

What's News

Business & Finance

EU privacy regulators have ruled that Meta shouldn't require users to agree to personalized ads based on their online activity, according to people familiar with the decision, a ruling that could limit the data that Meta can access to sell such ads. **A1**

◆ **Meta has long given** an unfair deference to VIP users of its Facebook and Instagram services under a program called "cross check" and has misled the public about the program, the company's oversight board concluded. **B1**

◆ **A potential deal** between the Biden administration and TikTok has run into more delays, according to people familiar with the situation, as worry grows over national-security concerns that U.S. officials say the app poses. **A1**

◆ **Investors are lining up** to pull money from real-estate funds, the latest sign that the surge in interest rates threatens to upend the commercial-property sector. **A1**

◆ **Major U.S. stock indexes** extended their declines, with the S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow losing 1.4%, 2% and 1%, respectively. Oil prices fell. **B1**

◆ **Juul reached a settlement** covering more than 5,000 lawsuits, resolving much of the legal uncertainty that had pushed the e-cigarette firm to the brink of bankruptcy. **B1**

◆ **Airbus said it would** likely miss its key delivery target this year as the plane maker continues to encounter supply-chain issues. **B1**

World-Wide

◆ **Democratic Sen. Warnock** won re-election in a Georgia runoff contest, defeating Republican challenger Walker, who had been backed by Trump. Warnock's victory means that Democrats will hold a 51-49 majority in the Senate starting in January. **A1**

◆ **Trump's family business** was convicted of criminal tax fraud, with a New York jury finding that the Trump Organization engaged in an off-the-books compensation scheme to pay some executives in car leases, apartments and cash. **A3**

◆ **Local officials in at least** four battleground states said they have received subpoenas from the Justice Department that appear to be part of an expanding probe into efforts by Trump and his surrogates to reverse the outcome of the 2020 presidential election. **A5**

◆ **The House committee** investigating the attack on the U.S. Capitol plans to recommend that the Justice Department make criminal charges tied to the assault, according to the panel's chairman. **A5**

◆ **Russia said drones** struck an airfield in the city of Kursk, igniting a fuel-storage facility, in what Moscow said was the third long-range attack by Ukrainian forces on its air bases in two days. **A7, A8**

◆ **House and Senate negotiators** agreed to rescind the requirement that members of the military be vaccinated against Covid-19, in a move to secure Republican support for the annual defense-policy bill. **A4**

JOURNAL REPORT
Cybersecurity: Keeping aging parents' phones safe from hackers. **R1-B**

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The victory of Sen. Raphael Warnock, speaking to supporters Tuesday night, gives Democrats a 51-49 Senate majority.

Democrats' Warnock Wins Tight Georgia Senate Race

By CAMERON MCWHIRTER

ATLANTA—Democratic Sen. Raphael Warnock won re-election in a Georgia runoff contest Tuesday, defeating Republican challenger Herschel Walker, who had been backed by former President Donald Trump.

The Associated Press called the race for Mr. Warnock Tuesday night. With 96% of the vote counted, Mr. Warnock had 50.8% to 49.2% for Mr. Walker.

The contest was being watched closely by both parties. Tuesday's result offers more clues to Georgia's political direction after a series of hard-fought contests for governor, senator and president in recent election cycles.

Mr. Warnock's victory means that Democrats will hold a 51-49 majority in the Senate starting in January, slightly increasing their hold on the chamber they have controlled since early 2021, when Mr. Warnock was first elected,

along with his Georgia Democratic colleague Sen. Jon Ossoff.

Democrats will also have control of Senate committees outright and will no longer have to adhere to a power-sharing agreement with the GOP. Mr. Warnock was the first Black senator ever elected from Georgia. His opponent, Mr. Walker, is also Black.

"After a hard-fought campaign—or should I say campaign—it is my honor to utter the four most powerful words ever spoken in a democracy:

The people have spoken," Mr. Warnock said to a cheering crowd at his victory party.

Mr. Walker conceded the race in brief remarks to supporters, and urged people to continue to vote in elections and support elected officials. He didn't mention Mr. Warnock by name.

"There are no excuses in life and I'm not going to make any now because we put up one heck of a fight," he said.

Democrat John Fetterman's
Please turn to page A4

Security Concerns About TikTok Slow Deal With the U.S.

WASHINGTON—A potential deal between the Biden administration and TikTok—once expected around year-end—has run into more delays, according to people familiar with the situation, as worry grows over national-security concerns that U.S. officials say the popular app poses.

By John D. McKinnon,
Aruna Viswanatha
and Stu Woo

The review has dragged on amid a range of concerns, including how TikTok might share information related to the algorithm it uses to show users

ers, and the level of trust Washington would need to place in the company, these people said.

U.S. officials haven't returned to TikTok with additional demands to address the recent concerns, some of the people said, leaving the path forward unclear.

A TikTok spokeswoman said the company is looking forward to a "timely conclusion to our agreement with the U.S. government, much of which we have already started implementing in earnest, so that we can put these concerns to rest." She said the government hasn't shared any remaining
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INSIDE



U.S. NEWS

Former President Trump's family business convicted of criminal tax fraud. **A3**

SPORTS

Morocco stuns Spain in penalty kicks to advance to the World Cup quarterfinals. **A14**

Russians Seize Ukraine Farmland

Local growers say they lost 400,000 acres to an oligarch's family firm

By ALISTAIR MACDONALD
AND OKSANA PYROZHOK

Soon after Russian tanks rolled into eastern Ukraine, three of that country's biggest farming operators lost tracts of land equivalent to more than twice the area of New York City.

It wasn't taken by the military. In all three cases, leaders of the Ukrainian farming operations say, the land ended up in the hands of the family company of a former Russian agriculture minister, Alexander Tkachev.

The Ukrainian firms say that his company, Agrocomple, seized the rights to some 400,000 acres, becoming one of the largest farm operators in Ukraine. Ukraine's military and civilian intelligence agencies and its public prosecutors' office are investigating the alleged expropriation, according to documents reviewed by The Wall Street Journal.

In the area of eastern
Please turn to page A10

◆ Moscow says drones hit third airfield..... A7

Sprinkles, Icing and Litigation

Cookie fight heats up between rival chains

By JAMES FANELLI

Utah is big business for the dessert trade, with many residents favoring sweets and soda shops to a bar or cafe. It is also home to a legal battle over the state's latest craving, gourmet cookies, a food fight that has turned uglier than a burned batch of snickerdoodles. Dubbed #UtahCookieWars on social media, intellectual-property litigation between two cookie chains has spilled into the public square.

Crumbl Cookies, a company started in Logan, Utah, in 2017 that has expanded to over 575 franchise stores, filed a federal lawsuit against more recent
Please turn to page A10

Investors Yank Money From Property Funds

By KONRAD PUTZIER
AND PETER GRANT

Big and small investors are lining up to pull money out of real-estate funds, the latest sign that the surge in interest rates threatens to upend the commercial-property sector.

Blackstone Inc. last week said it would limit the amount of money investors could withdraw from its \$69 billion flagship real-estate fund following a surge in redemption requests. Starwood Capital Group shortly after notified investors that it was also restricting withdrawals in a \$14.6 billion fund, said a person familiar with the matter.

The Blackstone and Starwood funds are the two largest nontraded real-estate investment trusts, a popular investment structure with wealthy individuals.

Other private real-estate funds in the U.K. targeting institutions managed by compa-

nies including BlackRock Inc. and CBRE Investment Management recently took similar steps to stem outflows, according to the companies. Some U.S. pensions are also starting to yank money out of real-estate funds, some advisers to these investors say.

The rise in cash-out requests comes as more investors and financial firms turn their back on real estate. Rising interest rates threaten to push down property values in this debt-laden industry. Meanwhile, concerns grow about weak demand for office space and slowing rent growth for apartments.

Commercial real-estate values "need to come down," said Joe Gorin, head of U.S. real-estate acquisitions at the financial firm Barings, referring especially to office buildings.
Please turn to page A2

◆ Costs of rental housing appear poised to ease..... A2

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German industry confronts new energy era

BIG READ, PAGE 17

West must pay whatever it takes to back Kyiv

MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 19

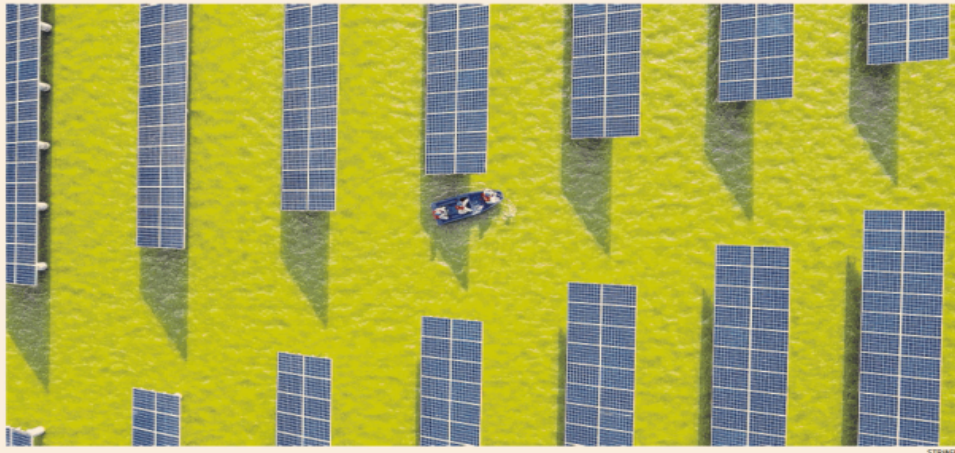
Power surge Solar set to overtake coal

Usage of solar power, generated by panels such as these set in a giant fishpond in China's Jiangsu province, is likely to overtake coal globally within five years. That is faster than previously expected, as countries rush to cut reliance on Russian fossil fuels and meet climate goals.

The International Energy Agency said in its latest report that renewable energy would become the biggest source of electricity generation by 2025. It said global capacity would rise by 2,400 gigawatts by 2027 – some 50 per cent higher than it had forecast a year ago.

The IEA expects the US and India to lead diversification of the solar manufacturing supply chain, which is dominated by China. But it added that Beijing would remain a “dominant player”, with its market share put at about 75 per cent in 2027 against 90 per cent today.

Solar power page 2
Lex page 20



Briefing

► **Meta gets moderation rap over high-profile users**
The Facebook parent has been told by its own oversight board that its treatment of users such as Donald Trump left dangerous content online. — PAGE 6

► **Poor nation debt alert**
The World Bank has warned that the poorest countries face three years of soaring debt-service costs, draining vital resources from health and schools. — PAGE 4

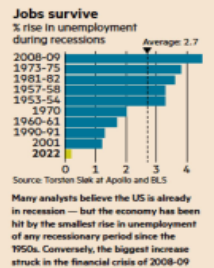
► **Hungary blocks Kyiv plan**
Budapest has blocked a C18bn aid package, deepening a rift with the European Commission and piling more pressure on Ukraine. — PAGE 2; MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 19

► **Amazon seals EU deal**
The e-commerce company has reached a final deal with antitrust regulators over its use of data, closing two of the highest-profile probes in Brussels. — PAGE 6

► **Russia miners face curbs**
Brussels has lined up a ban on investments in mining as part of a new sanctions package aimed at eroding the Kremlin's war funding. — PAGE 8; DRONE HIT, PAGE 2

► **Indonesia backlash**
Business figures and activists have said the outlawing of sex outside marriage is a setback for human rights and a threat to bids to attract investment. — PAGE 4

Datawatch



TSMC triples spend on Arizona plant to \$40bn as US pursues chip security

► Taiwan group boosts diversification ► New injection spurs Biden plan ► China tensions raise stakes

KATHRIN HILLE — TAIPEI

SEMICONDUCTOR MANUFACTURING COMPANY will more than triple its investment in the US state of Arizona to \$40bn, as geopolitical tensions put pressure on the world's largest contract chipmaker to step up diversification of its production facilities.

TSMC had previously invested \$12bn constructing a fabrication plant or “fab” in Arizona. But at an event yesterday marking the installation of the first chip tools at the Phoenix plant, the Taiwanese company was set to announce plans for a second fab manufacturing more advanced chips from 2026, according to White House officials and people close to TSMC.

US president Joe Biden flew to Phoenix for the event, where he was expected to trumpet the additional investment as an endorsement of his economic plan to boost domestic chip production and secure supply chains.

But industry experts said the larger TSMC presence would still be unable to accommodate cutting-edge products such as new iPhone models when the fabs finally open.

They added that the investments might provide only minimal supply

Industry experts said that the investments might provide only minimal supply chain security

chain security, giving a stark reminder of the immense risks incurred if China attacked Taiwan – where TSMC is based and continues the bulk of its expansion.

Biden's Chips and Science Act was passed in the summer, providing \$52bn in subsidies for chipmakers based in the US and countering China's huge investment in its own chip sector.

White House National Economic Council director Brian Deese said that the US was making a “marked departure from the economic philosophy that has governed for much of the last 40 years” in which the government cut taxes and regulation and largely “got out of the way”.

“What you're seeing is now a dedicated industrial strategy laying the

foundation to crowd in private investment... at historic scale,” he added.

Biden will be joined by several chief executives, including Tim Cook from Apple, which will be a customer for the Arizona fabs.

But Patrick Chen, head of research at CLSA in Taiwan, said: “If they fully ramp Arizona, the proportion of US-made chips they could provide to customers would be maybe 15 per cent of the total.”

Even if TSMC built a monthly capacity in Arizona of 120,000 silicon wafers from which chips are cut, it would compare with four such “mega fabs” the company has in Taiwan already.

“This won't insulate customers [from supply chain risk] in case of a full Taiwan disruption,” said another chip

industry expert who asked not to be named. The person said a larger TSMC fab in the US would allow its customers to plan and prepare for having chips made to their designs there and thus cut “recovery time” in case Taiwan-based capacity was lost. Shifting chip production to a different fab can take months.

Two industry executives said part of TSMC's capacity in the US would be used for sensitive products such as components for the US defence industry supply chain.

US plants, which will produce technology that is one generation behind the most advanced, will be able to make “legacy model” chips or maybe the Apple Watch there, but certainly not iPhones from the latest product cycle,” said Phe-lix Lee, an analyst at Morningstar.



Vaccine refuseniks block Xi's route to reopening

YOUTHFUL dissent forced a rare retreat from Xi Jinping over draconian Covid controls but standing in the way of an exit from the policy are tens of millions of elderly Chinese. Some 85mn citizens in their 60s have not had a third vaccine shot, along with 21mn of those over 80. As Beijing directed resources to containment, daily jobs plummeted from 24.7mn to 123,000. Global experts warn that China risks millions of deaths if coverage is not improved.

Pandemic refuseniks — PAGE 4

US bank chiefs anxious over economic outlook with talk of ‘fatigued’ clients

JOSHUA FRANKLIN — NEW YORK

The leaders of some of Wall Street's biggest banks have issued wary outlooks for the global economy, as consumers spend savings and clients lower their expectations for 2023.

Senior executives at Goldman Sachs, Bank of America and JPMorgan Chase offered their views at an industry conference yesterday. David Solomon, Goldman chief executive, said: “When I talk to clients, they sound extremely cautious. Many CEOs are watching the data and waiting to see what happens.”

He said he was “slightly more cautious” about the economy than his bank's economists, who have forecast that the US will narrowly avoid a recession in 2023.

“I get a lot of questions about China and its relationship with the US, the eco-

nomics trajectory of Europe and obviously recession risks. But I'm not hearing panic. Balance sheets are strong. Even with higher interest rates, investment grade markets remain open.”

But, Solomon added, clients seemed “fatigued after a very volatile year”.

Brian Moynihan, BofA chief, said US consumers' savings peaked in April after many received tax refunds, but that most Americans still had more in the bank than before the pandemic, a dynamic that would probably hold as long as unemployment remains low.

“Right now, they've stayed employed and that's very good news for the American consumer,” Moynihan said.

Marianne Lake, co-chief of JPMorgan Chase's consumer and community banking division, said the “US economy is still strong”, but that in the past three months the bank had come to view a

mild recession as more likely. “The probability of recession has gone up,” Lake said.

The comments add to the sense of anxiety about the outlook given a host of economic and geopolitical challenges, including a breakneck pace of interest rate rises by central banks, the stuttering reopening of China's economy and Russia's conflict with Ukraine.

Wall Street banks are also gearing up for a bonus season likely to highlight the feast-to-famine nature of investment banking. After a blockbuster 2021 for dealmaking and pay, activity has slowed dramatically this year.

Solomon said Goldman would seek a balance on pay with a focus on talent retention. “The job market remains surprisingly tight, and the competition for our talent, particularly top talent, is as strong as ever.”

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Dec 6	Prev	%chg	Pair	Dec 6	Prev	%chg	Yield (%)	Dec 6	Prev	Qtr
S&P 500	3953.00	3998.84	-1.15	\$/€	1.050	1.053	-0.30	US 2 yr	4.35	4.35	0.02
Nasdaq Composite	11968.70	11239.94	-1.52	\$/£	1.222	1.222	0.00	US 10 yr	3.56	3.59	-0.02
Dow Jones Ind	33679.79	33947.10	-0.79	€/£	0.959	0.962	-0.30	US 30 yr	3.56	3.60	-0.04
FTSE 100	7521.36	7567.54	-0.61	\$/¥	116.05	116.05	0.00	UK 2 yr	3.31	3.34	-0.03
FTSE All-Share	4114.48	4143.21	-0.69	\$/HK\$	7.756	7.756	0.00	UK 10 yr	3.10	3.10	-0.02
CAC 40	6697.79	6696.96	-0.14	\$/N¥	163.91	163.91	0.00	UK 30 yr	3.45	3.45	0.00
Sensex	14543.19	14447.61	-0.72	Bitcoin (\$)	17004.10	16967.96	0.21	JPN 2 yr	0.25	0.25	-0.01
Nikkei	27885.67	27820.40	0.24	Ethereum	1257.90	1259.15	-0.10	JPN 10 yr	1.48	1.49	-0.01
Hang Seng	19441.18	19518.29	-0.40					GER 2 yr	2.05	2.10	-0.05
MSCI World	2696.30	2733.03	-1.34					GER 10 yr	1.80	1.88	-0.08
MSCI EM	884.26	871.85	1.43					GER 30 yr	1.62	1.67	-0.05
MSCI ACWI	626.69	633.54	-1.08								
FT Wilshire 2500	5187.76	5291.39	-1.96	Oil WTI (\$)	74.81	76.90	-2.76				
FT Wilshire 5000	40569.57	41322.74	-1.87	Oil Brent (\$)	80.19	82.60	-3.01				
				Gold (\$)	1776.86	1784.75	-0.45				

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Supporters of Senator Raphael Warnock on Tuesday in Atlanta. Mr. Warnock, first elected in a 2021 runoff, won a full six-year term.

WARNOCK VICTORY HANDS DEMOCRATS 51ST SEAT IN SENATE

**Incumbent Holds Off Walker in Grueling
Georgia Runoff to End Midterms**

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and MAYA KING

ATLANTA — Senator Raphael Warnock defeated his Republican challenger, Herschel Walker, in a runoff election on Tuesday that capped a grueling and costly campaign, secured a 51-seat Democratic majority and gave the first Black senator from Georgia a full six-year term.

Mr. Warnock's victory, called by The Associated Press, ended a marathon midterm election cycle in which Democrats defied history, as they limited the loss of House seats that typically greeted the party that holds the White House and now gain a seat in the Senate.

Throughout one of the most expensive Senate races in American history, Mr. Warnock used the cadences and lofty rhetoric he honed as the senior pastor of Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church to ask Georgia voters to rise above the acrimony and division of Donald J. Trump's politics.

The defeat of Mr. Walker, who was handpicked by Mr. Trump, culminated a disastrous year for the former president, who set himself up as a Republican kingmaker only to watch his Senate candidates in Nevada, Arizona and New Hampshire — as well as his picks for governor in Arizona,

Michigan and Georgia — go on to defeat in primaries or in last month's general election.

Mr. Walker's loss will almost certainly lead to soul-searching for a Republican Party that must decide heading into the 2024 election how firmly to tether itself to a former president who has now absorbed powerful political blows in three successive campaign cycles.

The Georgia result also holds a bold message about race in the rising New South.

Mr. Warnock was the first Black person from Georgia to be elected

Continued on Page A16



Mr. Warnock made a final push in the expensive race.

The Cat-and-Mouse Battle for Russia's Internet

By ADAM SATARIANO
and PAUL MOZUR

GENEVA — After Moscow erected a digital barricade in March, blocking access to independent news sites and social media platforms to hide information about its unfolding invasion of Ukraine, many Russians looked for a workaround. One reliable route they found came from a small Swiss company based nearly 2,000 miles away.

The company, Proton, provides free software that masks a person's identity and location online. That gives a user in Russia access

Small Swiss Company Duels With Censors Over Web Access

to the open web by making it appear that the person is logging in from the Netherlands, Japan or the United States. A couple of weeks after the internet blockade, about 850,000 people inside Russia used Proton each day, up from fewer than 25,000.

That is, until the end of March, when the Russian government

found a way to block Proton, too.

Targeting Proton was the opening salvo of a continuing back-and-forth battle, pitting a team of about 25 engineers against a country embarking on one of the most aggressive censorship campaigns in recent memory.

Working from a Geneva office where the company keeps its name off the building directory, Proton has spent nine pressure-packed months repeatedly tweaking its technology to avoid Russian blocks, only to be countered again by government censors in Moscow. Some employees took

Continued on Page A9

Case Will Test States' Control Over Elections

By MICHAEL WINES

WASHINGTON — It is a case "with profound consequences for American democracy," said J. Michael Luttig, a former federal appeals court judge long a hero to conservatives.

Chief Justice Nathan L. Hecht of the Texas Supreme Court, a Republican, has said it is "the biggest federalism issue in a long time, maybe ever."

On Wednesday, the U.S. Supreme Court will hear arguments in *Moore v. Harper*, a dispute between voting rights advocates and North Carolina's General Assembly, which is controlled by Republicans, that could drastically increase the power that state legislatures have over voting issues.

Just how much power is at issue could become clearer as the arguments play out. But there is no arguing how high the stakes are in this lawsuit. The court is being asked to decide whether state election laws and political maps passed by state legislatures — specifically, a Republican gerrymander of North Carolina's 14 House seats that the state's Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional this year — should continue to be subject to judicial review in state courts.

Republicans seeking to restore the legislative map have argued that the state court is powerless to act under what had been a fringe theory known as the independent state legislature doctrine. The theory argues that the federal Constitution gives state lawmakers sweeping power to draw maps and set election rules — even if

Continued on Page A17

In a Blow to Trump, a Jury Finds His Business Guilty of Tax Fraud

This article is by Ben Protess, Jonathan E. Bromwich, William K. Rashbaum and Lolo Fadulu.

The Trump Organization, the family real estate business that made Donald J. Trump a billionaire and propelled him from reality television to the White House, was convicted on Tuesday of tax fraud and other crimes, forever tarring the former president and the company that bears his name.

The conviction on all 17 counts, after more than a day of jury deliberations in State Supreme Court in Manhattan, stemmed from the company's practice of doling out off-the-books perks to executives: They received luxury apartments, leased Mercedes-Benzes, extra cash at Christmas, even free cable television. They paid taxes on none of it.

The Manhattan district attorney's office, which prosecuted the case, had previously obtained a guilty plea from the scheme's architect, Allen H. Weisselberg, the company's longtime chief financial officer. Mr. Weisselberg, one of Mr. Trump's most loyal lieutenants, testified as the prosecution's star witness but never implicated the former president.

Prosecutors did not charge Mr. Trump, but they invoked him throughout the monthlong trial, telling jurors that he had personally paid for some of the perks and had even approved a crucial aspect of the scheme. The prosecution sounded a drumbeat of damning evidence about a free-wheeling culture at his company, revealing that pervasive illegality flourished.

Continued on Page A19

Leader of Jan. 6 Panel Signals Criminal Findings Are Coming

This article is by Michael S. Schmidt, Luke Broadwater and Alexander Beron.

Representative Bennie Thompson, the chairman of the House panel investigating the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol, on Tuesday gave the strongest signal yet that the panel planned to make criminal referrals to the Justice Department, raising the prospect of a history-making finding that former President Donald J. Trump's efforts to cling to power after he lost the 2020 election amounted to a crime.

In comments to reporters that appeared to pre-empt a formal decision by the committee, Mr.

Thompson, Democrat of Mississippi, said the panel had yet to agree on whom to recommend for charges or which crimes to name. But his remarks — including a contorted attempt to qualify his initial statement — suggested that, as the committee members wrap up their work, they are inclined toward calling for prosecutions of those involved in the Jan. 6 riot and the monthlong election subversion effort, directed by Mr. Trump, that gave rise to it.

A criminal referral by the panel would be largely symbolic, holding no legal weight because Congress has no enforcement power

Continued on Page A18



Roaring Into History

Morocco beat Spain to become the first Arab nation to reach a World Cup quarterfinal. Page B8.

Is There Room for Another Holiday Song? New Artists Hope So.

By BEN SISARIO

Last December, while the popular a cappella group Pentatonix was on tour with its fifth holiday album, the ensemble's five members gathered backstage around a whiteboard to brainstorm ideas for 2022.

High on the list: a sixth Christmas album.

"Holidays Around the World," Pentatonix's latest, joins a holiday release wave that gets more crowded every year. Alicia Keys, Sam Smith, Lizzo, the Backstreet Boys and the duos of Dolly Parton-Jimmy Fallon and David Foster-Katharine McPhee are all out

with new seasonal albums or singles, vying for radio time and the most coveted real estate of all: plum placement on the streaming services' big playlists.

Holiday music has long been a big business; back in 2018, Billboard estimated it at \$177 million in the United States alone, and since then the overall recorded

music business has grown by well over 50 percent.

But streaming has supercharged it. Listeners now have easy access to decades' worth of material, leaving contemporary artists to compete against not just one another but also all the hits of the past, by Nat King Cole, Elvis

Continued on Page A15

NATIONAL A14-21

A Toast, and a Tease at 2024

The Bidens joined a toast to the next presidential campaign during a dinner with the French president, as Democrats await a formal decision. PAGE A16

BUSINESS B1-5

\$40 Billion Upgrade

Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company, the biggest maker of advanced computer chips, has big plans for a factory in Arizona. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B13-14

Emmy-Winning 'Cheers' Star

Kirstie Alley soared to fame on the sitcom and also starred in "Veronica's Closet" and the "Look Who's Talking" movies. She was 71. PAGE B13

FOOD D1-12

Ways to Fill Your Cookie Jar

With the columnist Yewande Komolafe's simple shortbread recipe, you could easily make a range of delectable holiday treats to share. PAGE D11

OPINION A22-23

Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A23



MSC
CRUISES



MSC SEASCAPE

NAMING CEREMONY IN NYC

DECEMBER 6 & 7 | 2022

Cop showed signs of trouble

Officer who 'catfished' a Riverside teen made violent threats against his father in 2016.

BY ERIN B. LOGAN, SUMMER LIN AND GRACE TOOHEY

ABINGDON, Va. — The Virginia law enforcement officer who "catfished" a 15-year-old California girl online and killed her mother and grandparents was detained for psychiatric evaluation in 2016 after threatening to kill himself and his father and experiencing relationship troubles with his girlfriend, according to a police report obtained by the Los Angeles Times.

The 2016 incident, which has not been previously reported, raises new questions about how Austin Lee Edwards became a law enforcement officer and offers more details about his life. Authorities in Virginia have said they were shocked by the California rampage and knew of no red flags in Edwards' background.

Edwards, 25, a former Virginia state cop who in November joined the sheriff's office in Washington County, Va., as a deputy, portrayed himself as a 17-year-old while communicating with the girl online, according to Riverside police. Last month, he drove across the country to her home in [See Riverside, A12]

Trump's company convicted of fraud

Ex-president's firm helped its executives evade taxes and may be fined \$1.6 million.

BY MICHAEL R. SISAK

NEW YORK — Former President Trump's company was convicted of tax fraud Tuesday for helping executives dodge taxes on lavish perks such as Manhattan apartments and luxury cars, in a significant repudiation of financial practices at Trump's business.

A jury found two corporate entities at the Trump Organization guilty on all 17 counts, including conspiracy and falsification of business records. Trump was not on trial. The verdict came on the second day of deliberations.

The conviction is a validation for New York prosecutors who have spent three years investigating the former president and his businesses.

Manhattan Dist. Atty. Alvin Bragg said the verdict "underscores that in Manhattan we have one standard of justice for all."

As punishment, the Trump Organization could be fined up to \$1.6 million — a [See Trump, A7]



CHRIS ELISE Icon Sportswire

VETERINARY REPORTS show more than 125 animal injuries at rodeos in California since 2001, leading to at least 35 deaths. Above, the PBR Pluto TV Invitational at Crypto.com Arena in L.A. in February.

BROKEN ANIMALS

State records reveal injuries, deaths at rodeos over 21 years

BY SUSANNE RUST

As the Los Angeles City Council prepares to weigh in on a measure to effectively ban rodeos, a review of 21 years of rodeo animal injury reports shows a hidden, violent and deadly side to a sport heralded as an icon of American tradition.

A Times review of the reports shows that since 2001 — when a state law went into effect requiring all rodeos to have a veterinarian in attendance or on call — more than 125 animal injuries have been reported. The reports were written by attending or on-call veterinarians and submitted to the California Veterinary Medical Board. The reports were acquired via a public records request.

No reports were issued in 2001, 2002, 2006, 2009 or 2020. Only 20 reports were issued before 2001.

'We have to ask if scaring, provoking and potentially injuring animals ... is something we support as a society.'

—CRYSTAL HEATH, veterinarian

sued before 2001.

The reports document injuries ranging from minor maladies such as the superficial abrasions suffered as panicked animals rushed out of their chutes, to crushed skulls, broken legs, gored flanks and snapped spines.

In 35 of the injury reports reviewed by the Times, the animal died immediately or within minutes of the accident, or had to be euthanized — or in one case, slaughtered — in the following hours or days. In 14 cases, the reports leave the fate of the severely injured animal unclear. In these cases, either the attending veterinarian was denied access to the animal, or the report did not provide information on the animal's fate.

For instance, in 2016, Wayne Merhoff, a Red Bluff-based [See Animals, A12]

COUNTY FACING A VIRUS SURGE

Hospitalizations are up, pointing to a new wave with many folks behind on boosters.

BY LUKE MONEY AND RONG-GONG LIN II

Los Angeles County appears to be in the midst of another full-blown coronavirus surge, with cases doubling since Thanksgiving.

The spike — which likely does not fully reflect exposures over the Thanksgiving holiday — is prompting increasingly urgent calls for residents to get up to date on their vaccines and consider taking other preventive steps to stymie viral transmission and severe illness.

Also on the rise is the number of coronavirus-positive patients being cared for in hospitals, sparking concerns about renewed stress on the healthcare system and raising the specter of an indoor public mask mandate if the trends continue, possibly shortly after New Year's Day.

The surge in viral transmission comes as many people have stopped paying attention to COVID-19. But it's not too late to intervene, officials say.

"We are seeing a rapid acceleration again," L.A. County Public Health Director Barbara Ferrer said in an interview Tuesday. "We've got to get more people boosted, [and] everybody should go ahead and put those masks on when they're indoors."

Critically, more doctors [See Virus, A9]



WIN MCNAMEE Getty Images

SEN. Raphael Warnock takes the stage Tuesday night. "Georgia voters stood up for our democracy [and] rejected Ultra MAGAism," President Biden tweeted.

Warnock wins Georgia runoff

Democrats secure 51st Senate seat with his defeat of Herschel Walker, Trump's pick.

BY JENNY JARVIE

ATLANTA — Democratic incumbent Raphael Warnock defeated Republican Herschel Walker on Tuesday in Georgia's U.S. Senate runoff, securing a 51st seat for his party in Congress' upper chamber and giving it greater power to

push its agenda in a closely divided Washington.

The Associated Press projected Warnock as the winner Tuesday night, though official results will take longer.

Warnock's victory means Senate Democrats — as long as they vote in unity — will no longer need to rely on Vice President Kamala Harris to cast tiebreaking votes. It also lessens the ability of centrist Democratic Sens. Joe Manchin III of West Virginia and Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona to block or soften legislation, as they've done

in the current Congress.

With a GOP-led House, prospects for passing bipartisan legislation are slim. But the one-seat Senate advantage will also give Democrats greater control over the chamber's committees.

Warnock, a pastor who made history in 2021 when he was elected Georgia's first Black senator, offered Democrats in this longtime conservative Southern state a much-needed morale boost after Republicans dominated here in the midterm election and vanquished one [See Georgia, A6]

Audio leak a factor in redistricting bill

Measure, which could force L.A. to form an independent panel, is in response to scandal.

BY JULIA WICK

In response to the city's audio leak scandal, a proposed state law could force Los Angeles to establish an independent redistricting commission, curtailing the City Council's influence over the lines that delineate their districts.

State Sen. María Elena Durazo, who introduced the bill Monday along with a coalition of Los Angeles-area lawmakers, cited the incen-

diary recording involving three council members reported on by The Times in October, saying public confidence in the city's redistricting process had eroded.

"The system is just not working the way that it should," she said. "The City Council members should not control the process of how the boundaries are written."

The leak — which revealed the City Council members and a prominent labor leader jockeying for favorable districts for themselves and their allies during an October 2021 conversation peppered with racist and derogatory comments — upended municipal poli-

Argentina VP guilty of fraud

Ex-President Cristina Fernández is sentenced to six years in prison and barred from seeking office. **WORLD, A3**

Colorado shooter is charged

Suspect in LGBTQ club attack faces 305 counts, including hate crimes and murder. **NATION, A7**

Apple downshifts robot car project

Company reportedly has scaled back and delayed plans for its self-driving vehicle. **BUSINESS, A8**

Weather

Partly sunny; cool. L.A. Basin: 62/43. **B6**



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PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE YEAR

Enduring images:
A visual look back on
2022 SPECIAL SECTION



FOOD

Merry and bright:
Colorful holiday
cookies EXPANDED SECTION



WINTER WEATHER GUIDE

What to expect when
the snow starts
falling SPECIAL SECTION

The Washington Post

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MIDTERM ELECTIONS

Warnock wins Ga. runoff for Senate

In final test of midterms, Democrats pick up a key 51st seat in the chamber

BY SARRINA RODRIGUEZ,
DYLAN WELLS,
MATTHEW BROWN
AND HANNAH KNOWLES

ATLANTA — Democrat Raphael G. Warnock on Tuesday was projected to win reelection to represent Georgia in the Senate, defeating Republican Herschel Walker in a tight runoff and expanding his party's slim majority in the chamber.

It was a hard-fought victory for Democrats in an increasingly purple state that was central to the party's gains last election cycle and is expected to be a key battleground in 2024. Rural turnout for Walker, 60, a former Georgia football star, was not enough to offset a strong Atlanta-area performance by Warnock, 53, a pastor at a historic church in the city.

Warnock's win gave Democrats their 51st Senate seat — handing them more leverage in a chamber that for two years has been evenly split, with Vice President Harris empowered to break ties and two swing-vote Democrats able to make or break their party's plans.

SEE GEORGIA ON A6

Metro budget: System eyes higher train fares, shorter wait times. **B1**



Sen. Raphael G. Warnock (D) takes the stage at a watch party in Atlanta after beating Republican Herschel Walker in the runoff.

Morocco's roar shakes up the World Cup

BY CHUCK CULPEPPER

RAYYAN, QATAR — One of those shared experiences both goalless and breathless wound its way through the hours and all the way to thunderous noise Tuesday night, noise that cried out for a Richter scale as it mushroomed from the fan base that leads this World Cup in decibels per capita.

It is the first Arab team and fourth African team to reach the quarterfinals

It came from the droves of Moroccans who have traveled here for this first World Cup in the

Arab world, and it soundtracked their team's uncommon mastery of penalty kicks — and of stopping same. Morocco will play in its first World Cup quarterfinal because it followed a 0-0 draw against Spain by knocking in three of its four penalty tries as its Canada-born, Morocco-raised and Spain-based 31-year-old goalkeeper, Yassine Bounou, known

to his millions of new friends as Bono, thwarted two Spanish bids, with a third hitting the post.

SEE MOROCCO ON A12

Qatar: Critics point out flaws in the host's carbon-neutral pledge. **A12**

Kevin B. Blackstone: A liberation movement in global sports. **D1**

Moscow's defense failures laid bare

Three drone strikes inside Russia in 2 days underscore vulnerability

BY MARY ILYUSHINA

RIGA, LATVIA — A drone strike attributed to Ukraine rocked an airfield inside Russia on Tuesday, demonstrating once again Ukraine's ability to reach into Russian territory a day after its forces struck two other air bases hundreds of miles inside Russia.

The attacks have revealed major vulnerabilities in Russia's air defenses and sent a signal to Moscow that its strategic assets far from the active combat zone are not off-limits to the emboldened Ukrainian military.

Officials in the Russian city of Kursk, just north of Ukraine, said the Tuesday drone attack set an oil storage tank ablaze at an airfield.

The two airfields struck by drones on Monday — the Engels-2 base in the Saratov region and the Dyagilevo base in Ryazan, a few hours' drive from Moscow — are home to bombers that can carry conventional missiles used to target Ukrainian infrastructure but can also carry nuclear weapons.

Audit of war aid: Mainstream of GOP backs defeated measure. **A15**

UNACCOUNTABLE
A series examining policing in America amid the push for reform

As fatal police shootings increase, more go unreported

Flawed FBI data leaves deaths uncounted and impedes accountability



The police killing of Willie McCoy in Vallejo, Calif., in 2019 is one of many not in FBI statistics.

BY ANDREW BA TRAN,
MARISA IATI
AND CLAIRE HEALY

Fewer fatal police shootings are recorded by the federal government every year, despite renewed scrutiny of police use of force and millions of dollars spent to encourage local law enforcement to report the data.

Even though federal records indicate that fatal shootings by police have been declining na-

tionwide since 2015, The Washington Post's Fatal Force database shows the opposite is true: Officers have shot and killed more people every year, reaching a record high in 2021 with 1,047 deaths. The FBI database contains only about one-third of the 7,000 fatal police shootings during this time — down from half when The Post first started tracking.

Fatal shootings by officers in at least 2,250 police and sher-

iffs' departments are missing from the past seven years of federal records, according to an analysis of the database maintained by The Post, which began tracking the killings in 2015. The excluded data has created a misleading government picture of police use of force, complicating efforts at accountability.

The incomplete data also obscures a racial discrepancy

SEE SHOOTINGS ON A10



The vote is part of a nationwide movement toward free or reduced-fare transit and may help the city's goal to unclog its busy streets.

D.C. will eliminate fares on all Metrobus rides

Council unanimously votes for free transit within city starting July 1

BY JUSTIN GEORGE
AND IAN DUNCAN

The District will become the nation's most populous city to offer free public transit after the D.C. Council voted Tuesday to waive fares for Metrobus rides.

The D.C. government will subsidize bus rides within the city limit starting July 1, allowing passengers to board free. The council also expanded bus service round-the-clock on several of the transit system's busiest routes to help late-night service workers who often rely on expensive ride-share services after

Metrobus and Metrorail have closed.

The vote is part of a nationwide movement toward free or reduced-fare transit that gained momentum during the pandemic, which highlighted the role of public buses in transporting essential workers and those who have no other alternatives. The measure also aligns with the city's goals of increasing transit usage and removing vehicles from clogged city streets.

All 13 council members voted to subsidize bus service, with many saying that cutting fares will give lower-income residents with limited transportation options more financial security in one of the nation's most expensive cities, while also removing a burden for job seekers and businesses struggling with labor shortages. More than 80 percent

SEE BUS ON A20

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COMICS.....C6

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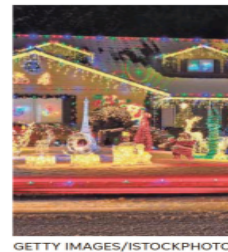
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With deGrom, Rangers are step closer to respectable

Signing Jacob deGrom goes far in helping team, columnist Bob Nightengale writes. **In Sports**

How people of faith can help heal nation's divisions

Hidden Common Ground: Fetzer Institute CEO writes about new survey results. **In Opinion**



Holiday light displays can cost some serious green

Electric bills can increase hundreds of dollars depending on bulb types and size of the show. We share ways to limit your expenses. **In Money**



USA TODAY

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GETTY IMAGES/ISTOCKPHOTO

E2

MIDTERM ELECTIONS

Ga. Senate runoff results, more online

Georgia voters once again had the final say in how Congress will look when they chose between Democratic incumbent Sen. Raphael Warnock and Republican challenger Herschel Walker in Tuesday's Senate runoff. Three hours before polls closed, Georgia's secretary of state said more than a million people already had voted Tuesday. Go to usatoday.com to find results and analysis about the runoff.

High court will weigh power to set election law

Ruling in North Carolina case could allow states to upend federal rules

John Fritze
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — A month after millions of Americans cast their vote in midterm elections that were mostly free from glitches, the Supreme Court will wrestle with a case Wednesday that some advocates — liberal and conservative alike — fear could upend how federal elections are run.

From the hours that polling locations remain open to voter ID requirements to the way lawmakers divvy up neighborhoods into congressional districts every decade, the court's decision could give legislatures in each state far more power to set the rules for federal elections by removing the ability of state courts to review and strike their laws down.

"Unfortunately, because of ongoing and widespread efforts to sow distrust and spread disinformation, confidence in our elections is at a low ebb."

Benjamin Ginsberg
Republican election attorney

The case, *Moore v. Harper*, arrives at the nation's highest court at a time when polls indicate some Americans are losing faith in elections after hearing false claims of widespread voter fraud from former President Donald Trump and his allies for years.

At the center of the litigation is North Carolina's congressional map, which the state's supreme court rejected as a partisan gerrymander it said violated the state constitution. Republican lawmakers appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, asserting that state courts didn't have the power to strike down or redraw the map. That's based on a clause in the U.S. Constitution that gives authority to legislatures and

See **ELECTIONS**, Page 6A



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USA TODAY INVESTIGATION

Nursing home staffing allowed to founder



Tracey Pompey, a caregiver in Virginia, says her father, David Jones, could have lived if aides had gotten him to a hospital. "Things could've been different," she says. "Somebody should've said, 'Something's wrong.'" JOSH MORGAN/USA TODAY

Federal guidelines are clear, but they're not enforced



For 38 years, Barbara Decelles worked at senior care centers in Wisconsin and Illinois. She quit last year. "I'm tired to my soul," she says.

MIKE DE SISTI/USA TODAY NETWORK

Jayme Fraser, Nick Penzenstadler and Jeff Kelly Lowenstein
USA TODAY NETWORK

Regulators have allowed thousands of nursing homes across America to flout federal staffing rules by going an entire day and night without a registered nurse on duty, a USA TODAY investigation has found.

Nearly all of them got away with it: Only 4% were cited by government inspectors. Even fewer were fined.

When other nursing home caregivers are added into the equation, one-third of U.S. facilities fell short of multiple benchmarks the federal government has created.

Low-income residents, disproportionately people of color, fare the worst. Their nursing homes report the lowest staffing levels, but data show they seldom get in trouble because of it.

A USA TODAY investigation has documented, for the first time, how rarely the federal government enforces decades-old staffing guidelines and rules for nursing homes.

See **NURSING HOMES**, Page 3A

2 Trump companies guilty of tax fraud

Former president was not charged, but verdicts are latest legal albatross

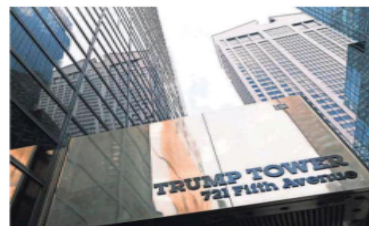
Kevin McCoy
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — A Manhattan jury convicted two of former President Donald Trump's companies Tuesday on all charges in a criminal tax fraud scheme, adding a new complication to the many investigations and legal matters shadowing his third presidential campaign.

The Trump Corp. was found guilty on all of nine criminal counts, and the Trump Payroll Corp. was found guilty on all of eight criminal counts.

The companies face criminal penalties of up to \$1.6 million. The trial judge, Manhattan Supreme Court Justice Juan Merchan, said after the verdict that the companies would be sentenced on Jan. 13.

Manhattan District Attorney Alvin



The Trump Corporation and the Trump Payroll Corporation were found guilty Tuesday of all criminal counts against them. SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES

Bragg, whose office brought the charges, said the verdict was "consequential," and, invoking the slogan he has given his office, added it "underscores that here in Manhattan we have one standard of justice for all."

Defense attorney Allen Futerfas told USA TODAY he was "sure" the verdict

would be appealed, adding to the many active cases and investigations involving Trump.

Trump was not charged in the case and did not appear in court during the trial. Defense lawyer Susan Necheles said trial evidence showed Trump was not involved. The former president, however, criticized the prosecution in a social media post in late November.

The jury of eight women and four men returned the verdict after two days of deliberations in the trial focused on thousands of dollars in off-the-books perks, such as company-paid apartments and luxury cars the companies handed to top executives who routinely failed to report the income on tax returns.

The trial also featured a legal clash over a difficult-to-parse New York state penal law that prescribes the standards prosecutors must meet to obtain criminal convictions of corporations.

The outcome capped a trial that began in late October and was marked by a COVID-19 delay, at times testy legal

See **TRUMP**, Page 4A

deportes **mundial** **QATAR 2022**

España: pena máxima

Los penales desataron una fiesta en Marruecos

Con el arquero Bono como héroe, los africanos ganaron la serie y pasaron a 4º de final. **Página 5**



Portugal no extrañó a CR7

Arrolló 6-1 a Suiza, con tres goles del jugador que le quitó el puesto a Cristiano Ronaldo.

Página 4

PROPONEN SUBIR 48% EL GAS A HOGARES DE ALTOS INGRESOS

—economía

Sería el resultado, a partir de 2023, de quitarle todo el subsidio a ese segmento, según lo que planteó el Gobierno en una audiencia pública. **Página 24**

LA NACION

MIÉRCOLES 7 DE DICIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

INÉDITA CONDENA POR CORRUPCIÓN

Fallo histórico: 6 años de prisión e inhabilitación perpetua a Cristina

El tribunal la declaró culpable de defraudación al Estado, pero la absolvió de los cargos por asociación ilícita; la vicepresidenta no irá presa porque tiene fueros y puede apelar; Báez recibió la misma pena y De Vido fue absuelto

En un fallo con connotaciones históricas, la vicepresidenta Cristina Fernández de Kirchner fue condenada ayer a seis años de prisión y a inhabilitación perpetua para ejercer cargos públicos.

El Tribunal Oral Federal Nº 2, integrado por los jueces Jorge Gorini, Rodrigo Giménez Uriburu y Andrés Basso, la consideró, por unanimidad, autora del delito de defraudación al Estado, pero la absolvió de los cargos de asociación ilícita. La pena que le impusieron es más leve de la que había reclamado el fiscal Diego Luciani, quien pidió 12 años de prisión por acusarla también de liderar una asociación ilícita.

Cristina Kirchner no irá a prisión, al menos en el corto plazo. Primero porque tiene fueros como vicepresidenta, y para despojarla de esa inmunidad haría falta un juicio político. Segundo, porque la sentencia conocida ayer todavía no queda firme: puede ser apelada ante la Cámara de Casación y luego ante la Corte Suprema de Justicia.

A la misma pena de seis años fue condenado Lázaro Báez, con quien la Justicia consideró probado el vínculo para cometer una millonaria defraudación a través de la obra pública nacional en Santa Cruz. Exfuncionarios nacionales y provinciales también recibieron condenas de entre tres y seis años de prisión, pero fue absuelto el exministro de Planificación Federal Julio De Vido. **Páginas 8 a 20**

La oposición habla de “un cambio de época”

Juntos por el Cambio celebró el fallo; el Presidente lo rechazó.

Páginas 14 y 15



Cristina Kirchner habló desde el Senado tras escuchar la condena

CAPTURA

“No voy a ser candidata a nada”

La vicepresidenta descalificó a la Justicia y dijo que no se postulará en 2023

Después de escuchar la condena a seis años de prisión e inhabilitación de por vida para ejercer cargos públicos, la vicepresidenta Cristina Kirchner anunció, en tono desafiante, que no será candidata “a nada” el año que viene. Descalificó a los magistrados que la juzgaron y a los fiscales que la acusaron, a quienes definió como partes de

un “sistema mafioso” al que considera enquistado en el Poder Judicial.

La decisión de no ser candidata en 2023 abre una nueva etapa en el oficialismo, donde hasta ahora se manejaba la hipótesis de una eventual postulación suya a la presidencia o al frente de una lista de candidatos a senadores. **Página 10**

EL ANÁLISIS

Es solo la primera condena

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

Corrían los años 90. Italia estaba sumida en un escándalo permanente por el proceso conocido como Mani Pulite, una investigación judicial que reveló los sobornos entre empresarios y políticos de ese entrañable país. Raúl Alfonsín, ya expresidente, recibió a un periodista italiano que le preguntó su opinión sobre su amigo Bettino Craxi, el histórico líder del Partido Socialista italiano, que había sido condenado a prisión por actos corruptos. Para no caer preso, Craxi se exilió en Túnez, donde murió varios años después. Alfonsín respondió que el periodista no podía ignorar que existía “una operación de la CIA para desprestigiar a la socialdemocracia europea”. Asombrado, el periodista le replicó: “Doctor, los servicios de inteligencia de todo el mundo hacen operaciones, pero la pregunta es otra: ¿Craxi robó o no robó?”. Continúa en la página 13

ADEMÁS

El futuro judicial de la vicepresidenta

Paz Rodríguez Niell
Página 16

Una matriz de corrupción para robarle al Estado

Hugo Alconada Mon
Página 16

Nueva era: juzgar al poder cuando aún es poder

Diego Cabot
Página 18

copa 2022



Gabriel Biló/Folhapress

EM SHOW PORTUGUÊS, CRISTIANO RONALDO INICIA NO BANCO

Após atrito com técnico, craque só entrou contra a Suíça aos 29 do segundo tempo e assistiu a seu substituto, Gonçalo Ramos, marcar 3 na goleada de 6 a 1, que levou Portugal às quartas p.3

Marrocos derruba Espanha e é 1º país árabe nas quartas

O Marrocos eliminou a Espanha nas oitavas de final, ontem, nos pênaltis, após um empate morno por 0 a 0. O goleiro Bono brilhou ao defender duas penalidades. A equipe, que agora encara Portugal no sábado (10), é a primeira de um país árabe nas quartas de um Mundial. p.1 e p.2

OITAVAS DE FINAL Jogos de ontem

	MAR x ESP	
(3) 0	0 (0)	
	POR x SUI	
6	1	

Marcelo Damato
Na seleção,
médico precisa
de padrinho p.7

Tostão
Pontas mostram
que as verdades
são relativas p.7



Marroquinos comemoram na capital, Rabat, a vitória de sua seleção sobre a Espanha, nos pênaltis, pelas oitavas de final da Copa do Mundo Pádel Serrus/AFIP

SEX 9 • 16h	MATA-MATA	SAB 10 • 16h
HOLANDA	Jogos no horário de Brasília	INGLATERRA
ARGENTINA		FRANÇA
TER 13 • 16h	DOM 18 • 12h	QUA 14 • 16h
SEX 9 • 12h	SAB 17 • 12h	SAB 10 • 12h
CROÁCIA		MARROCOS
BRASIL		PORTUGAL

cotidiano B2
Bandeira LGBTQIA+
incorpora pessoas
trans e intersexo
e luta antirracista

ilustrada C1
Papa do cinema
marginal, Ozualdo
Candeias faria cem
anos e ganha mostra

EDITORIAIS A2

Emendas abertas
Sobre gastos orçamentários
em análise no Supremo.

Sobe e desce da miséria
Acerca de variações da taxa
de extrema pobreza.

Justiça condena Cristina Kirchner a 6 anos de prisão

A vice-presidente da Argentina, Cristina Kirchner, foi considerada culpada de administração fraudulenta e condenada a seis anos de prisão e inabilitação perpétua para exercer cargos públicos. Cabe recurso, e Cristina, que nega irregularidades, responde em liberdade. Mundo A10

**Lei europeia antidesmate
avança e pode afetar Brasil**
A UE deu aval a uma lei que obriga empresas a certificarem que a venda de produtos como café, carne e soja não está ligada ao desmatamento — os países do bloco ainda têm de aprová-la. Brasil e outros afetados se queixam de custos. A16

Furtos e roubos disparam em região do centro de São Paulo

Delegacias de polícia do centro da capital paulista registraram salto no número de roubos registrados de janeiro a outubro deste ano, superando até mesmo os de 2019, antes da Covid-19. Nos Campos Elísios, a alta nos roubos foi de 41% em relação ao mesmo período do último ano pré-pandemia.

Os furtos, por sua vez, caíram naquela região e na Sé, mas subiram 27% na Santa Cecília, que anotou recordes dos dois tipos de crimes nos últimos 20 anos.

Prefeitura, estado e Polícia Civil negam que o aumento tenha relação com o espalhamento da cracolândia na região. Cotidiano B1

Indicado para Segurança foi sócio de PM expulso por pornografia B4

**Coleta do Censo
não será concluída
neste ano, diz IBGE**
Cotidiano B2

**UE libera 5G em
voos em 2023, mas
deve vetar chamada**
Mercado A20

CCJ do Senado aprova PEC de 2 anos e R\$ 168 bilhões

A Comissão de Constituição e Justiça do Senado aprovou ontem a PEC da Transição, que amplia o teto de gastos para incluir o Bolsa Família por dois anos e reduz o impacto fiscal total para R\$ 145 bilhões anuais em 2022 e 2023. São previstos outros R\$ 23 bi em despesas extras. Votação no plenário deve ser hoje. Mercado A12





Reclamaron que el Estado pague las deudas que tiene con las empresas

UIP exige fin de connivencia entre la política y la Justicia

En un duro discurso de fin de año el titular del gremio afirmó que se adultera el sentido del derecho. Piden al ministro Antonio Fretes que dé un paso al costado en la CSJ.

PÁGINA 14

Proyecto está en el Senado
Veto parcial al PGN 2023 cobra fuerza después de la decisión de Diputados

PÁGINA 16

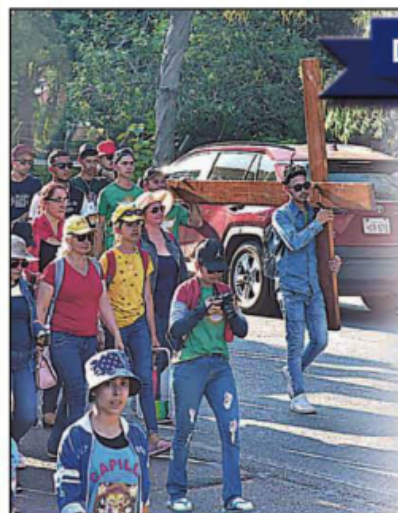
Culpable de fraude y corrupción
Cristina Fernández recibe condena de 6 años de cárcel e inhabilitación perpetua

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Habrà supervisión y monitoreo intensivo
El BCP intervino Cefisa para iniciar el proceso de disolución de la entidad

PÁGINA 15

ESPACIO PUBLICITARIO



DATOS ÚTILES PARA EL PEREGRINO

DURANTE LA CAMINATA:

- Use ropa clara y liviana.
- Evite caminar con el torso desnudo.
- Utilice calzados cómodos, no camine con zapatillas.
- Lleve accesorios como viseras, sombreros o lentes, que le puedan ayudar a protegerse del sol.
- Evitar la exposición en horas de excesivo calor, de 10:00 a 17:00.
- Mantenerse hidratado con agua potable.
- Evitar ingerir bebidas alcohólicas.
- Consumir alimentos seguros y frescos.
- Usar repelente.
- No usar audífonos en la ruta.
- Respetar reglas de tránsito.
- Llevar documentos de identidad.

Fuente: Ministerio de Salud Pública/ Patrulla Caminera.

Aconsejan que niños y abuelos no peregrinen

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Ex ministros de la Senad
Condena para De Vargas y Rojas por compra ilegal de aparatos de escucha

PÁGINA 48

Denunciado por legisladora
JEM inició enjuiciamiento al fiscal Lezcano por no impedir fuga de Marset

PÁGINA 49

HILUX

MANTENIMIENTO INCLUIDO
HASTA 100.000 KM
CONSULTE PLANES DE FINANCIACIÓN

SRV D/C MEC.
DESDE
\$ 44.010
ENTREGA
INMEDIATA



DX D/C MEC.
DESDE
\$ 34.830
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« Sans la liberté de blâmer, il n'est point d'éloge flatteur » Beaumarchais



**SPÉCIAL
CHAMPAGNE**
LE VIN DES ROIS S'ENCANAILLE
NOTRE SUPPLÉMENT

NOËL LE GRAËT
« JE SOUHAITE QUE DIDIER
DESCHAMPS RESTE
À LA TÊTE DES BLEUS » PAGE 12



DIPLOMATIE
Les Européens
de l'Est et du Nord
agacés par
l'attitude modérée
de Macron vis-
à-vis de Moscou
PAGE 6

LR
Aurélien Pradié :
« Je laisse
les adhérents libres
de leur choix »
PAGE 8

ENVIRONNEMENT
Contexte
difficile pour
la COP biodiversité
à Montréal
PAGE 11

HIGH-TECH
La réparation
s'empare
du marché
des smartphones
PAGE 25

CHAMPS LIBRES

- En Corse, les jeunes des villages font revivre les confréries
- Qui sont les 54 ministres qui n'ont pas tenu six mois ?
- La tribune de Nathalie Heinrich
- Un entretien avec Michèle Tribalat
- La chronique de Bertille Bayart
- L'analyse de Paule Gonzalès

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**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**

Réponses à la question de mardi :
Faut-il accorder des titres de séjour temporaires aux étrangers sans papiers travaillant dans des secteurs sous tension ?

OUI 33% NON 67%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 196 362

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr
Les Ukrainiens ont-ils raison de mener des frappes à l'intérieur du territoire russe ?

SÉBASTIEN SORIANO/LE FIGARO

En Europe, la grande crise des systèmes de santé

Le vieillissement de la population et la hausse des coûts médicaux mettent les hôpitaux en difficulté dans toute l'Europe. La France ne fait pas exception, malgré les milliards dépensés.

Mis à rude épreuve durant le Covid, les systèmes de santé européens ont tant bien que mal résisté. Mais la pandémie a mis en lumière des faiblesses préexistantes. Au-delà de leurs différences d'organisation et de modes de finance-

ment, la majorité d'entre eux se trouvent confrontés à de grandes difficultés, notamment en raison du vieillissement de la population. Celui-ci se traduit par une « transition épidémiologique », avec des patients plus

âgés, affectés de pathologies chroniques et multiples. De plus en plus complexes et coûteuses, les prises en charge nécessitent la coordination de nombreux acteurs, du sanitaire jusqu'au social. En France, l'enveloppe consa-

crée à l'hôpital va dépasser les 100 milliards d'euros en 2023, un record. En dépit des moyens réservés à la santé, tous les pays d'Europe se trouvent confrontés à l'épuisement des soignants et à des pénuries de personnels.

➔ **LES MILLIARDS D'EUROS DU « SÉCUR DE LA SANTÉ » N'ONT PAS FAIT DE MIRACLE**
➔ **AU ROYAUME-UNI, L'ATTENTE INTERMINABLE À L'HÔPITAL**
➔ **EN ESPAGNE, LES MÉDECINS FUENT À L'ÉTRANGER**

PAGES 20, 21 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



Ukraine : l'Église orthodoxe russe au cœur de la guerre

Sous la houlette de son chef, Kirill, le patriarcat de Moscou a fait de l'invasion de l'Ukraine une cause sacrée pour la défense de la nation russe. Mais quelques voix dissidentes critiquent ce nationalisme religieux dévoué à Poutine. PAGES 2 À 4

ÉDITORIAL par Jacques-Olivier Martin jomartin@lefigaro.fr

Blues blanches

La médecine souffre d'un Covid long. En France, bien sûr, mais pas seulement. Partout en Europe, les systèmes de santé se trouvent au bord de la rupture. Les personnels soignants sont épuisés par les cadences infernales, au point parfois de quitter l'hôpital et de changer de métier. D'autres, tout aussi nombreux, exigent des réaménagements de leurs conditions de travail et réclament des hausses de salaire. Les médecins de ville demandent un doublement du prix des consultations. À l'hôpital, on ferme des lits faute d'infirmières. Parfois, des malades patientent sur des brancards avant d'être pris en charge. Des milliers d'interventions médicales sont reportées. Rien ne va plus. Chez nous, le « Ségur de la santé », lancé pendant la crise du Covid pour réorganiser en profondeur le système français, n'a rien changé malgré les 30 milliards d'euros distribués. En réalité, la pandémie a servi de révélateur d'un mal profond qui ne se soignera pas à coups de pansements financiers et de sollicitude à l'égard de nos blouses blanches. C'est toute la politique de santé qu'il faut repenser et surtout adapter à la réalité de ce début de siècle.

Quelle est-elle ? Démographique, d'abord. Le vieillissement de la population conduit à une hausse considérable des besoins de santé qui nécessitera des moyens humains, technologiques et financiers croissants. Organisationnelle, ensuite. Il est urgent de mieux articuler médecine de ville, urgences et hospitalisation, et plus encore de débureaucratiser la santé pour améliorer son efficacité, faire des économies (c'est impératif alors que les dépenses augmentent) et surtout redonner du temps médical aux médecins, aux chefs de service et à tous les soignants noyés par la folie administrative.

C'est toute la politique de santé qu'il faut repenser

Il est aussi impératif de mieux prévenir pour moins avoir à guérir. La prévention est un enjeu crucial de santé publique. Or, la France est à la traîne, comparée aux pays du nord de l'Europe. C'est grâce aux confinements et aux vaccins, deux outils de prévention, que nous avons endigué l'épidémie de Covid. Au gouvernement d'agir et à nous de changer nos comportements... Le sauvetage de la santé est à ce prix ! ■

À Paris et à Lyon, les écoles de centre-ville se vident de leurs élèves

Démographie en berne, logements inaccessibles, insécurité galopante, politiques de la ville peu propices aux familles... À Paris, les écoles primaires et maternelles ont perdu plus de 10 000 élèves entre 2020 et 2022. Même constat à Lyon, où les confinements ont précipité l'exode de centaines de familles vers la proche banlieue et les départements voisins. L'enseignement privé, qui accueille une partie des déçus du public, résiste mieux. PAGE 10



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Toby Jones

On movies, music and the return of Detectorists

→ G2



World Cup shock Spain stunned by Morocco in penalty shootout

→ Sport



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Mone lobbied for second firm with secret links to husband

Exclusive Tory peer was rebuked in letter over 'need for propriety'

Henry Dyer
Paul Lewis
Rowena Mason
David Conn

A second company that the Tory peer Michelle Mone lobbied ministers over in an attempt to secure government Covid contracts was a secret entity of her husband's family office, the Guardian can reveal.

Lady Mone's lobbying on behalf of LFI Diagnostics, which she tried to help secure government contracts for Covid lateral flow tests, prompted a formal rebuke from a health minister who reminded her of "the need for propriety". A departmental source told the Guardian Mone was "in a class of her own in terms of the sheer aggression of her advocacy" on behalf of LFI Diagnostics.

However, it is the revelation that the company was a secret entity of the office that manages the wealth of her husband, Douglas Barrowman, that will deepen the controversy over the Tory peer and her access to ministers.

Mone's spokesperson said yesterday that she was taking leave of absence from the House of Lords, adding that she was



▲ Lady Mone has taken a leave of absence from the House of Lords in order to 'clear her name' over 'unjust' allegations PHOTOGRAPH: STEFAN ROUSSEAU/WFA/GETTY

Plea to Cop15: 'Let's end our war against nature'

Patrick Greenfield

The UN's environment chief has warned that "we are at war with nature" and must "make peace", as the secretary general, António Guterres, urged countries at the

opening of Cop15 in Montreal to stop the "orgy of destruction".

"We've just welcomed the 8 billionth member of the human race on this planet. That's a wonderful birth of a baby, of course. But we need to understand that the more people there are, the more we put the Earth under heavy pressure," said Inger

Andersen, the executive director of the UN environment programme.

"As far as biodiversity is concerned, we are at war with nature. We need to make peace with nature. Because nature is what sustains everything on Earth ... the science is unequivocal."

Formal negotiations for biodiversity at Cop15 will finally begin today after more than two years of pandemic-related delays.

Governments will agree this decade's targets for protecting biodiversity at the two-week summit, with nearly 20,000 people registered to attend.

At the opening ceremony, Guterres warned that humanity was out of harmony with nature, driven by unsustainable production and consumption.

"Ecosystems have become playthings of profit. With our bottomless appetite for unchecked and unequal economic growth, humanity has become a weapon of mass extinction. We are treating nature like a toilet. And ultimately, we are committing suicide by proxy," he said.

"This conference is our chance to stop this orgy of destruction. To move from discord to harmony ... The most

important lesson we impart to children is to take responsibility for their actions. What example are we setting when we ourselves are failing this basic test?"

"I am always deeply inspired by the young environmental activists around the world calling for change and action. But



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