

What's News

Business & Finance

Cryptocurrency traders faced increased anxiety over the weekend as a midsize exchange said it mishandled a \$400 million transaction and collapsed FTX said it was the victim of an alleged hack, adding to worries following FTX's bankruptcy filing last week. **A1**

◆ **The Fed's Waller** said the central bank needs to keep raising interest rates to get inflation under control, even after last week's report revealed that it slowed in October. **A2**

◆ **JPMorgan avoided** most of 2022's so-called hung deals that have cost competitors billions of dollars in paper losses on loans backing takeovers of companies that later fell in value. **B1**

◆ **The exodus of advertisers** from Elon Musk's Twitter is accelerating, and it could be hard for the billionaire to bring them back soon. **B1**

◆ **Musk heads to court** this week to defend his multibillion-dollar pay package at Tesla in a suit brought by a shareholder of the electric-vehicle company. **B2**

◆ **U.S. voters said** yes to tens of billions of dollars for road-paving, school-building and other local projects last Tuesday, promising a new wave of bonds for eager investors. **B1**

◆ **"Black Panther: Wakanda Forever"** from Disney's Marvel Studios grossed \$180 million in North America and \$150 million overseas in its opening weekend. **B3**

World-Wide

◆ **Republicans face** a week that will be crucial in deciding the future direction and leadership of the party after disappointing midterm elections left them in the Senate minority and with likely only the barest of majorities in the House. **A1, A4, A6**

◆ **China's Xi is set** to meet Biden and other leaders in Southeast Asia this week amid questions about how he might try to calm fears that his autocratic methods have become a source of global instability. **A1**

◆ **Israel's president** handed a mandate to Benjamin Netanyahu to form a new government as negotiations over a governing coalition gained momentum. **A5**

◆ **Ukrainian authorities** set about restoring essential services in Kherson after Russia retreated from the city, leaving it without electricity, heat, water or cellphone service. **A20**

◆ **U.S. Catholic bishops** will choose a national president this week in elections that will help shape their public-policy agenda and their relations with Washington and the Vatican over the next three years. **A3**

◆ **The U.S. Customs and Border Protection** Commissioner, Chris Magnus, resigned after days of internal pressure, the White House press secretary said. **A7**

◆ **International students** returned to U.S. college and university campuses in droves last fall, driving overseas enrollment 3.8% higher. **A3**

JOURNAL REPORT

Alternative Energy: The state of the supply chain for EVs. **R1-10**

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Explosion in Istanbul Kills at Least Six, Injures Dozens



ON SITE: A forensic team investigates after a bomb blast hit the busy shopping street of Istiklal in Istanbul, killing at least six and wounding 81. There was no immediate claim of responsibility for the attack, which officials said was terrorism. **A8**

Xi Faces Biden, Other Critics In Return to the World Stage

By JAMES T. AREDDY

For the first time in three years, Chinese leader Xi Jinping is about to come face to face with some of his most powerful international critics.

When Mr. Xi extended his strongman rule last month, he warned his countrymen to brace for international turbulence. This week, as he meets President Biden and other leaders in Southeast Asia, the question is how much he might attempt to calm international fears that his auto-

cratic methods have become a source of global instability.

Mr. Xi's talks with Mr. Biden on Monday, their first in person meeting as state leaders, is being promoted on both sides as a chance to stabilize a U.S.-China relationship that has deteriorated to its lowest point since the 1970s.

The talks will take place in Bali, Indonesia, where the presidents are both attending a summit of the Group of 20 major economies. "I know him well. He knows me," President Biden said Sunday. "We just

got to figure out where the red lines are."

Mr. Xi is emerging from his Covid cocoon to a world scrambled by the pandemic and puzzled by China's adherence to lockdown policies that have reverberated through the global economy. The West was also unsettled by the size and scope of his military response to U.S. lawmaker Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan. Meanwhile, Western governments are dismayed at Mr. Xi's sustained partnership with Russian President Vladimir Putin

and failure to exert pressure to end Mr. Putin's war in Ukraine. Washington and Beijing are indicating a shared desire to halt the downward trajectory of interaction between the world's top two economic and military powers, even as both signal enduring animosity.

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China's Exit Bans Add to Tensions

By JAMES T. AREDDY
AND BRIAN SPEEGLE

BEIJING—It has been nearly five years since police here told Henry Cai, a U.S. citizen from California, that he couldn't leave China.

Just before Christmas 2017, he was stopped at the airport at the end of a business trip. Mr. Cai later learned somebody was trying to force him to pay an outstanding debt of several million dollars owed by a Beijing company where he was a director and shareholder.

He thought it was a misunderstanding and expected it to be sorted out quickly. And yet here he remains, stuck in China, the target of a form of Chinese justice known as an exit ban.

His is believed to be the longest-running case of such legal purgatory for an American businessman. Now 61 years old, Mr. Cai has wrangled with China's judicial bureaucracy, tested the limits of U.S. diplomacy and depleted his savings.

In an interview with The Wall Street Journal he said he fears deteriorating U.S.-China relations—which are in the spotlight with the first meeting between President Biden and Chinese leader Xi Jinping as heads of state on Monday—have worsened his quandary.

The U.S. has accused China of using exit bans on Americans and other foreigners "without fair and transparent process under the law." Diplomats say Americans trapped in legal jeopardy abroad increasingly occupy their time.

Mr. Cai hasn't been charged. Please turn to page A10

INSIDE



PERSONAL JOURNAL

High-school buddies from the class of 1964 reunite in a mission to aid a friend. **A14**

U.S. NEWS

Small businesses' wide use of a temporary pandemic tax break alarms IRS. **A7**

Sleeping on the Job Pays Off When You're on TikTok

Live streams of snoozing draw followers and profits; 'I find it super soothing'

By SALVADOR RODRIGUEZ

Just a handful of people reportedly made it through the 1964 premiere of Andy Warhol's avant-garde film "Sleep." It was a real snoozer: five hours and 20 minutes of a man in bed sleeping. Now, it looks like Mr. Warhol was way ahead of his time.

Jakey Boehm has more than a million online followers drawn to roughly the same story line. Every night at 10 p.m., the 28-year-old puts on PJs, climbs into bed, and tosses and turns to an international audience watching on TikTok Live. His monthly take from online fans, he said, averages \$35,000 a month.

FTX Says It Was Hacked as Other Crypto Firm Stumbles

Cryptocurrency traders faced increased anxiety over the weekend as a midsize exchange said it mishandled a \$400 million transaction and

By Caitlin Ostroff,
Vicky Ge Huang and
Elaine Yu

collapsed FTX said it was the victim of an alleged hack, adding to worries following the exchange's bankruptcy filing last week.

Crypto.com Chief Executive Kris Marszalek said on Twitter that the transfer was sent to the wrong type of account on another exchange. The transfer

of a large chunk of ether, a popular cryptocurrency, took place on Oct. 21, but it came to light after Twitter users flagged the transfer as unusual, based on publicly available blockchain transaction records.

Concerns about Singapore-based Crypto.com spread across the internet over the weekend, with prominent digital-currency figures taking aim at the company. Cryptocurrency traders are on edge following the quick collapse of FTX, which went from one of the most trusted exchanges to bankrupt in the course of a week.

FTX further rattled the industry when it said it was probing a potential hack and asked customers to stay off the FTX website, the company said. More than \$370 million worth of crypto funds appears to be missing, according to crypto analytics firm Elliptic Enterprises Ltd.

The potential hack occurred Friday after FTX filed for bankruptcy. Ryne Miller, FTX US's general counsel, said in a Saturday tweet that FTX and FTX US had started moving all digital assets to cold storage—crypto wallets that aren't connected to the internet—to a week.

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A Classic Strategy for Investors Falls Apart

Savings mix of 60% stocks and 40% bonds hasn't helped offset losses this year

By AKANE OTANI
AND KAREN LANGLEY

For decades, Americans planning for retirement have been advised to invest in a mixture of stocks and bonds. The idea was simple.

When stocks did well, their portfolios did, too. And when stocks had a bad year, bonds usually did better, which helped offset those losses. It was one of the most basic, dependable ways of investing, used by millions of Americans. This year it stopped working.

Despite a powerful rally last week after cooler-than-expected inflation data, the S&P 500 is down in 2022 about 15%, including dividends, while bonds are in

their first bear market in decades. A portfolio with 60% of its money invested in U.S. stocks and 40% invested in the 10-year U.S. Treasury note has lost 15% this year. That puts the 60-40 investment mix on track for its worst year since 1937, according to an analysis by investment research and asset management firm Leuthold Group.

Many Americans are seeing decades' worth of savings shrink, week by week. Belt-tightening among millions of households could serve as yet another drag on an economy already suffering.

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◆ Some buyers stay on tech sector's sidelines.....B1

Midterms muddy world's view of America

RANA FOROOHAR, PAGE 19

Don't write off the office curmudgeon

EMMA JACOBS, PAGE 13

G20 gathers
Buoyant Biden
faces Xi test

Joe Biden is greeted as he arrives in Bali for the G20 summit of the world's biggest economies. The US president flew in to the Indonesian island direct from the Asean summit in Phnom Penh, buoyed by news that his Democratic party was set to retain control of the Senate in midterm elections.

However, he faces a big challenge in Bali, where he is set today to meet Xi Jinping to try to reverse a decline in US-China relations, now at their lowest point since normalisation in 1979.

Biden said the leaders would outline their "red lines" to see if there was room to resolve differences over issues ranging from Taiwan to microchips. The two have talked five times since Biden became president without success. US officials hope that their first in-person meeting as leaders will change that.

Election deniers routed page 2
Warning frigid ties page 4



Saul Loeb/AP/Visa/Getty Images

Briefing

► **Republican inquest opens after let-down in midterms**
The poor midterm performance has prompted finger-pointing, as moderates accuse Donald Trump and his election deniers of hurting party fortunes. — PAGE 2

► **Fed pressure intensifies**
Mary Daly, president of the San Francisco branch, has said the US central bank is entering a tricky phase as pressure builds to ease aggressive rates rises. — PAGE 4

► **Istanbul bomb kills 6**
A bomb has ripped through one of the city's busiest streets raising the prospect of a resumption of political violence ahead of next year's general election. — PAGE 4

► **Khan seeks to fix US ties**
Former Pakistan premier Imran Khan has told the FT he wants to mend relations despite claiming that Washington had conspired to remove him. — PAGE 4

► **Ruling in Gupta steel fight**
Industrialist Sanjeev Gupta faces a battle to retain control of his Belgian steel operations ahead of a court decision tomorrow on their ownership. — PAGE 6

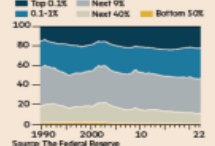
Lex and Business Life

The Lex and Business Life columns, together with the FT crossword, can be found today on page 13

Datawatch

Distribution of wealth

Equity ownership in the US (%)



The top 1 per cent of the wealth distribution in the US own more than 50 per cent of all stocks, while the top 10 per cent own almost 90 per cent. Meanwhile, the bottom 50 per cent own less than 1 per cent of stocks in the US

Crypto seeks to contain FTX fallout
as traders pull billions from sector

◆ Fears that Bankman-Fried exchange was hacked ◆ Rivals vow to show proof of sufficient reserves

FT REPORTERS

Cryptocurrency exchanges rushed to reassure clients that their money was safe as new revelations on the financial health of Sam Bankman-Fried's digital empire plunged the industry deeper into a crisis of confidence.

FTX's main international exchange had less than \$1bn in easily sellable assets against \$9bn in liabilities before it went bankrupt on Friday, according to investment materials seen by the Financial Times.

The sudden collapse last week of FTX — which Bankman-Fried founded, along with his trading shop Alameda Research, once viewed as pillars of the industry — has dealt a severe blow to a digital asset sector that is still reeling

from this summer's market crash. Traders have been pulling funds out of the crypto market, leading other companies in the sector to distance themselves from the crisis.

Binance, the world's biggest crypto trading venue, and rivals including Crypto.com, OKX and Deribit vowed to publish proof that they held sufficient reserves to make good on what they owe to clients.

Tether's eponymous US dollar stable-

Tether's eponymous US dollar stablecoin has faced approximately \$3bn in redemptions in four days

coin — the largest in the industry — has faced approximately \$3bn in redemptions in the past four days.

Coinbase on Friday sent an email to customers, seen by the FT, describing "how Coinbase's business is different and ultimately better protects" customer accounts and assets.

The email referenced the company's financial position and said the exchange, led by chief executive Brian Armstrong, held customer assets on a one-to-one basis. Coinbase declined to provide comment beyond a blog post last week saying that it was "not in any direct danger of liquidity or credit risk".

Balances of ether, the second-biggest cryptocurrency, have dropped 7.2 per cent in the past fortnight to 22.9mm across leading crypto exchanges,

including FTX, according to data from blockchain analytics platform Nansen. At current exchange rates, that points to a fall of about \$2bn, which suggests some investors are pulling their coins from centralised venues in favour of storing them using their own systems.

FTX said on Saturday that it was "investigating abnormalities" in transactions, raising fears it had been hacked. Elliptic, a blockchain forensics firm, said there were indications that \$477mm in crypto assets had been taken from FTX late on Friday night.

Kraken, a crypto trading platform, said it had frozen a number of accounts owned by FTX Group, its sister trading company Alameda Research and their executives yesterday after talking to law enforcement officers, in order to protect

their creditors. Binance's chief executive warned last week of the potential for a "cascading" crisis in the crypto sector in the wake of FTX's failure, which he said could resemble the 2008 global financial crash.

Before bankruptcy, FTX garnered a valuation of \$32bn after striking deals with big investors and was building a profile through a string of sport sponsorships, such as securing naming rights for the Miami Heat arena. Bankman-Fried was the second-largest donor to Democratic-leaning groups in the midterm elections, spending \$56mm.

Reporting by Nikou Asgari, Scott Chipolina, Kadhim Shubber and Joshua Oliver in London, and Antoine Gara and Stephen Foley in New York
Crypto crisis reports page 6

Oil and gas lobby presses
its case at climate summit

This year's COP summit has witnessed the rise of the oil and gas lobby, as fossil fuel-reliant countries turn up in discussion how they can continue production. "We don't see this as a discussion about fossil fuels," Adel al-Jubeir, Riyadh's minister for foreign affairs, tells the FT. But climate campaigners rail against "blatant oil and gas promotion". They fear talks will be influenced by fossil fuel interests looking to hold back ambitious action.

Analysis ► PAGE 3

Japanese insurer puts faith in 'godlike powers' of AI to tackle rising dementia

ERI SUGIURA AND LEO LEWIS — TOKYO

Artificial intelligence and data analysis software mean underwriters can now make predictions about the weather, natural disasters and senile dementia that previously "only god knew about", the president of one of Japan's biggest insurance companies has claimed.

The bold assertion by Mikio Okumura, head of Sampo Holdings, comes as the company prepares to roll out Japan's first dementia prevention insurance package — a product designed for the world's oldest society and based on analysis of the heartbeats, appetite and sleeping patterns of thousands of nursing home residents.

The move by Sampo marks the latest insurance industry escalation of a battle to secure an advantage through tech.

Okumura said this was an area of competition that would decide the survival of companies.

The "god" claim follows Sampo's \$500mn investment two years ago in Palantir, the US specialist in big data analysis, and its taking of a 22 per cent stake in a Japanese AI start-up Abeja.

"We can now reveal things that, in the past, only god knew about, thanks to technology including AI," Okumura said, outlining an insurance scheme that pays out on symptoms of dementia but also attempts to delay the onset of the disease by incentivising changes in behaviour. That could include improving sleep, diet and exercise.

Japanese insurers have pinned their hopes on AI as they attempt to navigate the increasingly difficult market in which they operate: the world's fastest-ageing society, with one of the highest

life expectancies, largest cohorts of over-65s and a commensurately growing national dementia problem.

In 2020, 6.3mn people were estimated to be dementia patients in Japan, and the figure is likely to reach 11mn by 2050, equivalent to one in almost three of the elderly population, according to the Cabinet Office.

Sampo aims to make use of 500 sets of data obtained from 80,000 residents of its nursing homes to create preventive insurance catering to individuals.

Palantir's technology has so far enabled the insurer to analyse correlations of data and create a model to suggest improvements to care plans for each resident. Okumura hoped that these "big data" skills could now serve its core insurance business, helping the company to develop an insurance package that "avoids risks".

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS			CURRENCIES			GOVERNMENT BONDS		
	Nov 11	Prev %Chg		Nov 11	Nov 4		Nov 11	Nov 4
S&P 500	3960.17	3966.37	0.10	\$/£	1.053	0.990	US 2 yr	4.32
Nasdaq Composite	11202.03	11114.15	0.78	\$/€	1.178	1.128	US 10 yr	3.82
Dow Jones Ind	33476.48	33715.37	-0.71	\$/¥	0.877	0.877	US 30 yr	4.06
FTSE 100	1103.62	1104.36	-0.54	€/¥	139.860	142.240	UK 2 yr	3.19
Euro Stoxx 50	3870.99	3846.96	0.62	\$/HK\$	163.777	168.050	UK 10 yr	3.39
FTSE 100	7318.04	7375.34	-0.78	\$/KRW	0.877	0.880	UK 30 yr	3.48
FTSE AEX-Share	4036.84	4054.89	-0.44	CRYPTO			JPN 2 yr	-0.07
CAC 40	6904.62	6958.83	0.56	Bitcoin (\$)	19914.92	17965.29	JPN 10 yr	0.23
Xetra Dax	14224.06	14146.09	0.56	Etherium (\$)	1230.37	1295.82	JPN 30 yr	1.43
Nikkei	26063.57	27446.10	2.98	COMMODITIES			GER 2 yr	2.18
Hang Seng	17325.96	16801.94	7.74	Oil WTI (\$)	88.46	92.21	GER 10 yr	2.15
MSCI World \$	2638.55	2620.77	0.66	Gold (\$)	1744.75	1626.75	GER 30 yr	2.11
MSCI EM \$	989.80	900.32	-1.19					
MSCI ACWI \$	607.66	592.21	2.47					
FT Wilshire 2500	5149.63	4871.89	5.70					
FT Wilshire 500	40226.27	39900.17	0.70					

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After two years on puberty blockers, Emma Basques, 14, was prescribed estrogen to start her transition.

Pressing Pause on Puberty

Drugs Can Buy Time for Trans Youth. Is There a Cost?

By MEGAN TWOHEY
and CHRISTINA JEWETT

The medical guidance was direct. Eleven-year-old Emma Basques had identified as a girl since toddlerhood. Now, as she worried about male puberty starting, a Phoenix pediatrician advised: Take a drug to stop it.

At 13, Jacy Chavira felt increasingly uncomfortable with her maturing body and was beginning to believe she was a boy. Use the drug, her endocrinologist in Southern California recommended, and puberty would be suspended.

An 11-year-old in New York with deepening depression expressed a desire to no longer be a girl. A therapist told the family the drug was the preteen's best option, and a local doctor agreed.

"Puberty blockers really help kids like this," the child's mother recalled the therapist saying. "It was presented as a tourniquet that would stop the hemorrhaging."

As the number of adolescents who identify as transgender grows, drugs known as puberty blockers have become the first line of intervention for the

youngest ones seeking medical treatment.

Their use is typically framed as a safe — and reversible — way to buy time to weigh a medical transition and avoid the anguish of growing into a body that feels wrong. Transgender adolescents suffer from disproportionately high rates of depression and other mental health issues. Studies show that the drugs have eased some patients' gender dysphoria — a distress over the mismatch of their birth sex and gender identity.

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Private Eyes Steered to Spy On Dissidents

By BENJAMIN WEISER
and WILLIAM K. RASHBAUM

The job that came in through Michael McKeever's website was unremarkable, the kind of request he often received in his decades working as a private investigator in New York.

An international client wanted his help tracking down a debtor who had fled from Dubai and was believed to be in Brooklyn. Mr. McKeever was to surveil a house and photograph the people coming and going. "Kindly be discreet as they are on the lookout," he was told.

Mr. McKeever and an associate began taking turns conducting the surveillance, but they failed to notice another team watching the same address. They were F.B.I. agents, and one soon got in touch with a warning.

"Your client is not who you think they are," the agent said, according to Mr. McKeever. "These are bad people, and they're up to no good."

Mr. McKeever, 71, would later learn that he had been used in a suspected plot to kidnap Masih Alinejad, a prominent Iranian American journalist who has been outspoken in her criticism of Iran's human rights abuses, discrimination against women and imprisonment and torture of political opponents.

"We were afraid they were going to look to snatch and grab her, bring her home and probably kill her," said James E. Dennehy, the

Continued on Page A12



A Ukrainian soldier signed a flag on Sunday in the main square in Kherson, newly freed from Russia.

Assimilation Is Futile: How a City Defied Russia

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KHERSON, Ukraine — Iryna Dyagileva's daughter attended a school where the curriculum included memorizing the Russian national anthem. But teachers ignored it, instead quietly greeting students in the morning with a salute: "Glory to Ukraine!"

The occupation authorities asked Olha Malychuk, a clerk at a taxi company, to settle bills in rubles. But she kept paying in Ukrainian currency, the hryvnia.

"It just didn't work," Ms. Malychuk said of the Russian prop-

**Kherson Resisted Push
to Erase Its Identity
as Ukrainian**

aganda that was beamed into televisions and plastered on billboards for the nine months of Russia's occupation of Kherson. On Sunday, she was walking in a park, waving a small Ukrainian flag.

One roadside billboard proclaimed in bold text, "We are to-

gether with Russia!" But a teenager who offered only his first name, Oleksandr, had shinned up the supporting pole and was tearing the sign to pieces. Asked how he felt, he said, "Free."

The Ukrainian Army, defying the odds after its much more powerful neighbor invaded in February, has reclaimed hundreds of villages and towns in three major counteroffensives north of Kyiv, in the northeastern Kharkiv region and now in the southern Kherson region.

But the city of Kherson stands

Continued on Page A6

Biden Facing A Big Decision On His Future

Entering His 80s, and
Pondering '24 Race

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — These are heady days for President Biden. The midterm elections offered long-sought validation. Democrats held onto the Senate, and even if they lose the House it will be by a narrow margin. The Republicans are in retreat and, by the way, so are the Russians and, just a bit at least, so is inflation.

The president's fellow Democrats are flocking to cameras to give him credit. "This victory belongs to Joe Biden," Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, his onetime rival, said on NBC's "Meet the Press" on Sunday. His advisers sound almost giddy, using words like "miracle" and "biblical" to describe the election.

But even as the history-defying midterms went a long way toward solving some of the president's immediate political problems, they did not miraculously make him any younger. A week from Sunday, Mr. Biden, the oldest president in American history, will turn 80, a milestone the White House has no plans to celebrate with fireworks or splashy parties. And so Mr. Biden confronts a choice that still leaves many in his party quietly uncomfortable: Should he run for a second term?

Top advisers such as Ron Klain, Anita Dunn, Mike Donilon, Steven J. Ricchetti and Jennifer O'Malley Dillon are already meeting to map out what a 2024 campaign would look like. The president said last week that he "intends" to run but would talk with his family over the holidays and announce a decision early next year. He will only be more motivated assuming former President Donald J. Trump jumps into the race on Tuesday night as expected.

Mr. Biden likes to remind anyone who will listen that he is the only one who has beaten Mr. Trump, and he remains confident that he is the Democrat who is best equipped to do it again. Polls show that as unpopular as Mr. Biden remains, he still has more support than Mr. Trump does and the Republican setbacks last week have undercut the former president in his own party.

"Even before the midterms, Biden was running ahead of Donald Trump," said Senator Chris Van Hollen, Democrat of Maryland. "Now you've got Biden, he has the

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SENATE WIN GIVES BIDEN A BULWARK AGAINST THE G.O.P.

HOUSE IS UNDECIDED

Power to Confirm Judges
and Impede the Plans
of Republicans

By CATIE EDMONDSON
and CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — A day after clinching a narrow hold on the Senate, Democrats began laying plans on Sunday to use their majority as a bulwark for President Biden in Congress should Republicans wrest control of the House, including by confirming his nominees, killing G.O.P. legislation on arrival and promoting their own policies to voters.

Defying political gravity and historical midterm trends that have heavily favored the party not in power, Democrats secured a bare-minimum majority in the Senate on Saturday night with the re-election of Senator Catherine



Senator Chuck Schumer

Cortez Masto of Nevada. While their margin of control in the chamber will remain razor thin — and far short of the supermajority needed to pass major legislation — it constitutes a lifeline for Mr. Biden, limiting Republicans' opportunity to wreak havoc on his agenda or to impeach and remove him or other members of his administration.

If Democrats manage to retain the House — a possibility, albeit a remote one given where uncalled races are currently leaning — it would be a game changer for Mr. Biden, potentially allowing him to push through more of his agenda in the second half of his term. But even without that, the Senate gives him a critical foothold.

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MODERATION WINS In battleground states and swing districts, midterm voters shunned extremists from the right and the left. PAGE A19

Trump Often Sought Tax Audits Of His Foes, Ex-Top Aide Says

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT

While in office, President Donald J. Trump repeatedly told John F. Kelly, his second White House chief of staff, that he wanted a number of his perceived political enemies to be investigated by the Internal Revenue Service, Mr. Kelly said.

Mr. Kelly, who was chief of staff from July 2017 through the end of 2018, said in response to questions from The New York Times that Mr. Trump's demands were part of a broader pattern of him trying to use the Justice Department and his authority as president against people who had been critical of him, including seeking to revoke the security clearances of former top intelligence officials.

Mr. Kelly said that among those Mr. Trump said "we ought to investigate" and "get the I.R.S. on" were the former F.B.I. director James B. Comey and his deputy, Andrew G. McCabe. His account

of Mr. Trump's desires to use the I.R.S. against his foes comes after the revelation by The Times this summer that Mr. Comey and Mr. McCabe had both been selected for a rare and highly intrusive audit by the tax agency in the years after Mr. Kelly left the White House.

Mr. Trump has said he knows nothing about the audits. The I.R.S. has asked its inspector general to investigate, and officials have insisted the two men were selected randomly for the audits.

Mr. Kelly said he made clear to Mr. Trump that there were serious legal and ethical issues with what he wanted. He said that despite the president's expressed desires to have Mr. Comey and Mr. McCabe investigated by the I.R.S., he believes that he led Mr. Trump during his tenure as chief of staff to forgo trying to have such inves-

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NATIONAL A11-21

Farmland Values Hit Highs
Small farmers now go up against deep-pocketed investors, including developers and private equity firms. PAGE A11

Trouble Over a Boy's Tattoo
A mother in New York was arrested for allowing her 10-year-old son to get body ink. Not all states are as strict. PAGE A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Beer Industry Faces Backlash
Brewers and other heavy water users have landed at the center of the climate fight in Mexico as severe droughts persist in the country's north. PAGE A4

A Post-Election Victory Lap
President Biden went abroad on official business just after the midterms. But the news from home kept getting better for Democrats. PAGE A9

Deadly Bombing in Istanbul
The blast killed at least six people, injured 81 and shattered a sense of calm in Turkey as its tourism industry tries to recover from the pandemic. PAGE A7



SPORTS D1-8

Cutting Body Fat at a Cost
Female college athletes like Christine Williford told how pressure to become leaner hurt their mental health. PAGE D1

Replacing Coaches of Renown
New leaders of basketball teams at Rutgers, Duke and Villanova are succeeding Hall of Famers. PAGE D1

BUSINESS B1-5

E.V.s Entering the Mainstream
While sales are still skewed toward affluent buyers, more people are choosing electric vehicles to save money and they are now the fastest-growing segment of the automobile market. PAGE B1

Navigating Changes in Fashion
For those in an industry that is attempting to negotiate collective sustainability targets, adhering to anti-trust regulation is proving to be tougher to deal with for some in the business. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

Elizabeth Warren PAGE A22



ARTS C1-6

Taken Aback by Life
The comedian Mike Birbiglia once again proves his virtuosity as a narrator, weaving a new harrowing tale in his latest Broadway show. PAGE C1



‘Paxlovid rebound’ is leaving experts perplexed

COVID-19 relapses have also occurred in patients who did not take the antiviral.

By MELISSA HEALY

This is a story about a COVID-19 medication, a nasty trick the coronavirus sometimes plays on its victims, and how the two became a pandemic couple called “Paxlovid rebound.”

It’s also a story about how looks can be deceiving. Americans have been quick to embrace the idea that the antiviral drug is to blame for COVID-19 relapses in people just days after they’ve seemingly recovered. President Biden was said to have experienced Paxlovid rebound this summer, after White House doctors declared him coronavirus-free. The same thing happened to Dr. Anthony Fauci and Stephen Colbert, among others.

It’s tempting to presume a cause-and-effect relationship between two things that occur in quick succession. And even when events are completely random, we tend to see the patterns we expect to find.

But researchers are not so sure Paxlovid rebound is real. Relapses have occurred in COVID-19 patients who didn’t take the drug — they just didn’t get as much attention when there wasn’t a new medicine to blame.

Doctors fear some patients who could benefit from Paxlovid are slipping into an effort to avoid a boomerang bout of COVID-19. That’s troubling because the medication has been found to powerfully reduce the risk of hospitalization or death in the unvaccinated, as well as older people and those with compromised immunity. Preliminary research hints it may even reduce the risk of long COVID.

Dr. Michael Charness, who led a team that exhaustively studied 13 patients whose COVID-19 rebounded, admitted that the phenomenon has scientists “scratching our heads.” He said he’s perplexed that many rebounders’ viral loads — and thus, their ability to infect others — can be just as high or higher than it was during their initial illness.

“But rebound is not a reason to not take Paxlovid,” he insisted. When used by people with a good chance of becoming severely ill or dying, Paxlovid reduces the odds of either by almost 90%.

Moreover, passing on Paxlovid out of concern that it will prompt a one-two punch of COVID-19 is unlikely to help, Charness said.

“It’s clear some people [See Paxlovid, A6]



GOV. GAVIN NEWSOM says he knows California will be judged on his ability to deliver on his promises. ROBERT GAUTHIER Los Angeles Times

‘Heavy weight’ on Newsom to deliver in second term

Governor feels pressure to defeat GOP narrative about state

By TARYN LUNA

SACRAMENTO — Donald Trump often denied that he watched CNN, but Gavin Newsom readily admits he’s a regular Fox News viewer.

And he hates what he hears about California.

The conservative cable network often criticizes the “California exodus” of residents who can’t afford to live here. Fox News host Tucker Carlson calls the state “a Third World country” that can’t keep the lights on.

After Newsom accused Fox commentator Jesse Waters of “sowing the seeds” of the

A changing of the guard in Assembly

Robert Rivas will usher in new era in California Assembly, George Skelton writes. CALIFORNIA, B1

Spending didn’t equate to victory

Money for nothing and other tales of how California propositions fared on election day. CALIFORNIA, B1

attack on Paul Pelosi, the host blamed the governor for not “deporting the deranged drug addict felon” who assaulted the 82-year-old husband of the House speaker with a hammer.

As Newsom enters his second term, he said he feels the pressure to contradict that narrative from Fox and what he calls the Republican Party’s “surround-sound anger industry.”

Words, tweets and California-centric ads in red states won’t be enough. He knows the state, and his tenure as governor, will be judged on his ability to deliver results on his promises.

[See Newsom, A6]

How Putin’s war aids Venezuela

Rising oil prices and revenue have helped improve living conditions amid U.S. sanctions. Fewer people are fleeing the hard-hit nation.

By MERY MOGOLLÓN, TRACY WILKINSON AND PATRICK J. McDONNELL

CARACAS, Venezuela — Just three years ago, Venezuela was a nation on the verge of collapse.

Grocery shelves were bare, the national currency was nearly worthless, millions of people were fleeing the country and a hostile U.S. government was exerting a “maximum pressure” strategy designed to oust its socialist president.

And though Venezuela has one of the world’s largest reserves of oil, motorists often waited 24 hours or more in lines stretching miles to fill up with gasoline that was nearly free.

Today, the sense of despair has receded ever so slightly as the government of President Nicolás Maduro has backed away from leftist orthodoxy and the war in Ukraine has boosted oil prices and given him more leverage on the international

[See Venezuela, A4]



VENEZUELA’S improved economic outlook has helped reverse the political fortunes of President Nicolás Maduro, at window. ARIANA CUBILLOS Associated Press

Disquieting words along the waterfront

Crude emails between Redondo Beach’s mayor and allies show nasty side of the city’s anti-growth crusade.

By LIAM DILLON AND ANDREW J. CAMPA

Few communities in Southern California have been more successful at saying “no” to large new developments over the last decade than Redondo Beach.

The South Bay coastal city of 70,000 blocked a \$400-million remake of its waterfront, reduced the size of proposed apartment build-



REDONDO BEACH Mayor Bill Brand has amassed power arguing against overdevelopment and traffic.

ings by dozens of units and even prohibited the construction of mixed-use residential and commercial projects in the city for a year.

One of the masterminds of this slow-growth movement is Mayor Bill Brand, a 65-year-old former airline crew chief who has amassed power on a platform arguing that overdevelopment and traffic threaten the way of life in Redondo Beach. Brand’s influence has extended beyond his city’s borders, as he’s become a key combatant against efforts by Gov. Gavin Newsom and state lawmakers to promote more home-building across California.

The campaigns Brand [See Brand, A11]

Programs wait weeks amid crisis for free naloxone

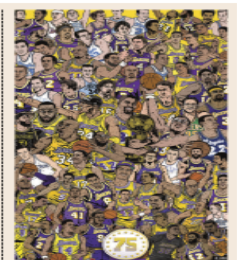
California groups are having to wait extended periods for medication to prevent overdose deaths. CALIFORNIA, B1

‘Yellowstone’ fan favorite opens up

Kelly Reilly talks the joys and challenges of Beth, her “tornado” of a character. CALENDAR, E1

Weather Mostly sunny. L.A. Basin: 70/49. B6

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KEVIN GOLD For The Times

Greatest Lakers of first 75 years

Current and former Times staffers select 75 best players. SECTION V

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington



Mostly sunny 50/36 • Tomorrow: Rain 46/41 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 2022 • B3

MIDTERM ELECTIONS

At summit, G-20 ship is lacking its rudder

Divisions over Ukraine, economy may prevent even a joint statement

BY DAVID J. LYNCH
AND EMILY RAUHALA

BALI, INDONESIA — Twenty of the world's most powerful men and women will meet here this week with the global economy weakening by the day, developing countries facing a looming debt crisis and war raging in Europe.

The Group of 20 leaders summit is expected to do precious little about any of it.

To say that expectations are low for the annual meeting — which will draw President Biden and Chinese President Xi Jinping, as well as leaders from Europe and emerging powers such as India and Brazil — would be an understatement.

A gathering that began at President George W. Bush's invitation in 2008 and helped coordinate the global response to the worst financial crisis since the 1930s has devolved into a rudderless talking shop that may struggle even to produce an official communique.

"The main appeal of the G-20 is the ability to force countries' leaders in the same place and at the same time to interact. The actual outcome of the G-20 is likely to be very unsatisfactory, if there is any consensus output at all," said Douglas Riedler, founder of International Capital Strategies, an investment advisory firm in Washington. "It's been on a

SEE G-20 ON A12

Lawmakers seek billions in weapons for Taiwan

BY ELLEN NAKASHIMA

Mindful of lessons learned from Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Congress is pushing to arm and train Taiwan in advance of any potential military attack by China, but whether the aid materializes could depend on President Biden himself.

Deliberations on an unprecedented package of billions of dollars in military assistance to the self-governing island democracy come as Biden and Chinese leader Xi Jinping meet in Bali on Monday, with maintaining peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait a top item of discussion.

The bipartisan effort would enable the U.S. military to dip immediately into its own stocks of weapons such as Javelins and Stingers — something done at this scale only for Ukraine, officials said — and provide weapons for the first time to Taiwan through the foreign military financing program, paid for by the United States.

Through these provisions, Taiwan could receive weapons and equipment such as anti-ship cruise missiles and anti-air defense systems, self-detonating drones, naval mines, command-and-control systems, and secure radios.

SEE TAIWAN ON A14



DAVID BECKER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Sen. Catherine Cortez Masto (D-Nev.) talks with supporters Sunday after projections of a win over Republican Adam Laxalt. Cortez Masto's reelection will hand Democrats control of the Senate, regardless of the outcome in Georgia's runoff — a stunning feat in a midterm election year, which typically does not favor the party in power. **Story, A6**

GOP rivals start pondering a post-Trump future

BY ASHLEY PARKER,
JOSH DAWSEY
AND MICHAEL SCHERER

Six days after a disappointing midterm election result and one day before former president Donald Trump is expected to announce a 2024 presidential bid, Republicans are grappling with an almost existential question:

Who can lead the party to a post-Trump future?

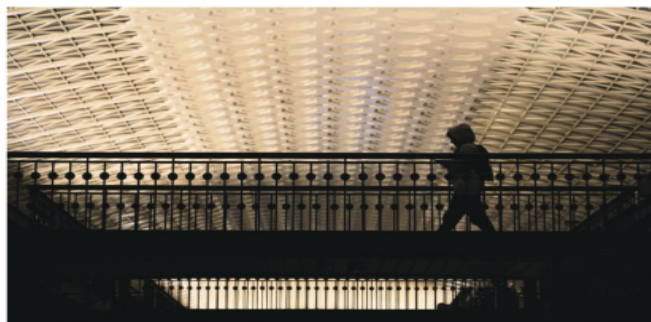
In private conversations among donors, operatives and other 2024 presidential hopefuls, a growing number of Republicans are trying to seize what they believe may be their best opportunity to sideline Trump and usher in a new generation of party leaders.

Many blame Tuesday's midterm results — Republicans were unable to take over the Senate and made smaller-than-expected gains in the House — on the former president, who during the primaries elevated extremist candidates who fared poorly in the general election. The discouraging election outcomes, combined with Trump's 2020 loss to

Biden, have increased both public and private talk of considering a post-Trump world.

Many of the party's top donors are actively trying to back other candidates and are tired of Trump, according to Republican officials and operatives in touch with them, who like others spoke on the condition of anonymity to

SEE GOP ON A4



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

More than half of the commercial space in Union Station sits vacant as the property contends with problems including assaults, overdoses and foot traffic below pre-pandemic levels.

Hard times at Union Station

Residents, workers worry about the fate of the 115-year-old landmark

BY LUZ LAZO

Union Station had as many as 100 stores more than two decades ago. It's down to about 40 retailers and eateries while more than half its commercial space sits vacant.

Calls for fire and emergency services show the range of problems at the station, including drug and alcohol intoxication, overdoses and as-

saults. Meanwhile, foot traffic remains well below pre-pandemic levels, with Metro and commuter rail traffic roughly halved, even as Amtrak reaches more solid footing.

Travelers, commuters and workers say they are worried about the fate of the 115-year-old landmark, a once-vibrant gateway into the nation's capital that was a destination on its

SEE UNION STATION ON A10

At Yale, suicidal students are pressed to withdraw

Those who want to come back face reapplication process

BY WILLIAM WAN

For months, she struggled silently with a sense of worthlessness. She had panic attacks that left her trembling. Nightmares that made her cry.

She'd told only a handful of friends about the sexual assault she endured while she was home the summer after her freshman year. Now, as she finished her sophomore year at Yale University, the trauma finally became unbearable.

On a June day after the 2021 spring semester, the 20-year-old college student swallowed a bottle of pills at her off-campus apartment.

As she slowly woke up at the emergency room in New Haven, Conn., one thought overwhelmed her: "What if Yale finds out?"

She'd heard about other students being forced to leave because of depression and suicidal thoughts, and about the lengthy, nerve-racking reapplication process.

Rebuke of key election deniers

STATE-LEVEL LOSSES IN BATTLEGROUND STATES

'Vote for normalcy' amid calls to decertify 2020

BY AMY GARDNER,
REIS THEBAULT
AND ROBERT KLEMKO

Voters in the six major battleground states where Donald Trump tried to reverse his defeat in 2020 rejected election-denying candidates seeking to control their states' election systems this year, a resounding signal that Americans have grown weary of the former president's unfounded claims of widespread fraud.

Candidates for secretary of state in Michigan, Arizona and Nevada who had echoed Trump's false accusations lost their contests on Tuesday, with the latter race called Saturday night. A fourth candidate never made it out of his May primary in Georgia. In Pennsylvania, one of the nation's most prominent election deniers lost his bid for governor, a job that would have given him the power to appoint the secretary of state. And in Wisconsin, an election-denying contender's loss in the governor's race effectively blocked a move to put election administration under partisan control.

Trump-allied Republicans mounted a concerted push this

SEE DENIERS ON A7

IN THE NEWS



ERIC LEE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Traffic update The arrival of the Silver Line has spurred new development in Tysons, but walkability is still a challenge. **B1**

THE NATION President Biden, turning 80, heads toward a possible reelection run amid renewed questions about his age. **A3**

THE WORLD "Dubai Bling," a drama-packed reality TV show that follows glitterati in the United Arab Emirates, has become an instant hit. **A11**

THE ECONOMY Baby boomers struggle with screen time, too.

the Help Desk writes. Here's how to help them put down their phones and be more present. **A17**

A slew of layoffs by Big Tech firms is solidifying a feeling in Silicon Valley that the bull market of the past decade is decidedly over. **A20**

THE REGION Six women are poised to change the face of the Montgomery County Council, which is set to be majority-female for the first time. **B1**

THE WEEK AHEAD

MONDAY President Biden holds a bilateral meeting with Indonesian President Joko Widodo in Bali, Indonesia. He will also meet with Chinese President Xi Jinping.

TUESDAY Biden participates in the first and second working sessions of the Group of 20 leaders' summit in Bali.

Producer fees are expected to rise 0.5 percent on the month for October.

WEDNESDAY Vice President Harris participates in APEC Economic Leaders' Week events in Bangkok.

THURSDAY Jobless claims for the week ended Nov. 12 are expected at 222,000.

FRIDAY The Supreme Court meets for a conference.

INSIDE



STYLE Sweet revenge "The Crown" revisits Princess Diana's daring style after her split from Charles. **C1**

An MCU MVP Franchise Huerta's role as Marvel's Namor is a huge moment for Latinos. **C1**

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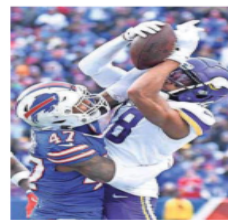
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The Washington Post / Year 145, No. 53304
0170628121100 3

IRS now allows you to put away more for retirement

Budgeting, investing can help you make most of higher cap on tax-deferred savings. **In Money**

After decades of wishing, Stallone finally joins mob

Actor, rejected as an extra in "The Godfather," now plays a capo in "Tulsa Kings." **In Life**



MARK KONEZNY/USA TODAY SPORTS

Vikings hang on for OT win vs. Bills after wild finish

Final moments of fourth quarter in what could go down as game of the year included a one-handed catch and fumbled snap in end zone. **In Sports**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | MONDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 2022



Joe Biden says he's had more time than any other world leader with China's Xi Jinping. Here the two meet in Beijing in 2013. POOL PHOTO BY LINTAO ZHANG

Biden hopeful for talks with Xi at G-20

Much has changed since both were vice presidents

Francesca Chambers
USA TODAY

BALI, Indonesia — One of President Joe Biden's favorite anecdotes involves getting to know China's Xi Jinping when they were their nations' vice presidents more than a decade ago.

Biden estimates they've had more than 67 cumulative hours of face time across visits to Washington and Beijing and in meetings at global summits.

"I know Xi Jinping. I've spent more time with him than any other world leader. I know him well. He knows me," Biden asserted Sunday in Cambodia.

Biden is optimistic about rekindling their relationship at a G-20 Summit of the world's top economies in Bali, or, at the very least, arrive at a place of mutual understanding about how not to cross each other's red lines.

"I've always had straightforward discussions with him," Biden said. "There's never any — any miscalculation about what each of us — where each of us stand."

See CHINA, Page 4A



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ELECTION 2024

Disappointing midterm scrambles GOP contest



Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis was hailed as a big winner after last week's midterm elections. MIKE LANG/USA TODAY NETWORK

Cortez Masto win cements Dems' control of Senate

Ken Tran
USA TODAY

Democrats will keep control of the U.S. Senate after Catherine Cortez Masto of Nevada — once considered the most vulnerable Democratic senator in the midterms — fended off a challenge from Republican Adam Laxalt.

The nation's first Latina senator, Cortez Masto was targeted by Republicans as their best chance to flip a seat. And because Democrats control the 50-50 Senate only because of Vice President Kamala Harris' tie-breaking votes, the GOP needed a net gain of only one seat to reach their goal.

But with her seat secured, Democrats are guaranteed control of Congress' upper chamber no matter the outcome of a Dec. 6 runoff in Georgia between incumbent Democratic Sen. Raphael Warnock and Republican challenger Herschel Walker.

A number of House races remain uncalled as of Sunday morning. Analysts are projecting the GOP to capture the House, but Democrats still are given an outside chance of retaining the chamber.



Cortez Masto

Weak showings dent Trump's claim to nod

David Jackson
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — After Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis cruised to a blockbuster reelection win last week, some supporters cheered for him to start planning another campaign: a 2024 Republican presidential bid against Donald Trump.

"Two more years! Two more years!" they chanted at a victory rally where DeSantis became the brightest star on a dim election night for Republicans. The GOP's lackluster performance in an array of congressional races dented Trump's aura of inevitability and created a bigger opening for a potential challenger to the former president, who is hinting he may announce a fresh presidential bid Tuesday.

Days after the midterms, Trump is playing defense and attacking Republicans who blame him for GOP losses and want the party to move past the volatile ex-president.

DeSantis' emergence adds an element of uncertainty to an already unprecedented election cycle: a former president trying to become the first to regain the White House since Grover Cleveland in 1892 — all while facing a series of criminal investigations

See GOP, Page 3A



Trump

"No one's ever gotten into the mud with Trump and come out better for it."

Alex Conant
Republican consultant

Trans youths' care in crosshairs

Families, other advocates stress importance of safeguarding access for minors

Susan Miller
USA TODAY

"I just don't understand why they are so mean." Those were the words Lizette Trujillo heard from her son Daniel, who came home from school one day when he was 8, unsettled that a young classmate was being bullied.

Trujillo seized on the chance for a life lesson on empathy versus sympathy. But Daniel, who is transgender, responded like a wise soul: "Mom, I think God made me this way on purpose: So I can be empathetic and teach empathy."

Seven years later, Trujillo still carries that moment close at a time of raging noise from conservative corners over rights of transgender and nonbinary youths — even for some-



Daniel Trujillo

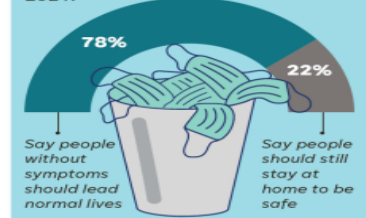


Protesters gather in September at a library in Cranston, R.I., where a lecture in opposition to transgender rights was being held. KRIS CRAIG/USA TODAY NETWORK

See TRANSGENDER, Page 6A

USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

COVID-19 worries drop
The percentage of Americans worried about getting COVID-19 is at the lowest level since summer 2021.



SOURCE Gallup
LIBBY ALLNATT, TRACIE KEETON/USA TODAY

Una kamikaze causó terror en el centro de Estambul

Hubo al menos 6 muertos y 81 heridos en un ataque terrorista en una céntrica avenida, repleta de turistas. **Página 7**



ALIVIO PARA BIDEN: EL SENADO QUEDA EN MANOS DEMÓCRATAS

—el mundo

Ganó su candidatura en Nevada y le dio al partido los 50 escaños que necesitaba; expectativa por el anuncio de Trump mañana. **Página 2**

LA CONSAGRACIÓN DE DUKI, CON CUATRO FUNCIONES EN VÉLEZ

—espectáculos

A los 26 años, se convirtió en uno de los artistas más convocantes, con 180.000 entradas vendidas; la intimidad de un rapero que empezó en las plazas.

LA NACION

LUNES 14 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Se reanuda hoy el juicio por Vialidad y el fiscal rechazará los planteos de nulidad

CORUPCIÓN. Luciani toma la palabra y la causa entra en la etapa final; difícil escenario para Cristina

El fiscal Diego Luciani volverá hoy a tomar la palabra en la causa Vialidad, donde Cristina Kirchner está acusada de favorecer la corrupción en la obra pública de Santa Cruz en beneficio del empresario Lázaro Báez.

Luciani rechazará los planteos de nulidad que lanzaron en las últi-

mas audiencias los abogados de los acusados con el objetivo de frenar la causa, y se prevé que no haga réplicas, una instancia que estraría los plazos. Luego, los jueces definirán la fecha del veredicto, que llegará antes de fin de año.

El avance de la causa se suma al

difícil escenario judicial de la vicepresidenta en lo que queda del año. En las próximas semanas se definirá si se reabren el caso Hotesur y el del pacto con Irán, en los que logró ser beneficiada con sobresesamientos.

En paralelo, protagoniza una

disputa con la Corte, que rechazó su maniobra para quedarse con el lugar de la oposición en el Consejo de la Magistratura. **Página 10**

Se abre un nuevo eje de poder en el Consejo de la Magistratura. **Hernán Cappiello. Página 10**

Denuncian “descontrol” en la entrega de planes

SUBSIDIOS. Lo afirmó Marijuan, que investiga a beneficiarios que compraron dólares

El fiscal Guillermo Marijuan, que entre otras irregularidades investiga la compra de dólares por parte de beneficiarios del plan Potenciar Trabajo, afirmó que el Gobierno repartía subsidios con un sistema que era “un descontrol”. La denuncia apunta a unos 250.000 titulares de planes que adquirieron divisas o declararon Bienes Personales. **Página 13**

QATAR 2022 Q22



MODO MUNDIAL. Buenas noticias para la selección: terminaron las ligas europeas, volvió a jugar Dybala y no se lesionó ningún jugador más; ayer llegaron De Paul, Foyth, Molina, Julián Álvarez y Rulli a Abu Dhabi, para jugar el miércoles con Emiratos, y hoy se espera el arribo de Lionel Messi.

La ilusión de Di María rumbo a Qatar. “Estamos para pelear contra cualquiera”

Texto Cristian Grosso

Qatar 2022 será el cuarto Mundial para Ángel Di María. A los 34 años, el último. Pero nada de nostalgia: al contrario, el héroe del Maracanã siente que lo mejor comenzará en menos de una semana: “Estamos para pelear contra cualquiera”, avisa, en charla con

LA NACION, sobre las expectativas que tiene el plantel argentino de cara a la Copa del Mundo que comenzará el próximo domingo, en Doha.

Di María, que ayer jugó la última media hora en la goleada 3-0 de su equipo, Juventus, ante Lazio, describió a sus compañeros: “Son caradu-

ras en el mejor sentido. Juegan, intentan, si la pierden vuelven a intentarlo, no tienen miedo. Y eso es importantísimo en la selección”. Y se detuvo en el capitán, en Lionel Messi: “Jugar con Leo es lo mejor que me pasó en mi carrera. Está muy maduro, muy comprometido con el Mundial”. **Deportes**



Cómo se vivirá en las escuelas: horas libres y actividades

Josefina Gil Moreira
Sociedad. **Página 22**

El Bot del Mundial, el predictivo para empezar a jugar

Deportes. **Página 3**

EL ESCENARIO

Ganar tiempo, la política que siempre vuelve

Claudio Jacquelin

—LA NACION—

Volvió la cronoterapia. El “método Alberto Fernández” de perdurar recuperando vigencia. Solo se trata de ganar tiempo. Aunque hay acciones subterráneas (y sorpresas en curso), en la superficie apenas se hacen pequeñas intervenciones para no desajustar más lo desajustado y con la ilusión de que los efectos secundarios se vuelvan efectos deseados. En la economía y en la política. **Continúa en la página 12**

EL PULSO DEL CONSUMO

En el pantano, una esperanza realista

Guillermo Oliveto

—PARA LA NACION—

La sociedad argentina atraviesa un momento opaco. Está mal y teme que las cosas puedan empeorar de modo imprevisto en cualquier momento. A diferencia de otras crisis que, a la distancia, hoy juzga durísimas, pero “clásicas”, encuentra una fisonomía diferente en el tiempo actual. **Continúa en la página 20**

Esporte

Acaba o Brasileirão

São Paulo goleia, mas não se classifica para a Libertadores B7

Inglês George Russell vence GP da F1 em Interlagos B6

Ilustrada C1

Há 3 décadas, o manguebeat fazia chacoalhar a música



Russell levanta a taça após a corrida Ronny Santos/Folhapress

Ministro de Bolsonaro dá apoio a PEC limitada a 2023

Nogueira, da Casa Civil, defende regra de transição restrita a benefícios sociais

O ministro da Casa Civil, Ciro Nogueira (PP-Pi), declarou que é a favor da aprovação da PEC (proposta de emenda à Constituição) da Transição, cuja meta é garantir o pagamento do Auxílio Brasil, que voltará a se chamar Bolsa Família, de R\$ 600 mensais, além de um aumento real para o salário mínimo.

Exponente de seu partido, Nogueira —que trocará o governo Jair Bolsonaro (PL) pela retomada do mandato de senador em 2023— afirmou, no entanto, que a PEC deve servir para retirar do teto constitucional de gastos apenas os custos desses benefícios sociais relativos ao primeiro ano de governo.

“O posicionamento que defenderei no Progressistas é o de aprovar uma PEC, sim, mas para a transição, para garantir estabilidade para o primeiro ano do governo”, disse, em nota. A equipe do presidente eleito, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), quer norma que valha por quatro anos.

Para o ministro de Bolsonaro, porém, o Congresso atual “não pode chancelar decisões dos próximos quatro anos no apagar das luzes”. Nogueira, que descartou a inclusão de outras despesas no texto, defendeu que os parlamentares hoje governistas possam se posicionar livremente. Mercado A13



Bruno Santos/Folhapress

ÚLTIMO ENEM SOB GOVERNO BOLSONARO TRATA DE DESIGUALDADES

Candidatos que fizeram a prova neste domingo esperam abertura do portão na Unip, em São Paulo; exame abordou o aumento de problemas educacionais, mas ditadura seguiu de fora

31% das agredidas com arma viveram violência antes

Um relatório do Instituto Sou da Paz sobre o papel da arma de fogo na violência de gênero no Brasil mostra que 1 em cada 3 mulheres que sofreram agressões com arma já havia sido vítima de violência. A repetição ocorreu em 31% dos casos atendidos e registrados pela Saúde em 2020. Cotidiano B1

Negociação sobre perdas climáticas empaca na COP27

A negociação sobre a reparação por perdas e danos climáticos ficou estagnada nas consultas informais aos países na primeira semana da Conferência do Clima da ONU. O racha entre países ricos e em desenvolvimento permanece profundo, e diplomatas temem que tratativas viam palestras. Ambiente B4

Partido de Biden mantém a maioria no Senado dos EUA

O Partido Democrata garantiu uma estreita maioria no Senado dos EUA, em uma grande vitória do presidente Joe Biden —que manterá algum grau de governabilidade mesmo se perder o comando da Câmara, cuja composição não está definida. O resultado foi assegurado com a reeleição de Catherine Cortez em Nevada.

Com isso, a legenda terá ao menos 50 dos 100 senadores, o mesmo número de hoje. A maioria é obtida com o voto de desempate que, segundo as regras americanas, é prerrogativa da vice-presidente, Kamala Harris. Os democratas podem conquistar ainda mais uma cadeira na Casa, no estado da Geórgia. Mundo A9

Beneficiados por grandes doações perderam eleição

O ranking dos 50 candidatos que mais receberam doações privadas ou se autofinanciaram nas eleições de 2022 mostra que a maioria parte deles não se elegeu. Puxa essa lista o presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL), destinatário de R\$ 88 milhões, mas que foi derrotado por Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT). Política A6

Celso R. de Barros Não cabe projetar Lula a partir do pânico no mercado

Muito picareta aproveitou o pânico da semana passada com as piores intenções, inclusive políticas. O que o novo governo pode fazer é impor consistência a seu discurso econômico para que os picaretas não possam mais lucrar com as ambiguidades. Política A5

EDITORIAIS A2

A China relaxa

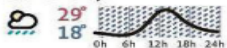
Sobre impacto de restrições sanitárias menores.

Desordem unida

A respeito de nota descabida das Forças Armadas.

ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



	Hoje	Amanhã
Rio	22° 34°	23° 32°
Brasília	18° 27°	19° 25°
Ribeirão	21° 29°	20° 30°

Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br



Reprodução

MILTON NASCIMENTO DEDICA A GAL COSTA SEU ÚLTIMO SHOW

Cantor e compositor fez apresentação em Belo Horizonte e ao final da primeira música homenageou a intérprete, que morreu na semana passada; parceiros do disco “Clube da Esquina”, que completou meio século neste ano, foram chamados ao palco

ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Fátima Bernardes

Não vou me posicionar politicamente todos os dias

Após declarar apoio a Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), a apresentadora Fátima Bernardes abandona de vez o jornalismo ao assumir a frente do The Voice Brasil. É um passo que já vinha ensaiando havia dez anos, quando decidiu deixar a bancada do Jornal Nacional para criar o Encontro. “Se eu sentir necessidade de falar sobre alguma coisa, vou falar. A questão não é só o que eu falo, mas como eu falo”, diz. A12

Parlamento y máxima instancia judicial podrán alzar salarios sin restricción

Congreso y Corte Suprema otra vez no cumplen la ley

La media sanción de Diputados les excluye de las normativas de la Función Pública y de Racionalización. Les da vía libre para contratar a parientes en puestos claves en año electoral.

PÁGINA 9

Incautan 230 kilos de la hierba
**Móvil de la ANDE era
para verificar medidor,
pero llevaba marihuana**

PÁGINA 37

Reclaman respuesta de la Corte

No se respetan plazos en casos de corrupción y facilitan impunidad

PÁGINA 2

Lluvia de denuncias de víctimas
Bad Bunny: En mira de
Policía implicados en
estafas con entradas

PÁGINA 23

Hoy continúa exitoso Black Friday en CDE

Masivo. Ni la lluvia impidió ayer que compristas abarrotasen el microcentro de la capital del Alto Paraná. La feria será hasta mañana.

PÁGINA 10

Masivo. Ni la lluvia impidió ayer que compristas abarrotasen el microcentro de la capital del Alto Paraná. La feria será hasta mañana.

PÁGINA 30

Misa por Jornada Mundial de los Pobres
**El Papa insta a no dejarse
engañar por los falsos
mesías y el populismo**

PÁGINA 33

Objetan legitimidad de padre Velázquez
Cones funciona a medias
porque su titular tiene
el mandato vencido

PÁGINA 12

Se firmó convenio, pero no para control
**Sector privado contradice
al MOPC y afirma que no
fiscaliza obras de dragado**

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RESEARCH **REPORT**



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CHAMPS LIBRES
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FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question
de samedi :
Fin de vie : approuvez-
vous que les médecins
puissent s'affranchir
des dernières volontés
des patients ?

OUI 28% NON 72%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 75 854

Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr
Les Occidentaux doivent-ils
soutenir l'Ukraine
jusqu'au retrait total
des Russes ?

LUCIEN LUNG / RMA-PRESS POUR LE FIGARO

L'« Ocean Viking » brouille le jeu de Macron vers la droite

Le chef de l'État avait tendu la main aux députés LR pour construire des majorités sur les thèmes chers à la droite. Mais la question migratoire marque les limites de la stratégie présidentielle.

Depuis sa réélection et les législatives qui ont suivi, Emmanuel Macron est à la recherche d'une majorité absolue, pour l'instant introuvable. C'est dans cet esprit qu'il cherche depuis des

mois à nouer une alliance avec Les Républicains, aidé en cela notamment par Nicolas Sarkozy, qui plaide en faveur d'un tel rapprochement. Mais tous ces projets théoriques, lon-

guement échafaudés en coulisses, se sont érodés, successivement mis à mal par le fiasco du Stade de France ou l'humiliante fuite de l'imam Iqoussou. Enfin, ils se sont fracassés sur

l'épisode de l'Ocean Viking. En acceptant d'accueillir le navire transportant 230 migrants - ce qu'il s'était refusé à faire avec l'Aquarius, il y a quatre ans -, le président de la République a agi

au nom de ce qu'il considère comme un devoir d'humanité. Mais il a aussi confirmé ce faisant qu'il ne sortirait jamais vraiment de son sempiternel « en même temps ».

→ LE VOLONTARISME DE DARMANIN RATTRAPÉ PAR LA RÉALITÉ ET LES CHOIX DE L'EXÉCUTIF → UNE POLITIQUE MIGRATOIRE QUI CONFORTE LES LR DANS LEUR STRATÉGIE D'INDÉPENDANCE → « MON PAYS D'ORIGINE EST UNE COLONIE FRANÇAISE, JE VEUX RESTER ICI » PAGES 2, 3, 20 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



Revers pour Trump après l'échec électoral des républicains au Sénat

La victoire de leur sénatrice dans le Nevada a offert aux démocrates une majorité à la Chambre haute du Congrès. Ce succès conforte le parti de Joe Biden, qui a déjoué les mauvais pronostics aux élections de mi-mandat. PAGE 7

Dans Kherson libérée, l'immense soulagement des Ukrainiens

Après le retrait, vendredi, des forces russes, mettant un terme à plus de huit mois d'occupation, des larmes de joie ont salué l'arrivée des libérateurs. L'armée ukrainienne est galvanisée par cette nouvelle victoire. Il s'agit du troisième repli d'ampleur russe depuis le début de la guerre, la Russie ayant renoncé au printemps à prendre Kiev face à la résistance acharnée des Ukrainiens, avant d'être chassée de la quasi-totalité de la région de Kharkiv (Nord-Est) en septembre. PAGES 8 ET 9

ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thérard yththread@lefigaro.fr

La leçon de l'« Ocean Viking »

Plégé par Giorgia Meloni et par lui-même, Emmanuel Macron doit désormais s'accommoder de la polémique née de l'accueil de l'Ocean Viking. Cette affaire contrarie ses plans, à quelques semaines de la présentation de son projet de loi sur l'immigration. La fermeté affichée dans les discours sur ce front - le chef de l'État a même « osé » faire un lien récemment entre immigration et délinquance - est grandement mise à mal. En première ligne, Gérard Darmanin a beau répéter à l'envi que les deux tiers des migrants arrivés ne resteront pas en France et que le contrôle de nos frontières avec l'Italie est renforcé, l'opération de camouflage ne trompe personne. Paris n'a pas su dire non, comme en 2018, quand l'Aquarius et ses 629 passagers avaient été refoulés. L'embaras est donc énorme.

Cet épisode compromet singulièrement les tentatives de l'Élysée pour nouer une alliance avec le parti Les Républicains. Pas seulement pour les textes régalien à venir, mais aussi pour des réformes délicates et d'ampleur, comme celle des retraites. Fin octobre, à la télévision, Emmanuel Macron avait appelé ce rapprochement de ses

vœux. Il emboîtait ainsi le pas à Nicolas Sarkozy, qui lui conseillait de « franchir le Rubicon » dans ce sens, au terme d'un contrat en bonne et due forme.

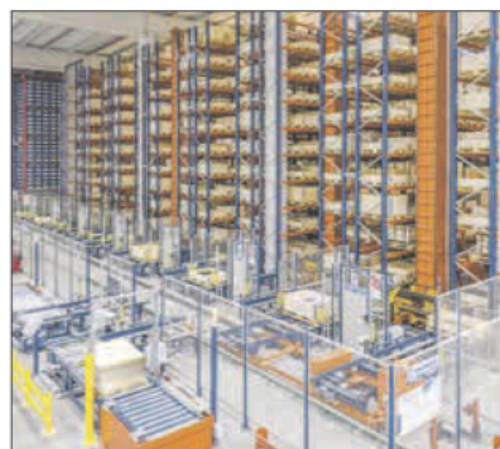
Dans le tumulte de l'Assemblée nationale, le pouvoir exécutif a besoin de soutien. Sa majorité est fragile, le recours à l'article 49-3 reste limité et l'apparition de frondeurs n'est pas à exclure. D'autant plus que le

Le vœu d'alliance de Macron avec LR mis à mal

président de la République, qui se souvient du quinquennat Hollande, ne peut prétendre à sa propre succession en 2027. Son autorité est en jeu.

« C'est un mythe de penser que le groupe s'est droitisé », confiait, il y a peu, Sacha Houlié, le président de la commission des lois, qui entend revendiquer haut et fort sa sensibilité de gauche.

À deux semaines de l'élection de leur président à la tête du parti, l'accostage à Toulon de l'Ocean Viking est une aubaine pour les élus LR. Il prouve l'impuissance du pouvoir exécutif en place face à l'immigration et justifie ainsi leur stratégie d'indépendance. ■



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The hospitals where a third of patients can't go home

Nicola Davis
Carmen Aguilar García

Up to a third of hospital beds in parts of England are occupied by patients well enough to be discharged, with a chronic lack of social care leaving many without suitable places to go.

Guardian analysis of official data shows that on average 13,600 beds across NHS England are occupied every day with patients who doctors say are medically fit to go home or to a care home, equivalent to one in seven beds in acute hospitals in October.

However, that rose to more than one in five in 35 of England's 121 acute hospital trusts, and to almost one in three at two trusts - North Bristol, and Wrightington, Wigan and Leigh.

Previous work by the Nuffield Trust thinktank blamed most delays on a lack of social care.

The situation has deteriorated sharply in 35 hospital trusts, including Epsom and St Helier University in south London - where delayed discharges rose from 6% in April to 20% in October - and Liverpool University trust, which jumped from 10% to 23% in the same period. "There's certainly

a sense of this getting worse," said Miriam Deakin, director of policy and strategy at NHS Providers.

The NHS is gearing up for what is expected to be one of the toughest winters, with flu, Covid and record vacancies adding to pressure. NHS England is setting up system control centres or "war rooms" to cope.

This month, Sarah McClinton, president of the Association of Directors of Adult Social Services, said the state of social care in England had "never been so bad", with half a million people waiting for help. "The shocking situation is that we have more people requesting help from councils, more older and disabled with complex needs, yet social care capacity has reduced and we have 50,000 fewer paid carers," she said.

The impact of delayed discharges on new patients is evident, with A&E departments heavily congested and ambulances queuing outside. But the effect on those stuck in hospital can also be profound. "Your muscular ability can deteriorate in a hospital bed, and that's quite rapid for older people; your mental health can suffer, you can lose independence quickly," said Deakin. 17 →



Ben again Stokes fires England to T20 World Cup glory

Sport Back page →

PHOTOGRAPH: WILLIAM WEST/AF/GETTY

Everyone will pay more tax, say Sunak and Hunt

Aletha Adu
Jessica Elgot

The prime minister and the chancellor attempted yesterday to prepare the ground for a bleak autumn statement, saying that everybody should expect higher taxes and arguing that

financial markets were expecting deep cuts to public spending.

Speaking en route to the G20 in Bali, the prime minister, Rishi Sunak, told reporters that the reason financial markets were no longer in turmoil was because they expected Jeremy Hunt to clamp down on borrowing and squeeze 6 →

At least six dead after bomb blast in Istanbul

Ruth Michaelson
Philip Oltermann
Ghaith Abdul-Ahad

Six people have been killed and 81 injured after an explosion rocked Istanbul's popular pedestrian thoroughfare Istiklal Avenue, in a bomb

attack that Turkey's president described as an act of terrorism.

Speaking shortly before departing for the G20 summit in Bali, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan spoke of a "treacherous attack" yesterday afternoon, adding: "Those responsible will be punished."

Erdoğan said investigations were

continuing but that initial reports suggested an act of terrorism. "The first information provided to us by the [Istanbul] governor suggests this was an act of terrorism," he said.

His vice-president, Fuat Oktay, said a female attacker had detonated a bomb on the busy shopping street. "Whoever is behind these events, they will be found, even if they go to the other end of the world," he said.

While central Istanbul has been targeted by Kurdish separatists and militant Islamists in the recent past, responsibility for the attack has so far not been claimed. 26 →