



The Ukrainian Doctors Who Defied Russia

REVIEW

WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND



A Memorable Long Weekend in Dublin

OFF DUTY

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SATURDAY/SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26 - 27, 2022 - VOL. CCLXXX NO. 125

WSJ.com ★★★★★ \$6.00

What's News

World-Wide

European Union talks on approving a price cap on Russian oil hit a snag amid differences among the 27 member states, although diplomats said they were hopeful a deal could be struck in the coming days. **A1**

◆ **Russian forces** stepped up their shelling of the southern Ukrainian city of Kherson, killing 10 people and injuring at least 54 others in the latest round of strikes, according to local officials. **A8**

◆ **The FCC** voted to ban sales of new telecom and surveillance equipment made by several Chinese companies, arguing that their ownership and practices threaten U.S. national security. **A3**

◆ **The suspected shooter** who killed six employees at a Walmart on Tuesday bought the gun legally that morning and left behind a note alleging he was harassed and ridiculed by co-workers, police said. **A3**

◆ **Netanyahu's Likud party** signed a coalition deal with Ben-Gvir's Jewish Power party that gives the latter control of Israel's police ministry and a seat in the security cabinet. **A6**

◆ **Iran is deploying** armored and special units along its western border to prevent the infiltration of Kurdish opposition groups based in Iraq, a top commander of the Revolutionary Guard said. **A6**

Business & Finance

◆ **Millions of Americans** visited bricks-and-mortar stores on Black Friday as people return to pre-pandemic habits, though door-buster deals weren't back with their former force. **A1**

◆ **Musk said** Twitter would again try to roll out in the coming week a new verification service that the billionaire owner has championed despite a fumbled launch and numerous problems. **B1**

◆ **China's central bank** moved to backstop growth by boosting lending to households and businesses amid the country's biggest Covid-19 outbreak since the pandemic began. **A7**

◆ **Law firms** are bracing for economic uncertainty after record-breaking revenues last year and hiring sprees that saw even some lower-level lawyers netting big signing bonuses. **B1**

◆ **Major U.S. stock indexes** ended mixed in a shortened trading session, with the S&P 500 and Nasdaq losing 0.03% and 0.5%, respectively, and the Dow gaining 0.4%. **B1**

◆ **ABB is nearing** a deal to pay around \$325 million to resolve bribery allegations in South Africa, an outcome that would make the Swiss company a third-time violator of U.S. antibribery laws. **B3**

NOONAN

'Home Again, And Home Again, America for Me' **A13**

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People flocked to stores around the country on Friday in search of holiday deals amid a return to pre-pandemic habits. Clockwise, from top, shoppers at a Best Buy in Chicago, outside Macy's in New York City and at the Opry Mills Mall in Nashville, Tenn.

Black Friday Crowds Return, But Door-Buster Deals Fade

By SUZANNE KAPNER AND SHARON TERLEP

Black Friday is back—even if many of the door-buster deals aren't. Millions of Americans visited bricks-and-mortar stores on the Friday after Thanksgiving

this year as the Covid-19 pandemic recedes and people return to pre-pandemic habits. That is a reversal of the past two years, when they were largely stuck at home and did more shopping online. This year, however, many household budgets are pinched by high

gasoline and grocery prices. Early signs pointed to more muted activity than last year. People spent \$5.3 billion online on Thanksgiving Day, up 2.9% from the holiday last year, according to Adobe Analytics, which tracks spending on websites. Adobe forecasts

that online spending on Black Friday itself will be between \$9 billion and \$9.2 billion, up 1% to 3% from a year ago. Gabriela Faria, a 26-year-old Please turn to page A2

◆ **The Numbers:** If price ended in 99, you likely overpaid... A2

EXCHANGE



THE GLUT BEFORE CHRISTMAS

Stores have too many toys as the holiday shopping season begins. **B1**

Library Sleuths Rile Local Politics

Taiwan's elections shaken by 'thesis melee'

By JOYU WANG

TAIPEI—Taiwan is perched on one of the world's most volatile geopolitical fault lines. Yet as a closely watched election approaches on Saturday, some candidates' thorniest obstacles are coming from their stances on China but from the library stacks. Amateur sleuths have been slinging campaigns into turmoil by digging up evidence that candidates long ago cribbed bits of their university

Fearing Sabotage, Europe Keeps Watch on Its Pipelines

Deploys mine hunters and unmanned subs after September blasts

The Italian navy mine hunter ITS Numana was sailing recently above a pipeline carrying natural gas from North Africa to Europe when its sonar detected a metal object close to the line.

By Margherita Stancati, Kim Mackrael and Georgi Kantchev

"There was an obvious risk," said Lt. Gianluigi Barberis, the vessel's commander. So the ship lowered a robot 650 feet below to take a closer look. It was a rusty table.

Until recently, the Italian navy didn't spend much time inspecting underwater pipelines. That changed on Sept. 26, when explosions

ripped through the Nord Stream natural-gas pipelines in the Baltic Sea in an apparent act of sabotage. Since then, protecting the pipelines, energy grids and natural-gas terminals that keep Europe's lights on and homes heated has become a national-security priority across the continent.

After Russia invaded Ukraine, Moscow gradually throttled gas exports to Europe, exposing the perils of depending on Russian oil and gas. The blasts at the Nord Stream pipelines, which carried gas from Russia to Germany, revealed another European weakness: the vulnerability of its infrastructure to physical attacks.

While no European government has named Please turn to page A9

After FTX, Bahamas Picks Up the Pieces

By MATT GROSSMAN AND ANGEL AU-YEUNG

NASSAU, Bahamas—Last year, an FTX executive walked into a bank office here and put \$4.5 million of the company's money behind an ambitious plan to buy an oceanside parcel of land and turn it into the crypto giant's new headquarters.

The executive, Ryan Salame, closed the deal in short order, people familiar with the matter said, just part of the company's whirlwind real-estate shopping spree in and around Nassau. In April, the Bahamas prime minister appeared with FTX executives at a ceremonial groundbreaking on the new land. But construction never really got under way. FTX collapsed this month, its

real-estate holdings now subsumed in bankruptcy.

The never-built new headquarters illustrates the promise that FTX brought to the Bahamas and the frustration it left in its wake. The island nation has been encouraging crypto firms to make themselves at home, promising a copacetic regulatory touch—exactly what founder Sam Bankman-Fried was looking for when he decided to move FTX headquarters from Hong Kong last year.

FTX wasn't the only crypto player in town, but it was the flashiest, leasing fleets of cars for its employees to drive. The Wall Street Journal reported. It snapped up units in a luxury resort called Albany—a private neighborhood that has counted Tiger Woods and Justin Please turn to page A4

U.S., England Play to 0-0 Tie



The outcome left the Americans still in control of their own destiny at soccer's World Cup, with a victory over Iran needed on Tuesday to qualify for the tournament's round of 16. **A14**

NASSAU, BAHAMAS, ASSOCIATED PRESS

LATE EDITION
Today, cloudy and breezy with afternoon rain, high 56. Tonight, rain early, then partly cloudy, low 50. Tomorrow, partly sunny and breezy, high 55. Weather map, Page 22.

'I was helping give someone a baby. I wanted to give that joy.'

HUN DANETH, with the son she gave birth to. Cambodia jailed his father, a Chinese businessman, on charges of human trafficking.



NADIA SHIRA COHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

When Surrogacy Becomes a Crime

Women Are Forced to Either Go to Prison or Raise the Children

By HANNAH BEECH

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia — The baby was not hers, not really. Hun Daneth felt that, counted on that. When she gave birth to the boy, who didn't look like her, she knew it even more.

But four years after acting as a surrogate for a Chinese businessman, who said he had used a Russian egg donor, Ms. Hun Daneth is being forced by the Cambodian courts to raise the little boy or risk going to jail. The businessman is in prison over the surrogacy, his appeal denied in June.

Even as she dealt with the shock of raising the baby, Ms. Hun Daneth dutifully

changed his diapers. Over the months and years, she found herself hugging and kissing him, cajoling him to eat more rice so he could grow big and strong. She has come to see this child as her own.

"I love him so much," said Ms. Hun Daneth, who is looking after the boy with her husband.

The fates of a Cambodian woman, a Chinese man and the boy who binds them together reflect the intricate ethical dilemmas posed by the global surrogacy industry. The practice is legal — and often prohibitively expensive — in some countries, while others have outlawed it. Still other nations with weak legal systems, like Cambodia, have allowed gray markets to operate,

endangering those involved when political conditions suddenly shift and criminal cases follow.

When carried out transparently with safeguards in place, supporters say, commercial surrogacy allows people to expand their families while fairly compensating the women who give birth to the children. Done badly, the process can lead to the abuse of vulnerable people, whether the surrogates or the intended parents.

The practice flourishes in the nebulous space between those who can and cannot bear children; between those with the means to hire someone to bear their biological offspring and the women who need the

Continued on Page 10

He's the Expert On Uncovering 'Shrinkflation'

By CLARE TOENISKOEETTER

SOMERVILLE, Mass. — A few weeks ago, Edgar Dworsky got a promising tip by email. "Diluted cough syrup," read the message, accompanied by a photo of two packages of syrup with a curious difference: The new one appeared to be half the strength of the old one.

Mr. Dworsky gets emails like this frequently, alerting him to things like a bag of dog food that discreetly shrank from 50 pounds to 44 pounds. A cereal box that switched from "giant" to "family" size and grew about an inch taller — but a few ounces lighter. Bottles of detergent that look the same, but the newer ones come with less detergent.

The cough syrup message looked intriguing. Mr. Dworsky made plans to investigate.

He has dedicated much of his life to exposing what is one of the sneakier tricks in the modern consumer economy: "shrinkflation," when products or packaging are subtly manipulated so that a person pays the same price, or even

Two examples of "shrinkflation" noted by Edgar Dworsky: a smaller dish soap and a buttery spread with less vegetable oil.

slightly more, for something but gets less of it.

Consumer product companies have been using this strategy for decades. And their nemesis, Mr. Dworsky, has been following it for decades. He writes up his discoveries on his website, mouseprint.org, a reference to the fine print often found on product packaging. Print so tiny "only a mouse could read," he says.

He writes about shrinkflation in everything — tuna, mayonnaise, ice cream, deodorant, dish soap — alongside other consumer advocacy work on topics like misleading advertising, class-action lawsuits and exaggerated sale claims.

One recent Mouse Print report explored toilet paper shrinkflation. "Virtually every brand of toilet paper has been downsized over the years," Mr. Dworsky wrote, documenting more than a decade of toilet paper shrinkage.

Mr. Dworsky, 71, is a semi-retired lawyer whose career began as a market researcher before he briefly became an on-air consumer reporter for local television alongside a young Bill O'Reilly, the former Fox News personality. Mr. Dworsky was "one of the most sincere broadcasters I've ever seen," Mr. O'Reilly said recently, adding that Mr. Dworsky "wasn't

Continued on Page 20

For the Exonerated, Quick Cash at Steep Rates

By COREY KILGANNON

After serving nearly 20 years in a New York State prison for a 1989 murder he did not commit, Huwe Burton walked out like many inmates: with no money, no credit and no one to borrow from. Mr. Burton, who got by as an elevator repairman, could sue for millions in compensation, but payouts typically take years.

So after being exonerated in 2019, Mr. Burton took an advance of \$500,000 from a company that typically funds plaintiffs waiting to settle auto insurance claims, slip-and-fall judgments and medical malpractice cases. Mr. Burton's advance, at 28 percent annual interest, came from USClaims, a company based in Florida whose investors include Further Global Capital Management and the Blackstone Group, one of the world's largest private equity firms.

Across the nation, exonerations — and cash settlements — have risen steadily thanks to DNA-based reinvestigations, conviction-integrity units created by prosecutors and the vigor of innocence organizations. Now, the billions in payouts have attracted companies offering high interest cash advances while exonerated



SEAN SIROTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Felipe Rodriguez borrowed \$380,000 to restart his life after he was exonerated in a 1987 stabbing death. He repaid \$590,000.

people await their claims. Many firms are backed by private equity investors eager to bet on nearly certain short-term profit.

Many of the advances offer a tantalizing provision: If prisoners fail to collect a payout, the advance is essentially forgiven. But if the claims come through, which they usually do, the company makes a healthy profit when the exonerate pays in full, often from a settlement that far outstrips the

size of the debt. Mr. Burton was a good investment. Wrongful conviction cases are exceptionally good bets because they have often gone through years of appellate court scrutiny and have been vetted by the lawyers handling the claims, said the president of USClaims, Donna Lee Jones.

She said that in the eight years since the firm began taking such

Continued on Page 21

INTERNATIONAL 4-13

Books, Grades and Pageants

Unabashedly skin-deep and popular beauty contests at prestigious Japanese universities serve as pipelines for women to find careers in television. PAGE 4

ARTS & LEISURE

Vivid Visions of Tomorrow

On the eve of a major revival of Octavia Butler's work, a look at how the science fiction writer saw a future that is now our present. PAGE 16

SUNDAY STYLES

Surviving a Nearby Makeover

The Chelsea Guitars shop seems a bit scruffy in the embrace of the renovated Chelsea Hotel, but the owner is fine with the new surroundings. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

A Contentious Landscape

An app that reveals pockets of public land surrounded by privately held property has supercharged the question of access in the American West. PAGE 1

SUNDAY OPINION

Daniela J. Lamas

PAGE 4



Bond No. 9
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The Photo Issue
Real Americana:
Does the U.S. flag
really belong to all
its citizens? **MAGAZINE**



World Cup For giddy
Saudi soccer fans,
hope is just a short trip
across the desert
border. **SPORTS**

Optimal shopping
Buying smart is a
badge of honor. Try
these tactics for the
holidays. **BUSINESS**



The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington

Rain 60/51 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 59/38 C10

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 2022 • \$5

FTX's Bahamas empire: Subterfuge and a spectacular collapse

BY TIM CRAIG,
DREW HARWELL
AND NITASHA TIKU

NASSAU, BAHAMAS — Before Sam Bankman-Fried's \$16 billion empire imploded, Margaux Avedisian remembers thinking there was something unsettling about the cryptocurrency wunderkind.

Bankman-Fried had become a legend by pushing an image of monkish aloofness, vowing to forsake the allure of his extraordinary wealth — sleeping on beanbag chairs, driving a Toyota Corolla — and to give away his fortune for the greater good.

Yet in April, when Avedisian was hired as a master of ceremonies for a conference in the Baha-

Crypto exchange's island home awaits fallout after rosy promises evaporate

mas sponsored by FTX, Bankman-Fried's crypto exchange, she saw how the 30-year-old billionaire really lived: in a guarded island compound, every need closely catered to, the world's elite at his beck and call.

Conference guests partied in casinos where Bahamians weren't allowed to gamble and hobnobbed with celebrity attendees, including singer Katy Perry and football veteran Tom Brady. For one party, VIPs took a boat from

the island to a second, even fancier island for a feast of lobster, a private DJ concert and an open bar.

"You're living this lifestyle of poverty, but you're partying with Katy Perry?" she recalled thinking. "Why would you want to hang out with these celebrities if you're so head-down trying to change the world?"

When Bankman-Fried and his band of crypto risk-takers moved to the Bahamas last year in a blitz of extravagant spending, they promised to remake the island paradise into a global capital of the new financial elite. Some Bahamians said they felt lucky to have an opportunity to work so close to a superstar.

SEE FTX ON A16



FTX chief Sam Bankman-Fried, shown in Hong Kong, lived in grand Bahamas environs belying the ascetic image he cultivated.

2022 PHOTO BY LAM YIK/BLUMBERG NEWS

Signs of spiral in Russian economy

WESTERN SANCTIONS BEGINNING TO BITE

Kremlin works to shore up supply chains for war

BY CATHERINE BELTON
AND ROBYN DIXON

When Russian President Vladimir Putin launched last month a new council for coordinating supplies for the Russian army, he seemed to recognize the scale of the economic problems facing the country, and his sense of urgency was palpable.

"We have to be faster in deciding questions connected to supplying the special military operation and countering restrictions on the economy which, without any exaggeration, are truly unprecedented," he said.

For months, Putin claimed that the "economic blitzkrieg" against Russia had failed, but Western sanctions imposed over the invasion of Ukraine are digging ever deeper into Russia's economy, exacerbating equipment shortages for its army and hampering its ability to launch any new ground offensive or build new missiles, economists and Russian businessmen said.

Recent figures show the situation has worsened considerably since the summer when, buoyed by a steady stream of oil and gas revenue, the Russian economy seemed to stabilize. Figures released by the Finance Ministry this month show a key economic indicator — tax revenue from the non-oil and gas sector — fell 20 percent in October compared with a year earlier, while the Russian state statistics agency Rosstat reported that retail sales fell 10 percent year on year in September, and cargo turnover

SEE RUSSIA ON A18

Ex-officer's charges roil suburb in Kansas

Accused of raping Black women decades ago, reopening racial wounds

BY DAVID NAKAMURA

KANSAS CITY, KAN. — A dozen years after his retirement, Roger Golubski returned to the Wyandotte County Courthouse in late October to testify in a hearing for two Black prison inmates who claim the White former police detective framed them for murder long ago.

Golubski, 69, took the witness chair slowly. He was still burly, but his once-intimidating presence had been punctured by ailing health, including renal failure, diabetes and quintuple bypass surgery in April.

"Did you have a history of pressuring witnesses?" said Kevin



Golubski

in Shepherd, a lawyer for Brian Betts and Celester McKinney. The two inmates, who were convicted in the 1997 case, sat next to Shepherd in striped prison jumpsuits.

"Never," Golubski replied. Golubski is the key figure in alleged corruption stemming from his 35 years in the Kansas City, Kan., Police Department that has raised troubling questions about justice and accountability at a time when many predominantly Black or Brown communities and other disenfranchised groups are vocally demanding both. He is accused of preying on impoverished Black residents by exploiting a network of female informants for sex and for coerced testimony, which he allegedly used to close cases — charges he has denied.

The tale that emerges from court testimony, documents and interviews reveals a world in which Golubski, at minimum, appears to have played a significantly influential role in dramatically determining what darkness happened in the lives of scores of Kansas City residents. It also provides a sense of the changes in power and justice occurring in the city, including the nuance, frustration and hope that has come as new leadership reckons with racial wounds.

In recent weeks, the U.S. Justice Department has taken steps to address some of the allegations, announcing two indictments of Golubski on eight

SEE KANSAS ON A14

The perilous 1,000-mile journey to save southern Africa's black rhinos



PHOTOS BY SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST

Moving an endangered giant out of poachers' crosshairs

BY SUDARSAN RAGHAVAN

LEPHALALE, SOUTH AFRICA — Blood trickled down Cecil's face.

A tranquilizer dart had pierced his rough, leathery skin above the ear. Steps away, his sedated mother had collapsed. Paulina's hind foot was lassoed with a rope and she was blindfolded. A group of men and women tugged on the rope and rocked her large, round frame, trying to get her up and into a metal crate.

"1, 2, 3, push!" someone commanded. "1, 2, 3, push!"

Then, they plunged a cattle prod under Paulina's bottom. The crackle of electricity flowed through her body. She staggered up, then fell again.

Five other endangered black rhinos were undergoing different stages of the same treatment. To an outsider, it seemed cruel. But to the team of animal conservationists corralling the rhinos, the

SEE RHINOS ON A6



TOP: Paulina and her calf Cecil are set free so they can roam a fenced area in a sanctuary at Zinave National Park in Mozambique. The animals were moved to the protected habitat to keep them away from poachers in South Africa. ABOVE: Conservationists check on the animals during the 1,000-mile journey.

Long-haulers turn to risky, costly covid treatments

BY FRANCES STEAD SELLERS

For the burgeoning population of covid long-haulers, there is an abundance of new treatment options: Specially formulated nutraceuticals imported from India that promise to "get you life back from covid." Pure oxygen delivered in a pressurized chamber. And, if time and money are no obstacle, a process known as "blood washing" that's available in Cyprus, or \$25,000 stem cell treatments in the Cayman Islands.

Months-long waits at long-covid clinics combined with the sluggish pace of research have left vulnerable patients clamoring for immediate care as manufacturers bring novel remedies to market, often with little data behind them.

"I have tried, I would say, as many different things as anyone could do in my situation," said Donna Davis-Donoghue, a 62-year-old accountant with Heartside Food Solutions in London, Ky., who has been tormented by headaches since coming down with covid in November 2020.

SEE COVID ON A12

ARTS E3
BOOK WORLD E2
BUSINESS B1

CLASSIFIEDS C10
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EDITORIALS/LETTERS A25

LOTTERIES C3
OBITUARIES C6
STOCKS G6

TRAVEL F1
WEATHER C10
WORLD NEWS A22

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The Washington Post / Year 145, No. 5337



USA TODAY WEEKEND

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | NOVEMBER 25-27, 2022

LEON BENNETT/
GETTY IMAGES



Kooky, spooky – and so cool

Jenna Ortega makes an "Addams Family" icon her own in Netflix's new original series "Wednesday." In Life



Your guide to the holidays

Experts at Reviewed have the inside track on hot deals, best gifts and activities this season. In Weekend Extra



US stands its ground vs. England

Captain Tyler Adams and team looking to show Three Lions what they are capable of. In Sports

DANIELLE PARHIZKARAN/USA TODAY SPORTS

TITLE IX
USA TODAY INVESTIGATION

Assault victims: University failed us

Marshall lacked urgency in rape cases, they say

Alia E. Dastagir
USA TODAY

The remembering is sharp – every detail, each decision, the cleaving of her life.

Alicia Gonzales remembers sitting on the bed in her dorm room at West Virginia's Marshall University. She remembers what she wore – sweatpants and a long-sleeved shirt, no makeup, hair fastened in a French braid. It was approaching afternoon. She didn't want to be alone with him, but the friend who was with her left, so she was alone with him.

She remembers the way she tensed when he began to talk about his body count. He'd had sex with 16 people, he told her. She remembers all the excuses she made, initially plausible, increasingly desperate – the door's unlocked, my roommate will be home soon, in my religion we don't have sex on Mondays.

When she pointed out someone could walk in, he got up and deadbolted the door. That's when she knew, when the voice inside her said, "You're going to get raped."

Her perpetrator, fellow Marshall student Joseph Chase Hardin, was more than 6 feet tall and 250 pounds, and he was aggressive and undeterred

See **TITLE IX**, Page 4A



Joseph Chase Hardin took a plea deal that reduced his felony sexual assault charge to a misdemeanor battery charge. He was then reinstated at Marshall University. USA TODAY NETWORK

About this series

USA TODAY's "Title IX: Falling short at 50" exposes how top U.S. colleges and universities still fail to live up to the landmark law that bans sexual discrimination in education. Title IX, which turns 50 this summer, requires equity across a broad range of areas in academics and athletics. Despite tremendous gains during the past five decades, many colleges and universities fall short, leaving women struggling for equal footing.

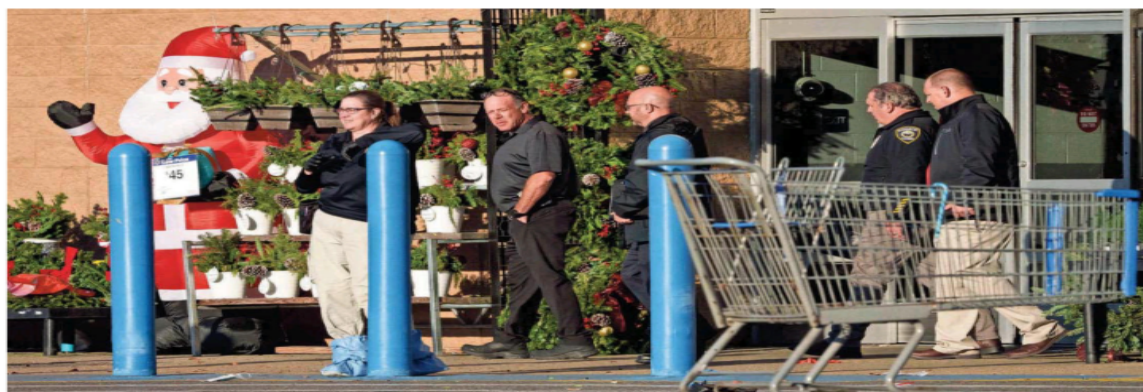


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MASS SHOOTINGS

'Waiting for the next bad thing to happen'



Investigators converge on the scene of a Walmart in Chesapeake, Va., following a mass shooting that left six people dead and at least six others injured. It was the second mass shooting in Virginia this month. JACK GRUBER/USA TODAY

Recent spate of gun violence has left Americans on edge

Trevor Hughes and Terry Collins
USA TODAY

COLORADO SPRINGS, Colo. – Chesapeake. Colorado Springs. Uvalde. Buffalo. Portland. Highland Park.

Mass shootings in big cities and small towns across the country have risen in the wake of the 2020 pandemic lockdowns. And amid the grief and shock and loss, each one prompts more businesses, schools, hotels or nightclubs to toughen their own security responses.

"Due to the senseless nature of gun violence in America that is only horrifically worsening, I have lived a more sheltered life out of sheer fear."

Haylea Turner
Longtime patron of Club Q

Days before, a shooter killed five people at an LGBTQ bar in Colorado Springs, Colorado, before being tackled by a former U.S. Army major and other patrons.

In between those two attacks, six other people were killed and 14 others wounded in shootings in Oklahoma, Mississippi, Texas and Illinois, according to the nonprofit Gun Violence Archive, which catalogs shootings of four or more people, ex-

See **SHOOTINGS**, Page 3A



Witness says Walmart assailant was 'going hunting'

Jorge L. Ortiz, Claire Thornton and Paul Bibeau
USA TODAY

CHESAPEAKE, Va. – The shooter who killed six people at a Walmart in Virginia late Tuesday was targeting co-workers, "going hunting" and making sure they were dead, according to a witness.

Jessica Wilczewski said overnight team leader Andre Bing came into the break room before the late shift started and opened fire with a purpose, contradicting the account of another witness who said the gunman shot wildly.

"The way he was acting – he was going hunting," Wilczewski told The Associated Press on Thursday. "The way he

See **CHESAPEAKE**, Page 3A

Authorities have released the names of five of the six victims of the shooting in Chesapeake, Virginia: from top, Brian Pendleton, Tyneka Johnson, Kellie Pyle, Lorenzo Gamble and Randall Blevins. They withheld the name of the 16-year-old because of his age.

Rise in preterm birth rate 'concerning'

March of Dimes report: '21 levels hit 14-year high

Nada Hassanein
USA TODAY

Preterm births last year reached their highest peak since 2007 – with more than 383,000 born before 37 weeks of gestational age in the United States, according to a new report.

In 2021, roughly 10.5% of babies were born premature, according to the annual March of Dimes "Report Card," which rated the U.S. a D+. The score dropped from its C- rating in 2020.

The report released this month

found disparities widened between white mothers and Native and Black mothers, who are already 62% more likely to have a preterm birth and nearly three times as likely as white moms to die of childbirth-related causes. In 2021, Black mothers saw a 3% increase and Native mothers a 6% increase in preterm births, according to the analysis.

Of all groups, Asian and Pacific Islander mothers saw the largest increase – 8% – even though births to Asian mothers fell that year, and they have the lowest preterm birth rate overall.

Experts say the pandemic may have contributed significantly to the rising preterm birth rates, and the findings signal a need for more efforts toward en-

suring equitable prenatal care access.

Preterm births can be caused by health conditions in the birthing parent, like high blood pressure and diabetes, as well as stress, problems with the uterus or placenta, infection or inflammation. Being born premature can lead to significant developmental complications including undeveloped respiratory systems causing breathing problems, and hearing, vision and behavioral issues.

"Any increase in preterm birth is concerning because of the downstream effects on the infant after a preterm delivery," said Dr. Cynthia Gyamfi-Bannerman, a professor of obstetrics, gynecology and reproductive sciences at the University of California, San Diego.

Alckmin liga regra fiscal à contenção da dívida pública

O vice-presidente eleito, Geraldo Alckmin (PSB), afirmou que a nova regra fiscal a ser proposta pelo governo Lula deve ser ancorada na contenção do teto de gastos, como é hoje. "Se o gasto nunca pode superar a inflação, você esmaga o investimento", disse a empresários. Mercado A22

PAINEL Transição detecta verba atípica para PRF pré-eleições

Política A4

copa 2022



A francesa em mesa em Paraty. Zanone Fraissat/Folhapress

ilus
trada
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sua
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Annie Ernaux

Na Flip, Nobel de Literatura defende escrita como fonte de liberdade C10

Saidiya Hartman narra histórias de mulheres negras revolucionárias C7

Cubana escreve para crianças porque não se via nos livros que tinha na infância C7

Transição inchada revela entraves para Lula compor governo

Com mais de 400 nomes, equipe já tem quase o dobro de integrantes da constituída por Bolsonaro em 2018

Com veteranos de outros governos petistas e caras novas, aliados históricos e antigos adversários, a equipe de transição do presidente eleito Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) se encaminha para completar um mês de trabalho com 416 integrantes — quase o dobro da formada por Jair Bolsonaro em 2018.

O excesso de nomes já causa entraves na composição da futura gestão. Há uma disputa interna para preencher vagas dos segundo e terceiro escalões da máquina federal. Ao mesmo tempo, os nomes mais fortes articulam para que eles próprios possam assumir o comando dos ministérios.

Questionado sobre o inchaço, o governo de transição respondeu, em nota, que "segue rigorosamente o que está previsto na legislação específica", com aval para nomear "50 cargos comissionados, servidores requisitados de outros Poderes e colaboradores voluntários". Política A4



O camisa 10 da Argentina comemora gol com Álvarez na vitória sobre o México no estádio Lusail; resultado coloca time mais próximo de conquistar vaga nas oitavas de final. Kirill Kudryavtsev/AFP

Paulo Vinicius Coelho
Alemanha, que precisa vencer hoje, é vítima do 7 a 1 p.5

Tostão
Ainda é cedo para fazer prognóstico; tudo pode mudar p.5

Morre a artista visual
Rochelle Costi, aos 61
Rochelle Costi, que se notabilizou com fotos "estranhas" de cenários domésticos, foi atropelada na avenida Europa, em SP. B3



Com dois gols de Mbappé, França está classificada

Atual campeão mundial, a França se classificou para as oitavas de final com uma vitória por 2 a 1 sobre a Dinamarca. O craque Mbappé, que joga com Neymar no Paris Saint-Germain, marcou dois gols no segundo tempo. p.4

Jogos de ontem

TUN x AUS 0 1	FRA x DIN 2 1
POL x ARS 2 0	ARG x MEX 2 0

Jogos de hoje

JAP x CRC 7h*, GLOBO**	CRO x CAN 13h*, GLOBO**
BEL x MAR 10h*, GLOBO**	ESP x ALE 16h*, GLOBO**

*Horário de Brasília. **Globo, SporTV e Globoplay

Messi define contra México e mantém Argentina viva na Copa

Maior solista do futebol, o atacante Lionel Messi foi decisivo e abriu o placar na vitória da Argentina contra o México por 2 a 0. Enzo Fernández selou a vitória com golaço aos 42 minutos do segundo tempo. O resultado deixou o time mais perto da classificação na Copa. p.1 e 2

Brasil lidera em chutes certos e dribles ao final da 1ª rodada p.3

Para Taiwan, produção de chips é escudo contra China

Peça central nas tensões entre Washington e Pequim, a população de Taiwan convive com o medo de que se cumpra a promessa chinesa de reabsorver a ilha considerada rebelde. Na capital Taipé, não se acredita em ataque real, relata o enviado Daigo Oliva. A indústria local de chips, importante na cadeia global de suprimentos, é vista como um escudo. Mundo A14

Morre professora de 36 anos, a 4ª vítima de ataque no ES B2

EDITORIAIS A2

Haddad genérico
Acerca de discurso de petista candidato à Fazenda.

Carandiru, reta final
Sobre morosidade inaceitável da Justiça no caso.



Eduardo Anzelli/Folhapress

BOLSONARO SILENCIA EM PRIMEIRO EVENTO PÚBLICO

Presidente em formatura na Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras, em Resende (RJ); em aparição pública após derrota, ele não discursou e interagiu pouco com convidados Política A8



Denuncian un nuevo fraude que salpica a clan de ministro de la Corte

Apuran terna para FGE y ponen en la mira vacancia de Fretes

En medio de un caliente proceso electoral, el CM culmina las audiencias de candidatos a fiscal general para elegir a los tres antes de las internas. Luego convocarán para sustituir a Fretes.

PÁGINA 2 a la 5

En 20 años el salario estatal se disparó
Lapidaria conclusión: PGN se septuplicó, pero no fue para beneficio de la gente

PÁGINA 12

Mañana arranca
Novenario de
Caacupé sin
restricciones
contra el Covid

PÁGINA 25

Joven narra
cómo superó
un ACV con
persistencia y
fortaleza

PÁGINA 24

SENTÍ Qatar HOY

07:00 HS EN VIVO	10:00 HS EN VIVO	13:00 HS EN VIVO
Japón VS Costa Rica	Bélgica VS Marruecos	Croacia VS Canadá

PERA WORLD CUP QATAR 2022

DOMINGO

Corea tendrá los primeros ómnibus sin conductor	Parlamentarios siguen sacando leyes a medida de sus intereses
---	---

PÁGINA 52 PÁGINA 7

LEGADO
BERTA ROJAS
Sergio Asti, Henríquez, productor

“Le sufro y le disfruto a Paraguay”

Galardonada. La guitarrista Berta Rojas, ganadora del Grammy Latino, reflexiona sobre su logro, su carrera y comparte acerca de su visión de vida. PÁGINAS 28 y 29

Julio César Cáceres, entrenador de Olimpia
“Hay jugadores para volver a un Mundial”

PÁGINAS 62 y 63

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CHRISTIAN BOBIN, POÈTE
ET MYSTIQUE AU CŒUR
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**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question
de vendredi :**
Faut-il interdire
la trottinette
dans les grandes villes ?

NON 20% OUI 80%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 101318

**Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr**
Faut-il réintégrer
les soignants qui ont
refusé de se faire vacciner
contre le Covid ?

FRANCESCA MANTOVANI-EDITIONS
GALLIMARD-SEVENONE THREE;
ILLUSTRATION FABIAN CLAIREFOND

Ciotti, Pradié, Retailleau : une semaine pour convaincre

Dans la dernière ligne droite de la campagne, les candidats se retrouvent ce samedi pour un grand oral devant les cadres du parti. L'occasion de se différencier avant un scrutin indécis.

Quel nouveau patron pour la droite ? Les 91 000 adhérents des Républicains sont appelés aux urnes, les 3 et 4 décembre prochains, pour le premier tour de l'élection du président du parti. À une se-

maine d'un scrutin dont les observateurs peinent à prédire le résultat, les trois prétendants se retrouvent ce samedi pour un dernier grand oral devant le conseil national du parti, rue de

Vaugirard. L'occasion d'exposer leur programme et de se démarquer. Éric Ciotti, souvent présenté comme favori, aura à cœur de faire oublier l'ouverture d'une enquête sur les emplois oc-

cupés par son ex-femme. Dans cette dernière ligne droite, Bruno Retailleau souhaite pour sa part mettre l'accent sur sa vision d'une « vraie droite » de rupture face au macronisme. Enfin,

Aurélien Pradié, en position de challenger, entend incarner le renouvellement. En cas de second tour, le nom du nouveau patron du parti sera connu dimanche 11 décembre au soir.

→ DANS LE SUD-EST, RETAILLEAU PLAIDE POUR UNE « VRAIE DROITE » → FACE AUX VENTS CONTRAIRES, CIOTTI ACCÉLÈRE
→ AURÉLIEN PRADIÉ, L'OUTSIDER QUI VEUT COMPTER PAGES 4, 5 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

Les stations de ski se mettent à l'heure de la sobriété énergétique



Hausse des prix des forfaits, ralentissement des télécabines, production de neige artificielle optimisée... Les stations s'adaptent pour absorber le quadruplement de leur facture d'électricité. PAGE 22

ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thérard yththread@lefigaro.fr

Droite dans ses bottes

La droite française a un passé, riche et glorieux. Elle doit désormais se trouver un avenir, objectif urgent et impérieux pour elle. Le week-end prochain, elle se donnera un nouveau chef. Éric Ciotti, Aurélien Pradié et Bruno Retailleau sont sur la ligne de départ. Le gagnant aura le destin du parti LR entre ses mains. La mission n'est pas simple. Elle requiert autorité et habileté. Entre Emmanuel Macron et Marine Le Pen, la droite LR semble aujourd'hui comme perdue. Elle se cherche. Doit-elle être libérale, nationale, sociale ? Depuis 2007 et Nicolas Sarkozy, la victoire lui échappe. De scrutin en scrutin, elle perd des plumes. Elle a beau revendiquer l'héritage du général de Gaulle, elle ne sait plus parler à tout le monde, elle ne rassemble plus. Alors elle ressasse, hésite et doute. Elle n'a plus confiance en elle. La droite LR a pourtant des atouts : 91 000 adhérents - plus qu'aucune autre formation -, la majorité au Sénat, 62 députés et une implantation territoriale à nulle autre pareille. Qui dit mieux dans le paysage politique actuel ? N'empêche, il lui manque un projet solide. Et surtout quelqu'un

pour l'incarner, le porter haut et fort sur les estrades médiatiques.

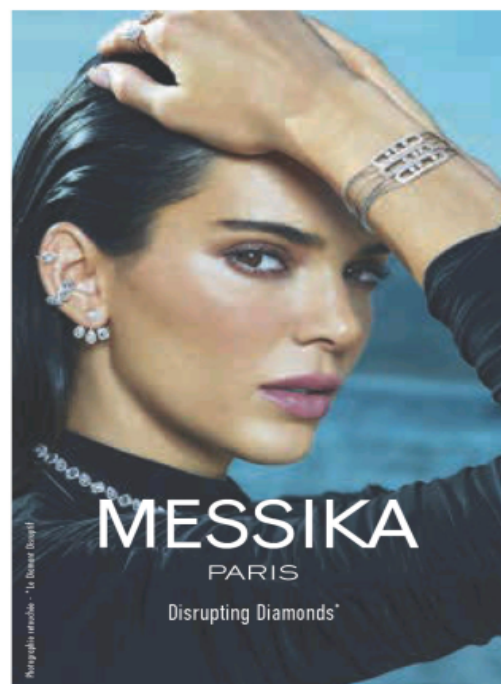
En 2027, Emmanuel Macron n'aura pas le droit de se représenter. La bataille pour lui succéder au centre s'annonce vive. Sans doute le filon « et de droite et de gauche » sera-t-il usé. Alors pourquoi monter aujourd'hui sur un bateau qui prend déjà l'eau ? La gauche fait certes du bruit. Mais elle vit de ses illusions et, au fil du temps, ses divisions devraient devenir légion. Restent le Rassemblement national et l'abstention, qui enflent, l'un et l'autre, sous l'effet du tsunami de la défiance.

Il n'y a pas de fatalité, mais que des combats perdus quand on ne les livre pas. Dégradation des services publics, de la dette, de l'insécurité, de l'immigration, de l'école... Qui a les solutions ? La droite LR pas moins que les autres. Elle doit arrêter de rougir. Elle a quatre ans pour se construire une identité et se donner un visage. Quatre ans pour se remettre bien droite dans ses bottes ! ■

Au cœur du QG de la police judiciaire parisienne

La PJ a quitté le mythique 36, quai des Orfèvres il y a cinq ans pour s'installer dans des locaux bien plus modernes, le Bastion. Brigade des mineurs, Stups, traque des hackeurs... Le Figaro s'est immiscé dans le quotidien de ces enquêteurs chevronnés qui s'adaptent quotidiennement aux nouvelles méthodes des criminels. Avec un taux d'élucidation de 64 %, l'institution représente plus que jamais la fine fleur de la police française.

PAGES 10 ET 11



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