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What's News

World-Wide

Sen. Sinema, a pivotal centrist, said she was leaving the Democratic Party and would register as an independent, a move that complicates Democrats' narrow control of the Senate. **A1**

◆ **The WTO** said its dispute-settlement panels found that the U.S. violated international trade rules with its tariffs on imported steel and aluminum. **A3**

◆ **Prosecutors** urged a judge to hold Trump's legal team in contempt for failing to fully turn over all classified documents in the ex-president's possession, a person familiar with the matter said. **A5**

◆ **The Biden administration** warned that military ties between Russia and Iran were expanding into "a full-fledged defense partnership." **A7**

◆ **China's Xi** ended the last day of a visit to Saudi Arabia to pledge more energy deals with big Gulf oil producers. **A9**

◆ **Over two years** before a Walmart supervisor killed six workers, Walmart executives investigated employee workplace complaints against him, according to former and current employees. **A3**

◆ **Thanksgiving** spurred on more respiratory infections in an already busy virus season, and the coming holidays could be worse, public-health officials say. **A3**

Business & Finance

◆ **In challenging** Microsoft's acquisition of Activision Blizzard, the FTC is building its marquee antitrust case of Khan's tenure on expansive legal theories that haven't prevailed in other recent cases. **A1, A6**

◆ **FTX's founder** said he would testify next week before Congress, setting up a high-profile discussion with lawmakers he sought to court before his crypto exchange collapsed into bankruptcy. **A1**

◆ **U.S. supplier price** increases eased in November from rapid gains in the first half of the year, in a sign that inflationary pressures could be moderating. **A2**

◆ **U.S. stocks fell**, with the S&P 500 and Nasdaq both losing 0.7% and the Dow industrials shedding 0.9%. **B11**

◆ **Jeep maker Stellantis** said it would stop operations at a 1,350-employee assembly plant in Illinois, citing the need to control costs. **B1**

◆ **Juul Labs** has agreed to pay \$1.7 billion in a broad legal settlement covering more than 5,000 lawsuits, according to people familiar with the matter. **B3**

◆ **Workers at an Ohio** battery plant co-owned by General Motors voted overwhelmingly to be represented by the UAW. **B3**

NOONAN

Only the Voters Can Crush Donald Trump **A15**

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Britain Faces a Wave of Strikes as Holidays Approach



DISCONTENT: Postal employees rally outside Parliament on Friday after about 115,000 workers walked off the job. The U.K. is bracing for widespread strikes as workers push for bigger pay raises amid high inflation and a gloomy economic outlook. **A10**

Microsoft's Assurances Failed To Persuade FTC on Activision

By SARAH E. NEEDLEMAN

Microsoft Corp. had been working for close to a year to calm regulators' concerns about its acquisition of video-game developer Activision Blizzard Inc., but the Federal Trade Commission's suit to block the deal raised doubts about the company's pledge not to shut out rivals.

The FTC this week took one of its biggest swings ever

against a big technology company and sued to stop the planned \$75 billion acquisition, setting the stage for a court challenge over a deal the law-enforcement agency said would harm competition.

The commission's complaint said the deal is illegal because it would give Microsoft the ability to control how consumers beyond users of its own Xbox consoles and subscription services access Activi-

sion's games. Microsoft has repeatedly said it wouldn't engage in such actions. The FTC's complaint accused Microsoft of reneging on a similar pledge to a European regulator in the past, a criticism the company disputes.

"While we believed in giving peace a chance, we have complete confidence in our case and welcome the opportunity to present our case in court," said Brad Smith, Microsoft vice

chair and president after the lawsuit was filed.

This week, as the possibility of a lawsuit increased, Microsoft argued about the deal's benefits to gamers through an op-ed article in The Wall Street Journal and announced an agreement to give a competitor access to one of Activision's

Please turn to page A6

◆ **FTC faces test on 'vertical' mergers**..... **A6**

Prisons Aim to Prove If Drugs Can Treat Addiction

Medications show early success in putting inmates on path to sobriety

By JULIE WERNAU

Sheriff Peter Koutoujian worked for years to get drugs into Middlesex County jail.

Operating the facility northwest of Boston had come to feel like living in a bad rerun, he said. Inmates arrived addicted to opioids, went through detox, lived without drugs and were released. Then they started using again, overdosed and died, or landed back in jail.

Mr. Koutoujian aimed to break the cycle with medication that addiction experts say is the most effective known way to curb opioid use. The results so far are promising.

Out of 230 inmates at Middlesex jail who participated between 2015 and 2019, nearly all of them, 226, were alive six months after re-

lease. Recidivism among the group is one-third that for other inmates, Mr. Koutoujian said. He is continuing to track their success. "We have a window while they're with us that we can help turn their lives around," he said.

Two-thirds of people entering prisons and jails have what the Department of Health and Human Services diagnoses as substance-use disorder. For years, the only treatment in most detention centers was to detox.

Some 630 of the roughly 5,000 jails and prisons nationwide now provide medication treatment for opioid use, according to the non-profit Jail and Prison Opioid Project, up from about 20 in 2015. The drugs include buprenorphine, which tamps cravings for opioids, naloxone, which blocks overdoses, and methadone, which helps with withdrawal.

Please turn to page A11

I Entered a Pun Competition. My Jokes Were Written by a Robot.

New artificial intelligence chatbot generates writing, but is it punny?

By BEN EISEN

BROOKLYN—I heard the MC call my name and felt my legs carry me toward the stage. It was time to enter the Pun-derdome.

I'd never competed in a pun contest, my legs less in front of hundreds of people at an event considered the Roman Colosseum of punditry. My stage presence could be described as lacking. I had done basically no

preparation. I did, however, have one thing going for me: I was actually a robot.

Or, rather, its assistant. ChatGPT, the trendy new artificial intelligence robot, had generated all of my puns. It's a crazy good chatbot. So good, in fact, that it has some folks calling this the end of the human race as we know it.

The chatbot can write an essay on Probst in seconds. Want



Applause, please

EXCHANGE



SEA CHANGE
Companies steer cargo to new ports, toppling the West Coast's reign. **B1**

Founder of FTX Set To Testify in House

By PAUL KIERNAN
AND CATHLIN OSTROFF

FTX founder Sam Bankman-Fried said he would testify next week before Congress, setting up a high-profile discussion with lawmakers he sought to court before his crypto exchange collapsed into bankruptcy.

Mr. Bankman-Fried said on Twitter he would appear before the House Committee on Financial Services. The committee has a hearing scheduled for Tuesday at 10 a.m. ET to investigate the collapse of FTX. Mr. Bankman-Fried will most likely testify remotely, according to a person familiar

with the matter.

Mr. Bankman-Fried's appearance caps a stunning downfall of an executive who just months ago was showering Congress, including members of the committee, with political donations. He and FTX executives spent about \$70 million ahead of the 2022 midterm elections in an effort to sway the regulation of the nascent crypto industry. Now, Mr. Bankman-Fried is in the hot seat as the committee tries to get to the bottom of what caused the company's implosion last month.

John J. Ray III, the new chief executive leading FTX in

Please turn to page A5

◆ **Tense negotiations** led to Griner's release..... **A8**

U.S. Adapts to Era Of Hostage Diplomacy

By ARUNA VISWANATHA
AND JAMES T. AREDDY

This week's prisoner exchange that freed American basketball star Brittney Griner brings to at least 12 the number of U.S. citizens and residents who have been freed during the Biden administration in confirmed or apparent prisoner trades.

That number reflects a striking shift: More Americans in recent years have been detained by foreign governments than have been taken captive by terrorist groups or criminal gangs, according to U.S. authorities and private assessments.

In response, the U.S. has

Sinema Leaves Party In Jolt to Senate

Arizona lawmaker quits Democrats days after they won a majority to become an independent

By ELIZA COLLINS
AND LINDSAY WISE

WASHINGTON—Sen. Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona, a pivotal centrist who has helped broker bipartisan deals and forced changes to major pieces of President Biden's agenda, said she was leaving the Democratic Party and would register as an independent, a move that complicates Democrats' narrow control of the chamber.

The move sent a jolt through Washington just days after Democrats secured their 51st seat in the Senate by winning a runoff election in Georgia. It raised questions about how closely Ms. Sinema would align with the party in the second half of Mr. Biden's term and introduced a new wrinkle in the outlook for the 2024 election, when she would be up for reelection and when Democrats are facing a tough Senate map. "I have enjoyed the growing numbers of Arizonans who reject party politics by declaring my independence from the broken partisan system in Washington," she wrote in an opinion article in the Arizona Republic announcing her exit from the party. "Showing up to work with the title of independent is a reflection of who I have always been," she said in

Please turn to page A4

◆ **Tense negotiations** led to Griner's release..... **A8**

Secret lives of MI6's top spies



UK secret service officers reveal why women often make the best agents

LIFE & ARTS

Putin threatens to cut oil output in retaliation for west's price cap

◆ First Russian response to curbs ◆ G7 fears rising energy costs ◆ Opec pact aids Kremlin

MAX SEDDON — RIGA
TOM WILSON — LONDON

Vladimir Putin has threatened to cut oil production in response to the G7's price cap on Moscow's crude exports, a measure western countries hope will keep oil flowing while denting revenues for the Kremlin's war in Ukraine.

Russia's president said yesterday it "would simply not sell to the countries" that imposed the price ceiling or joined an EU embargo on buying Russia's oil. "We will possibly, if we have to, even think — I'm not saying that it's a decision — about a possible cut in production," Putin's comments were his first indi-

cation of the Kremlin's response to the EU sanctions and associated oil price cap, which have stopped European imports of seaborne Russian crude and sought to impose a limit on the price other countries can pay.

Putin called the move a "non-market, harmful decision" and said it would be "stupid for everyone" to enforce it.

The cap has been designed to ensure that the EU's worldwide ban on the provision of shipping and insurance services to Russian crude shipments does not result in a sudden collapse in its exports that would drive up global oil prices.

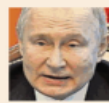
Under the measures, shipments of

Russian crude to countries outside the EU can still use European services if the oil is sold for \$60 a barrel or less.

OILX, which tracks global crude shipments, said Russian oil exports remained as high as at any point this year, adding that any drop due to the sanctions would be visible only later in the first quarter of 2023.

Russia is the world's largest energy exporter. It increased its revenue from oil and gas sales by 70 per cent in the first half of 2022 amid rising prices.

The hard currency income has cushioned the blow from western sanctions to Russia's economy while helping fund its war on Ukraine as it sputters into a



Vladimir Putin says it would be 'stupid for everyone' to enforce the price cap on crude exports

10th month. Oil prices have also been supported by Opec, led by Saudi Arabia, and its allies including Russia, which agreed in October to cut the group's output target by 2mn barrels a day to prevent prices from falling.

Putin acknowledged the deal with the so-called Opec+ group, adding that Russia would have to "think additionally" about any country-specific cuts.

He said Russia was relatively insulated from the price cap because "the ceiling they have suggested is in line with the prices we are selling at today".

Kremlin critic jailed page 2
War grinds on page 3
Cap helps drive down oil price page 13

How to give it

The ultimate philanthropists
HTSI



Deck the halls...

Christmas decorating special
HOUSE & HOME



Liz Truss's disastrous 44 days

Inside story of PM's downfall
LIFE & ARTS



A very German coup

Uncovering the far-right plot
THE BIG READ



Microsoft challenge tests watchdogs' call of duty

Microsoft's attempt to distance itself from past antitrust battles hit a wall this week when regulators lodged a legal challenge to its \$75bn purchase of Activision Blizzard. An ex-watchdog says the move sets up a landmark battle that will test the White House's commitment to scrutinising Big Tech. Pledges on flagship game Call of Duty were dismissed, with regulators saying such promises had been broken before.

LEX > PAGE 18

Pitt's production group snapped up by Europeans in rare raid on Hollywood

ALEX BARKER — LONDON
LEILA ABOUDD — PARIS

Brad Pitt's Plan B Entertainment, the acclaimed Hollywood producer behind *Moonlight* and *The Big Short*, has been bought by France's Mediawan in a rare transatlantic deal that values the US group at more than \$500mn.

Pitt told the Financial Times that the Oscar-winning company he co-founded in the early 2000s was "already bulging out of the seams of our little garage" and was ready to expand with the support of Mediawan, a content group backed by three of France's most prominent media investors.

"We weren't going to do this unless we found like-minded partners. We certainly feel that way with Mediawan," Pitt said. "We have always just concentrated on the craft, the art, the artisans

and the opportunity to be able to do that in a grander and more global way is exciting for us."

Mediawan's acquisition of one of the most prized assets in Hollywood's independent production sector represents the most significant French foray into Hollywood since Vivendi's acquisition of Universal Studios in 2001.

The privately held Mediawan, whose titles include *Call My Agent* and *The Three Musketeers*, was founded in 2015 by telecoms billionaire Xavier Niel, investment banker Matthieu Pigasse and television executive Pierre-Antoine Capton. It has grown rapidly in Europe in recent years by snapping up small to mid-sized production houses from Spain to Germany and is making its first foray into the US.

Capton, the chief executive, cast the deal as a major strategic shift as Media-

wan seeks to go global. "Plan B is the best independent producer in the US, so I wouldn't have wanted anything else to help us grow," he told the FT.

During a production boom in which Hollywood has been awash with frothy takeover offers, Plan B has stood out as a much-envied asset with a consistent record of making high-quality, award-winning films, as well as series for Amazon and Netflix. Three of its movies — *The Departed*, *12 Years a Slave* and *Moonlight* — won Oscars for Best Picture.

Neither Plan B nor Mediawan would disclose details of the transaction. But people familiar with the matter told the FT that the deal valued Plan B in excess of \$500mn, with Mediawan buying a majority stake in the group now, and the rest at a later stage.

The sellers will be paid half in shares of Mediawan and half in cash.

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Dec 9	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Dec 9	Prev	%Chg	Yield (%)	Dec 9	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	3974.81	3983.53	-0.22	\$/€	1.054	1.055	-0.1	0.949	0.948	0.01	0.01
Nasdaq Composite	11130.73	11082.80	0.44	\$/£	1.278	1.277	0.1	0.814	0.818	-0.01	-0.01
Dow Jones Ind	33826.94	33761.48	0.13	\$/¥	0.857	0.863	-0.7	1.166	1.159	0.06	0.06
FTSEurofirst 300	1735.38	1721.34	0.82	\$/HK\$	136.595	136.495	0.1	143.978	143.941	0.03	0.03
Euro Stoxx 50	3939.22	3921.77	0.46	\$/INR	167.817	166.777	0.6	79.486	79.525	-0.05	-0.05
FTSE 100	2416.63	2422.17	-0.23	\$/R\$	0.983	0.987	-0.4	1.147	1.144	0.03	0.03
FTSE All Share	4087.28	4082.24	0.13								
CAC 40	6677.84	6647.31	0.46								
Xetra Dax	14326.17	14264.56	0.50								
Nikkei	27901.01	27514.43	1.18								
Hong Kong	19933.87	19464.23	2.35								
MSCI World \$	2670.27	2654.34	0.60								
MSCI EM \$	869.21	868.77	0.05								
MSCI ACWI \$	620.25	618.22	0.33								
FT Mibex 2500	5145.49	5101.53	0.76								
FT Mibex 5000	40136.10	39823.97	0.76								

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LATE EDITION
Today, clouds with a little rain, high 42. Tonight, a bit of rain and snow, low 35. Tomorrow, a rain or snow shower early, some afternoon sun, high 42. Weather map on Page 36.



Junior R.O.T.C. cadets at South Atlanta High School in Georgia. All freshmen at the school must start the class but may drop it.

When Military Training Is Not an Elective

This article is by **Mike Baker**, **Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs** and **Iana Marcus**.

DETROIT — On her first day of high school, Andrey Thomas looked over her schedule and found that she was enrolled in a class with an unfamiliar name: J.R.O.T.C. She and other freshmen at Pershing High School in Detroit soon learned that they had been placed into the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps, a program funded by the U.S. military designed to teach leadership skills, discipline and civic values — and open students' eyes to the idea of a military career. In the class, students had to wear military uniforms and obey orders from an instructor who was often yelling, Ms. Thomas said, but when several of them pleaded to be allowed to drop the class, school administrators refused.

Public School Mandates Raise Fears of 'Indoctrination'

"They told us it was mandatory," Ms. Thomas said. J.R.O.T.C. programs, taught by military veterans at some 3,500 high schools across the country, are supposed to be elective, and the Pentagon has said that requiring students to take them goes against its guidelines. But The New York Times found that thousands of public school students were being funneled into the classes without ever having chosen them, either as an explicit requirement or by being automatically enrolled.

A review of J.R.O.T.C. enrollment data collected from more than 200 public records requests showed that dozens of schools have made the program mandatory or steered more than 75 percent of students in a single grade into the classes, including schools in Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Oklahoma City and Mobile, Ala. A vast majority of the schools with those high enrollment numbers were attended by a large proportion of nonwhite students and those from low-income households, The Times found.

The role of J.R.O.T.C. in U.S. high schools has been a point of debate since the program was founded more than a century ago. During the antiwar battles of the 1970s, protests over what was seen as an attempt to recruit high schoolers to serve in Vietnam prompted some school districts to restrict the program. Most schools gradually

Continued on Page 26

A Doctor Has New York's Ear On Mentally Ill

By **ELLEN BARRY**

BETHESDA, Md. — The psychiatrist E. Fuller Torrey is 85 years old and has Parkinson's disease, the tremors at times so strong that his hand beats like a drum on the table.

Still, every morning when he reads the newspapers, he looks for accounts of violent behavior by people with severe mental illness, to add to an archive he has maintained since the 1980s.

His records include reports of people who, in the grip of psychosis, assaulted political figures or pushed strangers into the path of subway trains; parents who, while delusional, killed their children by smothering, drowning or beating them; adult children who, while off medication, killed their parents with swords, axes or hammers.

Dr. Torrey, who has done pioneering research into the biological basis of schizophrenia, has used these stories in service of an argument: that it was a mistake for the United States to shut down its public psychiatric hospitals without adequate follow-up care.

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FRANCOIS NEL/GETTY IMAGES

Badr Benoun and Morocco defeated Portugal to reach the World Cup semifinals against France.

Morocco Makes History for Arabs and Africa

By **TARIQ PANJA**

DOHA, Qatar — The first World Cup in the Arab world began with a shock, Saudi Arabia upsetting Argentina in a first-round game, setting off waves of jubilation in a region lacking in soccer giants.

The tournament in Qatar is reaching its final stages with another stunning: Morocco upset Portugal, 1-0, on Saturday to become the first country in Africa and the Arab world to ever reach the semifinals.

Supporters who packed cafes in Rabat poured into the streets after the final whistle of the game. Cries of joy, horns and fireworks kicked off a party, worthy of a World Cup final, that spread through the Moroccan capital.

Hundreds of families — women, men and children — sang, danced and played instruments in a sea of red and green, the colors of the Moroccan flag. People wandered, smiling and euphoric, proud and in disbelief of vanquishing one soccer giant after another. Many more people gathered in front of the parliament building, blocking traffic and greeting one another with "mabrouk alina" (congratulations to us).

Morocco added Portugal — and

Continued on Page 35

Largest Exodus Imperils Future Of Ailing Cuba

Population Is Shrinking as Economy Sputters

By **ED AUGUSTIN** and **FRANCES ROBLES**

BARACOA, Cuba — Roger Garcia Ordaz makes no secret of his many attempts to flee. He has tried to leave Cuba 11 times on boats made of wood, Styrofoam and resin, and has a tattoo for each failed attempt, including three boat mishaps and eight times picked up at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard and sent home.

Hundreds of homemade, rickety boats have left this year from the shores of Baracoa, a fishing village west of Havana where Mr. Garcia, 34, lives — so many that locals call the town "Terminal Three."

"Of course I am going to keep on throwing myself into the sea until I get there," he said. "Or if the sea wants to take my life, so be it."

Living conditions in Cuba under Communist rule have long been precarious, but today, deepening poverty and hopelessness have set off the largest exodus from the Caribbean island nation since Fidel Castro rose to power over half a century ago.

The country has been hit by a one-two punch of tighter U.S. sanctions and the Covid-19 pandemic, which eviscerated one of Cuba's lifelines — the tourism industry. Food has become even more scarce and more expensive, lines at pharmacies with scant supplies begin before dawn and millions of people endure daily hours-long blackouts.

Over the last year, nearly 250,000 Cubans, more than 2 percent of the island's 11 million population, have migrated to the United States, most of them arriving at the southern border by land, according to U.S. government data.

Even for a nation known for mass exodus, the current wave is remarkable — larger than the 1960 Mariel boatlift and the 1994 Cuban raft crisis combined, until recently the island's two biggest migration events.

But while those movements peaked within a year, experts say this migration, which they compare to a wartime exodus, has no end in sight and threatens the stability of a country that already has

Continued on Page 12

Can Sea Slugs Lead Humans Back to Civil Social Discourse?

By **AMY HARMON**

What was it? A segmented worm? A sea slug? A centipede, colonized by a parasite?

When Merav Vonshak wanted to identify the gelatinous blob she had photographed floating in a shallow pool of water on a family vacation, she bypassed a wildlife-related website too often besieged by bickering. She gave no consideration to brand-name social-media platforms known for snark or misinformation.

Instead she uploaded the picture to a site called iNaturalist, where strangers have come together to pursue a very specific type of truth: the correct scientific classification for the living things they photograph in the wild or the backyard. They have so far processed about 90 million, with at least a quarter of those completed in 2022 alone.

And so it went in this case, where Dr. Vonshak, an ecologist,

BOTH SIDES BRACE FOR NEW COMBAT IN ABORTION WAR

POST-MIDTERM TACTICS

Taking On Stricter Curbs, Ballot Measures and Pill Regulation

By **KATE ZERNIKE**

The Supreme Court's reversal of the 50-year-old decision in *Roe v. Wade* transformed the debate and politics around abortion in the United States, shifting battles to state courts and legislatures and galvanizing a fresh wave of voters in the midterm elections who turned out more forcefully than ever to make abortion rights a winning issue.

While the terms of the abortion conflict had been set for decades, the results of the elections so closely following the court's decision now have both sides re-evaluating their strengths, weaknesses and strategies. Heading into the new legislative sessions next year, supporters and opponents of abortion rights are girding for fresh combat, with new ground rules, new opponents and new battlefronts.

Anti-abortion groups are pulling back from ballot initiatives as a way to restrict abortion, having failed with those measures in Kansas, Kentucky and Montana. Instead, they're pushing to reinforce abortion restrictions where they've had success or hold the majority: in sympathetic court jurisdictions and Republican-controlled legislatures.

Abortion rights advocates are coming out of the midterms with momentum. But for all their victories, they face the steeper challenge. With abortion illegal or inaccessible in roughly half of the country, they must keep their supporters energized for a long fight.

After winning six out of six ballot initiatives this year, abortion rights supporters are pressing for more, especially in states such as Ohio and Missouri where the legislatures are gerrymandered and staunchly anti-abortion. Yet ballot initiatives aren't an option in every state.

The path to restoring abortion rights still runs largely through state legislatures, where it has

Continued on Page 25



HOLLY HARTMANN

Without getting into an argument, what is this? See Page 23.

first thought the photograph taken at California's Joshua Tree National Park in 2016 might be of a cluster of amphibian eggs.

Like many iNaturalist users, Dr. Vonshak, 45, invokes utopian metaphors not typically associated with social media to describe the platform. ("It reminds me of 'Star Trek,' you know? Our society as I would wish it would be.")

Continued on Page 23

METROPOLITAN

Better Pay for Food Deliverers

Under a city proposal, app services would pay an average hourly rate of at least \$23.82. New York City is the nation's biggest delivery market. PAGE 1

SPORTS 34-38

Williams Wins the Heisman

The sophomore quarterback, who transferred with his coach from Oklahoma, fueled an 11-victory regular season for Southern California. PAGE 38

NATIONAL 15-28

Feeling Unsafe as Vitriol Rises

Intimidation and violence against gay and transgender Americans have spread — fueled, experts say, by inflammatory political messaging. PAGE 25

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Starbucks C.E.O. vs. Unions

In his third tour as leader of the coffee giant, Howard Schultz has returned to quash a unionization effort. Why is he taking it so personally? PAGE 4

SUNDAY OPINION

Fyodor Uroov

PAGE 6



bloomingdale's 150

This year Bloomingdale's is celebrating its 150th anniversary as an icon of global style. Throughout that history the brand has sought to support worthy causes and give back to those in need. As the founding corporate partner of the Child Mind Institute, Bloomingdale's has raised more than \$2.8 million to support their mission of transforming the lives

of children and families struggling with mental health and learning disorders. Join Bloomingdale's to the changer this holiday season — when you purchase our Little Brown Bear, \$5 from the purchase price will benefit the Child Mind Institute. Plus, be sure to look in select papers today for a "little good" surprise. Go to bloomingdales.com/littlegoodbag to learn more.





CHRISTINA HOUSE Los Angeles Times
TOVI BASKIN, front, and Lillian Mazzucca play in a hammock during a family barbecue in Lomita celebrating the 31st birthday of their uncle, Anthony Mazzucca, standing at right.

COLUMN ONE

A journey through California's broken mental health system

By Thomas Curwen

Standing in the dappled sunlight of a Westside city park, Anthony Mazzucca was trying to make a point. The words flew out of him, like birds, a flock of words. He laughed at the thought.

Yet he wondered whether he was being clear. No one — not God, Obama, the devil, his counselor from high school — seemed to understand him.

It was the summer of 2015, and between the voices he heard and meth he had smoked, Anthony was once again slipping away.

Passersby might have seen just another homeless man talking to the trees. But in his mind, he wasn't: He had a job as an incendiary non-pedophile informant for the FBI, and he had a home, Media Park off Venice Boulevard in Culver City. The cops left him alone, and his mother, Mary Liciaga, brought him food.

He was close with his family. He remembered standing up for a sister when she was bullied, giving money to another when she was broke.

"Now you don't have to worry," he had said, waving his hands over hers as if sprinkling coins.

But that was kid stuff. These were adult matters now — [See Journey, A12]

The life of a man with schizophrenia illustrates the toll of sickness and the challenge of getting severely mentally ill people off the streets



MARY LICIGA
IN 2015, Anthony was living in Media Park in Culver City. He sometimes slept outside near a vent that blew warm air.

Meadowbrook center: An institution for the mentally ill spans West L.A.'s history. CALIFORNIA, B1

Toxic political brew keeps Peru unstable

Election results are often about settling scores or getting rich, not leading, critics say.

BY ADRIANA LEÓN, TRACY WILKINSON AND PATRICK J. McDONNELL

LIMA, Peru — A right-wing populist president who led Peru during the 1990s is serving a 25-year prison sentence for human rights abuses. Three of his four immediate successors faced bribery charges — one killing himself with a gunshot to his head when police descended on his home to arrest him.

The ouster of leftist President Pedro Castillo last week was a dramatic turn of

events by any political standard: The embattled chief of state was impeached Wednesday hours after he tried to dissolve Congress, a move denounced by lawmakers as an attempted coup.

But Castillo's removal from office 16 months into his five-year term was only the most recent manifestation of extreme political turbulence that has buffeted this troubled South American nation of 32 million for decades.

While democratic elections are held regularly in Peru, critics say that the results often have more to do with settling scores and politicians getting rich than installing effective governments. Daggers are soon out [See Peru, A4]



L.A.'S 101 BEST RESTAURANTS
Our 10th annual dining guide is included in today's newspaper for print subscribers. The guide is also available for purchase at latimes.com/store.

USC's Williams wins Heisman

Quarterback becomes the first Trojan to earn the award since Reggie Bush in 2005. SPORTS, D1

Darvin Ham just kept striving

For the future Lakers coach, a gunshot wound as a teen was a defining moment. SPORTS, D1

High gas prices, huge profits

Here's why you're paying more, leading to a larger payoff for energy firms. BUSINESS, A17

Weather

Rain, heavy at times. L.A. Basin: 59/44. B10



The legacy of Garcetti: How will he be judged?

He exits office with a mixed record, scoring wins in transit and pay, but not homelessness

BY JAMES RAINEY AND DAKOTA SMITH

Eric Garcetti glided down the parade route last month, seated atop the backseat of a vintage Chrysler convertible — buoyed by the ebullient Veterans Day crowd that lined the sidewalks of Paoli.

"Thank you for your service, to both the city and the country," one man called out. Others shouted, "Go Navy!" at Garcetti, neatly turned out in a dark blue dress uniform from his days in the Navy Reserve. Parents pressed forward to pose their children with one of the parade's biggest celebrities.

Another bystander punctuated the sunny scene, shouting: "Garcetti in 2024!" Garcetti responded, though much more quietly: "We'll



GENARO MOLINA Los Angeles Times
ERIC GARCETTI became Los Angeles' longest-serving mayor since Tom Bradley.

sec."

Heady scenes like this one once felt as if they would go on and on. The popular and ambitious mayor of Los Angeles presented himself as a plausible candidate for [See Garcetti, A8]

Hard work ahead for the new mayor

Karen Bass, who takes oath Sunday, says first step is declaring state of emergency in L.A.

BY BENJAMIN ORESKES

When Karen Bass is sworn in Sunday, she will make history as the first woman to serve as mayor of Los Angeles — completing a political journey that took her from South Los Angeles community organizer 30 years ago to elected office in the Legislature and Congress, then to the top job in the nation's second-largest city.

She will take the oath from Vice President Kamala Harris, joining a political



GENARO MOLINA Los Angeles Times
MAYOR-ELECT Bass is focused on homelessness. "I realize that I'm taking a huge risk," she said.

wave that has placed a record six women on the City Council and given L.A. its first female city attorney. This history comes as women continue to hold all five [See Mayor, A10]

L.A. politics reach a new low with melee

De León is defiant after altercation with activists in front of kids at holiday event.

BY BRITNEY MEJIA, LIAM DILLON AND GREGORY YEE

On Friday evening, more than 100 children and their parents were gathered at Lincoln Park for a tree-lighting celebration.

Parents took videos of their daughters performing in pink tutus inside the auditorium. Children played in a snow pit outside. The DJ played "Christmas Is Here" and other holiday songs.

On stage, Councilmember Kevin de León, who wore



MYUNG J. CHUN Los Angeles Times
COUNCILMEMBER Kevin de León, with two years left on his term, insists he won't resign.

a Santa hat, was handing out gifts to children when a handful of activists entered.

What happened next swept everyone in the room into the maelstrom that is [See De León, A11]

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Seat mates How to ply the sky and hit the road with your pets this holiday season **TRAVEL**



Societal bridges 'The Persuaders' pursues the right words to build unity **BOOKS**



Unmentionable stage of grief Relief is common after a loved one's passing **MAGAZINE**

The Washington Post

Pieces may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington



Cloudy with rain 49/37 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 48/32 **C14**

Democracy Dies in Darkness

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Hunter Biden allies set to battle accusers

Some urge counterattack defense as GOP prepares to launch investigations

BY MATT VISER
AND MICHAEL SCHERER

Hunter Biden's friend and lawyer Kevin Morris was blunt in laying out his thoughts at a strategy session last September on an expected onslaught of investigations by House Republicans: It was crucial, he suggested, for Hunter Biden's camp to be more aggressive.

Morris, at the meeting in his California home, described defamation lawsuits the team could pursue against the presidential son's critics, including Fox News, Eric Trump and Rudy Giuliani. He outlined extensive research on two potential witnesses against Hunter Biden — a spurned business partner named Tony Bobulinski and a computer repairman named John Paul Mac Isaac.

At one point, Hunter Biden himself happened to call into the meeting, connecting briefly by video to add his own thoughts.

"They feel that there is a whole counternarrative missing because of the whole Hunter-hater narrative out there," said liberal activist David Brock, who attended the meeting. "What we really got into was more the meat of it, the meat of what a response would look like." Brock was planning for a new group, Facts First USA, focused on fighting the looming House GOP investigations.

The meeting was a glimpse into a sprawling infrastructure that is rapidly, almost frantically,

SEE HUNTER BIDEN ON A11



A decade after the deadly Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting, from left, Cam Miller, Shannon Hill, Jordan Gomes and Jaydien Canizales talk about their lives since the elementary-school shootings each of them has experienced, spanning 1979 to 2022.

'I want everybody to know how I felt'

Four decades of grade-school shooting survivors tell their stories

BY JOHN WOODROW COX

Ten years ago, on Dec. 14, 2012, a man walked into Sandy Hook Elementary and opened fire, killing 20 first-graders and six adults in what many people thought to be a singular event: a school shooting so horrific that nothing like it could ever happen again.

That massacre, of course, was not the last one at an elementary school — but it also wasn't the first. Most Americans know what happened on that day in Newtown, Conn., and then again a decade later in Uvalde, Tex., where 19 kids and two teachers died in May. What far fewer know is that for more than 40 years, people with guns have been killing this country's youngest children in the places they go to learn and grow.

Gun violence at elementary schools remains rare, but thousands of American kids have experienced it. To capture what that's done to them in the days, years and

decades afterward, The Washington Post interviewed four survivors who endured shootings before any of them reached fifth grade.

Each has been shaped by what they saw and heard and lost: the 52-year-old from California who has spent more than half his life pleading with parole boards not to release the woman who shot him when he was in fourth grade; the 40-year-old from South Carolina who waited three decades to talk about the day her first-grade teacher was wounded in front of her; the 19-year-old from Connecticut who doesn't always know what to say when strangers ask if she saw the dead bodies at Sandy Hook; the 10-year-old from Texas who hid under a table earlier this year as his best friends at Robb Elementary were killed in front of him.

Their interviews have been edited for length, clarity and continuity.

SEE SANDY HOOK ON A14

U.S. troops back in Somalia

SCRAMBLE TO HELP ITS SPECIAL FORCES

After Trump's pullout, militant movement grew

BY KATHARINE HOURELD

BALEDOGLE MILITARY AIR BASE, SOMALIA — The U.S. military is scrambling to make up for lost time in Somalia after President Biden this spring reversed his predecessor's order to pull American soldiers out of the country and returned hundreds of them to the fight against one of al-Qaeda's most powerful global affiliates.

The decision by President Donald Trump in the final weeks of his administration to withdraw the troops helped the militant al-Shabab movement grow in strength and size, hampered the United States' ability to provide operational intelligence and air support to Somali troops, and delayed the construction of military facilities such as a clinic and training sites, U.S. and Somali officials said.

These officials described the costly and dangerous lengths to which U.S. forces went after the withdrawal order to keep supporting their Somali military partners: the Danab, or "Lightning," special forces brigade. U.S.

SEE SOMALIA ON A16

War trauma: Russians bring home horrors with no way to get help. **A12**

Closures: Downtown D.C. roads to close for Africa leaders summit. **C7**

In taking down Portugal, Morocco makes history

BY CHUCK CULPEPPER

DOHA, QATAR — With the indestructible will of its defense and the inconceivable din of its fans, Morocco achieved World Cup history Saturday night, venturing further into the hard, hard knockout brackets than any African nation before. It added Portugal to the list of European gentry it has upheld here, and

it rode a 1-0 showcase of its mighty guts through a taut quarterfinal and clear to the final four.

There, it will face defending champion France, and there, the Moroccan fans who have showered goose bumps upon this first World Cup in the Arab world might boost their volume yet further, even if there's not all that

SEE MOROCCO ON A25



ALEX GRIMM/GETTY IMAGES

Sofiane Boufal celebrates with his mother after Morocco's 1-0 win made it the first African team to advance to a World Cup semifinal.

France advances: Harry Kane misses a penalty as England falls, 2-1. **D1**

High-risk regimens are encouraged by coaches and rewarded by judges

BY JENN ABELSON,
NATE JONES
AND LADKA BAUEROVA

Alena Kosinova was waiting for her spray tan to dry when she realized she couldn't move. It was hours before the 2021 Europa Pro contest and the Czech bodybuilder was cramping again — just like she had at a contest in Portugal weeks earlier.

Kosinova was known by friends and competitors for embracing the extremes of bodybuilding — the training, the dieting, the drugs. But on that steamy August morning, her voice quivered as she whispered to another

SEE BODYBUILDING ON A18

BUILT & BROKEN

Bodybuilders are dying to compete



TIM MCCORDRAY/ILLUSTRATION FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

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E2

Same-sex marriage bill passes in House

Biden expected to sign legislation into law

Rachel Looker
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — The House passed historic legislation Thursday that would federally protect same-sex and interracial marriage rights in a major win for LGBTQ rights advocates.

The bill now moves to President Joe Biden, who is expected to sign the legislation into law.

The Respect for Marriage Act guarantees federal recognition of any marriage between two people if it is valid in the state where they were married. It also requires states to accept the legitimacy of a valid marriage performed elsewhere but does not require any state to issue a marriage license contrary to its own law.

The bipartisan legislation received Republican support in Congress, passing in the Senate 61-36 last month with support from a dozen Republicans. It cleared the House 258-169 with the support of 39 Republicans.

Some Republican lawmakers argued the bill would infringe on the rights of churches and other faith-based organizations. But senators added an amendment that left room for religious objections and would not legally require individuals or groups to provide services for a wedding ceremony or celebration if it's against their religious beliefs. It also would not recognize polygamous unions.

Lawmakers drafted the bill after the Supreme Court's decision to overturn Roe v. Wade in June. Associate Justice Clarence Thomas expressed interest in reconsidering same-sex and interracial marriage rights in a separate concurring opinion that no other justice joined.

"It's finally in law that we will respect, defend and protect the right of every individual to marry the person they love," Vice President Kamala Harris said Thursday.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi called the legislation a "glorious triumph of love and freedom. ... Not only are we on the right side of history, we're on the right side of the future — expanding freedom in America."

Reaction to bill's passage

- Same-sex couples share tentative enthusiasm as bill advances. **News, 4A**
- Founder of Freedom to Marry group calls bill a triumph. **Opinion, 7A**

'We never forgot' her: Brittney Griner is free



Cherelle Griner, wife of Brittney Griner, joins President Joe Biden, Vice President Kamala Harris and Secretary of State Antony Blinken at the White House on Thursday. "Today, my family is whole," Cherelle Griner said. PATRICK SEMANSKY/AP



ALEXANDER ZEMLIANICHENKO/AP

IN SPORTS 1C

Details of Griner exchange elicit conflicting emotions

We can celebrate her freedom and have concerns, columnist writes.

IN NEWS 3A



Freed Russian known as 'Merchant of Death'

A closer look at Viktor Bout, the arms dealer who was released in the swap.

Biden: US continues push to bring Whelan home

American Paul Whelan has been jailed in Russia for nearly four years.

All that diplomatic dealmaking is nothing next to power of love



Mike Freeman
Columnist
USA TODAY

There's a singular beautiful moment, which followed so many ugly, terrifying moments in the wrongful detention of Olympian and WNBA star Brittney Griner in Russia. Griner's wife, Cherelle, who tirelessly and heroically worked to free Brittney, was in the Oval Office on Thursday, sitting to the left of President Joe Biden, smiling and speaking on the phone to Brittney, who had been freed from a penal colony in Russia.

To Cherelle's left was Vice President Kamala Harris, and a few feet away was Antony Blinken, the secretary of state. It was a fitting moment for Cherelle, seated at the center of power, after using everything in her power to free her wife.

This scene was better than other moments we've witnessed with Brittney, which usually involved her being photographed in cages. Now she's free in large part because of Cherelle.

See FREEMAN, Page 2A

ing and speaking on the phone to Brittney, who had been freed from a penal colony in Russia.

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See FREEMAN, Page 2A

'Painstaking' negotiations by US, Russia led to prisoner swap

Joey Garrison, Kim Hjelmgaard and Maureen Groppe
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Five months after Brittney Griner told President Joe Biden she was terrified she would spend the rest of her life behind bars in Russia, the WNBA star headed back to the United States.

"She's safe, she's on a plane, she's on her way home," Biden announced from the White House Thursday.

Griner's release followed months of what the White House called "pains-taking, extraordinary" negotiations

between the Biden administration and Russian President Vladimir Putin's regime for the safe return of the two-time Olympic gold medalist and seven-time WNBA All-Star.

Griner had been in custody since February when she was arrested at an airport near Moscow while returning to play for her Russian professional basketball team, UMMC Ekaterinburg. She was charged with possessing cannabis oil.

The deal — a one-for-one swap of Griner and notorious Russian arms

See NEGOTIATIONS, Page 2A



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Entusiasmo en la costa por el buen anticipo del verano

Mar del Plata y otras localidades turísticas registran altísimos niveles de ocupación en el fin de semana largo; el dato alienta buenas expectativas para la temporada. **Página 23**



SECRETOS DE UNA PELÍCULA EN LA QUE BORGES ES ACTOR

—cultura

La desconocida faceta del escritor aparece en la interpretación de "El Sur", uno de sus cuentos; el film se proyectó en la casa museo de Adrogué. **Página 25**

RECETAS PARA LAS FIESTAS DE LOS CHEFS MÁS CALIFICADOS

—revista

Germán Martitegui, Dolli Irigoyen, Damián Betular, Narda Lepes, Karina Gao y Pablo Rivero comparten trucos y consejos para la mesa navideña.

LA NACION

DOMINGO 11 DE DICIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

La Corte prepara un nuevo freno a la maniobra de Cristina en la Magistratura

JUSTICIA. Se dispone a tratar el *per saltum* del senador Luis Juez y rechazaría la designación del kirchnerista Doñate en el Consejo

La integración del Consejo de la Magistratura podría comenzar a destrabarse esta semana. La Corte Suprema se apresta a tratar el *per saltum* presentado por el senador de Juntos por el Cambio Luis Juez para frenar la designación del kir-

chnerista Martín Doñate en el órgano que nombra y remueve jueces.

Los cuatro senadores y cuatro diputados que integran el Consejo de la Magistratura todavía no entraron en funciones.

La Corte Suprema repetiría un

argumento que ya esgrimió: que no se puede dividir el bloque legislativo como hizo el kirchnerismo en el Senado para designar a más miembros en ese organismo, que hoy transita un conflicto institucional. **Página 14**

ANÁLISIS

El peronismo, en su peor momento en 40 años

Joaquín Morales Solá
—LA NACION—

Cristina Kirchner, pretendida abogada exitosa, ignora las nociones más elementales del derecho. Culpó en público y airadamente a los jueces del tribunal que la condenó a prisión por hechos de corrupción (y a una homérica conspiración nacional e internacional) de querer proscribirla porque la penó también a la inhabilitación perpetua para ejercer cargos públicos. **Continúa en la página 35**

Triste, solitaria y final: el reinado de Cristina en su lento ocaso

Jorge Liotti
—LA NACION—

Corría diciembre de 2017 y Cristina Kirchner acababa de perder la elección legislativa contra el macrismo. Alberto Fernández tampoco había tenido éxito como jefe de campaña de Florencio Randazzo. Los dos, frustrados, volvieron a verse después de mucho tiempo en la casa de la hoy vicepresidenta. Ella, golpeada políticamente, expresó sus temores por el efecto judicial que podía tener aquel resultado. **Continúa en la página 16**



Los festejos de Marruecos, de Doha a Casablanca



Rabiot se trepa al goleador Giroud, y atrás sufre Kane

Inestabilidad crónica, el estigma que agobia a Perú

CRISIS. La caída de Castillo se suma a otros fracasos del sistema político

Ramiro Pellet Lastra
ENVIADO ESPECIAL

LIMA.—Si algo faltaba para redondear la colección de sobresaltos de la vida política peruana era otro autogolpe de Estado. Pasaron 30 años desde el último, cuando Alberto Fujimori decidió cerrar el Congreso y gobernar por su cuenta. El miércoles, Pedro Castillo ensayó la misma maniobra. Si bien fue neutralizada, desató una nueva crisis política en un país reñido con la estabilidad, y donde las peleas entre el Congreso y el Ejecutivo marcan la agenda, más que los proyectos. **Continúa en la página 6**

QATAR 2022 **Q22**

Marruecos escribe la historia y Francia afirma su favoritismo

DOHA (De nuestros enviados especiales).—El candidato que confirma su favoritismo y la sorpresa que se abre paso en la historia. Los dos están en las semifinales del Mundial de Qatar y se cruzarán el próximo miércoles. Francia, con goles de Tchouameni y Giroud, superó por 2 a 1 a Inglaterra, que sobre el final pudo empatar y forzar el tiempo suplementario, pero Harry Kane—que había marcado de penal—desvió la

ejecución de una segunda falta.

Y Marruecos logró un hito: con un tanto de Youssef En-Nesyri derrotó por 1 a 0 a Portugal y desató un festival en su país, ya que ningún seleccionado africano había llegado tan lejos en los 92 años de esta competencia. Cristiano Ronaldo nuevamente fue suplente, ingresó en el segundo tiempo y se marchó entre lágrimas en su despedida de las Copas del Mundo. **Deportes Mundial**

Patagonia: los sueldos más altos y la vida más difícil

—el berlinés

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Samba 'Amélia',
hoje cancelado por
machismo, nasceu
subversivo c4 e c5



Jogadores do Marrocos celebram vitória sobre Portugal; time, que será 1º da África a disputar semifinal de Mundial, enfrentará a França Kirill Kudryavtsev/AFP

copa 2022

Marrocos encerra trajetória de CR7 em Copas e vai à semi

Pela primeira vez uma seleção africana vai à semifinal de um Mundial, feito alcançado com a vitória por 1 a 0 sobre Portugal. Cristiano Ronaldo, 37, chorou a derrota que encerrou sua quinta e última participação no torneio. **p.1**

França vence Inglaterra e se mantém na luta por 2º título seguido **p.3**

Paulo Vinicius Coelho
É necessário recuperar o país do futebol **p.5**

Presidente da CBF vai definir novo técnico da seleção em janeiro **p.6**

Marcos Guedes
Tite fez ótimos ciclos e falhou em Copas **p.6**

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Armas matam 22 negros a cada branco nos EUA
Pesquisa expõe os efeitos de violência recorde sobre diferentes grupos sociais; 2021 teve um óbito do tipo a cada 20 minutos. **A15**

Universitários carentes relatam passar fome
Alunos de instituições públicas e privadas narram rotina de privações enquanto escasseiam recursos federais de amparo. **B1**

Equipe de transição propõe que Lula crie 'bolsa internet'

De acordo com os planos, acesso a banda larga deve ser universalizado com auxílio a famílias pobres cadastradas

A equipe de transição de governo vai propor ao presidente eleito, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), a criação de uma "bolsa internet", que reduzirá o preço da conexão por banda larga para brasileiros de baixa renda. A proposta partiu de uma solicitação de Lula, que deseja um programa nos moldes do Luz para Todos (iniciativa na área de energia elétrica) com a meta de universalizar o acesso à internet.

"Chegamos à conclusão de que a prioridade é baratear o acesso por banda larga, já que muitas pessoas não estão conectadas por causa do preço", disse Paulo Bernardo, coordenador do grupo de trabalho de Comunicação e ex-ministro das Comunicações e do Planejamento. Segundo ele, o "bolsa internet" irá prever uma espécie de tarifa social de conexão para inscritos no cadastro de famílias carentes.

Para baratear os pacotes de banda larga, uma das ideias é a desoneração dos serviços, já que os impostos chegam a 40% do preço total cobrado, ou oferecer bônus acrescidos ao pagamento do Bolsa Família. Segundo pesquisa de 2021 da Cetic.br, 82% dos domicílios no Brasil têm acesso à internet. No entanto só 61% usam cabo ou fibra ótica como o principal tipo de conexão à rede. **Mercado A20**

Margareth Menezes aceita convite para assumir Cultura

A cantora baiana deve chefiar o Ministério da Cultura, a ser refundado. Sem passado sólido de gestora, contudo, ela enfrenta resistências no setor e em alas do PT. **Política A7**

Vinicius T. Freire

Saiba quem pode fazer parte da pasta de Haddad

Mercado A19

MÔNICA BERGAMO

Pirata na pista

Jão, que já cantou para 30 pessoas, espera 50 mil hoje no Anhangabaú **c2**

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ENTREVISTA

João Moreira Salles Brasil deixou de ter soberania de Amazônia

Para cineasta, apesar da obsessão dos militares com a Amazônia, sob Bolsonaro país virou as costas para a floresta, entregando a facções. Ele lança amanhã o livro "Arrabalde", escrito após seis meses em que viveu no Pará para "saber o que estava acontecendo" na região. **Ambiente B4**

EDITORIAIS A2

Haddad na Fazenda
Sobre incerteza quanto à gestão econômica de Lula.

Raízes de Tarcísio
Acerca de montagem do governo do estado de SP.

Bajo la pesquisa están prestanombres ligados a familia del ministro de Corte

El clan Fretes acumuló USD 20 millones y hay indicios de lavado

Investigación conjunta de entes públicos detectó una decena de empresas para poner en circulación la fortuna. No se pudo determinar de forma certera el origen de dicha riqueza.

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Fiscalía investiga movimientos bancarios
Esposa de RGD es ama de casa, pero mueve grandes sumas y no paga tributos

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Más de 5.000 precandidatos omitieron Ley de Financiamiento Político

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Inversores de Argentina optan por Paraguay ante buen clima de negocios

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ÚH entrega mañana tradicional distinción
El jurado del Gallo de Oro destaca el valor de los anuncios impresos

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ESPACIO PUBLICITARIO



Jóvenes que dan esperanzas

Buenas noticias de la semana. Ale Suárez (arriba, der), primer bachiller de inclusión. Luciano Santiagiago, destacado por la NASA, y abajo, distinguidos por Unicef.

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José Luis Ardisson
Las escenas de la vida y obra de un actor principal

Mercedes Menchi Barriocanal
"Quiero que entienda la gente que cuando se pasa la raya se tiene una consecuencia legal"

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DE JACQUES GARCIA POUR PÉRENNISER
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EST LANCÉ PAGE 11



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Ce prince qui rêvait
d'en finir avec l'État
allemand

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Le tribunal
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Coupe du monde :
le Brésil éliminé
par la Croatie
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La location, relais
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Le ris de veau,
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de Proust PAGE 41

CHAMPS LIBRES

- Au procès Sarkozy, la dissection des écoutes tourne à l'absurde
- Les tribunes de d'Éric Ciotti et de Bruno Retailleau
- La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté
- L'analyse de François-Xavier Bourmaud

PAGES 15 À 17

FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de vendredi :
Le gouvernement doit-il utiliser le 49-3 pour accélérer la réforme des retraites ?

OUI 50% NON 50%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 131 351

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr

Le choix d'un nouveau président peut-il relancer LR ?

ERIC SANDER - SKA OBSERVATORY ;
DYLAN MARTINEZ / REUTERS

En Ukraine, au cœur de la bataille de Bakhmout

Un déluge de feu s'abat sur cette petite ville du Donbass dont les Russes veulent faire un trophée. Notre envoyé spécial raconte l'enfer des civils dans les ruines et le combat des soldats sur le front. PAGES 2 À 5 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

Ciotti-Retailleau, les adhérents LR à l'heure du choix

Qui, d'Éric Ciotti ou de Bruno Retailleau, l'emportera ? Le premier enjeu sera pour l'un comme pour l'autre de réussir à obtenir une participation aussi forte que celle du premier

tour (72 %) et de convaincre les abstentionnistes. Deuxième enjeu, parvenir à mobiliser les troupes d'Aurélien Pradié et ses 14765 électeurs. PAGES 6, 7 ET 16



Hugo Lloris

Mondial de football : Angleterre-France, le choc des meilleurs ennemis

Champions du monde en titre, les Bleus disputent ce samedi soir leur tout premier match à élimination directe face à l'équipe d'Angleterre lors d'une Coupe du monde. Un

affrontement pour une place en demi-finale qui s'annonce brûlant et indécis contre une sélection anglaise invaincue et en plein renouveau. PAGES 12 ET 13

ÉDITORIAL par Philippe Gélie pgelie@lefigaro.fr

Une guerre sans but

On dirait ces temps-ci que la Russie cherche les raisons de sa présence en Ukraine. « Pourquoi les Ukrainiens se battent-ils ? », demandait récemment une ingénieur animatrice de la télévision russe à son panel d'invités, comme si la brutale invasion de leur pays ne pouvait l'expliquer. Vladimir Poutine lui-même s'est laissé aller ce jeudi à présenter « la conquête de nouveaux territoires » comme « un bon résultat » en soi. Le Kremlin a toutefois jugé nécessaire de rectifier, réitérant ses ambitions « de dénazification et démilitarisation » du méchant voisin. La Russie déverse ses conscrits et ses chars dernier cri dans l'enfer ukrainien, tout en multipliant les indices qu'elle pourrait se contenter de ce qu'elle a. Poutine se félicite que la mer d'Azov soit devenue « une mer intérieure » russe, rappelant que c'était une aspiration du tsar Pierre le Grand, auquel il aime se comparer. Mais il n'est « plus question d'annexer de nouveaux territoires » et l'horizon fixé est la négociation, car il faudra « au final trouver un accord », dit le président. À géométrie variable depuis les premiers revers, les buts de guerre du Kremlin sont de moins en moins clairs. Quel intérêt stratégique

commande le pilonnage dantesque de Bakhmout, dans le Donbass, décrit dans nos pages de manière saisissante par l'envoyé spécial du Figaro ? Il n'en restera de toute façon qu'un champ de ruines difficile à tenir par n'importe quelle armée.

Preuve du rapport de force actuel, au flou russe répond la clarté stratégique du camp ukrainien. Sa feuille de route est de récupérer tous les territoires occupés, « y compris la Crimée », précise le ministre de la Défense, Oleg Reznikov, notant que les limites fixées par Washington à l'utilisation des armes occidentales ne s'appliquent pas à la péninsule. Les frappes ukrainiennes au cœur de la Russie ne franchiraient pas non plus de ligne rouge, puisque Poutine, en annexant quatre oblasts, a fait en sorte que toute la guerre se déroule sur le sol russe... Un pays qui ne contrôle pas ses frontières, laisse l'initiative à des armées privées, voit sa jeunesse fuir à l'étranger et sa police menacer des mères de soldats, telle est la Russie qui court à sa perte, après la défaite. ■

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Photographie par Lukas Wassmann

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