

What's  
News

## Business &amp; Finance

**FTX founder Bankman-Fried** oversaw "one of the biggest financial frauds in American history," a top federal prosecutor said in charging that the former chief executive stole billions of dollars from the cryptocurrency exchange's customers while misleading investors and lenders. **A1, A6**

◆ **Consumer prices** rose in November at the slowest 12-month pace since December 2021, closing out a year in which inflation hit the highest level in four decades and challenged the Fed's ability to keep the U.S. economy on track. **A1, A2**

◆ **U.S. stock indexes** ended higher after paring gains seen earlier in the session, with the S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow adding 0.7%, 1% and 0.3%, respectively. The yield on the 10-year Treasury note slid. **B13**

◆ **United Airlines** said it would purchase 100 Boeing 787 Dreamliners with options to buy 100 more, a win for the plane maker after a streak of manufacturing, engineering and regulatory setbacks. **B1**

◆ **Tether** said it is winding down its practice of lending its own stablecoins to customers by next year, addressing a broad risk to the wider crypto world. **B1**

◆ **Danske Bank**, Denmark's largest bank, agreed to pay about \$2 billion to settle probes into anti-money-laundering failures. **B3**

◆ **A group of 15 state attorneys** general demanded that executives at Google and Apple strip TikTok of its content rating that classifies it as appropriate for teens. **A5**

## World-Wide

◆ **The U.S.** is finalizing plans to give Kyiv its coveted Patriot missile-defense systems, U.S. officials said, following months of Russian missile and drone attacks on Ukraine's power grid, cities and civilian infrastructure. **A1**

◆ **Ukraine** garnered pledges for fresh aid to help it ride out the winter. Meanwhile, explosions rocked a bridge in the country's east used by Russian forces to transport military hardware to the front lines of the war. **A7**

◆ **The European Union** reached an agreement to impose a tax on imports based on the greenhouse gases emitted to make them, inserting climate-change regulation for the first time into the rules of global trade. **A1**

◆ **The Energy Department** said scientists at a federal facility achieved a milestone in research on nuclear fusion, producing a controlled fusion reaction that generated more energy than it consumed. **A3**

◆ **Congressional negotiators** said they agreed on a framework for a fiscal 2023 government funding package, with lawmakers saying the breakthrough in talks puts them on course to vote next week. **A4**

◆ **U.S. officials** are moving to expand a program creating a legal process for Venezuelan migrants seeking asylum to also include Nicaraguans, Cubans and Haitians. **A4**

◆ **A French court** convicted seven men and one woman in connection with a Bastille Day truck attack on a seaside promenade in Nice six years ago that killed 86 people. **A9**

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## FTX Founder Is Charged With Fraud

Indictment comes as SEC and CFTC file lawsuits and new chief testifies at hearing

FTX founder Sam Bankman-Fried oversaw "one of the biggest financial frauds in American history," a top federal prosecutor said in charging that the former chief executive stole billions of dollars from the cryptocurrency exchange's customers while misleading investors and lenders.

By Corinne Ramey,  
James Fanelli  
and Vicky Ge Huang

An indictment by the U.S. attorney's office for the Southern District of New York, unsealed Tuesday, charges Mr. Bankman-Fried with eight counts of conspiracy and fraud. Prosecutors allege he took FTX.com customers' money to pay the expenses and debts of Alameda Research, an affiliated trading firm. Mr. Bankman-Fried is charged as well with conspiring to defraud the U.S. and violate campaign finance rules by making illegal political contributions.

Damian Williams, the U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York, said he authorized the charges against Mr. Bankman-Fried last Wednesday and a grand jury voted on the indictment on Friday. "This investigation is very much ongoing and it is moving very quickly,"



Sam Bankman-Fried is led in handcuffs out of a Bahamas court Tuesday as he faces eight U.S. counts in the FTX collapse.

Mr. Williams said in Manhattan on Tuesday. "While this is our first public announcement, it will not be our last."

Separately, John J. Ray III, the new CEO of FTX, said at a congressional hearing Tuesday that FTX incurred losses "in excess of \$7 billion." Mr. Ray, who

oversaw the Enron Corp. bankruptcy in the early 2000s, said funds were taken from FTX and misused by Alameda Research, which incurred trading losses.

Mr. Ray described Enron as having been brought down by sophisticated people whose machinations aimed to keep

transactions secret.

FTX, by contrast, is a different case, he said. "This is really old-fashioned embezzlement," he said. "This is just taking money from customers and using it for your own purpose. Not sophisticated at all."

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## In Collapse's Wake

- ◆ FTX CEO doubts recovery of funds... **A6**
- ◆ Speedy indictment reflects DOJ effort on scams... **A6**
- ◆ Tether to phase out lending its coins to customers... **B1**

## U.S. Nears Deal to Supply Patriot Missiles to Ukraine

By NANCY A. YOUSSEF  
AND VIVIAN SALAMA

WASHINGTON—The U.S. is completing plans to give Kyiv its coveted Patriot missile-defense systems, U.S. officials said, following months of Russian missile and drone attacks on Ukraine's power grid, cities and civilian infrastructure.

If the Biden administration goes forward, the Patriot would be the most sophisticated sys-

tem the U.S. has provided Ukraine since the war began in February.

Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin could sign the directive providing the Patriot as early as this week, the officials said. President Biden would then have to approve the request. The White House National Security Council didn't immediately respond to a request for comment.

Ukraine has long called for

the West to supply Patriot-missile batteries—most recently since Russia began attacking Ukraine electricity and other infrastructure. With millions of Ukrainians in the dark as winter sets in, the requests have become more urgent.

On Monday, Ukraine Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal re-

Please turn to page A7

◆ Russian troops lose a supply line... **A7**

## EU to Tax Imports Based on Emissions

By MATTHEW DALTON

PARIS—The European Union reached an agreement to impose a tax on imports based on the greenhouse gases emitted to make them, inserting climate-change regulation for the first time into the rules of global trade.

The deal on Tuesday morning between European national governments and the European Parliament ends more than a year of negotia-

tions on the details of the plan. The EU is expected to adopt it in the coming weeks as part of a sweeping package of legislation that would step up the bloc's efforts to limit global warming.

The plan, known as the carbon border adjustment mechanism, would be the world's first tax on the carbon content of imported goods. It has rattled supply chains around the globe and angered the EU's

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## INSIDE



## BUSINESS &amp; FINANCE

WWE's former CEO Vince McMahon faces legal demands over sexual-abuse claims. **B1**

## World Cup's Hottest Ticket Is...Morocco?

Fans are flocking to see an African team make history

By JOSHUA ROBINSON  
AND JONATHAN CLEGG

DOHA, Qatar—Amine Khayatet had flown to the Qatar World Cup from Casablanca with just his backpack and his Moroccan jersey. He planned to watch his team play once and then go home after 24 hours in the country. Ten days and a string of Moroccan upsets later, Mr. Khayatet is still here.

"What's happening right now is crazy," he said. "Morocco in a semifinal? That's a whole new level."

Morocco's dreamlike run through the World Cup has in-

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## Fight Stirs on Prices Small Investors Get

Citadel Securities and SEC will face off over payment to brokers for order flow

By ALEXANDER OSIPOVICH

One morning in September, Phil Hanson clicked a button on his TD Ameritrade screen and sold 100 shares of Immunovant Inc.

It was among the millions of trades made by individual investors that day. The Houston resident's order didn't go to the New York Stock Exchange or Nasdaq Inc., where buyers and sellers haggle over the company's shares.

Instead, TD Ameritrade sent Mr. Hanson's order to Citadel Securities, an electronic trading firm that deals directly with brokerages to execute their customers' trades.

Within milliseconds, Cita-

del Securities bought Mr. Hanson's Immunovant stock for \$5.0221 a share—an improvement over the best price quoted on exchanges, where buyers were offering \$5.02 for the shares.

The result: Mr. Hanson made an extra 21 cents, earning \$502.21. Meanwhile, Citadel Securities paid TD Ameritrade a slice of its profit from handling the order, a practice called payment for order flow. Regulatory filings suggest the broker got about 10 cents.

Did Mr. Hanson get a good deal? Proponents of payment for order flow cite gains like his 21 cents as evidence the market works well for small investors. Critics say the

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## Inflation Rises At Slowest Pace In Nearly a Year

By GWYNETH GUILFORD

Consumer prices rose in November at the slowest 12-month pace since December 2021, closing out a year in which inflation hit the highest level in four decades and challenged the Federal Reserve's ability to keep the U.S. economy on track.

The Labor Department on Tuesday said its consumer-price index, a measure of what consumers pay for goods and services, climbed 7.1% in November from a year ago, down sharply from 7.7% in October. The pace built on a trend of moderating price increases since June's 9.1% peak, though it remained well above the 2.1% average rate in the three years before the pandemic.

Core CPI, which excludes energy and food prices, rose 6% in November from a year ago, easing from a 6.3% gain in October. September's 6.6% increase was the biggest jump since August 1982.

Prices also softened significantly on a month-to-month basis, with gasoline, utility,

medical-care services and used-car prices all falling. Price increases moderated for restaurant meals, while prices for new vehicles remained flat.

The CPI increased 0.1% in November from the prior month, compared with 0.4% in October. Core CPI rose 0.2% in November, down from 0.3% in October and 0.6% in August and September.

U.S. stock indexes climbed and bond yields fell after the CPI release. The S&P 500 added 0.7%; the Nasdaq Composite rose 1%; and the Dow Jones Industrial Average added 0.3%.

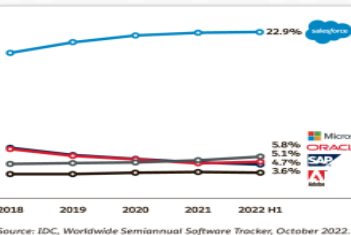
The figures leave the Fed on track to lift interest rates by 0.5 percentage point on Wednesday, following increases of 0.75 point at their past four meetings. Wednesday's in-

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- ◆ Electricity, air fares and used cars get cheaper... **A2**
- ◆ Data to fuel Fed's debate on rate path... **A2**
- ◆ Stocks gain as price increases moderate... **B13**
- ◆ Heard on the Street: New sign of cooling inflation... **B14**

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Source: IDC, Worldwide Semiannual Software Tracker, October 2022.

salesforce.com/number1CRM

CRM market includes the following IDC-defined functional markets: Sales Force Productivity and Management, Marketing Campaign Management, Customer Service, Content Management, and Analytics. © 2022 Salesforce, Inc. All rights reserved. Various trademarks held by their respective owners.





Why I'm optimistic about the world's future

MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 15

Europe plays catch-up in global chip race

BIG READ, PAGE 13

# Bankman-Fried charged with fraud and conspiracy over FTX collapse

US regulators indict crypto founder • 8 criminal counts filed • Customer funds used as 'piggy bank'

STEFANIA PALMA — WASHINGTON  
JOSHUA OLIVER AND  
KADHIM SHUBER — LONDON

US federal prosecutors have accused Sam Bankman-Fried of criminal conspiracy and fraud at the cryptocurrency exchange FTX, part of a wave of charges following his arrest in the Bahamas.

In an indictment unsealed yesterday, the US Department of Justice charged FTX's founder with eight counts including conspiracy to commit wire fraud against customers and lenders, money laundering and violations of campaign finance laws. Bankman-Fried faces years in prison if convicted.

The charges point to a long-running scheme to misappropriate the deposits of exchange customers to pay the debts and expenses of Bankman-Fried's private trading firm Alameda Research and to make investments. The conspiracy ran from 2019, the year he founded FTX, until its collapse last month, according to the indictment.

The failure of his Bahamas-based exchange, once valued at \$32bn, has resulted in billions of dollars of potential losses for millions of creditors, including retail investors, and sent shockwaves through the crypto industry.

The criminal case was revealed as lawmakers in Washington conducted a hearing into the FTX bankruptcy. Bankman-Fried had been scheduled to testify until Bahamian police arrested him at his luxury penthouse on Monday.

John Ray, FTX's court-appointed chief executive, told a US House committee: "This isn't sophisticated whatsoever, this is just plain old embezzlement."

Bankman-Fried's lawyer said he was "reviewing the charges with his legal team and considering all of his legal options". FTX declined to comment.

The Securities and Exchange Commission said he had orchestrated a fraud that began the day FTX was launched and continued at his personal direction until November. Customer assets were diverted to make "undisclosed venture investments, lavish real estate purchases and large political donations".

The regulator said Bankman-Fried had taken active steps this year to hide

Sam Bankman-Fried built a house of cards on a foundation of deception

GARY GENSLER,  
SEC CHAIR



billions of dollars of FTX customer balances held at Alameda, which he had used as "his personal piggy bank".

Gary Gensler, SEC's chair, added: "We allege that Sam Bankman-Fried built a house of cards on a foundation of deception while telling investors that it was

one of the safest buildings in crypto."

The regulator has accused him of defrauding venture capitalists and other equity investors who pumped \$1.8bn into FTX after May 2019. Before its failure, FTX had won the backing of several of the world's best-known investors including BlackRock, Sequoia Capital and the Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan.

The Commodity Futures Trading Commission charged Bankman-Fried, FTX and Alameda with fraud and material misrepresentations. Computer code written by FTX provided an "effectively limitless line of credit that allowed Alameda to withdraw billions of dollars in customer assets from FTX", it said.

Bankman-Fried has insisted he was

unaware of the details of what Alameda was doing. He has also denied wrongdoing and apologised for what he characterised as oversights and errors.

Ray told US lawmakers it would take months to track down assets and, "at the end of the day, we are not going to be able to recover all the losses here".

The SEC alleged that Bankman-Fried had full control and access to information at both FTX and Alameda, and that he "directed investment and operational decisions" at the trading firm.

"The alleged fraud committed by Bankman-Fried is a clear call to crypto platforms that they need to come into compliance with our laws," Gensler said.

Sam Bankman-Fried insists he was unaware of the details of what Alameda was doing and has apologised for what he sees as errors and oversights.

See LONKATP 14 by Getty Images

## Briefing

► **Surprise fall in inflation boosts US rates hopes**  
US consumer price inflation fell more than expected last month to its lowest in almost a year, lifting shares and raising hopes of slower interest rate rises. — PAGE 2

► **China fights chips ban**  
Beijing has filed a dispute at the World Trade Organization against US sanctions that bar exports of high-end semiconductors to China. — PAGE 4; BIG READ, PAGE 13

► **EU to put duty on carbon**  
The EU is to introduce the world's first carbon border tax, forcing importers to buy emissions permits, despite concerns it could stir trade disputes. — PAGE 2

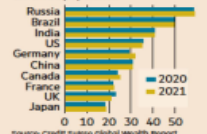
► **Cancer jab trial milestone**  
Drug groups Moderna and Merck will launch the first phase three trial of an mRNA cancer vaccine that has shown promise against aggressive melanoma. — PAGE 5

► **Danske's \$2bn penalty**  
Denmark's Danske Bank has admitted defrauding US banks and will pay a \$2bn penalty after one of the biggest money-laundering scandals. — PAGE 6

► **Checkout.com value cut**  
Europe's most valuable private tech group, payments processor Checkout.com, has cut its internal valuation to \$11bn as the sector suffers. — PAGE 5; LEX, PAGE 16

## Datwatch

A large slice of pie  
National wealth share of the richest 1% of the population



The wealth share of the global top 1 per cent rose to 45.6 per cent in 2021, up from 43.9 per cent in 2020. The UK was one of the most notable exceptions. The rise in inequality is probably due to the surging values of financial assets in the pandemic.

Lex.

Bankman-Fried claims he was merely guilty of sloppy record-keeping. The SEC paints a picture not of a mad scientist but of a calculating fraudster

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## Qatar wooed EU lawmakers with free trips and tickets ahead of World Cup

SILVIA SCIORILLI BORRELLI — MILAN  
JAVIER ESPINOZA — STRASBOURG  
ANDY BOUNDS AND  
VALENTINA POP — BRUSSELS

Qatar offered European lawmakers World Cup tickets, free trips to the Gulf state and other valuable hospitality as it sought to persuade them to soften their criticism of its treatment of workers ahead of the FIFA World Cup.

The European parliament is at the centre of a corruption scandal after Belgian police seized at least €11m in cash and detained a current and former Socialist MEP as part of a probe into claims that Qatar tried to buy influence.

Former Italian Socialist MEP Pierantonio Panzeri has been charged with corruption, after Belgian police seized €500,000 in cash at his home. Among the accusations is that he took his family on a €100,000 trip paid for by Qatar.

One of the parliament's vice-presidents, Greek Socialist MEP Eva Kaili, and her partner who worked for Panzeri, have also been arrested after Belgian police seized €150,000 from their home.

Qatar's treatment of migrant workers who built the World Cup stadiums has long attracted international criticism.

In the run-up to the World Cup, Qatari officials in Brussels sought to improve the narrative on the country's labour and human rights record, according to five MEPs from three political groups who spoke on condition of anonymity. The MEPs described invitations to dinner, trips and World Cup tickets.

"It was a systemic way of approaching Brussels lawmakers with a view to improving the country's reputation and making sure we would not take a hard stance against the country," said one of the five.

Hannah Neumann, a Green MEP who chairs the Delegation for Relations with the Arabian Peninsula, said she declined free trips to Qatar. "Some embassies try to influence our decisions much more aggressively than others," she said. "It was quite obvious that a few colleagues from the S&D [Socialist] group had a strong pro-Qatari agenda."

Neumann is one of the few EU lawmakers who declared gifts from Arab countries, including a perfume bottle from Qatar. MEPs must not accept gifts worth more than €150 and have to declare any gifts, as well as attendance at events organised by third parties. But enforcement is patchy: with 705 MEPs, the parliament's gifts registry has just 39 entries from eight MEPs since 2020.

The Qatari embassy in Brussels did not respond to a request to comment. Morocco's World Cup pride page 4

## World Markets

### STOCK MARKETS

	Dec 13	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	4027.50	3960.56	0.93
Nasdaq Composite	11289.97	11143.24	1.31
Dow Jones Ind	34123.81	34005.04	0.35
FTSEurofirst 300	1746.44	1726.38	1.16
Euro Stoxx 50	2981.69	2921.62	1.53
FTSE 100	7452.99	7445.97	0.10
FTSE All-Share	4105.09	4070.00	0.86
CAC 40	6744.98	6650.55	1.42
Nikkei	14440.03	14306.63	0.93
Hong Kong	27854.65	27942.23	0.40
Hang Seng	19586.20	19463.63	0.68
MSCI World \$	2662.56	2662.86	0.78
MSCI EM \$	862.58	878.29	-1.50
MSCI ADWI \$	622.59	618.36	0.52
FT Wilshire 2500	5175.94	5101.77	1.45
FT Wilshire 5000	40402.15	39830.92	1.45

### CURRENCIES

Pair	Dec 13	Prev	%Chg
\$/£	1.064	1.052	0.95
\$/¥	1.240	1.225	1.25
€/£	0.858	0.859	-0.12
\$/¥	135.165	137.415	-1.64
€/£	167.557	168.374	-0.48
\$/¥	0.986	0.985	0.10

### GOVERNMENT BONDS

Yield (%)	Dec 13	Prev	%Chg
US 2 yr	4.20	4.36	-3.66
US 10 yr	3.48	3.58	-2.80
US 30 yr	3.50	3.58	-2.23
UK 2 yr	3.56	3.48	2.30
UK 10 yr	3.29	3.19	3.13
UK 30 yr	3.71	3.61	2.77
JPN 2 yr	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01
JPN 10 yr	0.25	0.25	0.00
JPN 30 yr	1.40	1.43	-0.03
GER 2 yr	2.14	2.25	-4.86
GER 10 yr	1.92	1.94	-0.02
GER 30 yr	1.74	1.71	0.03

### COMMODITIES

	Dec 13	Prev	%Chg
Oil WTI \$	75.99	77.17	-1.53
Oil Brent \$	81.04	77.86	3.91
Gold \$	1786.80	1796.15	-0.53

Prices are taken for various  
Data provided by Bloomberg

A Nikkei Company



## Fusion breakthrough fires hopes for clean energy

After scientists in California achieved the holy grail of nuclear fusion by extracting more energy from the process than they put in, hopes are high for a green power revolution. The experiment, using lasers to heat deuterium and tritium atoms until they fused, could pave the way for a near-limitless supply of carbon-free energy that, unlike nuclear fission, leaves no long-lasting radioactive waste.

Closer to the dream — PAGE 4

FT View — PAGE 14

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DAVID GUTTENFELDER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Rebuilding a Devastated Ukraine

A French-led effort of 50 nations will send \$1 billion to Kyiv to mend its electrical, heating, water and health care systems. Page A10.

## A Blast of 192 Lasers Achieves a Breakthrough in Nuclear Fusion

By KENNETH CHANG

Scientists studying fusion energy at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in California announced on Tuesday that they had crossed a long-awaited milestone in reproducing the power of the sun in a laboratory.

That sparked public excitement because scientists have talked for decades about how fusion, the nuclear

clear reaction that makes stars shine, could provide a future source of bountiful energy.

The result announced on Tuesday is the first fusion reaction in a laboratory setting that actually produced more energy than it took to start the reaction.

"This is such a wonderful example of a possibility realized, a scientific milestone achieved, and a road ahead to the possibilities for clean energy," Arati Prabhakar,

### One Instant May Alter the Future of Energy

the White House science adviser, said during a news conference on Tuesday morning at the Department of Energy's headquarters in Washington. "And even deeper understanding of the scientific

principles that are applied here."

If fusion can be deployed on a large scale, it would offer an energy source devoid of the pollution and greenhouse gases caused by the burning of fossil fuels and the dangerous long-lived radioactive waste created by current nuclear power plants, which use the splitting of uranium to produce energy.

Within the sun and stars, fusion

Continued on Page A20

## Beijing's Streets Empty as Covid And Fear Surge

By KEITH BRADSHAW and DAVID PIERSON

BEIJING — Restaurants have closed because too many staff members have tested positive for Covid. The usually ubiquitous food delivery workers zipping through traffic on their scooters have nearly vanished because of infections. Pharmacies have been emptied of cold medicine, and supermarkets have been running low on the essentials such as disinfectant solution and antibacterial wipes.

Less than a week after the Chinese government lifted its stringent "zero Covid" restrictions, following a spasm of protests across the country, Beijing looks like a city in the throes of a lockdown — this time, self-imposed by residents. Sidewalks and pedestrian shopping streets are barren, and once busy traffic thoroughfares are deserted. Residents are hunkering down indoors and hoarding medicine as a wave of Covid sweeps across the Chinese capital.

"No one dares to come out now," said Yue Jiajun, a Beijing restaurant owner, who initially celebrated when customers were allowed to dine indoors last week only to learn later that the surge in infections would keep them away.

"Even takeaways, I have no customers," said Mr. Yue, who admitted that there probably weren't enough delivery drivers for his orders anyway.

All over the city, residents were gripped by the sinking realization that a virus most of the world had already experienced was spreading freely and rapidly for the first time, three years after it emerged.

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CLIVE BRUNCKELL/GETTY IMAGES

## One Last Turn on Center Stage

Lionel Messi got help from his teammates as Argentina reached the World Cup final. Page B8.

## McCarthy Fights to Clear Path to Speaker's Seat

This article is by **Catie Edmondson**, **Maggie Haberman** and **Annie Karni**.

WASHINGTON — Former President Donald J. Trump has been working the phones, personally pitching right-wing lawmakers on voting to make Representative Kevin McCarthy, the Republican leader he has called "My Kevin," the speaker of the House.

Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia, the most outspoken far-right member of his conference, is vouching for Mr. McCarthy. The California Republican has made private entreaties and public promises to win over his critics, including floating the impeachment of a member of President Biden's cabinet.

### Trump's Lobbying Has Not Moved Critics on the Far Right

And yet, Mr. McCarthy, who is toiling to become speaker next year when the G.O.P. assumes the majority, has so far been unable to put down a mini-revolt on the right that threatens to imperil his bid for the top job.

Mr. McCarthy has embarked on the kind of grueling campaign that lawmakers in both parties jockeying for the post have sometimes been forced to perform. But some of the hard-right lawmakers with whom he is attempting to bargain

do not appear to have a price, and most care less about legislating than shrinking the federal government — or upending it completely.

"This is why we came to Congress," Representative Bob Good of Virginia said. "This is why we're here. We've got a chance to tip over that apple cart here on Jan. 3, when we elect a new speaker."

Their top demand has been that Mr. McCarthy agree in advance to a snap vote to get rid of the speaker at any time, something he has refused to accept.

John Boehner, the Ohio Republican who was run out of the speaker post by the far right, famously described the approach of this faction as "legislative terrorism." And with a razor-thin majority

Continued on Page A14

## Fraud at FTX Started Early, Charges Claim

### Firm Founder Indicted in Crypto Collapse

This article is by **David Yaffe-Bellany**, **Matthew Goldstein** and **Emily Flitter**.

Sam Bankman-Fried's lies, prosecutors say, stretched back to the very beginning.

From the founding of his cryptocurrency exchange FTX in 2019, Mr. Bankman-Fried engaged in widespread fraud, the federal authorities charged on Tuesday, and used his customers' deposits to finance his political activities, buy lavish real estate and invest in other companies.

A series of civil and criminal charges filed against Mr. Bankman-Fried in the Southern District of New York say he repeatedly lied to customers, investors and lenders about the structure of his business empire and how he handled the billions of dollars in funds that crypto users deposited in his exchange.

In a 13-page criminal indictment, Mr. Bankman-Fried was charged with eight counts, including wire fraud against customers and lenders, as well as conspiracy to defraud the United States and violate campaign finance laws. A civil complaint filed by the Securities and Exchange Commission laid out a detailed narrative of FTX's collapse, claiming that for three years Mr. Bankman-Fried had misappropriated billions in customer deposits to fund his business and political activities.

The charges against Mr. Bankman-Fried came on one of the most dramatic days in the rapidly unfolding collapse of FTX, which has rocked the crypto industry. In Washington, the company's new chief executive, who took over when the firm filed for bankruptcy, testified in Congress, laying out the myriad management failures that contributed to the exchange's implosion. In Nassau, the capital of the Bahamas, Mr. Bankman-Fried appeared in court for the first time, having spent the night in a police cell after being arrested at his home on Monday evening. He was denied bail and will remain in custody.

The arrest surprised the FTX founder and his parents, who were visiting him, according to a person with knowledge of the matter. Mr. Bankman-Fried was taken away in handcuffs.

Mr. Bankman-Fried appeared in Magistrate Court, dressed in a blue suit and white shirt, eschewing his usual disheveled outfit of shorts and a T-shirt. He was escorted inside by the police, while his parents, the Stanford Law School professors Joe Bankman and Barbara Fried, sat in the rear of the gallery.

Continued on Page A18

**FAMILY** The FTX founder's parents, who teach at Stanford Law, are under scrutiny. PAGE B1

## INFLATION SLOWS, LEADING TO HOPE OF 'SOFT LANDING'

### STOCK MARKET SURGES

### Debate on Whether the Fed Should Ease Off Rate Increases

By JEANNA SMIALEK

Inflation slowed more sharply than expected in November, an encouraging sign for both Federal Reserve officials and consumers that 18 months of rapid and unrelenting price increases are beginning to meaningfully abate.

The new data is unlikely to alter the Fed's plan to raise interest rates by another half point at the conclusion of its two-day meeting on Wednesday.

But the moderation in inflation, which affected used cars, some types of food and airline tickets, caused investors to speculate that the Fed could pursue a less aggressive policy path next year — potentially increasing the chances of "soft landing," or one in which the economy slows gradually



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics. THE NEW YORK TIMES

ually and without a painful recession.

Stock prices jumped sharply after government data showed that inflation eased to 7.1 percent in the year through November, down from 7.7 percent in the previous reading and less than economists had expected.

The Fed, which has been rapidly raising rates in three-quarter point increments, is expected to make a smaller move on Wednesday, bringing rates to a range of 4.25 and 4.5 percent. Central bankers will also release economic projections showing how much they expect to raise interest rates next year, and investors are now betting that they will slow to quarter-point adjustments by their February meeting as fading price pressures give them latitude to proceed more cautiously.

"The overall picture is definitely improving," said Ian Shepherdson, chief economist at Pantheon Macroeconomics. "It's unambiguously good news, but it would not be fair to say that inflation is falling everywhere — there are still pockets of big increases." Continued on Page A18

## With Indiana Jones Era Over, Museums Assess Looted Art

By GRAHAM BOWLEY

For decades, there was a swashbuckling aspect to collecting by American museums. In the 1960s, for example, some museum curators embraced the chase for prized artifacts as if it were big game hunting.

Thomas Hoving, a Metropolitan Museum of Art curator who later became its director, took particular pride in his ability to outsmart rivals in the global pursuit of masterpieces. In one instance he recalled spiriting a Romanesque relief from a Florentine church out of Italy with the help of a dealer who, Mr. Hoving said, often

stashed objects under a mattress in his station wagon.

"My collecting style was pure piracy," he boasted, "and I got a reputation as a shark."

Today many U.S. museums are facing a reckoning for their aggressive tactics of the past. Attitudes have shifted, the Indiana Jones era is over, and there is tremendous pressure on museums to return any looted works acquired during the days when collecting could be careless and trophies at times trumped scruples.

Continued on Page A19



### NATIONAL A13-21

#### A Boost for Marriage Rights

With the president's signature and bipartisan support, same-sex unions receive federal protection. PAGE A15

#### A Decade After Sandy Hook

An officer who was among the first to enter the school that deadly day wants no credit for how he's helped. PAGE A17

### INTERNATIONAL A4-12

#### Dire Crisis and a Broken System

Despite soaring deaths in Somalia, a monitor says the situation is not yet a famine, holding up needed aid. PAGE A6

#### Violence Spreads in Peru

At least six people have been killed in protests following last week's impeachment of Pedro Castillo. PAGE A9

### OBITUARIES A22-23

#### Chronicler of 'Ghetto Life'

As a teenager, Lloyd Newman helped create award-winning radio documentaries about life and death in a Chicago housing project. He was 43. PAGE A22

### BUSINESS B1-5

#### Musk Cuts More Costs

Twitter has stopped paying rent on offices and is considering not paying severance packages. PAGE B1

#### The 'SPAC King' Is Over It

Chamath Palihapitiya denies responsibility for the cratering stock prices of the companies he took public. PAGE B1

### SPORTS B8-12

#### Big Move, Little Support

Ahead of a Regents meeting, U.C.L.A.'s planned shift to the Big Ten has gained scant backing from athletes, students, alumni and lawmakers. PAGE B9



### FOOD D1-16

#### The Best Holiday Cakes

Dorie Greenspan's recipes will make everyone in your house feel at home. Above, cranberry Bundt cake. PAGE D16

#### An Appetizing Year

Our writers list the best new restaurants, the best recipes, the best of just about everything of 2022. PAGE D1

### ARTS C1-8

#### Another Great Story to Tell

Judd Hirsch, cast in Steven Spielberg's film "The Fabelmans," has no shortage of anecdotes to share. PAGE C1

#### An Artist to the End

A devoted surfer, Ashley Bickerton chose to live in Bali, away from the buzz. It found him anyway. PAGE C1

### OPINION A24-25

#### Bret Stephens

PAGE A25



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## Quantum leap for clean energy

Bay Area scientists are first to generate power through carbon-free nuclear fusion.

By CORINNE PURTILL

In a first, U.S. scientists have created "net energy" through a nuclear fusion reaction, the Department of Energy announced Tuesday.

The successful experiment, which took place Dec. 5 at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, is the most significant milestone yet reached in the decades-long quest to produce cheap, clean, carbon-free energy through nuclear fusion.

"We have taken the first tentative steps toward a clean energy source that could revolutionize the world," said Jill Hruby, administrator of the National Nuclear Security Administration.

Energy Secretary Jennifer M. Granholm called the achievement "one of the most impressive scientific feats of the 21st century," adding that it "will go down in the history books."

In a nuclear fusion reaction, two atoms slam together and merge into a larger atom of a heavier element, releasing their excess mass in the form of energy.

Fusion is the process through which the sun makes energy. The sun's core is the ideal high-pressure, high-temperature environment for hydrogen atoms to fuse into helium, replicating those conditions on Earth has proved difficult.

Scientists at Lawrence Livermore in the San Francisco Bay Area, unveiled [See Fusion, A7]



THE CECIL HOTEL was supposed to be a model for permanent supportive housing in downtown L.A., but a year later, it's mostly empty. Above, Brent Fode and TaterTot are among those now living there.

## OPEN HOUSING

Project struggles to fill rooms even as homeless crisis grows

By JAIMIE DING



SINCE ALL its residents will use vouchers to pay rent, the building relies on organizations that serve homeless people to fill its units.

It's not much — a bed with a mattress, a small nightstand, a dresser, a closet and some assorted appliances in a 160-square-foot room.

Some of those rooms have bathrooms, but most don't. Several floors of the 14-floor building were sweltering over the summer. The kitchen is all the way on the bottom floor.

Still, the Cecil Hotel represents an opportunity for its formerly homeless inhabitants to have a room of one's own — one that comes with 24-hour security and the freedom to come and go without curfews.

The historic hotel, with its haunted reputation and 600 rooms, reopened in December 2021 as a privately funded permanent supportive housing project. With most of the rooms reserved specifically for those in the bottom 30% of the area's median income, it's open to any of the thousands of [See Cecil, A9]

### COLUMN ONE

## He broke color lines before Robinson did

Jorge Pasquel integrated Mexican baseball in '40s. Where's his plaque?

By KEVIN BAXTER  
REPORTING FROM VERACRUZ, MEXICO

Pedro "Charrascas" Ramírez was born more than a century ago, and he concedes his eyesight is fading and his knees ache when he climbs the narrow 15-step staircase to his breezy second-story apartment in the old part of Veracruz.

His mind, however, remains sharp, and the memories it holds might prove key to an implausible campaign to get a flamboyant, daring Mexican millionaire named Jorge Pasquel enshrined in the Baseball Hall of Fame.

Ramírez is the only survivor of the 1946 Mexican League season, one in which Pasquel, the league president, used suitcases full of money to lure nearly two dozen white American players south, where they played alongside Negro League stars banned from the majors because of the color of their skin.

Pasquel's gambit was not sustainable, and the league would later go bankrupt. But it became the first in professional baseball to fully integrate [See Baseball, A4]



JORGE PASQUEL, right, with Babe Ruth and Mickey Owen, left, one of the big leaguers Pasquel lured away to play in his Mexican league, in 1946.



A WORKER clears a path at the Palisades Tahoe resort, which received almost 3 feet of snow from the recent storm. Some ski areas got as much as 4 feet.

## Storm no drought-buster, nor a good predictor for season

Snowpack gets a needed boost, but it's too early to know if wet weather will last.

By HAYLEY SMITH

Winter storms that doused California with much-needed rain and snow over the last week have managed to ease some dire drought conditions, but experts warned that the state still has a long way to go to

truly reverse its historic dry streak.

For many, the massive storm system that soaked swaths of the West Coast with inches of rain and feet of snow was a reminder of seasons past as it snarled traffic, triggered rock slides and sparked a blizzard of "winter wonderland" posts on social media.

But as the state's climate grows warmer and drier, sustained periods of winter rain and snow are becoming increasingly sporadic, experts say. Many fear a repeat

of last year, when a similarly soggy December gave way to California's driest January on record.

"December has started off obviously very well in terms of building snowpack and even soaking other areas with rainfall," said David Rizzardo, hydrology section manager for the California Department of Water Resources. But "it's definitely too early to tell, especially when right now it seems like we're getting similar signals of a possible dry [See Drought, A12]

## BASS, COUNCIL PERSIST DESPITE TUMULT

Homeless emergency is OK'd in a meeting where De León votes from a back room.

By JULIA WICK, DAVID ZAHNISER, DAKOTA SMITH AND BENJAMIN ORESKES

The Los Angeles City Council approved Mayor Karen Bass' declaration of a homelessness emergency at a fraught four-hour meeting Tuesday, giving the new mayor a potentially critical tool for addressing the humanitarian crisis.

The vote should have been a simple procedural step. But it was thrown into jeopardy by the tumult at City Hall.

Embattled Councilmember Kevin de León stepped onto the council floor midway through the session. Council President Paul Krekorian immediately called for a recess, sending the meeting into limbo.

De León has faced widespread calls for his resignation as fallout from a racist leaked audiotape rolled the city. Several colleagues had threatened to leave the room if he showed up. Tensions intensified over the weekend after De León was involved in a fight with an activist during an Eastside Christmas tree lighting.

For much of the meeting, it was unclear whether the council would have enough members willing to sit in the room with De León and cast votes. Ten members are needed to conduct council business.

But after a long standoff, followed by De León's exit from the room, the council ultimately voted 13 to 0 for the mayor's declaration. Although De León was out of his chair, he was able to cast his vote from a back room that is considered part of the council chamber.

The chamber exploded with anger as protesters left [See Council, A12]

### Biden signs marriage bill

President affirms same-sex unions in White House ceremony where love is the theme. **NATION, A6**

### Health of P-22 appears poor

Officials say the mountain lion may have to be euthanized if his condition worsens. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

### Fraud charges for FTX founder

Sam Bankman-Fried diverted funds and made illegal political donations, prosecutors allege. **BUSINESS, A5**

### Weather Dry and cool.

L.A. Basin: 62/44. **B6**

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## A 'good day' for marriage equality



Aparna Shrivastava snaps a photo with Shelby Teeter after Tuesday's signing of the Respect for Marriage Act at the White House. "Today is a good day," President Biden said at the South Lawn ceremony. "A day America takes a vital step toward equality, toward liberty, justice — not just for some, but for everyone. Toward creating a nation where decency, dignity and love are recognized, honored and protected." **Story, A3**

## Nov. data raise hopes for easing inflation

Cooling prices signal that Fed's interest-rate hikes might pay off in 2023

BY RACHEL SIEGEL

After more than a year of dashed hopes, inflation is finally showing signs of letting up — which may soon bring more relief for households and businesses being squeezed by high prices and the Federal Reserve's ongoing fight to slow the economy.

Prices cooled again in November, rising 7.1 percent compared with last year, the smallest year-over-year increase since last December. They also climbed 0.1 percent over October, beating analysts' expectations. And a measure known as "core inflation," which strips out volatile categories like food and energy, rose 0.2 percent — the smallest increase since August 2021, according to data released Tuesday morning by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The idea that 7.1 percent annual price increases are good news may seem counterintuitive, since inflation still hovers near

**Political capital:** Biden seeks credit for improving numbers. **A16**

CARTEL FENTANYL'S DEADLY SURGE

## A Mexican cartel's pipeline into a quiet Utah city

DEA agent's probe underlines reach of crime groups based across border



The meth was expensive. The federal agents were running out of money.

They had been buying loads of drugs in undercover operations, trying to trace the pipeline of methamphetamine and fentanyl into this sleepy city of retirees, out-of-town hikers and Mormon churches.

Brady Wilson, one of just two Drug Enforcement Administra-

BY KEVIN SIEFF  
IN ST. GEORGE, UTAH

Brady Wilson, a former DEA agent, looks out over St. George, where he and other agents discovered an outlet for the Sinaloa cartel.

tion agents in southern Utah, begged his bosses for more cash. The case felt big — a window into how Mexican organized crime had penetrated even suburban America.

"It was a gut feeling," Wilson said. A Mexican cartel, he suspected, had set up shop in St. George.

Wilson, a bald, trim 42-year-

**SEE CARTEL ON A10**

## FTX founder charged with criminal fraud

REGULATORS ALSO  
ISSUE COMPLAINTS

Crypto baron denied bail as he fights extradition

BY GERRIT DE VYNCK

A trio of U.S. agencies filed a flurry of charges ranging from fraud to campaign finance violations against disgraced cryptocurrency exchange founder Sam Bankman-Fried on Tuesday, one day after he was arrested in the Bahamas at the request of the U.S. government.

The Justice Department accused Bankman-Fried, 30, of crimes including conspiracy, fraud, money laundering and violating campaign finance laws. The Securities and Exchange Commission alleged that he defrauded his investors, and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission filed fraud accusations as well. The accusations show the reach and in-



SAM BANKMAN-FRIED REMAINS JAILED IN THE BAHAMAS FOR NOW.

fluence the young crypto baron amassed in just a few years.

Up until recently one of the world's largest cryptocurrency exchanges, valued at \$32 billion by its investors, FTX collapsed into bankruptcy in November, enraging the scores of clients who had thought their cryptocurrency holdings were safely stored on the

**SEE BANKMAN-FRIED ON A4**

## Capitol Hill scrambles for answers — and distance

BY TONY ROMM  
AND ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER

The sudden arrest of disgraced FTX founder Sam Bankman-Fried ensnared Washington on Tuesday, as Democrats and Republicans began to sort through the political wreckage — and looked to distance themselves from one of their chief benefactors in the 2022 election.

For years, Bankman-Fried had been a darling in the eyes of the nation's political class: The crypto mogul had maintained a visible presence in the halls of the Capitol, a generous campaign

checkbook and a close relationship with the regulators who oversaw his company.

But lawmakers came to find that Bankman-Fried presided over a deeply troubled enterprise, one whose flaws had eluded scrutiny in Washington until FTX declared bankruptcy last month. Then, mere hours before Bankman-Fried was supposed to answer Tuesday for his actions at a congressional hearing, federal prosecutors secured his surprise arrest in the Bahamas for eventual extradition to the United States — filing charges alleging

**SEE CAPITOL ON A4**

## U.S. hits key milestone in race to fusion energy

Despite success, dream of clean electricity source is probably decades away

BY JOEL ACHENBACH  
AND EVAN HALPER

The creation of what amounts to a miniature star required 192 lasers, produced in a high-security federal government building the size of a football stadium. The lasers fired into a small chamber holding a pellet of hydrogen about half the size of a BB.

As the beams fired, the atomic particles in the gas fused together and released more energy than the lasers had put in. The feat was

achieved for the first time ever on Dec. 5 at a Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory facility in Northern California and announced in detail Tuesday at a news conference in Washington. It represents what officials say is a significant milestone in the decades-long effort to harness nuclear fusion, an energy source that has potential to create abundant clean electricity.

The announcement of the experimental success came bracketed by cautionary notes. It may be many more years before this technology can be employed for everyday use. This was a science experiment more than a demonstration of a practical technology.

Still, it was the first time anyone had managed to create net energy gain. The experiment

**SEE FUSION ON A7**

## IN THE NEWS



**Ovechkin notches 800th goal** A hat trick for the Capitals' captain puts him one goal shy of tying Gordie Howe for second all-time. **D1**  
**Called to action** Ten years after the deadly Sandy Hook shooting, three women reflect on their work to end gun violence. **A6**

**THE NATION**  
**Senate Democrats** avoided saying whether they would back a 2024 reelection run by Sen. Kyrsten Sinema (Ariz.), who left the party. **A2**  
**An effort by backers** of Donald Trump to copy voting software after the 2020 election warrants U.S. government scrutiny, voting-security advocates say. **A5**

**THE WORLD**  
**The restoration** of ancient dikes in Peru's mountains could mitigate water supply issues in the parched South American country. **A8**

**Supporters** of Brazil's defeated president attacked federal police headquarters, putting the nation on edge as his successor's inauguration nears. **A9**  
**A hacker** planted evidence on the computer of an Indian priest who was long denied bail on terrorism charges and died in 2021, a digital forensics firm found. **A12**  
**Amid violent protests** in Peru, Pedro Castillo said from jail he's still president — and some leftist allies agreed. **A13**  
**Eight people** were convicted of aiding the attacker in a 2016 truck

rampage that killed 86 in Nice, France. **A15**

**THE ECONOMY**  
**Lawmakers** reached a bipartisan "framework" to fund the government, a key step in the race to avert a shutdown. **A18**  
**United Airlines** placed an order for 100 Boeing 787 Dreamliners, signaling industry confidence in international travel demand. **A19**

**THE REGION**  
**In Virginia**, two state Senate Democrats announced their bids to fill the seat of Rep. A. Donald McEachin (D), who died last month. **B1**  
**As the covid crisis** eased, health workers in

Maryland used newly forged ties to focus on medical disparities, particularly Latinos' vulnerability to diabetes. **B1**  
**Loudoun County's** school board reviewed a grand jury report that faulted the district for its handling of two sexual assault cases as two officials appeared in court on related charges. **B1**  
**A bill** nearing passage in D.C. includes seven provisions aimed at improving the welfare of animals in the city. **B1**

**STYLE**  
**Adam Sandler** will receive the Mark Twain Prize for American Humor in March, the Kennedy Center said. **C1**

## INSIDE



**FOOD**  
**Better brownies are all in the swirl**  
Our recipe offers three flavorful twists to make this already-delicious treat even tastier.

**STYLE**  
**A spirited 'Kindred'**  
The series involving time travel to slavery-era Maryland is a bold homage to the book. **C1**

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**Cash-strapped Americans raiding retirement funds**Financial advisers suggest considering other options first to access cash. **In Money****'Way of Water' makes dazzling return to Pandora**Review: James Cameron's "Avatar" sequel proves there is still gas in the franchise tank. **In Life****Superstar MLB players see lengthy megadeals**Elite players like Trea Turner, left, and Xander Bogaerts have decadelong commitments that come with big bucks. **In Sports****USA TODAY**

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ORLANDO RAMIREZ AND JAY BIGGERSTAFF/USA TODAY SPORTS

**POLITICS****Trump's GOP support crumbles**

Voters prefer DeSantis as 2024 presidential nominee, poll shows

Susan Page  
USA TODAY

Republican support for Donald Trump's presidential bid in 2024 has cratered, an exclusive USA TODAY/Suffolk University Poll finds, as the former president is beleaguered by midterm losses and courtroom setbacks.

By 2-1, GOP and GOP-leaning voters now say they want Trump's policies but a different standard-bearer to carry them. While 31% want the former president to run, 61% prefer some other Republican nominee who would continue the policies Trump has pursued.

They have a name in mind: Two-thirds of Republicans and those inclined to vote Republican want Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis to run for president. By double digits, 56% to 33%, they prefer DeSantis over Trump.

"Republicans and conservative independents increasingly want Trumpism without Trump," said David

See **TRUMP**, Page 6A**Inflation slows down again in November**

Food, rent costs offset declining gas prices

Paul Davidson  
USA TODAY

Inflation throttled back significantly for a second month in November as prices for goods that surged during the pandemic continued to dip. Still, inflation remained elevated as the cost of many services kept marching higher.

Consumer prices increased 7.1% from a year earlier, down from a 7.7% rise in October and a 40-year high of 9.1% in June, as soaring food and rent costs again offset declining gas prices, according to the Labor Department's consumer price index.

The increase in inflation last month was at the slowest pace since December of last year. And it came in under expectations of 7.3%, which was predicted by economists surveyed by Bloomberg.

On a monthly basis, consumer prices increased 0.1% following a 0.4% rise the prior month.

See **INFLATION**, Page 6A**10 YEARS AFTER SANDY HOOK****How schools have, and haven't, changed**

An aerial view shows the new Sandy Hook Elementary, almost 10 years after the mass shooting in Newtown, Conn. The new school opened in 2016, four years after the tragedy. JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES

**Upgrades are spread unevenly, costly, and might not even help**Kayla Jimenez and Alia Wong  
USA TODAY

Meg Tarpey and her younger sister survived the mass shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School 10 years ago, then watched the site of that massacre be demolished and a new school built in its place.

In 2016, Tarpey, her sister and their mother visited the new building for the first time along with a comfort dog. Sandy Hook had been reimagined, with community input, incorporating a footbridge leading to the entrance of the school, a gate surrounding the campus and floor-to-ceiling windows for easy views of anyone approaching the school.

"That day was really hard, because in a way I felt like they're trying to get rid of what happened, like moving on from it," said Tarpey, who was in third grade, and her sister in first, when the shooter with an AR-15-style semi-automatic rifle blasted into their Newtown, Connecticut, school.

See **REDESIGNS**, Page 4A



Flowers lie next to the name of Charlotte Bacon, carved into the stone of a memorial dedicated to the victims of the Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting, in Newtown, Conn. BRYAN WOOLSTON/AP

**FINDING PURPOSE**

One mother's journey through grief and healing after son's death.

**REGULATING GUNS**

Congress has proposed several gun control bills. Only one has passed.

Page 3A

**NRA program falls far short of what promised, has little impact**Nick Penzenstadler  
USA TODAY

At a news conference the week after a gunman shot and killed 26 people — 20 of them children — in Sandy Hook, Connecticut, the voice of the nation's gun lobby promised to protect schoolchildren with money, guns and gear.

Wayne LaPierre, the longtime chief executive of the National Rifle Association, blamed gun-free zones for the 2012 massacre and those before it. He called schools "utterly defenseless," vulnerable to attacks by "monsters and predators."

Now, a decade after LaPierre pledged the NRA's financial support for its School Shield initiative, gun violence prevention groups say evidence shows the organization awarded requests at pennies on the dollar and the program has not made a dent in school violence.

Whereas LaPierre made headlines

See **NRA GRANTS**, Page 4A**Biden signs same-sex marriage bill**

Historic move protects gay, interracial couples

Joey Garrison and Rebecca Morin  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — President Joe Biden signed historic legislation Tuesday protecting same-sex marriages nationally, marking a major milestone in the fight for gay rights that follows a seismic change in the nation's attitudes.

At a ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House, Biden signed the Respect for Marriage Act, making it the law that all states recognize same-sex and interracial marriages. Democratic

and Republican lawmakers, LGBTQ advocates and plaintiffs in marriage equality cases were among the thousands in attendance.

"Today, America takes a vital step toward equality, toward liberty and justice, not just for some, but for everyone," Biden said. "Toward creating a nation where decency, dignity, and love are recognized, honored and protected."

The new law will protect same-sex marriages if the Supreme Court were to overturn the landmark Obergefell v. Hodges decision, which in 2015 legalized same-sex marriages in the U.S.

Biden said the new law confers to all married couples the federal protections that come with marriage such as legal recognition as "next of kin" when a

spouse is ill.

"For most of our nation's history, we denied interracial couples and same-sex couples from these protections," the president said. "We failed to treat them with equal dignity and respect."

The push to codify gay and interracial marriage rights in Congress came after Associate Justice Clarence Thomas called on the Supreme Court to "reconsider" other rights established by the Supreme Court in the wake of its June ruling that Americans no longer have a right to abortion.

Thomas, in a concurring opinion backing the overturning of Roe v. Wade, singled out opinions that blocked states from banning contraception, sex by same-sex couples and gay marriage.

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## Francia vs. Marruecos, un partido de alto voltaje político y social

—el mundo

Los marroquíes son el segundo mayor grupo migratorio en territorio francés; ambos países se juegan hoy, desde las 16, el pase a la final; cómo se vive en las calles de París. **Página 6**

## Muchos buscan un vuelo de último momento para llegar a Qatar

—sociedad

Ya son pocas las opciones, pero todavía hay compañías que ofrecen pasajes para viajar esta semana; las tarifas oscilan entre 680.000 pesos y 1,7 millones de pesos; Aerolíneas no agregará nuevos chárteres. **Página 19**

## Fiesta nacional. Un estallido de júbilo en todos los rincones del país

—sociedad

Una impresionante multitud se movilizó alrededor del Obelisco; en todas las ciudades del país hubo celebraciones espontáneas por la clasificación de la Argentina como finalista. **Páginas 18, 19 y 28**

# LA NACION

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QATAR 2022 

## A la final con un triunfo mágico Argentina goleó con un Messi brillante



Di María, Messi, Julián Álvarez, Rulli, Enzo Fernández, Otamendi (19) y hasta Lo Celso en el festejo con la gente: ¡la Argentina, finalista!

ANÍBAL GRECO/ENVIADO ESPECIAL

DOHA (De nuestros enviados).—Con el corazón como estandarte, con la pasión que se le escapa por los poros, con la alegría por el aire, con la locura de una noche inolvidable, con la autoridad necesaria para la cita, la selección argentina ofreció su mejor función en la Copa del Mundo. Se les caen algunas lágrimas a sus jugadores, se restregan los ojos porque este equipo soñó y soñó con esta noche; hizo garabatos en el aire creyendo que era posible, pero ahora que está cuesta ponerlo en dimensión.

La Argentina es finalista del Mundial de Qatar. Y llega a la definición de la mejor manera: luego de una victoria mágica. Se recibió de equipo con una brillante actuación de Lionel Messi y con la potencia arrolladora de Julián Álvarez. Entre ambos se repartieron los tantos de la goleada a Croacia, subcampeón mundial, por 3-0. El último, con una genialidad del capitán, que terminó habilitando a Álvarez para que marcara por segunda vez. "Es una locura", dijo Messi so-

bre lo que están viviendo en Qatar. Y confesó "estar bien físicamente" ante la preocupación que generó verlo tocarse el aductor izquierdo en algunos pasajes del encuentro. Invicta en semifinales, será la sexta final que jugará la Argentina en un Mundial. Ganó las de 1978 y 1986 y perdió las de 1930, 1990 y 2014. El domingo, desde las 12 de nuestro país, sostendrá el match decisivo ante el ganador de Francia vs. Marruecos, que se enfrentarán hoy, a las 16. **Deportes Mundial**

### ADEMÁS

**Diego Morini**

Se recibió de equipo en el momento justo

**Página 2**

**Christian Leblebicijan**

Para aplaudir de pie: la suma de varios factores

**Página 5**

### ENFOQUES

**Triángulo: el dinamo, el indetectable y el voraz**

Cristian Grosso  
**Página 9**

**"Mané Messi" y los perros salvajes de África**

Ezequiel Fernández Moeres  
**Página 16**



ilustrada C1 a C3

## Margareth na missão

A cantora baiana Margareth Menezes aceitou convite de Lula para assumir reconstrução do Ministério da Cultura em meio a críticas por sua inexperience em gestão pública.



Margareth Menezes, futura ministra  
Pedro Ladeira/Folhapress

## Atila Iamarino China enfrentará efeitos do fim da Covid zero

Saúde B1

## copa 2022



Messi festeja o terceiro e mais bonito gol da Argentina contra a Croácia, marcado pelo atacante Julián Álvarez após jogada do camisa 10  
Molly Darlington/Reuters

## Guiada por Messi, Argentina goleia Croácia e está na final

Lionel Messi abriu a defesa da Croácia convertendo pênalti e comandou goleada de 3 a 0 que classificou a Argentina para sua segunda final de Copa em oito anos. Ele igualou Mbappé na artilharia e recorde de jogos em Mundiais. p.1

## Ante França, Marrocos se prepara para sofrer como Rocky Balboa p.3

Tostão  
Messi é um espanto e  
merece estar na final p.5

Semifinal	Final	Semifinal
ONTEM	DOM 18 • 12h*	HOJE • 16h*
ARGENTINA 3	ARGENTINA	FRANÇA
CROÁCIA 0		MARROCOS

\*Horário de Brasília

## Gregorio Duvivier

Aos fiscais de arribancada confesso:  
fui contaminado pelo marroquismo cs

## Crescem casos de miopia em crianças e jovens de SP

Saúde B1

## Morre monsenhor Abib, fundador da Canção Nova

Cotidiano B4

# Mercadante chefiará BNDES; privatização acaba, diz Lula

Haddad anuncia Galípolo de nº 2 e declara que vai reavaliar receitas públicas

O presidente eleito, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), anunciou o ex-ministro e ex-senador Aloizio Mercadante para a presidência do BNDES (Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico Social), o que gerou reação negativa do mercado. Lula afirmou ainda que "vai acabar a privatização nesse país".

A Bolsa recuou 1,71% após a confirmação, e o dólar ficou praticamente estável, com queda de 0,03%, a R\$ 5,31. Para investidores, a nomeação sinalizaria uma política econômica mais desenvolvimentista do governo petista, com possível expansão do gasto público para impulsionar o crescimento.

Também ontem, o futuro ministro da Fazenda, Fernando Haddad, confirmou o nome do ex-banqueiro Gabriel Galípolo como secretário-executivo da pasta. O economista Bernard Ap-py será secretário especial para a reforma tributária, apontada por Haddad como prioridade de sua gestão.

Haddad disse que vai reavaliar a receita pública —na opinião dele, subestimada— e não descartou elevação na carga tributária, o que pode ser feito por meio de corte de subsídios. Mercado A13 e A14

**Câmara aprova mudança  
na Lei das Estatais para  
liberar Mercadante** A13

## Bernardo Guimarães O que esperar de Fernando Haddad

O mercado financeiro vai por muito tempo ter um pé atrás com o ministro. Mas minha avaliação é que Haddad não será o problema deste governo na parte econômica. Outras nomeações me deixam mais insatisfeito. Mercado A24

## Lira frustra PT e prevê concluir PEC na próxima semana

O presidente da Câmara, Arthur Lira (PP-AL), disse que a conclusão da votação da PEC da Gastança deve ficar para a próxima terça (20). O cronograma frustra petistas, que contavam com a aprovação nesta semana. Mercado A16

## Bolsonaristas pagaram assessores com verba da Uerj

A Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro contratou "fantasmas" ligados a dois deputados bolsonaristas —Soraya Santos (federal) e Dr. Serginho (estadual), do PL-RJ. Ambos negam indicação, e Uerj diz desconhecer. Política A8

## Equipe de Lula se queixa de falta de prisões após vandalismo

O entorno do presidente eleito, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), queixou-se ao governo do Distrito Federal sobre a falta de prisões após os atos de vandalismo em Brasília. Lula vê papel de Jair Bolsonaro (PL) em episódio. A6 e A7

## Em SP, Tarcísio confirma Kinoshita na Fazenda

Samuel Kinoshita será secretário da Fazenda no governo de Tarcísio de Freitas. Atual CGU, Wagner Rosário chefiará o órgão paulista equivalente. A8

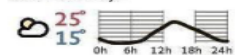
## EDITORIAIS A2

**Gastando por conta**  
Sobre alta injustificada de gastos federais em 2023.

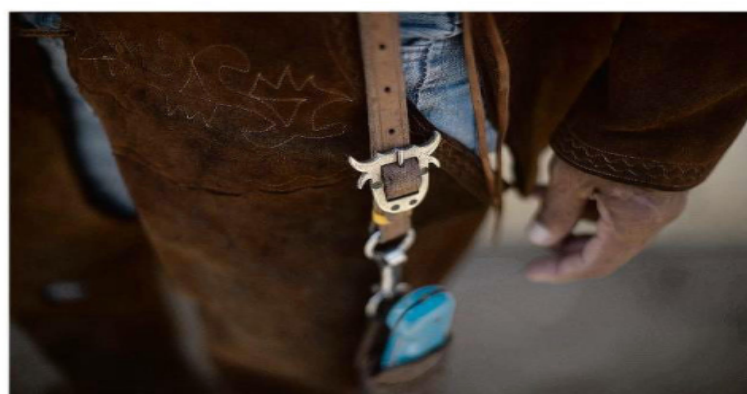
**Não à baderna**  
Acerca de vandalismo de bolsonaristas em Brasília.

## ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



Fonte: www.climatepro.com.br



Parte da vestimenta do Grupo Encourados de Pedrão, na Bahia  
Rafaela Araújo/Folhapress





**El Ejecutivo tiene tiempo hasta fin de año para promulgarlo o vetarlo**

## El Senado ratificó el PGN 2023 desfinanciado y con más sueldos

La sobreestimación de ingresos es de USD 26 millones, en tanto que el gasto salarial aumentó en USD 50 millones. Se dieron rubros para crear 1.348 nuevos cargos.

PÁGINA 8

Quieren elegir antes de las internas  
**Siguen las negociaciones entre Abdo y la Cámara Alta para designar a FGE**

PÁGINA 2

Lezcano, Sapriza, Doldán y Delfino en la mira  
**Senadores acusarán ante el JEM a 4 fiscales por mal desempeño en el caso Pecci**

PÁGINA 3

CON ESTA EDICIÓN

FASCÍCULO CURSO DE  
FOTOGRAFÍA N° 4  
Gratis con el diario

COMPRA OPCIONAL

COLECCIÓN ESCRITOS  
EN COMBATE N° 3  
G. 70.000

Nuevamente se hacen los test de Covid en la Costanera

PÁGINA 18

ESPACIO PUBLICITARIO



## Argentina de vuelta en una final



**Qatar 2022.** La Albiceleste con un excelso Messi derrotó 3-0 a Croacia. Hoy se conocerá si juega ante Francia o Marruecos por el cetro máximo.

PÁGINA 46 a 48

Sus equipos quedaron "obsoletos"  
**IPS llama a licitación del servicio de fotocopias por G. 6.500 millones**

PÁGINA 17

Aún hay un largo camino por recorrer  
**EEUU anunció un gran avance que revolucionará la producción de energía**

PÁGINA 38

**HILUX**

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HASTA 100.000 KM  
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# LE FIGARO

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



## ENQUÊTE

COMMENT LA POLICE A DÉCODÉ  
LA MESSAGERIE CRYPTÉE  
DES MILIEUX CRIMINELS **PAGE 16**

## AGHION-TIROLE

ÉCOLE, SANTÉ, DETTE, INDUSTRIE,  
LE CRI D'ALARME DES DEUX  
GRANDS ÉCONOMISTES **PAGES 26 ET 27**



**RN**  
Philippe Olivier,  
le fidèle de Marine  
Le Pen qui joue la  
carte de l'alternance  
**PAGE 8**

**DIPLOMATIE**  
Joe Biden invite  
l'Afrique  
à Washington  
**PAGE 12**

**JUSTICE**  
Attentat de Nice:  
après le verdict,  
l'apaisement  
des victimes  
**PAGE 15**

**CRYPTOMONNAIE**  
Le fondateur de FTX  
risque de finir sa vie  
en prison  
**PAGE 31**

**CINÉMA**  
« Avatar : La Voie  
de l'eau », le grand  
bleu de James  
Cameron  
**PAGES 34 ET 35**



## Les Bleus à l'attaque face au Maroc

Un match à haute intensité attend l'équipe de France, ce mercredi, face aux surprenants Lions de l'Atlas. Une victoire la conduirait en finale sur le chemin d'un troisième sacre planétaire. **PAGES 2, 4 ET 5**

**CHAMPS LIBRES**

- L'ordinateur de Hunter Biden remonte à la surface
- RPR, UMP, LR : comment la droite a choisi ses dirigeants ?
- Les tribunes d'Olivier Babeau et de Dominique Dupré-Henry et Tanguy Le Dantec
- La chronique de Bertille Bayart
- L'analyse de Jean-Marc Leclerc

**PAGES 20 À 23**

## Les alliés de l'Ukraine mobilisent 1 milliard d'euros d'aide d'urgence

Promettant le soutien de la France à l'Ukraine « jusqu'au dernier jour » de la guerre, Emmanuel Macron a cherché mardi à faire oublier les sujets de polémique. La conférence internationale de « solidarité » qu'il a présidée à Paris a permis de lever plus de 1 milliard d'euros pour aider Kiev à surmonter les défis de l'hiver. **PAGE 10 ET L'EDITORIAL**



## L'affaire Quatennens continue de déstabiliser la Nupes

Le député LFI du Nord a été condamné à 4 mois de prison avec sursis pour des violences commises sur son ex-épouse. Embarrassé, le groupe des Insoumis à l'Assemblée a acté sa radiation temporaire. Mais Adrien Quatennens, qui dénonce un « lynchage médiatique inédit », exclut de démissionner de son mandat. **PAGE 6**

**ÉDITORIAL** par Philippe Gélie [pgelie@lefigaro.fr](mailto:pgelie@lefigaro.fr)

## Des paroles et des actes

La conférence de soutien à la « résilience » ukrainienne, organisée mardi à Paris, se solde par un succès, si l'on en croit les chiffres : le président Volodymyr Zelensky réclamait 800 millions d'euros pour passer l'hiver après les frappes russes contre les structures énergétiques de son pays ; il en obtient plus de 1 milliard des 70 États et organismes internationaux réunis par la France. Celle-ci, non contente de porter son aide civile à 200 millions d'euros cette année, a aussi mobilisé 500 entreprises pour investir à court et long terme dans la reconstruction de l'Ukraine. Si l'on y ajoute les fournitures d'armes de pointe, comme les fameux canons Caesar - dont le ministre de la Défense ukrainien dit qu'elles placent la France parmi ses premiers soutiens -, force est de constater que Paris se comporte en allié irréprochable de Kiev.

Irréprochable... n'étaient les déclarations de son président. Depuis sa vaine intercession auprès de Vladimir Poutine à Moscou début février, Emmanuel Macron traîne le soupçon d'ambivalence, voire de compromission envers la Russie. De sa recommandation de « ne pas humilier » le maître du Kremlin à sa reconnaissance tardive des « crimes de guerre » commis en Ukraine, et jusqu'aux « garanties de sécurité » qu'il suggère d'offrir aux Russes pour les amener à négocier, le chef de l'État paraît plus soucieux de ménager l'agresseur que de défendre l'agressé. Ses professions de foi sur « le soutien de la France tant qu'il le faudra » sont rendues inaudibles par l'expression d'une vision stratégique où la Russie pèse plus lourd que l'Ukraine dans l'équilibre européen.

Se leurrant sans doute sur son pouvoir de persuasion, Emmanuel Macron voit dans les circonstances un rôle de médiateur à sa mesure, alors qu'il se fait balader par Poutine et contrer par ses alliés européens. Sa « politique russe », tradition finalement très française, rejette le conformisme ambiant pour un « en même temps » visant à empêcher une escalade avec Moscou, qui pourrait dégénérer en troisième guerre mondiale. Polonais et Baltes ne comprennent pas sa mansuétude, mais lui estime qu'on n'ignore la géographie qu'à ses risques et périls. Après la guerre, la Russie, même défaite, n'aura pas disparu de la carte. ■

RIMOWA

L'HISTOIRE S'ÉCRIT  
EN MOUVEMENT.

INGENIEURSKUNST  
SEIT 1898\*

\*L'ART DE L'INGÉNÉRIE DEPUIS 1898

**FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON**

Réponses à la question  
de mardi :  
LR doit-il désigner  
son candidat à la  
présidentielle dès 2023 ?

OUI 37%	NON 63%
------------	------------

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 70 500

Votez aujourd'hui  
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Approuvez-vous l'action  
de la France en faveur  
de l'Ukraine ?

FRANÇOIS BOUCHON / LE FIGARO-  
ALAIN JOCARD / AFP



**Jane Horrocks**  
Love lost  
with  
Ian Dury

→ G2



# The Guardian

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Revealed

## 33 hours inside an NHS on the brink

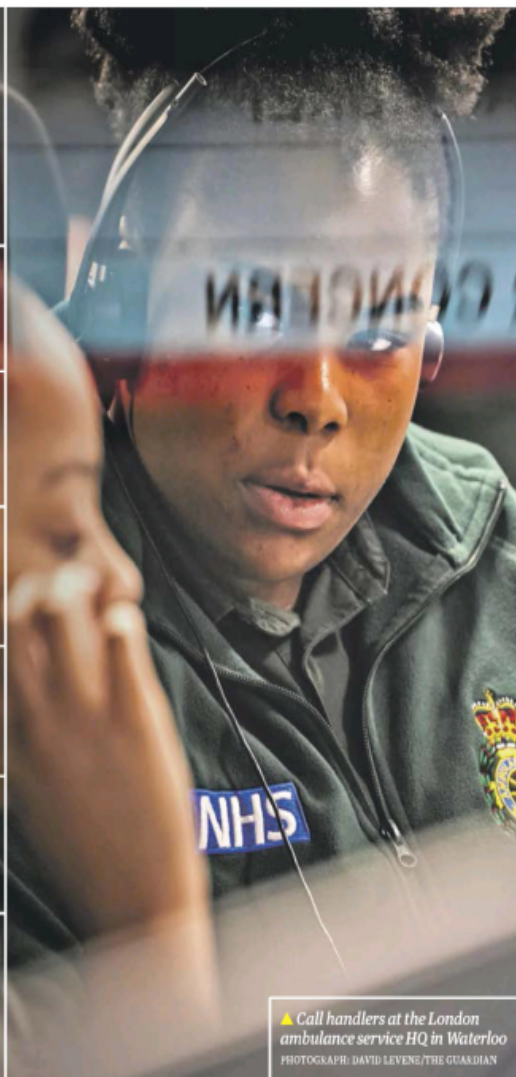
*A Guardian special report*

Pages 8-12

● Crammed wards, burnt-out GPs, hours for ambulances - the health service is at breaking point

● Staff struggle to contend with a surge in patients 'much sicker than they were before Covid'

Andrew Gregory and Denis Campbell



▲ Call handlers at the London ambulance service HQ in Waterloo  
PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID LEVENE/THE GUARDIAN

Inside the dimly lit command centre at King's College hospital, staff arriving for the first beds meeting of the day are greeted with a warning: the hospital is already under strain. "So, we are under pressure this morning," the head of nursing, Naomi Hosking, informs colleagues standing around her in a semi-circle. No one registers surprise. "We've got a lot of patients in ED [emergency department] with little space to see new patients, so we need to get some early movement." It's 8.32am and ED - maximum capacity 60 - is packed, with 61 patients inside. The oldest is 98; the youngest 30 days old. Later, that pressure will intensify; the number of ED patients - in beds, or on

trolleys, in chairs or standing - will more than double to 137. The crisis is not unusual, or unique to King's. In every corner of the UK, demand for urgent care is rocketing and emergency departments swamped. Live data fed from eight computers to four TV screens on the walls of the command centre reveals more bad news. There are no "definite discharges". It means there isn't a single patient in the 724-bed hospital who is definitely able to leave that day. There is, quite literally, no room at the inn. About 33 months after the World Health Organization declared Covid to be a pandemic, the Guardian spent 33 hours inside the NHS, examining the state of the health service. Covid is no longer the dominating, deadly factor

## PM restarts 'hostile' UK tactics with asylum vow

Rajeev Syal  
Home affairs editor

Rishi Sunak insisted yesterday he could clear a backlog of nearly 100,000 asylum claims by the end of next year as part of a set of policies that includes resuming the "hostile environment" checks on bank accounts that were suspended after the Windrush scandal.

The prime minister outlined a five-point plan in the Commons, including law changes to criminalise and then remove tens of thousands of people who claim asylum after travelling to the UK by small boat, and a deal with Albania to aid removal.

But the plan, the details of which have not been released, was criticised by some Conservative MPs including Theresa May, who said that one announcement - a promise to overhaul modern slavery laws - might undermine protections for victims.

Keir Starmer, the Labour leader, said Sunak was indulging in more "unworkable gimmicks" as promised by other Conservative prime ministers. A majority of those who arrive by small boat qualify as legitimate refugees fleeing wars and famine, charities said.

Sunak said he would also revive data-sharing powers to stop migrants who have arrived in the UK by irregular means from obtaining bank accounts. The powers were suspended four years ago in the aftermath of the Windrush scandal amid fears that

## Magical Messi Argentina into World Cup final

→ Sport



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8 →