicans are starting to face a decision: Do they stick with Donald J. Trump into 2024 or leave him behind?

For seven years, in office and out, before and after his supporters overran the Capitol, Mr. Trump has exerted a gravitational pull on the party's base, and through it, the country's politics, no matter how hard lawmakers, strategists, officials and even his own vice president tried to escape his orbit.

Now, after a string of midterm losses by candidates Mr. Trump supported, there are signs of another Republican effort to inch the party away from the former president ahead of his expected announcement on Tuesday of another run for the White House — even as his allies on Capitol Hill demand new acts of fealty to him.

It has not escaped Republicans that last week represented the third consecutive political cycle in which Democrats ran with considerable success against the polarizing former president. While they rarely spoke his name, Mr. Trump formed the background music to their attacks asserting that the Republican Party had grown too extreme.

He was featured in their fundraising solicitations and made cameos in their television ads.

The party even meddled in Republican primaries to help Trump-aligned candidates. Democratic leaders thought would be easier to beat. Democrats won each of those races.

The tactics helped Democrats cast the election not as a referendum on the current, unpopular president, President Biden, but on an even more unpopular ex-president and his allies. It is a strategy they will try again next month in Georgia, where Senator Raphael Warnock faces a runoff contest against Herschel Walker, a Republican pushed from pro-football retirement by Mr. Trump. Already, some are looking beyond that race, dreaming of a 2024 con-

Continued on Page 23

Control of the House Remains Unclear

By JONATHAN WEISSMAN

Democrats sealed control of the Senate on Saturday as Senator Catherine Cortez Masto of Nevada narrowly defeated Adam Laxalt, a Republican former state attorney general, a decisive moment in an extraordinary midterm election in which Democrats defied historical patterns and predictions of major losses.

Control of the House has still not been decided, several days after an Election Day that fell short of predictions that Republicans would sweep to power in Washington in a repudiation of President Biden's leadership. Though Republicans still have an edge in capturing the House, the majority would certainly be small.

But with Ms. Cortez Masto's victory in Nevada, Democrats have nailed down the 50 seats they need to retain control of the upper chamber, a major feat considering that voters typically punish the president's party during the midterms.

The Democratic victory will bolster Mr. Biden's political capital as he moves toward a possible bid for a second term. Even if Republicans do take the House, he will be able to stock the judiciary with his nominees and will be insulated from politically freighted G.O.P. legislation. And Democrats will be free to mount their own investigations to counter the threatened onslaught from a Republican-controlled lower chamber.

"I feel good, and I'm looking for-

Continued on Page 24



SENATOR CATERINE CORTAZ MASTO HAS WON RE-ELECTION.

The Wipeout That Wasn't: How Midterms Got So Tight

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

Late one mid-September evening, the leaders of the House Democratic campaign arm were in the middle of a marathon meeting, grappling with an increasingly hostile midterm landscape. Two choices were on the table: a more defensive posture to limit their losses in the face of a potential red wave or a more aggressive approach in hopes of saving their paper-thin majority.

Leftover Chinese food was strewn about. The hour approached midnight. The decision was made. They would go all in for the majority — the pundits, polling and punishing political environment be damned. Representative Sean Patrick Maloney, the chairman of the group, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, walked to the whiteboard and scrawled a single word: BELIEVE.

The man who made that Ted Lasso-style exhortation went

down to defeat on Tuesday. And Democrats are still facing the likelihood of ceding control of the House of Representatives to Republicans, no matter their morale-building exercises.

Yet Democrats turned in the strongest midterm showing in two decades for a party holding the White House, keeping the House on such a razor's edge that control is still up for grabs days after the polls closed. In the Senate, Democrats not only defended their 50-50 control, after the Nevada Senate race was called late Saturday, but even have a path to expand it if the party prevails in a Georgia runoff. And the party won several key governorships, too.

The breadth of success caught even the most optimistic corners of the party by surprise. House Republicans had planned a big victory party on Tuesday, while Speaker Nancy Pelosi was hun-

Continued on Page 22

Internal Papers Show How Close F.B.I. Came to Using Spyware

By MARK MAZZETTI
and RONEN BERGMAN

WASHINGTON — During a closed-door session with lawmakers last December, Christopher A. Wray, the director of the F.B.I., was asked whether the bureau had ever purchased and used Pegasus, the hacking tool that pene-

trates mobile phones and extracts their contents.

Mr. Wray acknowledged that the F.B.I. had bought a license for Pegasus, but only for research and development. "To be able to figure out how bad guys could use it, for example," he told Senator Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon, according to a transcript of the hearing that was declassified.

But dozens of internal F.B.I. documents and court records tell a different story. The documents, produced in response to a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit brought by The New York Times against the bureau, show that F.B.I. officials made a push in late 2020 and the first half of 2021 to deploy the hacking tools — made by the Israeli spyware firm NSO

— in its own criminal investigations. The officials developed advanced plans to brief the bureau's leadership, and drew up guidelines for federal prosecutors about how the F.B.I.'s use of hacking tools would need to be disclosed during criminal proceedings.

It is unclear how the bureau was contemplating using Pega-

Continued on Page 19

INTERNATIONAL 4-14

Erosion of Egypt's Antiquities

The effects of global warming on the country's monuments are already striking, amplifying centuries of destructive human impact. PAGE 4

ARTS & LEISURE

Growing Up Spielberg

Making his autobiographical film "The Fabelmans," the director confronted some painful family secrets, and what it means to be Jewish in America. PAGE 12

SUNDAY STYLES

An Anchor Amid Turbulence

Judy Woodruff, called "the last grown-up in Washington journalism" for her objectivity and restraint, prepares to sign off from "PBS NewsHour." PAGE 14

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Burlington's Bicycle Hunters

A search for stolen bikes put citizens and business owners in Vermont's biggest city in the center of a debate about policing and crime. PAGE 1

SUNDAY OPINION

Ezra Klein

PAGE 6



THE SHOW OF A LIFETIME

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DEMOCRATS HOLD SENATE

Nevada incumbent's victory cements party control as House remains undecided



ELECTION workers look over ballots at the Maricopa County vote counting center in Phoenix. GINA FERRAZZI Los Angeles Times

In Arizona, election officials rebuff 'Big Lie' and littler lies

Slow and steady count faces an uphill battle amid conspiracy theories

By ARIT JOHN

PHOENIX — Republican Kari Lake could still catch up to Democrat Katie Hobbs in Arizona's contentious race for governor.

Election workers continue to tabulate ballots in several counties, including Maricopa, the state's most popu-

lous and vote-rich. Officials have asked for patience, stressing in daily news conferences that the process is unfolding at a normal pace and in accordance with the law.

But that hasn't stopped a barrage of increasingly cynical conspiracy theories from some Republicans, including former President Trump, who has endorsed and campaigned with

Lake.

For days, the former president has railed against Arizona elections after outlets projected Friday that Trump-backed Senate candidate Blake Masters lost to incumbent Sen. Mark Kelly. He also took aim at Nevada, where Democratic incumbent Sen. Catherine Cortez Masto was projected to

[See Arizona, A12]

By MELANIE MASON
AND SEEMA MEHTA

Sen. Catherine Cortez Masto, a Nevada Democrat, ensured her party will keep control of the Senate after she defeated Republican Adam Laxalt, the state's former attorney general.

The race was called Saturday by the Associated Press. Meanwhile, control of the U.S. House of Representatives remains too close to call, underscoring how Democrats continue to outperform expectations and deny the GOP's hopes for a sizable majority.

A jubilant Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) said the results were "a victory and a vindication" for his party, speaking Saturday evening at a hastily convened New York news conference. He credited the quality of Democratic candidates, the party's legislative agenda and an electorate that rejected "antidemocratic, extremist MAGA Republicans."

"Contrast our candidates with some of the people they

ran against. Our strong candidates beat some very flawed challengers who had no faith in democracy, no fidelity in truth or honor, and even when the polls looked bleak, our candidates never gave up and never lost faith," Schumer said. "As the MAGA Republicans stoked fear and division, Democrats were talking about how we delivered on issues that matter to people."

President Biden, with his party holding the Senate, preserves his ability to have judicial nominees and Cabinet secretaries confirmed. The president received news of Democrats' Senate success while in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, where he is attending the Assn. of Southeast Asian Nations summit.

"I feel good and I'm looking forward to the next couple of years," he said. He expressed hope that his party would also claim the House, but acknowledged that "it's a stretch, where everything has to fall our way."

Ronald Klain, Biden's chief of staff, celebrated on [See Senate, A10]



SEN. CATHERINE CORTEZ MASTO on Tuesday with Nevada Gov. Steve Sisolak, who lost his race. ANNA MOHREYMAKER Getty Images

All eyes on Biden, Xi ahead of G-20

The White House is focused on a chance to 'build a floor for the relationship.'

By COURTNEY SUBRAMANIAN
AND STEPHANIE YANG

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia — Last November, President Biden and Chinese President Xi Jinping emerged from a virtual meeting determined to chart a new path that would prevent the two superpowers from spiraling into an open conflict.

But a year later, as the two presidents prepare to meet in person for the first time since Biden took office, Washington and Beijing remain in a diplomatic and economic standoff. On Monday, Biden and Xi will meet on the sidelines of the Group of 20 summit and again try to repair the world's most important bilateral relationship.

The two leaders are likely to offer a familiar refrain about prioritizing stability as they hash out their differences, analysts say. China and the U.S. have clashed over trade, climate change, human rights and Beijing's tacit support for Russia's war in Ukraine.

The two superpowers are also fundamentally at odds over the subject of Taiwan. Disputes over the status of [See China, A4]



A BULL goes over rider Elliot Jacoby at the Clovis Rodeo near Fresno in 2012. Rodeos are in the crosshairs of municipal lawmakers across California. JOHN WALKER FRESNO Bee

Across state, growing push to buck rodeos

Activists decry events' 'animal abuse.' Supporters say the 'culture wars' have come for the pastime.

By SUSANNE RUST

Earlier this fall, Alameda County supervisors officially banned the practice of "wild cow milking" — a timed event in which a lactating beef cow, unused to human handling, has been wrangled from the fields and brought to an arena.

There, she is separated from her calf, tossed into a rodeo ring, and attacked by three or four men who rope her, pull her tail, wrestle her to the ground and try to hold her still while one of them grabs her teats and milks her.

The move comes three years after the county banned "mutton busting" — an event in which small children are placed on

the backs of scared, unsaddled sheep and try to stay on while the sheep bucks, kicks and jumps to knock the child off.

"It's animal abuse," said Eric Mills, coordinator for Oakland's Action for Animals, an animal welfare organization. "It's unconscionable to treat animals this way. Can you imagine if they did this to dogs? No one would be OK with it. So why is it OK to do this to baby calves, horses and cows?"

For those who admire a "western lifestyle," a good rodeo performance highlights the skill, bravery and strength of a talented cowboy or cowgirl — a rider deft [See Rodeos, A11]

What part did 'Capt. Hollywood' play in complaint?

Cory Palka, an LAPD veteran who mingled with celebrities, is under scrutiny in Moonves assault case.

By RICHARD WINTON
AND MEG JAMES

Known around the Los Angeles Police Department as "Capt. Hollywood," Cory Palka played the part.

Tall and telegenic, the former police commander scored bit parts in Amazon Prime Video's detective drama "Bosch." He was a regular at Hollywood Boulevard star dedication cere-

monies, where he mingled with such celebrities as Jack Black, Seth MacFarlane and Lynda Carter. He was once honored as a "Hero of Hollywood" by the Chamber of Commerce and picked up a lucrative off-duty assignment as a bodyguard for CBS' former chief, Leslie Moonves.

His actions now are under scrutiny after New York Atty. Gen. Letitia James recently revealed that five years ago, Palka tipped off CBS executives to the existence of a confidential complaint alleging Moonves sexually assaulted a co-worker in the 1980s. Palka, then captain of the LAPD's Hollywood station, [See Palka, A14]

Police officers get to work in freed Kherson

Ukrainian security forces coordinate to keep civilians in the city safe after Russia's withdrawal. **WORLD, A3**

Coronavirus cases rising as few get boosters

Only 12% of Los Angeles County residents have received the updated COVID-19 vaccine. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Weather

Some sun. L.A. Basin: 68/49. **B10**

Oil giants pull plug on assets

Sales of California oil wells raise concerns about oversight of idle and orphaned fields. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

A Trojan who's irreplaceable

USC will miss Travis Dye, who left Friday's game with an injury, beyond his on-field impact. **SPORTS, D1**

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J. Edgar Hoover, in full A nuanced biography reveals the man behind the cruelty **BOOK WORLD**



Pondering doomsday The existential threats are piling up. Can humans meet the challenge? **MAGAZINE**



Epic trip through Germany A sketch artist illustrates his path from Munich to Berlin **TRAVEL**

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Democracy Dies in Darkness

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Joy and pain in liberated Kherson

Celebration is clouded by grim reminders of trauma, lost loved ones

BY MICHAEL E. MILLER AND ANASTACIA GALOUCHKA

KHERSON, UKRAINE — After more than eight months of occupation, this weary city pulsed with joy.

Scores of people flooded to Kherson's central square on Saturday afternoon, less than 24 hours after the last Russian soldiers fled, surrendering this regional capital in a stunning setback to Russian President Vladimir Putin's war goals. A boombox blared techno music. Couples kissed and strangers hugged. Young men stood on top of cars, waving Ukrainian flags.

"We are so happy, despite all our struggles," said Olga Malakh, 55, who was near tears as she stood in the central square. "We have lived through so much, but we will rebuild."

But for others here, their struggles were too much to set aside, and it was clear many were just beginning to deal with the trauma, including the deaths and disappearances of loved ones.

Lyubov Obozna's 28-year-old son, Dmytro, had been snatched by Russian security agents on Aug. 3 in front of his two young children. More than three months later, she still doesn't know his whereabouts though she believes he is alive.

Amid the sea of happiness around her, Obozna, 61, stood ashen-faced, holding her 6-year-old grandson's hand. "We don't know where he is," she said.

Again and again, people stepped out of the celebrating crowd to say that a loved one was missing, or that they themselves had been detained, interrogated, tortured.

After weeks of silence from Kherson, where the occupying Russian forces had cut off almost all communication, people were now starting to tell their stories. And like in many other liberated areas, a hunt for Russian "agents."

SEE UKRAINE ON A21

Enemy within: In liberated areas, a hunt for Russian "agents." **A20**

Democrats keep control of the Senate



Sen. Mark Kelly (D-Ariz.) hugs his wife, former congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords, after a victory speech Saturday in Phoenix. Democratic operatives spent millions on state legislative races, including in Arizona, where the outcome remained too close to call.

At the state level, party plants a blue flag

BY MOLLY HENNESSY-FISKE AND PAUL KANE

After years of watching Republicans dominate in down-ballot races, Democrats turned the tables to their own advantage in the midterm elections, flipping some legislative chambers from GOP control and blocking efforts to create veto-proof majorities in others.

In Pennsylvania, where votes continued to be counted, Democrats are on the precipice of taking control of the state House for the first time since 2008. Democrats also won

Michigan's House and Senate, as well as the Minnesota Senate. The reelection victories for Govs. Gretchen Whitmer (Mich.) and Tim Walz (Minn.) give Democrats total control over those two states — for the first time in Michigan since after the 1982 election.

If the early results hold up in states where some races remain undetermined, Democrats will not have lost control of a single legislature that they previously held, a feat not accomplished by the president's party during a midterm election since 1934.

The victories blunted Republican plans to push further restrictions on abortion, transgender rights, school curriculums and spending, and in some states expanded Democrats' possibilities of passing their own priorities.

Among the newly elected in districts that were key to the Democratic surge in Pennsylvania's House was Tim Brennan, who previously served as a Democratic House member.

SEE MIDTERMS ON A10

As Trump takes heat, DeSantis seizes spotlight

BY HANNAH KNOWLES AND TIM CRAIG

As Republicans lashed out at Donald Trump for elevating candidates who fell short in key elections this past week, the GOP's big midterm winner, Ron DeSantis, started consolidating support. Allies seized on the moment to position the Florida governor for 2024. "We have rewritten the political map," DeSantis declared on the

night of his resounding victory.

One operative unaffiliated with DeSantis's campaign resurrected a super PAC designed to boost a presidential bid, once tabled in the belief that Trump's march to the GOP nomination would be unstoppable. An outside adviser to DeSantis recounted getting numerous calls from donors with the same message: "Ron needs to run."

Now, DeSantis's landslide win in an

election year that left former president Trump and other top Republicans politically wounded will probably accelerate the governor's decision-making about 2024, according to the outside adviser, who like others interviewed for this story spoke on the condition of anonymity to share private conversations.

DeSantis has emerged empowered from midterms that delivered many GOP defeats

SEE DESANTIS ON A6

Arizona: In massive Maricopa County, popular early ballots result in a lengthy vote count. **A8**

CORTEZ MASTO HOLDS NEVADA SEAT

Result is major victory for President Biden

BY HANNAH KNOWLES AND LIZ GOODWIN

Democrats were projected to retain control of the Senate on Saturday, clinching a narrow majority as they showed strength in battleground races in a daunting midterm year that handed President Biden a major victory as he looks to his next two years in office.

The final blow to Republican hopes of retaking the chamber came in Nevada, where on Saturday Sen. Catherine Cortez Masto (D) was projected to win reelection, edging past Republican Adam Laxalt, a former state attorney general. Cortez Masto's projected win ensures Democrats a 50th seat, with a runoff election still to come in Georgia on Dec. 6 that could pad their slim majority. With 97 percent of the vote in, Cortez Masto led by half a percentage point.

Control of the House was still up in the air on Saturday, as vote counting continued days after an election that started with Democrats expected to sustain heavy losses, since midterm elections have historically favored the party out of power. But Democrats have held their ground and even made some gains in many key contests, leaving many Republicans unnerved. In winning back control of the Senate, they dashed GOP hopes of a full takeover on Capitol Hill.

The welcome news for Biden, who was staring down the possibility of humiliating defeats as the election neared. Now, the Senate, which oversees the confirmation of executive branch personnel and federal judges, will stay in his party's corner. A Senate majority will also give the president and his party more say over legislative debates on domestic and foreign spending and other major issues.

"I feel good, and I'm looking forward to the next couple years," Biden told reporters. He capped Cortez Masto and Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) to congratulate them from Cambodia, where he is heading a summit of Asian nations, according to the White House.

Schumer called the results a "vindication" for Democrats and

SEE SENATE ON A4

DNA yields suspect in family's long-ago terror

Nearly 20 years after break-in nightmare, a detective knocks on the door: 'I know who did it'

BY DAN MORSE

The family rarely spoke about the night almost 20 years ago when armed strangers burst into their Maryland apartment.

"Where's the money?" the men demanded. Unable to get the answer they wanted, they bound and gagged the dad in duct tape, beat him, pressed a flame-heated knife to his neck and poured bleach over the wounds. His wife and children — 4 and 6 — were forced at gunpoint into a back closet, where the older child was told to translate a message into Spanish to his mom: "If you scream, if you do anything loud, I will kill your husband."

The terror lasted three hours, as the three intruders rifled through dresser drawers, cut through sofa cushions and popped open a ceiling vent — looking for cash that wasn't there. Then, just like that, the men slipped away.

The family, to some extent, moved on as well. The children excelled in school. Mom cleaned homes and cared for older relatives.

SEE COLD CASE ON A30



Adalberto's hands still bear the scars of being tortured inside his apartment in 2003 by three armed intruders looking for cash they wrongly believed he had.

Intelligence finds UAE meddled in U.S. politics

Key gulf ally attempted to steer U.S. foreign policy in its favor, report says

BY JOHN HUDSON

U.S. intelligence officials have compiled a classified report detailing extensive efforts to manipulate the American political system by the United Arab Emirates, an influential, oil-rich nation in the Persian Gulf long considered a close and trusted partner.

The activities covered in the report, described to The Washington Post by three people who have read it, include illegal and legal attempts to steer U.S. foreign policy in ways favorable to the Arab autocracy. It reveals the UAE's bid, spanning multiple U.S.

administrations, to exploit the vulnerabilities in American governance, including its reliance on campaign contributions, susceptibility to powerful lobbying firms and lax enforcement of disclosure laws intended to guard against interference by foreign governments, these people said.

Each spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss classified information. The document was compiled by the National Intelligence Council and briefed to top U.S. policymakers in recent weeks to guide their decision-making related to the Middle East and the UAE, which enjoys outsized influence in Washington. The report is remarkable in that it focuses on the influence operations of a friendly nation rather than an adversarial power such as Russia, China or Iran. It is also uncommon.

SEE REPORT ON A17

ARTS E3
BOOK WORLD E6
BUSINESS B1

CLASSIFIEDS C10
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STOCKS C6

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WORLD NEWS A36

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USA TODAY WEEKEND


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Costner buttons up as governor

Hollywood maverick talks personal politics and taking office in "Yellowstone." **In Life**

JORDAN STRAUSS/INVISION/AP



Chance for Pelicans to move up

After missing season with foot injury, Zion Williamson's return is highly anticipated. **In Sports**

ANDREW WEVERS/USA TODAY SPORTS



'Difficult times ahead,' Musk warns

Twitter owner ends work from home policy, tells staff sluggish economy would impact advertising revenue. **In Money**

BARON CAPITAL VIA AP

Inflation eases, but not by much

Dip to 7.7% could signal prices have peaked

Medora Lee and Elisabeth Buchwald
USA TODAY

Inflation eased slightly last month but was still too high for comfort. Annual inflation is 7.7%, down from September's 8.2%. The so-called core rate that excludes the volatile food and energy sectors is up 6.3%, just a hair below the prior month's 6.6%, which was the highest since August 1982. Economists expected, on average, an 8% headline rate and 6.5% core rate. The declines are so small that consumers may not feel much relief in day-to-day life, but in the overall inflation fight, the declines might signal that at least the worst is over. If data in the weeks ahead confirm prices are stabilizing and the economy — particularly the resilient labor market — is cooling, the Federal Reserve's plan to slow the pace of rate hikes could come as early as December. But the Fed's job is far from over. Inflation remains far from the Fed's 2% goal, which means Americans should prepare for the Fed to keep raising its short-term benchmark fed funds rate into next year, economists say.

The markets like the news

Stocks mounted their biggest rally since 2020 off the better-than-expected inflation data. The Dow Jones Industrial Average rocketed 1,201.43 points, or 3.7%. The S&P 500 jumped 5.54%, and the Nasdaq surged 7.35%.

What's more expensive?

Unfortunately, much of what households use every day. Energy rose 1.8%, reversing some of the declines of earlier months, and remains a wild card heading into winter. "Energy has been a mixed bag, with gasoline prices having declined in recent weeks but heating oil rising."

See **INFLATION**, Page 3A



President Joe Biden, with first lady Jill Biden at an event at Howard Theatre in Washington on Thursday, had been widely expected to face a severe setback in his party's midterm elections Tuesday. ANDREW HARNIK/AP

Republicans' 'red wave' actually lifts Joe Biden

More election coverage

A visual explainer of where the vote stands, state-by-state congressional results and, in one Pennsylvania county, an up-close look at the power of the swing vote. **In Weekend Extra**



One Pennsylvania town may tell the midterm story

His history-defying midterm boost comes amid some still-choppy waters

Maureen Groppe and Joey Garrison
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Joe Biden defied midterm headwinds in an improbable election Tuesday as Democrats held off a Republican "red wave" that many strategists predicted, giving the president unexpected momentum as he weighs whether to run for reelection. Although control of both chambers was still unclear, Democrats could keep control of the Senate and still have a path to keep the House, a scenario viewed as a long shot before the election amid voters' concerns about the economy and inflation. Legislative gridlock. Possible gov-

ernment shutdowns. GOP investigations. Those are still in play in a possible Republican-led House. But Democrats displayed surprising strength in races throughout the country, exceeding expectations and boosting Biden on a night when most pundits predicted a setback. "So far there have been a few — if any — surprises breaking in the direction of Republicans, whereas there have been surprises breaking in the direction of Democrats," said Duke University professor Asher Hildebrand. The outcome seemed to validate Biden framing the election as a battle for

See **BIDEN**, Page 2A

Box holds secret to veteran's early death

Keepsakes and a faded certificate bring home the realization that US gambled with Navy man's health

Matthew Korfhage
USA TODAY NETWORK

Just months after he lost his sister to cancer in 2019, Tim Miller got a call from his grieving brother-in-law. There's a box you should have, his brother-in-law told him. The box had been left behind long ago by Miller's father, who had died at an untimely age some 42 years earlier — a death that had haunted his family and changed the course of Miller's life. Though they didn't know it then, the box would reveal the secret behind that early death. For decades, this box had been passed around to different members of Miller's family. First it came to Miller's grandmother. Upon her death, the box

passed to his Aunt Mary. And then to his sister, Kathi. Whether any of them actually examined its contents, said a now-grizzled Miller, age 67 and sitting at his home just outside Rochester, New York — looking out over autumn leaves to the waters of the Irondequoit Bay — he still doesn't know. Inside the box was his dad's old sailor cap from World War II. A black-and-white photo of an unknown Indigenous woman, from a faraway tropical island. A snapshot of his father during the war, the only one Miller still has from those days, shoulder to shoulder with an old Navy buddy. And then, framed and placed under glass — with little wooden handles on each side like a harmless tea tray — was a certificate that blew open Miller's

See **VETERANS**, Page 4A

National parks now free for vets every day

For Alexander Lofgren, experiencing nature and helping fellow veterans fueled his healing journey. Starting this Veterans Day, a new law in Lofgren's name will bridge his passions and grant veterans and Gold Star Families free lifetime access to national parks and public lands. Lofgren served four years in the Army and died last year. Interior Secretary Deb Haaland called the pass "a small demonstration of our nation's gratitude and support" for those who have served.

How to get passes, 5B



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USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

Younger journalists looking for unions

Amid a wide push by workers to organize, most news media employees are pro-union.

| Age Group | Already member | Would join if available |
|-----------|----------------|-------------------------|
| Overall | 16% | 41% |
| 18-29 | 20% | 57% |
| 30-49 | 18% | 45% |
| 50-64 | 14% | 33% |
| 65+ | 13% | 28% |

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

deportes

Una imagen distinta

Los Pumas, sin vuelo, cayeron con Gales

Tras la victoria sobre Inglaterra, les faltó mayor protagonismo en Cardiff: perdieron 20-13.



Cutí Romero, el guardián de los sueños argentinos en Qatar

El defensor es uno de los baluartes defensivos del equipo de Scaloni; su irrupción en la elite, la cotización en alza y su primer Mundial, en la mira. Página 2

"VOLARON" LOS PASAJES DE TREN CON TARIFA SUBSIDIADA

—sociedad

Se vendieron 50.000 tickets en 11 horas para viajar a Rosario, Tucumán y Córdoba; muchos cuestan menos que un viaje de 10 cuadras en taxi. Página 26

LA NACION

DOMINGO 13 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Las "cajas" del kirchnerismo esquivan el ajuste del gasto y suman recursos para 2023

PRESUPUESTO. Incluyen Anses, PAMI, Aerolíneas, Correo y la provincia de Buenos Aires

Laura Serra
LA NACION

Las partidas presupuestarias que controla el kirchnerismo, las más voluminosas del sector público, quedarán a salvo del ajuste del gasto que el Gobierno ejecutará el año próximo, incluidas las partidas sociales más sensibles. Según el presupuesto 2023, organismos claves como Anses, PAMI, Aerolíneas Argentinas, Enarsa, Correo Argentino, en su mayoría controlados por La Cámpora, no solo no tendrán recor-

tes, sino que, en algunos casos, tendrán aumentos que superan la inflación prevista, del 76%. Pese a que la vicepresidenta Cristina Kirchner y su hijo Máximo buscan tomar distancia de Alberto Fernández, en los hechos ambos siguen controlando los enclaves más importantes del Estado tanto en materia de gestión como en volumen de recursos. Continúa en la página 12

Fernández descarta el plus salarial que reclama Cristina Cecilia Devanna. Página 13

EL ESCENARIO

Una advertencia en el Gobierno

Jorge Liotti

—LA NACION—

Mariano Rajoy asintió cuando Mauricio Macri planteó que había que terminar con los populismos. Pero el expresidente español, con su verba tan pulida-

mente gallega, aclaró: "Es cierto, aunque hay que hacer el ordenamiento fiscal manteniendo los equilibrios y el sentido pragmático". Continúa en la página 14

EL ANÁLISIS

Cristina, muy cerca de romper todo

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

Una incesante sucesión de escándalos. Todos artificiales. Es el modo de vivir de Cristina Kirchner, que lo traslada al país cuando ella está en el poder. Serán estrépitos falsos —y lo son—, pero la vicepresidenta acaba de romper un estatuto implícito de la política desde 1983: los dirigentes podían disentir de las ideas y hasta de la ideología, pero nunca se acusaron de intentar asesinar al adversario. Cristina Kirchner acaba de acusar formalmente a dirigentes de Juntos por el Cambio (más precisamente a Patricia Bullrich, a través de la denuncia contra Gerardo Milman) de haber planificado el atentado contra ella que no sucedió. Esto es: acusó a la oposición de querer matarla. Continúa en la página 39



Los residentes de Kherson recibieron a los soldados ucranianos con flores y abrazos

METIN AKTAS/GETTY

Ucrania, confiada tras la liberación de Kherson

REPLIEGUE. "Estamos todos eufóricos". Con esas tres palabras, el presidente de Ucrania, Volodimir Zelensky, sintetizó el sentimiento triunfalista que se expandió por todo el país tras la

liberación de Kherson, la principal ciudad ocupada, que estaba en manos rusas desde el comienzo de la guerra. La reconquista llegó tras una larga y efectiva contraofensiva que, según anticipó Zelensky, con-

tinuará hasta liberar el Donbass y la península de Crimea. Las fuerzas de seguridad intentaban ayer extremar la seguridad tras la retirada de tropas rusas, que dejaron un campo minado detrás. Página 6

El invierno marca una nueva etapa en la guerra

Luisa Corradini. Página 6

Vialidad: se acortarían los plazos para la sentencia

CORRUPCIÓN. El fiscal del juicio de Vialidad contra la vicepresidenta Cristina Kirchner, Diego Luciani, responderá mañana a los planteos de nulidad que introdujeron abogados defensores, pero no haría lugar a réplicas. De este modo se podrían acortar los plazos del proceso previsto y avanzar hacia una sentencia en las próximas semanas en el caso en el que se investiga el presunto direccionamiento de obra pública hacia las empresas de Lázaro Báez. Página 22

Engaños y violencia adolescente en Tinder

VARIOS CASOS. Una joven seducía y desvalijaba a las víctimas. Página 32



Bruno Santos/Folhapress

JOVENS TRAVESTIS EXALTAM IDENTIDADE

A artista Flora de Barros, 18, identifica-se como travesti; historicamente associado a prostituição e violência, termo subverte padrões e vira símbolo de exaltação **Cotidiano B2**

Crise faz de classe C frustrada motor para o bolsonarismo

Estrato que subiu sob Lula adere a ideia de empreendedorismo e Estado menor

O estrato social que ascendeu nos anos Lula com a melhor distribuição de renda e o impulso ao consumo encolheu nos últimos anos e, ante a informalidade no trabalho e a perda de renda, viu-se seduzido pelo discurso pró-empresariamento e a defesa de um Estado menor de Jair Bolsonaro (PL).

A classe C se mostrou crucial para a votação expressiva do presidente, que perdeu para Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) pela margem mais estreita em pleitos presidenciais desde a redemocratização. Com poucas exceções, estados onde esse contingente social é maior votaram mais em Bolsonaro.

"Na classe C, 60% têm renda variável, com predominância na informalidade. O discurso do presidente tem mais aderência", diz o antropólogo Maurício de Almeida Prado, citando pesquisas que apontam individualismo e insatisfação com a combinação de crise econômica e escândalos sob o PT.

O sociólogo e cientista político Antonio Lavareda afirma haver relação causal, na cabeça de muitos eleitores, entre a corrupção apontada pela Operação Lava Jato e o empobrecimento da sociedade, algo que o presidente soube explorar: "É a grande explicação para a força do bolsonarismo". **Mercado A27**

BID ignora PT e mantém processo de eleição interna

Em nota, a instituição reafirmou que a seleção de seu novo presidente ocorrerá em 20 de novembro, a despeito de um pedido de adiamento por parte de integrantes do governo de transição petista, que buscam enfraquecer a candidatura do brasileiro Ilan Goldfajn. **Mercado A22**

Movimentos sociais esperam espaço no governo petista

Movimentos e organizações sociais que ajudaram a dar impulso à eleição de Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) se preparam agora para cobrar o governo por espaço e, eventualmente, defendê-lo, sobretudo diante da capacidade de articulação do bolsonarismo, que exige estado permanente de alerta.

UNE (União Nacional dos Estudantes), MST (movimento dos sem-terra), MTST (dos sem-teto) e CUT (Central Única dos Trabalhadores) esperam ser atendidos, e o Movimento Negro Unificado quer discussão permanente. A primeira gestão do petista mostrou, porém, o risco de fissuras. **Política A4**

Samuel Pessôa

Lula deveria estar mais preocupado

Tenho tido dificuldade em entender o discurso de "gasto é vida" de Lula. Ao sentar na cadeira do Planalto, o presidente enxergará um buraco fiscal de R\$ 200 bilhões. No entanto, Lula tem se esforçado para transformá-lo em um buraco de R\$ 300 bilhões a R\$ 400 bilhões! **Mercado A29**



O cantor e compositor Paulinho da Viola, que fez 80 anos ontem, durante pausa de ensaio em estúdio no bairro Botafogo, no Rio de Janeiro **Eduardo Anzelli/Folhapress**

Paulinho da Viola, 80

Revolucionário discreto do samba, cantor manteve os pés na tradição **C1**

7 em cada 10 vivem em países não democráticos

Enquanto a população mundial cresce, chegando à marca de 8 bilhões de habitantes que a ONU projeta para terça-feira (15), subia também a proporção daqueles que vivem sob regimes não plenamente democráticos. Hoje, 7 em cada 10 pessoas vivem em países assim. **Mundo A18**

Sob Bolsonaro, só 1 em 4 alunos do ensino público presta Enem

A proporção de alunos que concluíram o ensino médio em escolas públicas estaduais e fizeram o Enem caiu de 50% em 2019 para 26% em 2021. Já o percentual de estudantes que terminaram o ensino em instituições particulares se manteve em patamar alto, 72%. **Cotidiano B1**

Nazismo em escolas reflete autoritarismo naturalizado

EDITORIAIS A2
Coalizão para quê?
Acerca de negociações para a base de apoio a Lula.

Países estão longe de gerir clima, diz especialista

Governos não querem se comprometer além do que creem ser possível para reduzir gases-estufa. A avaliação é de Taryn Fransen, especialista em políticas climáticas. "Avançar por meio da implementação de políticas ambiciosas é uma parte realmente importante", afirma. **Ambiente B8**

MÔNICA BERGAMO

1ª mulher à frente da Medicina da USP quer manter médicos na saúde pública **C2**

esporte B10

CBF faz campanha para despolitizar uniforme da seleção

esporte B11

Russell vence e largará na frente no GP São Paulo de F1

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Pese a condena, hijo de OGD ocupa una banca en Junta Municipal de Luque

No avanzan en la Justicia casos de significativamente corruptos

No hay resolución judicial sobre Díaz Verón, Ulises Quintana, Horacio Cartes, Hugo Velázquez y Juan C. Duarte.

Emblemáticos expedientes por corrupción quedarían impunes

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Diputados quitó cargos a Salud para privilegiar a correligionarios

PÁGINA 12

Censo: Si no se corrigen errores puede ser un rotundo fracaso

PÁGINA 24

Juez mejor puntuado fue reemplazado por sobrino de senador miembro del Consejo de la Magistratura

PÁGINA 54

Tres empresas son las que acaparan jugosos contratos para dragado de ríos Paraná y Paraguay

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Black Friday: Exitosa feria en CDE

PÁGINA 16

DOMINGO
En Primera Persona
José Vázquez
"Me decían el Hombre Araña, porque subía las escaleras sin una pierna ni prótesis"

PÁGINA 27

¡Merecido campeón!

Clausura. Olimpia conquistó su presea 46 al empatar 1-1 con Nacional con el gol de Brian Montenegro (75). Culminó una brillante temporada tras ir de menos a más. Cerro ganó a Guairía 3-1 y estuvo a un paso de una finalísima.

PÁGINA 63 a la 64

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LE FIGARO

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

ENTRETIEN

13 NOVEMBRE, RUSSIE,
LITTÉRATURE : LES CONFIDENCES
D'EMMANUEL CARRÈRE **PAGE 16**

ÉDOUARD BAER

« JE RÊVE D'ÊTRE À L'AISE
PARTOUT, COMME UN PRINCE
OU UN GITAN » **PAGE 28**



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FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question
de vendredi :
Faut-il obliger
les entreprises qui font
des bénéfices à distribuer
des dividendes salariés ?

OUI 59% NON 41%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 78 866

Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr

Fin de vie : approuvez-
vous que les médecins
puissent s'affranchir
des dernières volontés
des patients ?

ILLUSTRATION : FABIEN CLAREFOND -
STEPHAN GLADIEU/LE FIGARO
MAGAZINE - DANIEL COLE/AP

Kherson libérée, un tournant dans la guerre en Ukraine



Cette ville du sud de l'Ukraine était le principal trophée de guerre de Vladimir Poutine, jusqu'à sa reconquête, vendredi, par les forces ukrainiennes. Notre reporter a rencontré des populations civiles des villages voisins, soulagées mais profondément marquées par plus de sept mois d'occupation russe. **PAGE 10**

ÉDITORIAL par Étienne de Montety edemontety@lefigaro.fr

La vie et l'avenir

Le Conseil constitutionnel a tranché : les médecins peuvent contrevenir aux directives anticipées rédigées par un patient. Cette déclaration préalable était encouragée depuis des années pour sortir de l'impasse : quand la famille et l'hôpital s'opposaient, c'était le choix du mourant qui faisait loi. Coup de théâtre avec cette surprenante décision : la médecine aura le dernier mot, quand, dit le Conseil, les dispositions laissées par le patient pour vivre « sont manifestement inappropriées », eu égard à son état. En vérité, cette décision dit assez la confusion qui règne sur le sujet. Elle est probablement le reflet de l'état d'esprit général : entre respect de la vie, vain acharnement thérapeutique, peur de la souffrance et désir de prolonger son séjour parmi les siens, qui peut dire sa conviction ? Les plus ancrées peuvent évoluer, parfois en quelques heures. Même les enquêtes d'opinion ne révèlent rien du rapport intime (et flottant) avec la mort. Les progrès de la médecine ont rendu les cas de conscience plus nombreux et plus déchirants. Et on sent bien que dans ce moment qui fait passer de vie à trépas, si elle est importante, la science ne peut pas tout, ne résout

pas tout : une part de l'homme lui échappe, qui doit être sacrée. Surtout à cette heure. La crise du Covid et ses confinements ont montré notre fragilité collective et individuelle face à la maladie et à la mort. Cette inquiétude est aggravée chez certains par l'incertitude pesant sur l'avenir de la planète. Le sentiment de précarité existentielle qui caractérise notre époque doit la contraindre à l'humilité.

Si elle est importante, la science ne peut pas tout

Pour les situations limites qui engagent la conscience, les décisions du législateur, celles du juge et même les préconisations d'une « convention citoyenne » comme celle qui va s'ouvrir sur ce sujet n'auront jamais qu'une valeur relative. Dans ce temps suspendu, où au fond se joue la vie d'un être en donnant un sens à ce qu'elle fut, les derniers instants sont fondamentaux : pour l'intéressé, bien sûr, mais aussi pour son entourage, et peut-être même pour toute une société. Ils expriment une certaine idée de la vie et de l'avenir. Toute décision les concernant requiert de la sagesse, et donc la plus extrême prudence. ■

Loi sur la fin de vie : les mises en garde se multiplient

Alors qu'Emmanuel Macron relançait en septembre le projet d'une « aide active à mourir », la complexité du sujet et les réticences du monde médical conduisent aujourd'hui le gouvernement à la prudence.

Temporisation sur le calendrier, propos pondérés sur l'issue du débat, vocabulaire soigneusement lissé, consultations diverses... Après un départ sur les chapeaux de roues pour lancer l'idée d'une nouvelle loi sur la fin de vie, la voie de la prudence semble s'imposer à l'exécutif au fil des se-

maines. Les mises en garde sont nombreuses. Elles viennent notamment du corps médical, s'alarment des risques d'une évolution législative vers l'euthanasie. Avant même le lancement de la convention citoyenne, le 9 décembre, le sujet apparaît désormais dans toute sa complexité.

➔ **LES RESPONSABLES RELIGIEUX FRANÇAIS OPPOSÉS À TOUTE « AIDE ACTIVE À MOURIR »**
➔ **LE CONTRE-POINT DE GUILLAUME TABARD**
➔ **MARIE DE HENNEZEL : « LA VOLONTÉ DU PATIENT DOIT TOUJOURS PRIMER »**
PAGES 2, 3 ET L'EDITORIAL



Toulon : les migrants de l'« Ocean Viking » débarquent sur fond de polémique

Après 21 jours d'errance en Méditerranée, 230 migrants, secourus par le navire humanitaire, ont posé le pied sur le sol français, vendredi, dans le port militaire de Toulon. Alors

que cette opération provoque une crise diplomatique entre Rome et Paris, le choix d'Emmanuel Macron suscite aussi un nouveau débat sur l'immigration. **PAGES 4 ET 5**



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