



## The Face of Traditional Values?

### REVIEW

# WSJ

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND

## Seafood-Tower Power

### OFF DUTY



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SATURDAY/SUNDAY, DECEMBER 17 - 18, 2022 - VOL. CCLXXX NO. 143

WSJ.com ★★★★★ \$6.00

## What's News

### World-Wide

Russia fired a barrage of missiles targeting energy infrastructure in Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities, part of a campaign to wear down its adversary while rebuilding for what Kyiv officials expect will be a renewed 2023 ground offensive. **A6**

◆ A federal appeals court declined a last-minute request by 15 Republican-led states to block the Biden administration from ending Title 42, a pandemic-era policy that allows migrants to be immediately expelled at the border. **A3**

◆ Garland issued prosecutorial guidelines that aim to ease a disparity in sentencing for crack-cocaine versus powder-cocaine crimes, as the administration seeks to reverse decades of drug policy now widely viewed as unfairly punishing Black defendants. **A5**

◆ One of Beijing's designated crematoria for Covid victims has been flooded with bodies recently as the virus sweeps through the Chinese capital, offering an early hint at the human cost of the country's abrupt loosening of pandemic rules. **A9**

◆ A judge imposed a five-year prison sentence on an Iowa man who led a mob that chased a police officer near the Senate chamber during the Jan. 6, 2021, Capitol riot. **A4**

### Business & Finance

◆ Price pressures eased at the end of the year as central banks fought high inflation, businesses in the U.S. and Europe say, though the global economy continued to teeter with the possibility of a recession. **A1**

◆ U.S. stocks fell again Friday, with the S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow industrials retreating 1.1%, 1% and 0.8%, respectively. All three indexes lost at least 1.5% for the week. **B1**

◆ Binance said the accounting firm it used to verify its reserves has paused all work for crypto clients, hampering efforts to reassure customers that their money is safe. **A1**

◆ Goldman is planning to lay off several thousand employees, according to people familiar with the matter, another consequence of this year's deal-making slump. **A1**

◆ Musk's team has reached out for potential fresh investment for Twitter at the same price as the original \$44 billion deal, according to one source who said he was contacted about the proposal. **B3**

◆ Apple is preparing to let applications be downloaded onto iPhones and iPads outside its App Store, according to people familiar with the matter. **B1**

## NOONAN

### Disorder At the Border, And in the GOP A15

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## Japan, Wary of China, Sets Big Boost in Military Spending



**ON GUARD:** Japan called China its biggest security challenge and said it would sharply raise military spending, including for missiles that can hit other countries, marking one of Tokyo's biggest post-World War II shifts away from pacifism. Above, a Japanese soldier during a recent joint exercise with troops from the British army. **A8**

## Accounting Firm Halts Reports For Binance, Other Crypto Clients

By CAITLIN OSTROFF  
AND JEAN EAGLESHAM

Cryptocurrency-trading giant Binance said the accounting firm it used to verify its reserves has paused all work for crypto clients, hampering efforts to reassure customers that their money is safe.

Binance also said outflows from its platform swelled to \$6 billion, a reflection of turmoil among crypto traders shocked by the implosion last month of rival exchange FTX.

Mazars, a midsize account-

ing firm that worked for former President Donald Trump's company, on Friday withdrew from its website a report on reserves at Binance and other cryptocurrency-trading companies. The report for Binance, which wasn't an audit, was published earlier this month.

A spokesman for the accounting firm said it had made the move "due to concerns regarding the way these reports are understood by the public."

A Binance spokesman said Mazars's decision didn't mean customers' funds were at risk.

"Our users want to know that their funds are secure and that our business is financially strong," he said. "We embrace additional transparency and we are looking into how best to provide those details in the coming months."

This past week, Binance experienced a sharp increase in customer withdrawals, with roughly \$6 billion in net outflows between Monday and Wednesday. The company didn't specify what percentage this represented of total customer deposits. Earlier in the

week, it said outflows were around \$1.1 billion. The Binance spokesman said the company was able to process the withdrawals "without breaking stride."

A series of failures involving crypto coins, exchanges and hedge funds, have rocked the world of digital currencies this year. As the world's largest surviving player, Binance is seen as a barometer for the ability of the broader industry to navigate through the trouble.

The role accounting firms

Please turn to page A4

## TikTok Distances Itself From China—To a Point

By RAFFAELE HUANG

SINGAPORE—TikTok has accelerated efforts to move workers away from China in an attempt to distance itself from its Chinese parent, but the short-video app still counts on local talent to handle some key functions and continues to recruit there.

TikTok and its parent, ByteDance Ltd., have moved executives to Singapore and the U.S., ramped up hiring of staff and engineers outside of China, and reorganized teams locally from the rest of the Chinese company's suite of apps, part of efforts to separate the companies under scrutiny from Washington.

Still, some engineers working on TikTok's algorithms remain based in China, people familiar with the matter said. Beijing-based ByteDance continues to recruit people in the country to work on TikTok.

The parent is advertising jobs in China to work on various TikTok features, such as private messaging, live-streaming and its market-place functions. It is also hiring for roles based there focusing on international expansion, including searching for senior algorithm engineers to develop its user search interface.

Hiring within China allows

Please turn to page A8

## Goldman Plans Big Job Cuts, Reductions in Some Bonuses

By ANNA MARIA ANDRIOTIS  
AND JUSTIN BAER

Goldman Sachs Group Inc. is planning to lay off several thousand employees, according to people familiar with the matter, another consequence of this year's deal-making slump.

A person familiar with the situation said the bank will be leaner in 2023, but it will still have more employees than it did before the pandemic. Goldman had some 49,000

employees as of September, up from about 38,000 at the end of 2019.

Goldman also expects to slash, and in some cases eliminate, the annual bonuses of underperforming employees, people familiar with the matter said.

Like other Wall Street banks, Goldman hired aggressively throughout 2020 and 2021, bringing in new employees to help it keep up with an M&A boom. This year was a different story: An eco-

nomie slowdown, war in Europe and rising interest rates triggered a bear market for stocks and a slump in deal making. Morgan Stanley also laid off workers this month, and similar cutbacks have swept through American companies.

Some of the job cuts at Goldman will be part of annual workforce reviews. In most years, Goldman eliminates underperformers during that process, but layoffs were

Please turn to page A4

## Giant Toys Might Break Santa's Back

Parents perplexed by big trucks, 6-foot dollhouse

By KATHRYN HARDISON

Now available: luxurious living at its finest. An entertainer's dream, this move-in ready modern tri-level showstopper features a winding grand staircase, a high-tech security system and nine play areas for the little ones. The bespoke bathroom boasts gold detailing and a shower that changes colors based on temperature settings. Enjoy a girls' night out on the patio, where the festive ambience includes a

Please turn to page A11

## EXCHANGE



**DISNEY DRAMA**  
How Bob Chapek lost his showdown with Bob Iger. **B1**

## Chechen Chief Does Putin's Dirty Work

Ramzan Kadyrov plays a key role in Ukraine

At the start of the war in Ukraine, President Vladimir Putin ordered Chechen leader Ramzan Kadyrov to occupy Kyiv's government quarters and assassinate the

By Thomas Grove  
in Kyiv  
and Evan Gershtovich  
in Moscow

Ukrainian president, Ukrainian intelligence and security officials allege.

When Mr. Putin needed more soldiers on fast-crumbling front lines, the warlord rounded up thousands of men, sometimes forcibly, and sent them in, according

to Chechen residents.

Now, following Russian retreats, Mr. Kadyrov's men are disciplining dejected Russian troops at the front and rooting out alleged spies in occupied Ukrainian territories—sometimes resorting to torture, Ukrainian officials and human-rights organizations say.

Since the start of the invasion, Mr. Putin has relied on ranks of military officers, businessmen and rogue actors to deliver what the Kremlin needs most to sus-

Please turn to page A11

◆ Russian attacks pummel Ukraine infrastructure.....A6

## Risk of Recession Tests Global Outlook

Surveys show easing price pressures in the U.S. and Europe, companies set for cuts

By AUSTEN HUFFORD  
AND PAUL HANNON

Price pressures eased at the end of the year as central banks fought high inflation, businesses in the U.S. and Europe say, though the global economy continued to teeter with the possibility of a recession.

Household demand for goods is weakening across the globe, and factories are cutting production in response. That has taken pressure off supply chains, leading to a downshift in price increases and slowing global trade.

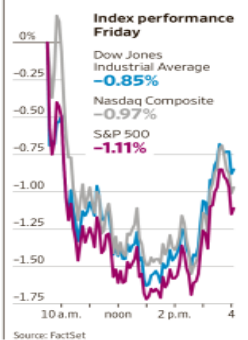
Services activity is also softening, and U.S. businesses in that sector are likewise seeing a modest easing of inflation.

Two big uncertainties surround the outlook for next year: how much further central banks will raise their key interest rates to tame inflation, and how China's economy will perform as Covid-19 controls are relaxed. Slowing global demand has emerged as an issue in Asia, with industrial powerhouses reporting falls in exports during November.

Stock prices fell again Friday as recession fears overtook investors' optimism earlier in the week that

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◆ Poll reveals pessimism on economy in 2023.....A2





## Actor Paul Mescal on movies, mortgages and Marlon Brando



HTSI

## Goldman plans 4,000 job cuts to boost profits

- Axe falls as fees and share price slide
- M&A activity dips after bumper 2021

BROOKE MASTERS — NEW YORK  
STEPHEN MORRIS — LONDON

Goldman Sachs is preparing to lay off as many as 3,900 employees from January as chief executive David Solomon seeks to boost the bank's profitability amid economic headwinds.

The plans are still being drawn up, and the target for a cull of "up to 8 per cent" of its 49,000 global workforce could be slimmed down if the business outlook improves, according to three people familiar with the talks.

Wall Street is contending with sharply reduced dealmaking and capital markets activity after a bumper 2021 that resulted in big hiring surges and large bonuses. Investment banking fees have tumbled 35 per cent in the year to date, according to Refinitiv data.

Goldman is under particular pressure to improve margins because Solomon is trying to boost the bank's stock market valuation, which has lagged behind peers such as Morgan Stanley for years.

The bank announced a significant overhaul in October that included a merger of the investment banking and trading division, as well as pulling back from consumer banking following investor criticism of its losses and costs.

Reducing expenses is essential for the bank after net profits slid 44 per cent in the first nine months of the year, causing

it to fall short of its crucial 14 per cent return on tangible equity target, a measure of profitability. The shares have fallen almost 10 per cent this year.

The job cut talks go well beyond the bank's recently reinstated annual cull of its worst performers, which was paused for two years during the pandemic.

Goldman declined to comment but Solomon hinted at job cuts at the bank's financial services conference last week.

"We continue to see headwinds on our expense lines, particularly in the near term," he said.

"We've set in motion certain expense mitigation plans, but it will take some time to realise the benefits. Ultimately, we will remain nimble and we will size the firm to reflect the opportunity set."

One person familiar with the plans said the cuts would be spread across divisions. Managers are being asked to identify staff to be made redundant before the end of the year. The axe could fall heaviest on the consumer business, where at least 400 positions could be eliminated.

The bank had been on a hiring spree, with employees at the lender jumping from 38,300 in 2019 to 49,100 this year.

The Financial Times revealed this week that Goldman is also preparing to slash the bonus pool for its 3,000 investment bankers by 40 per cent or more.

## Portrait ban Masterpiece deemed too culturally important to leave Britain



A plan by the National Portrait Gallery to acquire 'Portrait of Omai', Joshua Reynolds' 1776 masterpiece, in a deal with the J Paul Getty Museum in California was shelved after a funding body said it was too important to leave Britain under the shared ownership scheme. *Page 2 Henry*

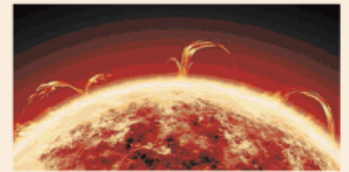
## A perfect little Christmas . . .

Tim Harford  
LIFE & ARTS



## New dawn for 'bottling the sun'

John Thornhill  
OPINION



## France's star striker

Kylian Mbappé  
PERSON IN THE NEWS



## Best Swiss white for the slopes

Jancis Robinson  
LIFE & ARTS



## Suitcases of cash found as EU-Qatar scandal widens

An Italian politician has emerged as a key figure in a probe into allegations that Qatar tried to bribe EU lawmakers, an unprecedented scandal that has shaken Brussels' establishment to the core. Police seized €600,000 in cash at the Brussels home of Pier Antonio Panzeri, above, and €600,000 more was found in the possession of the father of a Greek MEP also charged in the case. Belgian police say that nearly €1.5m in cash has been seized in total. *EU parliament stunned — PAGE 3*

## Norwegian millionaires take flight to low-tax nations as wealth levy bites

RICHARD MILNE — OSLO

More than 50 of the richest Norwegians have fled to Switzerland and other nations in the past year over wealth taxes levied by the centre-left government in Oslo.

Public filings to Norway's population registry show that at least 30 billionaires and millionaires swapped the prosperous Scandinavian nation for the lower-tax Alpine jurisdiction in 2022, including Kjell Inge Røkke, its one-time richest person. Others have moved to countries such as Cyprus, Italy and Canada.

More are likely to follow suit as the rich fret over tax changes they say hurts the country's competitiveness, according to wealthy Norwegians and tax consultants. The latest is Fredrik Haga, the 31-year-old co-founder of \$1bn-valued

cryptocurrency data business Dune who will today register his switch from Norway to Switzerland.

"I had to choose: am I based in Norway or do I want this company to succeed? It's not about not wanting to pay taxes. It's about paying taxes on money I don't have," he told the Financial Times.

At the heart of the debate is Norway's wealth tax levied on all net fortunes greater than Nkr1.7m (\$175,000) at a rate of 1.1 per cent for the richest.

For entrepreneurs such as Haga, most of whose wealth is tied up in his company, the structure of the tax can force them to take out big dividends or even sell part of the business. "I either have to take money out of the company or move," he said.

The group of rich Norwegians who left for Switzerland this year had a combined fortune of Nkr29bn and paid

Nkr550mn in tax, according to the country's open-access annual tax returns. Røkke, who moved to Lugano in September and paid Nkr181mn in tax last year, declined to comment.

Norway's wealth tax has long been a bone of contention for the country's rich. "It distorts Norwegian business in all sorts of ways," said Mathilde Fasting, a tax expert at think-tank Civita. "It forces owners to ask their companies for dividends, sometimes bigger than profits. It substantially increases the will not to invest in companies."

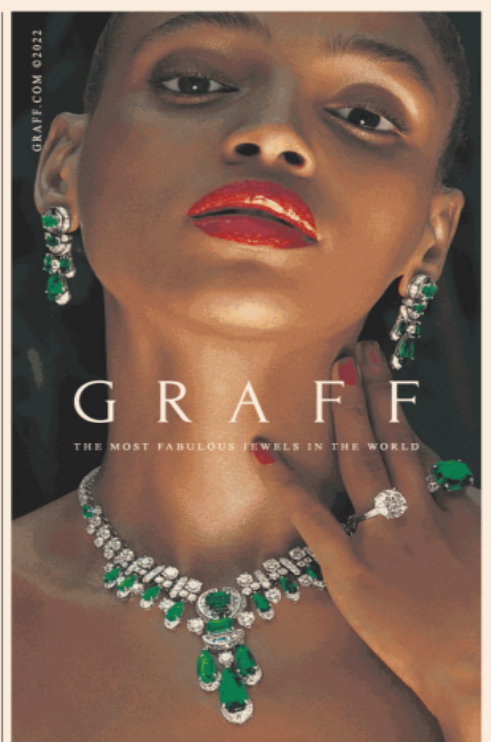
Erlend Trygve Grimstad, state secretary in the finance ministry, said Norway wanted individuals and businesses to thrive but that the richest had to pay more to help maintain the generous welfare state. Norway still has several thousand millionaires, more than many rich nations on a per capita basis, he added.

## World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Dec 16	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Dec 16	Prev	%Chg	Yield (%)	Dec 16	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	3622.86	3685.75	-1.61	\$/£	1.062	1.065	-0.3	US 2 yr	4.23	4.25	-0.02
Nasdaq Composite	10696.98	10819.53	-1.12	\$/€	1.215	1.222	-0.6	US 10 yr	3.51	3.48	0.03
Dow Jones Ind	32725.88	32992.22	-0.83	\$/¥	0.074	0.072	2.8	US 30 yr	3.54	3.48	0.06
FTSEurofirst 300	1678.73	1680.31	-0.09	\$/₹	136.695	137.540	-0.6	UK 2 yr	3.52	3.43	0.09
Euro Stoxx 50	3883.97	3829.70	1.43	\$/₹	166.911	168.947	-1.2	UK 10 yr	3.52	3.24	0.08
FTSE 100	7332.12	7428.17	-1.27	\$/₹	0.990	0.989	0.1	UK 30 yr	3.67	3.65	0.02
FTSE All Share	4010.49	4063.59	-1.31	\$/₹	0.990	0.989	0.1	JPN 2 yr	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01
CAC 40	6452.63	6522.77	-1.08	\$/₹	166.911	168.947	-1.2	JPN 10 yr	0.25	0.25	0.00
Nikkei 225	13893.07	13986.23	-0.67	\$/₹	166.911	168.947	-1.2	JPN 30 yr	1.47	1.42	0.05
Hang Seng	19450.67	19668.59	-0.42	\$/₹	1194.32	1206.60	-0.71	GER 2 yr	2.41	2.36	0.05
MSCI World	2636.91	2705.31	-2.53	\$/₹	1194.32	1206.60	-0.71	GER 10 yr	2.15	2.08	0.07
MSCI EM	810.22	827.88	-2.14	\$/₹	1194.32	1206.60	-0.71	GER 30 yr	1.98	1.88	0.10
MSCI ACWI	5053.46	5183.58	-2.51	\$/₹	1194.32	1206.60	-0.71				
FT Worldview 2500	39454.09	40487.94	-2.51	\$/₹	1194.32	1206.60	-0.71				
FT Worldview 5000	39454.09	40487.94	-2.51	\$/₹	1194.32	1206.60	-0.71				

Prices are latest for edition  
Data provided by Morningstar

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No: 41,200\*

Printed in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin, Frankfurt, Milan, Madrid, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul, Dubai



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## Major Chains For Child Care Earn Big Profit

**During a Shortage, the  
High End Thrives**

By DANA GOLDSTEIN

The prices can rival college tuition: Bright Horizons charges up to \$44,000 a year for child care in Seattle; at KinderCare in Manhattan, it is up to \$40,000.

And the services can be attentive. Parents often receive hourly updates: the exact time a baby dirtied a diaper, the number of raspberries a toddler ate at snack time, photos of 3-year-olds at the playground.

Millions of American families are coping with a child care shortage brought on by the coronavirus pandemic. But one end of the business is thriving: national chains, some charging silver-spoon prices.

That split reality is another marker of how income inequality shapes access to basic necessities like child care, and how it has become harder for lower- and middle-income parents, usually women, to get back into the work force after pandemic disruptions.

And in the debate over how to fix the country's threadbare child care system, the big chains have lobbied and donated to politicians to assert their own interests in Washington. Through a lobbying consortium, they were particularly aggressive in negotiations over President Biden's Build Back Better bill, which ultimately did not pass. The consortium said publicly that it supported the bill's child care proposals, which would have lowered costs for many families. But in lobbying meetings, it argued to policymakers that the bill's numbers did not add up.

The expansion of the chain child care sector as the rest of the industry shrinks means, "You're going to increasingly have the haves and have-nots — child care operating more as a luxury good and less as a public good," said Elliot Hasepl, a child care expert at Capita, a family policy group.

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## The Next Epoch Of Planet Earth Might Be Today

By RAYMOND ZHONG

The official timeline of Earth's history — from the oldest rocks to the dinosaurs to the rise of primates, from the Paleozoic to the Jurassic and all points before and since — could soon include the age of nuclear weapons, human-caused climate change and the proliferation of plastics, garbage and concrete across the planet.

In short, the present. Ten thousand years after our species began forming primitive agrarian societies, a panel of scientists on Saturday took a big step toward declaring a new interval of geologic time: the Anthropocene, the age of humans.

Our current geologic epoch, the Holocene, began 11,700 years ago with the end of the last big ice age. The panel's roughly three dozen scholars appear close to recommending that, actually, we have spent the past few decades in a brand-new time unit, one characterized by human-induced, planetary-scale changes that are unfinished but very much underway.

"If you were around in 1920, your attitude would have been, 'Nature's too big for humans to influence,'" said Colin N. Waters, a

Continued on Page 6



**MASSACRE** Russian soldiers in hospitals described the slaughter of their comrades in Pavlivka, Ukraine.

## PUTIN'S WAR

By Michael Schwartz, Anton Troianovski, Yousuf Al-Hlou, Masha Frolia, Adam Entous and Thomas Gibbons-Neft

Russian soldiers go into battle with little food, few bullets and instructions grabbed off the internet for weapons they barely know how to use. They plod through Ukraine with decades-old maps, or no maps at all. They speak on open cellphone lines, revealing their positions and exposing the incompetence and disarray in their ranks. They have trained at dilapidated bases in Russia, hollowed out by corruption. They are given wildly unrealistic timetables for taking Ukrainian territory and complain of being sent into a "meat grinder."

This is the inside story of historic Russian failures. Interviews, intercepts, documents and secret battle plans show how a "walk in the park" became a catastrophe for Russia.

A TIMES INVESTIGATION | SPECIAL SECTION

**COLLAPSING FRONT** Thousands of poorly trained, under-equipped men were asked to defend a huge swath of northeastern Ukraine. One soldier carried printouts from Wikipedia to learn to use his gun.



**INTERNAL ROT** Russia's military has been gutted by years of corruption and theft. One contractor described frantically disguising deceptitious conditions at a major Russian tank base when top brass visited.



**SHODDY INTELLIGENCE** Soldiers have been using maps like this 1960s-era one found on the battlefield.



**DIVIDED RANKS** Russia's fractured armies, including mercenary groups and foreign troops, answer to President Vladimir V. Putin but are sparring openly, as intercepted phone calls show.

**MISSION DELUSION** Soldiers are given fanciful timetables. Commanders expected tanks to roll into Kyiv within days of the initial invasion, but it took about that long just to cross the border into Ukraine.



Our artillery is shelling our own soldiers.  
Idiots, shooting at their own.  
We're just killing each other here.

## Bonanza for Arms Makers As Military Budget Surges

**Amid Ukraine War and Growing Threats,  
U.S. Plans \$858 Billion in Spending**

This article is by Eric Lipton, Michael Crowley and John Ismay.

**WASHINGTON** — The prospect of growing military threats from both China and Russia is driving bipartisan support for a surge in Pentagon spending, setting up another potential boom for weapons makers that is likely to extend beyond the war in Ukraine.

Congress is on track in the coming week to give final approval to a national military budget for the current fiscal year that is expected to reach approximately \$858 billion — or \$45 billion above what President Biden had requested.

If approved at this level, the Pentagon budget will have grown at 4.3 percent per year over the last two years — even after inflation — compared with an average of less than 1 percent a year in real dollars between 2015 and 2021, according to an analysis by Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments for The New York Times.

Spending on procurement would rise sharply next year, including a 55 percent jump in Army funding to buy new missiles and a 47 percent jump for the Navy's weapons purchases.

On Friday, Jake Sullivan, Mr. Biden's national security adviser, put the buildup in strategic terms, saying the war in Ukraine had exposed shortfalls in the nation's military industrial base that needed to be addressed to ensure the United States is "able to support Ukraine and to be able to deal with contingencies elsewhere in the world."

Lockheed Martin, the nation's largest military contractor, had booked more than \$950 million

worth of its own missile military orders from the Pentagon in part to refill stockpiles being used in Ukraine. The Army has awarded Raytheon Technologies more than \$2 billion in contracts to deliver missile systems to expand or replenish weapons used to help Ukraine.

"We went through six years of Stingers in 10 months," Gregory J. Hayes, Raytheon's chief executive, said in an interview earlier this month, referring to 1,600 of the company's shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles sent by the U.S. government to Ukraine. "So it will take us multiple years to restock and replenish."

But those contracts are just the leading edge of what is shaping up to be a big new defense buildup. Military spending next year is on track to reach its highest level in inflation-adjusted terms since the peaks in the costs of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars between 2008 and 2011, and the second highest in inflation-adjusted terms since World War II — a level that is more than the budgets for the next 10 largest cabinet agencies combined.

Continued on Page 12



DAVID GUTTENBERGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
After sending 1,600 Stinger missiles to Ukrainian forces, the U.S. wants to resupply.

## With Christmas A Sunday, Pews May Be Empty

By RUTH GRAHAM

StoneBridge Christian Church in eastern Nebraska is known locally for hosting a big annual fireworks event, which this fall included 15 food trucks and portable firepits for making s'mores. But it's the Christmas season that is "our Super Bowl," said the church's executive pastor, Mitch Chitwood. This year, the church's four locations in the Omaha area will host four "Jingle Jam" family parties in December and nine services on Christmas Eve, complete with classic carols, Christmas-themed coffee drinks and a festive photo booth in the lobby.

What they will not have is church on Sunday, Dec. 25. On Christmas Day, StoneBridge will offer a simple community breakfast, but no religious services.

"We still believe in the Sunday morning experience, but we have to meet people where they are," Mr. Chitwood said.

And where they are on Christmas Day is usually at home, in their pajamas. This year, church leaders are grappling with what may seem like an odd dilemma: Christmas Day falls on a Sunday for the first time since 2016, and that's a problem.

Christmas is considered by most Christians to be the second-most significant religious holiday of the year, behind Easter. But

Continued on Page 20

## U.S. Scrutinizes Political Money Linked to FTX

By KENNETH P. VOGEL  
and KEN BENSINGER

**WASHINGTON** — Federal prosecutors in Manhattan are seeking information from Democrats and Republicans about donations from the disgraced cryptocurrency entrepreneur Sam Bankman-Fried and two former executives at the companies he co-founded.

In the days after Mr. Bankman-Fried was arrested on Monday and charged with violations including a major campaign finance scheme, the prosecutors reached out to representatives for campaigns and committees that had received millions of dollars from Mr. Bankman-Fried, his colleagues and their companies.

A law firm representing some of the most important Democratic organizations — including the party's official campaign arms, its biggest super PACs and the campaigns of high-profile politicians like Representative Hakeem Jeffries — received an email from a prosecutor in the United States attorney's office for the Southern District of New York. The email sought information about donations from Mr. Bankman-Fried, his colleagues and companies, according to people familiar with the request, who insisted on anonymity to discuss an ongoing law enforcement matter.

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### METROPOLITAN

**Five Boroughs, Many Faiths**  
Take a tour through some of the most spiritually and culturally diverse areas in the world as the city's faithful celebrate their beliefs and heritage. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

**The Emptiest Downtown**  
San Francisco has perhaps the most deserted major downtown in America. Office buildings are at about 40 percent of their prepandemic occupancy. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY STYLES

**Not Taking This Anymore**  
2022 turned out to be the year rage took over, even in previously civilized corners of society like the Oscars, the U.S. Open and Slack. What now? PAGE 12

### SPECIAL SECTION

**Puzzle Mania Is Back**  
The Super Mega crossword is bigger than ever. You'll need extra time to solve the dozens of other puzzles. And don't forget to enter to win \$1,000.

### SUNDAY OPINION

**Thomas L. Friedman** PAGE 4





# SKECHERS

Happy Holidays!



SKECHERS.COM



REMEMBERING P-22



STEVE WINTER/National Geographic

**'HE'S NEVER, EVER GOING TO BE FORGOTTEN'**  
P-22 surprised the world when he made an improbable journey to Griffith Park from the Santa Monica Mountains, traveling through the Hollywood Hills and across two freeways.

## Improbable trek led puma to win Angelenos' hearts

Beloved mountain lion euthanized due to severe injuries

By Laura J. Nelson and James Queally

**M**ountain lion P-22, who lived in the heart of Los Angeles for more than a decade and became the face of an international campaign to save Southern California's threatened pumas, was euthanized Saturday because of several long-term health concerns and injuries that likely stemmed from being hit by a car, officials said.

In a tearful news conference, wildlife biologists described multiple chronic illnesses that may have contributed to the mountain lion's recent uncharacteristic behavior. The big cat of Griffith Park was "compassionately euthanized" at about 9 a.m., officials said. "This really hurts, and I know that," said Chuck Bonham, director of the California Department of Fish and Wildlife. "It's been an incredibly difficult sev-

eral days. And for myself, I've felt the entire weight of the city of Los Angeles."

Officials with the National Park Service and the state's wildlife department decided to capture and evaluate the mountain lion earlier this month after he began to exhibit increasing "signs of distress," including three attacks on dogs in a month and several near-miss encounters with people walking in Los Feliz and Silver Lake.

The big cat was captured Monday in a backyard in Los Feliz, sedated and taken in for medical evaluation. The night before his capture, an anonymous caller had reported a vehicle collision with a mountain lion a few blocks south of Griffith Park, and P-22's radio collar placed him nearby, officials said.

Health exams revealed that [See P-22, A9]

**A CITY MOURNS:** Fans celebrate the life of L.A.'s wildest, most elusive resident. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

COLUMN ONE

## Ukrainian lovers defy the rules of war

By Carolyn Cole  
REPORTING FROM  
KHERSON, UKRAINE

**S**everal weeks before Russian troops captured the provincial capital of Kherson, Ludmila Taranov was scrolling through an online dating site, looking for someone to have coffee with — someone to take her mind off her troubles.

Taranov, 31, was teaching disabled children at a public school, and, with a master's degree in English and Russian, she also taught English on the side. Divorced, she lived with her mother, her sister and brother-in-law, and their infant son. When she wasn't at school, she was taking care of her mother, who'd been ill.

[See Ukraine, A4]



CAROLYN COLE/Los Angeles Times

**LUDMILA TARANOV** and Viacheslav Slavov, both 31, met in Kherson, Ukraine, just five weeks before the Russian invasion. Now they are expecting a baby girl.

A TIMES INVESTIGATION

## YouTube star at center of child labor lawsuit

Abuse claims against mother of 'kidfluencer' reveal a largely unregulated world of social media

By Amy Kaufman and Jessica Galt

Piper Rockelle looks like the kind of girl who'd offer you a seat at her table in the cafeteria. Cute and approachable, with an easy smile. More Fashion Nova than Gucci. IG filled with kittens and her boyfriend.

Her ability to be at once aspirational and relatable has helped attract 10 million subscribers to her YouTube channel, where the 15-year-old social media star has earned up to \$625,000 a month sharing carefully curated snippets of her neon-colored world. Sometimes she sings or dances — she's good but not intimidatingly so. Mostly her fans come for the soapy reality-show fun she has with her friends.

Their group, called the Squad, lip-syncs to bubblegum pop music and documents their pranks (Piper pretends she has amnesia), challenges (becoming a mom for the day!) and crushes (last to stop kissing boyfriend wins \$10,000!). In Piper's universe, there aren't any final exams or broken hearts that can't be fixed with a hug or a trip to the Candy Factory.

That was the case, at least, until January, when a bombshell lawsuit alleged that Piper's life is more "Mommie Dearest" than Mouseketeer. In the suit, 11 former Squad members, including two of her cousins, claimed they were "frequently subjected to an emotionally, [See YouTube, A6]



Photo illustration by ERIK CARTER For The Times

**IMAGES FROM** teen star Piper Rockelle's YouTube channel, which has amassed 10 million subscribers.

## Claims of abuse persist at campus

Cal Maritime cadets say leaders have failed to address widespread hate and harassment.

By Robert J. Lopez  
and Colleen Shalby

MORROW COVE, Calif.

The outrage and frustration had been building for years at California State University's Maritime Academy, an elite training ground for students bound for work on the sea. It reached a peak last year, when student cadets publicly confronted the school's president, a retired rear admiral.

Dozens of cadets gathered on the quad that day to protest what they said was widespread sexual misconduct, racism and hostility toward women and transgender and nonbinary students.

One student told President Thomas Cropper that a male classmate sexually harassed her. Another accused administrators of failing to adequately discipline cadets who exchanged messages disparaging trans people as "fags" and comparing them to a castrated dog.

The reckoning in November 2021 exposed what students have long discussed among themselves at the [See Maritime, A10]

### McCarthy's troubled bid for speaker

He could become first nominee in 100 years unable to win the job on a first-round floor vote. **NATION, A5**

### UC labor deal met with dissent

A group of opponents is mobilizing a statewide campaign urging a no vote on the tentative pact. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

**Weather**  
Turning sunny.  
L.A. Basin: 65/44. **B10**

### Helton overjoyed at USC's success

Bill Plaschke finds the former Trojans coach thriving at Georgia Southern. **SPORTS, D1**

7 85944 10300 9

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*The Nutcracker*  
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**World Cup** Croatia tops Morocco 2-1 for third place. Today's final: France takes on Argentina. **SPORTS**



**Fusion milestone** See how lasers electrified the quest for the ultimate clean energy **PAGE A6**



**Best of 2022** Our highlight reel, from art to music to the big and small screens **ARTS & STYLE**

# The Washington Post

Papers may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington



Sunny; breezy 45/28 • Tomorrow: Breezy 43/29 **C10**

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 18, 2022 • \$5



CARTEL FENTANYL'S DEADLY SURGE

## Three worlds overlap in Tijuana

Addicts, journalists and police navigate a city where synthetic drugs have propelled violence

BY KEVIN SIEFF  
PHOTOGRAPHY BY SALWAN GEORGES

A dried-up canal slices through the heart of Tijuana, a streak of negative space in a city where every other square foot appears to be claimed. The canalization, as people call it, is a place now emblematic of the city's ills, an underworld in plain sight. The headlines are daily: "Another homicide in the canalization." "A boy executed in the canalization, in front of Costco." "More than a thousand people found living in the canalization."

The chaos has spilled outward across Tijuana. There have been 1,900 homicides here this year so far, making it the deadliest city in Mexico. It is a place where language has adapted to new forms of violence, macabre and hyper-specific. The word "encolijado," for instance, a murder victim wrapped in a blanket.

Propelling that violence is a shift in the drug trade. Tijuana has long been a major transit point for illicit goods into the United States: alcohol during Prohibition, waves of

marijuana and cocaine after that. Now it is a city of fentanyl. It is the most prolific trafficking hub into the United States for the drug and, increasingly, a city of users.

It is their lifeless bodies that paramedics find on the streets. They are just as frequently victims of overdoses as violence. The turf war between local drug dealers has provoked a nightly shock of killings.

The crisis has penetrated unlikely parts of Tijuana. Fentanyl labs have been disguised

SEE CARTEL ON A15

Two men in Tijuana, Mexico, are overtaken by the effects of fentanyl right after injecting it. Tijuana, one of the most prolific hubs for trafficking fentanyl into the United States, has increasingly become a city of users.

## War in Ukraine decimates feared Russian brigade

FATE IS SYMBOL OF DERAILED INVASION PLAN

Unit depleted, demoralized and lacking experience

This article is by Greg Miller, Mary Ilyushina, Catherine Belton, Isabelle Khurshudyan and Paul Sonne

HELSINKI — Nuclear-armed submarines slip in and out of the frigid waters along the coast of Russia's Kola Peninsula at the northern edge of Europe. Missiles capable of destroying cities are stored by the dozens in bunkers burrowed into the inland hills.

Since the Cold War, this Arctic arsenal has been protected by a combat unit considered one of Russia's most formidable — the 200th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade — until it sent its best fighters and weapons to Ukraine this year and was effectively destroyed.

The 200th was among the first units to plunge into Ukraine on Feb. 24, as part of a fearsome assault on the city of Kharkiv. By May, the unit was staggering back across the Russian border desperate to regroup, according

to internal brigade documents reviewed by The Washington Post and to previously undisclosed details provided by Ukrainian and Western military and intelligence officials.

A document detailing a mid-war inventory of its ranks shows that by late May, fewer than 900 soldiers were left in two battalion tactical groups that, according to Western officials, had departed the brigade's garrison in Russia with more than 1,400. The brigade's commander was badly wounded. And some of those still being counted as part of the unit were listed as hospitalized, missing or "refuseniks" unwilling to fight, according to the document, part of a trove of internal Russian military files obtained by Ukraine's security services and provided to The Post.

The brigade's collapse in part reflected the difficulty of its assignment in the war and the valiant performance of Ukraine's military. But a closer examination of

SEE RUSSIA ON A10



PANEL LVON/SPUTNIK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Members of Russia's 200th Separate Motor Rifle Brigade take part in February 2021 drills for an Arctic expedition.

## Pediatric bed shortage developed over decades

Surge of RSV, flu and covid overtaxes facilities that had cut capacity

BY CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND, DAN KEATING AND DANIEL GILBERT

Segura Nino had spent 10 sleepless hours in a suburban Houston emergency room with her 3-month-old son when she boarded a medical helicopter to Corpus Christi, 200 miles away. Nino was told that Houston, a city renowned for its world-class health system, did not have a bed for one more baby with RSV.

"It's crazy to have to go to another city to get care for your child," Nino, 29, said a few days later, after Maleek had come home, his breathing back to normal.

Stories like Maleek's have played out across the United States this season as hospitals have strained under the load of RSV infections and, more recently, influenza and the coronavirus. Infants and children have been transported out of their home cities and even to other states to find care. Emergency rooms overflow. Hospitals set up triage tents outside for RSV patients. Families

endure excruciating waits — for many hours and even days — for children to be placed in pediatric hospital beds.

Yet the shortage of beds across the United States is not simply the result of a deluge of sick children. Over the past two decades, hospital systems across the country have whittled down the supply of pediatric beds, which lose money because they often are unoccupied. Even when they are occupied by sick children, pediatric beds generate less revenue for hospitals than do adult beds, medical experts say.

The number of hospitals offering pediatric services in the United States plunged by nearly one-third from 2000 to 2022, The Washington Post found in a review of federal health records.

More than 3,500 hospitals provided pediatric specialists in 2000, but this year, only 2,412 said they do, a decline of 32 percent, according to a Washington Post analysis of data gathered by the U.S. Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services. The data includes hospitals that eliminated pediatric services and hospitals that went out of business altogether.

Another measure — the number of pediatric inpatient beds — tells a similar story. The total number of such beds nationwide

SEE HOSPITALS ON A24



JOSHUA LOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

The Colorado River flows through Marble Canyon in northern Arizona. In the past two decades, Colorado River basin states have taken more water out of the river than it has produced.

## As the Colorado recedes, stakes rise

Water managers debate historic cuts amid disaster warnings for the river

BY JOSHUA PARTLOW

LAS VEGAS — The water managers responsible for divvying up the Colorado River's dwindling supply are painting a bleak portrait of a river in crisis, warning that unprec-

edented shortages could be coming to farms and cities in the West and that old rules governing how water is shared will have to change.

State and federal authorities say that years of overconsumption are colliding with the stark

realities of climate change, pushing Colorado River reservoirs to such dangerously low levels that the major dams on the river could soon become obstacles to delivering water to millions in the Southwest.

SEE RIVER ON A12

## Ex-FTX CEO ready to 'face the music,' official says

BY PAULINA VILLEGAS

Sam Bankman-Fried, the disgraced and indicted former cryptocurrency executive, spends his days in a Bahamian jail watching movies and reading news articles about himself, holding out a sliver of hope that he will be granted bail and soon leave, according to a prison official who interacts with him on a regular basis.

Bankman-Fried might also soon decide to give up fighting extradition and allow himself to be brought to the United States to face charges, the official said.

Days after he arrived at the prison known as Fox Hill, Bankman-Fried remains in "good spirits" in the facility's sick bay, where he has been undergoing a medical evaluation for several days, and he has expressed confidence that his lawyers will persuade a judge to grant him bail after their first attempt failed, said the official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to speak to the media.

But if the lawyers' efforts at bail were to fail, Bankman-Fried would then waive his right to fight extradition and go back to

SEE BANKMAN-FRIED ON A8

ARTS ..... E3  
BOOK WORLD ..... E2  
BUSINESS ..... E1

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EDITORIALS/LETTERS ..... A27

LOTTERIES ..... G3  
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STOCKS ..... G6

TRAVEL ..... F1  
WEATHER ..... G10  
WORLD NEWS ..... A22

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# USA TODAY WEEKEND

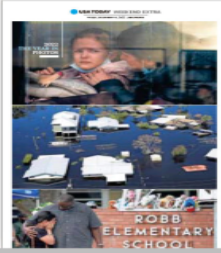
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STUDIOS

## Cameron bets on sequel

Director returns to  
Hollywood to confront  
"shadow" of his epic  
"Avatar" success.  
**In Life**



## 2022 photos: Beauty – and chaos

At home and overseas,  
there were tears and  
tragedy, but there was  
also reason to celebrate.  
**In Weekend Extra**



DAVID CLOUSE WAITS FOR HIS BAGGAGE.  
SARAH PHIPPS/USA TODAY NETWORK

## Flying? Prepare to be patient

USA TODAY analysis  
shows which airports  
have had most flight  
cancellations around  
holidays. **In Money**

# Seeing climate change's effects

How the global crisis  
disrupts our lives daily

**Dinah Voyles Pulver**  
USA TODAY

Climate change makes splashy headlines when protesters hurl soup at priceless paintings or devastating floods wash through communities, but the impacts of warmer temperatures are also increasingly disrupting daily life.

Take a walk or ride a bike. Book a ski trip or attend an outdoor sporting event. Visit a big city or a cottage in the country. Chances are increasing that no matter what choice you make, you'll feel the effects of the warming climate.

Fall leaf peeping happens earlier. High school football teams take special precautions to keep kids cool. Inner cities set up chill zones to help protect citizens from heat waves.

See **CLIMATE**, Page 3A



Heat kills more people each year in the U.S. than floods or hurricanes.

JENNA WATSON/USA TODAY NETWORK

# Parkinson's prevalence 150% of prior estimates

**Karen Weintraub**  
USA TODAY

Parkinson's disease strikes nearly 90,000 older Americans a year, 30,000 more than was previously estimated, according to a study published Thursday.

Incidence rates differed across the country. States with higher rates of older residents saw more diagnoses of the disease, whose risk typically increases with age, but so did some "Rust Belt" states in the Northeast and Midwest that have a history of heavy industry manufacturing.

Increasing rates of Parkinson's and the cost of treatments and lost income means everyone will be touched by the disease either directly or indirectly, said Dr. Michael Okun, chair of neuro-

See **PARKINSON'S**, Page 5A



TCU QB Max Duggan runs the ball against West Virginia on Oct. 29 in Morgantown. BEN QUEEN/USA TODAY SPORTS

# TCU's redemption leads bowl storylines

College football mania has something for everyone

**Erick Smith**  
USA TODAY

The 2022 college football was full of surprises and disappointments and highs and lows among the 131 teams competing in the Bowl Subdivision. Four made the College Football Playoff. Another eight reached the New Year's Six games, and 82 have scheduled dates in the postseason.

The extravaganza starts Friday and for three weeks there will be wall-to-wall games culminating in the playoff semifinals and the national championship game. There's new blood in the final four and some familiar faces.



Coach Lance Leipold, in his second season with Kansas, led the Jayhawks to their first bowl berth since 2007.

JAY BIGGERSTAFF/USA TODAY SPORTS

The same is true in the other major bowls and throughout the rest of the bowl lineup. There's something for everyone.

The best storylines from this year's postseason to keep you busy into the New Year:

## Redemption for TCU

In the first season of the playoff, the Horned Frogs entered the final weekend ranked No. 3. They then dropped three spots and missed the semifinals despite overwhelmingly beating Iowa State. It would have been understandable

See **BOWL MANIA**, Page 6A

# Double launches could be record

SpaceX plans 2 liftoffs potentially less than 35 minutes apart. 2A



## O3b mPower 1 and 2 satellites

A SpaceX Falcon 9 rocket will launch the O3b mPower 1 and 2 satellites for Luxembourg satellite operator SES. The satellites are primarily designed to provide internet connectivity.

**Company/Agency:**  
SpaceX for SES

**Location:** Pad40 at Cape Canaveral Space Force Station

**Launch time:**  
4:21-5:49 p.m. EST Friday

## Watch it live

Find coverage  
before liftoff at  
[usatoday.com](http://usatoday.com).

## Starlink satellites

A SpaceX Falcon 9 rocket will launch a batch of the company's internet-beaming Starlink satellites to orbit.

**Company/Agency:**  
SpaceX Starlink internal mission

**Location:** Pad39-A at Kennedy Space Center

**Launch time:**  
4:54-5:13 p.m. EST Friday

The SES O3b mPower 1 and 2 satellites for Luxembourg satellite operator SES are seen during payload integration into the protective SpaceX Falcon 9 payload fairing. SPACEX/SES



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LA NACION  
REVISTAZelensky, la gran  
figura de un año  
marcado por la guerra

TEXTO — por Juan José Sebreli

WATEKE, UNA GRAN  
CITA CON EL ARTE Y LA  
GASTRONOMÍA

—sociedad

Vicentino fue uno de los puntos fuertes del festival que convoca a miles de familias en el Hipódromo de Palermo; más de cien artistas en escena. **Página 27**SOSPECHAS DETRÁS  
DEL CRIMEN DE UN  
JOVEN DESAPARECIDO

—seguridad

Piden apartar a la policía bonaerense por el extraño caso de Florencio Varela; sigue la búsqueda de un amigo de Lautaro Morello, que apareció calcinado. **Página 29**

## LA NACION

DOMINGO 18 DE DICIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

QATAR 2022



# Por la gloria

## Argentina va por su tercera copa del mundo

DOHA (De nuestros enviados).— Es la final perfecta, de ensueño. La que se hubiera firmado antes de empezar el torneo. El país que tiene al mejor, la Argentina y Lionel Messi, contra el campeón mundial, Francia, y Kylian Mbappé. El momento que siempre deseó el equipo de Lionel Scaloni está ahí, al alcance de su mano. La posibilidad de terminar con 36 años de dilaciones y frustraciones. Y en las horas finales la espera acrecienta una ansiedad inmensa, propia de la intensidad con la que el país vivió esta Copa del

Mundo. Con más pasión que nunca, con más ansias y hambre de victoria de lo que jamás se había visto, desde las 12 (las 18 en Qatar), la selección buscará un triunfo de esos memorables en el estadio Lusail, de Doha.

Para cualquiera de los dos, será el tercer título mundial. El campeón se llevará, además, un premio de 42 millones de dólares, y el finalista, 30.

Scaloni no confirmó el equipo. Podría entrar Lisandro Martínez, para una defensa de 5, o Di María, en un sistema 4-4-2. **Deportes Mundial**

## ESCENARIOS

Juan Manuel Trenado

El sueño de todos, para cortar 36 años de sequía  
**Página 2**

Federico Águila

El calvario de las entradas hasta último momento  
**Página 8**

## ENFOQUES

Francia no es invencible  
y no tiene solo a MbappéJavier Zanetti  
**Página 3**La cabeza de Messi  
y Messi en la cabezaAndrés Elieche  
**Página 5**Croacia y su  
orgullo para  
meterse otra vez  
en el podio  
**Página 9**La guerra fría del  
vestuario de PSG  
promete chispazos  
**Página 6**

Argentina vs. Francia — TV PÚBLICA (CV 11 HD - DTV 1121 HD), DIRECTV SPORTS (610/1610 HD) Y TYC SPORTS (CV 22/101 HD - DTV 1629 HD)



Hinchas argentinos, ayer, en el último y multitudinario banderazo en las calles de Doha, antes de la final

MATÍAS BOELA/ENVIADO ESPECIAL

# El oficialismo se reparte entre Massa y De Pedro

ELECCIONES. Uno es apoyado por el PJ; el otro, por los K

Después del desconcierto que generó la autoexclusión electoral de Cristina Kirchner, el Frente de Todos empezó a moverse para identificar a los posibles postulantes del oficialismo. Aunque todo es muy incipiente aún, se percibe que entre

los gobernadores y los gremialistas la figura que ven con más proyección es la de Sergio Massa. El kirchnerismo, en tanto, resolvió tener un candidato propio en la grilla, y en principio hay señales que favorecen a Wado de Pedro. **Página 12**

## ANÁLISIS

La olla a  
presión del  
peronismo  
unido

Martín Rodríguez Yebra

—LA NACION—

**Página 14**¿Alberto hará  
como Videla  
o como  
Alfonsín?

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

**Página 35**

# Boluarte busca resistir y presiona al Congreso por las elecciones

PERÚ. La presidenta exigió  
adelantar los comicios  
y descartó renunciar.**Página 4**





Kylian Mbappé (à esq.), 23, e Lionel Messi, 35, durante treino; artilheiros da Copa com 5 gols cada, astros são a esperança de França e Argentina para a final. Kirill Kudryavtsev/AFP e Paul Childs/Reuters



## A. Schwartzman

**Canto de Haddad até agora não seduziu ninguém**

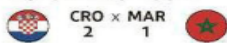
Não é surpresa que o mercado não se encante com as promessas do futuro ministro. Não basta proferir "novo arcabouço fiscal" três vezes a cada discurso. Ato, não palavras, trará controle do gasto, ausência até agora. **Opinião A3**

## copa 2022 ■

**Mbappé e companhia e Messi maradoniano duelam pelo tri**

Enquanto a França supera desfalques e conta com a inteligência de Griezmann e o brilho de Mbappé, a Argentina aposta no incansável De Paul e no inspirado Messi para a final da Copa. Em jogo, o tricampeonato mundial. **P.1**

DISPUTA DE 3º LUGAR



FINAL



**Croácia (3º) e Marrocos (4º) vão a novo patamar**

P.4

**Colunistas da Folha elegem a seleção do torneio**

P.6

## Antonio Prata

**Festa de argentinos com 'abuela' na rua é das coisas que fazem a vida ter graça**

B2

# Lula soma entraves políticos a 2 semanas de voltar ao Planalto

Presidente eleito precisa concluir montagem da Esplanada e garantir, no Congresso, recursos para promessas eleitorais

Faltando duas semanas para a posse, o presidente eleito, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), terá de correr para concluir a montagem do governo e garantir, no Congresso, fontes de recursos para promessas de campanha. Entre elas, a manutenção dos R\$ 600 mensais do Bolsa Família e o reajuste do mínimo.

O principal impasse é a aprovação da PEC da Gastança. As negociações patinam em meio a disputas por ministérios — serão 37, disse ontem o futuro ministro Rui Costa (Casa Civil) — e incertezas sobre as emendas de relator, sob análise de constitucionalidade em julgamento no Supremo.

Para consolidação da base aliada, o petista terá também que acomodar em seu ministério legendas como MDB, PSD e União Brasil.

No entanto, ele ainda não encerrou as conversas com apoiadores de primeira hora, como PC do B, PV e até mesmo o PSB de seu vice, Geraldo Alckmin. **Política A4**



Nélida Piñon em junho deste ano. Eduardo Anizelli/Folhapress

## Escritora Nélida Piñon morre aos 85 anos em Lisboa

Autora, cuja causa da morte não foi informada, foi a primeira mulher a presidir a Academia Brasileira de Letras (ABL), em 1996. Premiada, a escritora era um dos nomes mais internacionais da literatura brasileira. **Ilustrada B4**

## Morre em SP, aos 78, o jornalista Carlos Brickmann

Internado desde outubro, o jornalista não resistiu a quadro infeccioso. Em 59 anos de carreira, trabalhou na Folha por quase 30 em três períodos. Foi o primeiro repórter a cobrir a campanha das Diretas Já pelo jornal. **Cotidiano B4**



Mathilde Missionero/Folhapress

## ENSINO INTEGRAL EMPURRA ALUNOS PARA O NOTURNO

Gustavo Pontes, 17, trabalha em tecelagem em Mira Estrela (SP); assim como outros alunos, ele não frequenta o ensino integral de sua cidade — a única opção — porque precisa ajudar nas contas de casa e, por isso, viaja mais de 40 km para estudar no período noturno. **Cotidiano B1**

## ENTREVISTA

**Rodrigo Garcia**  
**Deixei caixa para Tarcísio, e petista vai mal com gastos**

Último tucano de quase 30 anos, o governador diz que deixa São Paulo com R\$ 30 bilhões para sucessor, Tarcísio de Freitas (Republicanos), e que o presidente eleito promove "gastança desenfreada". **Política A15**

**José H. Mariante**  
**Folha, Janio e a gastança**

Colunista é repórter ou deveria sê-lo em espírito. A Folha tem muitos, e a maioria não é. Agora tem um a menos. Janio de Freitas, colunista e repórter sênior deste jornal por excelência, foi dispensado após 42 anos de casa. **Política A6**

## Venezuela demanda um Brasil parceiro, diz governo Biden

Um dos principais formuladores de políticas para o Brasil sob Joe Biden, Ricardo Zúñiga diz à Folha que a eleição de uma "autoridade legítima" na Venezuela é de interesse mútuo e que é importante Brasília e Washington trabalhem juntos para isso. Lula anunciou que reatara relações com Caracas. **Mundo A16**

**Marilene Felinto**  
**Literatura consiste em inventar um povo que falta**

Marilene Felinto deixa de escrever sua coluna na 'Ilustríssima'

**Cobertura das eleições pela Folha é aprovada por 83% de seus leitores**

A10

## EDITORIAIS A2

**Ensaio de acordo**  
Sobre o arranjo para manter as emendas de relator.

**Saúde online**  
Acerca da lei que autoriza a telemedicina no SUS.





En 8 meses no fue abordada por las cámaras  
**Ley para evitar despilfarro  
en años electorales está  
cajoneada en el Legislativo**

PÁGINA 13

Repuntó entre agosto y octubre  
**Consumo de los hogares  
se recupera, pero aún  
acumula cifras negativas**

PÁGINA 12

Mercurio, 6 veces más que lo permitido  
**Paso Yobái: Oro para unos  
pocos, agua contaminada  
para todos los pobladores**

PÁGINAS 22 y 23

Cómplices del usurero siguen impunes  
**Ministerio Público ignora  
instrucción del Tribunal  
que condenó a RGD**

PÁGINA 54

## DOMINGO

La fusión nuclear replica lo  
que ocurre en las estrellas  
para producir energía limpia

PÁGINA 52

SENTI Qatar  
HOY FINAL  
12:00 HS  
EN VIVO  
Argentina VS Francia  
Copa del Mundo 2022

En el tramo final hubo llamado al voto responsable

## Partidos eligen a sus candidatos para las generales del 2023

Las chapas presidenciales de la ANR y la Concertación son  
los cargos más codiciados. Se presentan 77.481 precan-  
didatos, de los cuales 73.204 son colorados.

PÁGINA 2 a la 10

**Hoy se  
conoce  
la mejor  
selección  
del mundo**

Qatar 2022. Lionel Messi y Ky-  
lian Mbappé liderarán, por el tri-  
campeonato, a sus selecciones  
en la final de la Copa del Mundo.

PÁGINA 64

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## LE FIGARO

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



**NOËL**  
LE BEAU SAPIN RESTE  
LE ROI DE LA FÊTE PAGE 30

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19 DÉCEMBRE 1978, CE JOUR  
OÙ LA FRANCE A ÉTÉ  
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Perrault  
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**FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question  
de vendredi :**  
L'équipe de France  
sera-t-elle sacrée  
championne du monde  
face à l'Argentine ?

**OUI 69% NON 31%**

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 238 421

**Votez aujourd'hui  
sur lefigaro.fr**  
Didier Deschamps doit-il  
rester sélectionneur  
de l'équipe de France ?

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# Argentine-France : une finale/trois étoiles

Lionel Messi et Kylian Mbappé se défient dans un duel de géants, en finale de la Coupe du monde, ce dimanche au Qatar. En jeu : un troisième sacre pour leurs pays respectifs. PAGES 2 À 8

## Le montant de la dette française atteint un nouveau record

Le mur symbolique des 3 000 milliards se rapproche : la dette française s'est encore accrue de 40 milliards d'euros au troisième trimestre 2022, pour atteindre

2 956,8 milliards. En Europe, la France se classe dans la queue du peloton, derrière l'Italie et la Grèce, en matière d'endettement. PAGES 22, 23 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

**ÉDITORIAL** par Gaëtan de Capèle gdecapelle@lefigaro.fr

## Merci, les enfants !

Elle court, elle court, la dette. Année après année, mois après mois, jour après jour, la montagne grossit pour tutoyer désormais les 3 000 milliards d'euros. Le retour de l'inflation, se consolent les experts du ministère des Finances, allège temporairement son poids relatif sur l'économie. Le montant n'en est pas moins vertigineux. Il témoigne d'une dérive ininterrompue des comptes publics, qui place la France dans le Club Med de l'Europe, plus réputé pour son ensoleillement que pour la qualité de sa gestion. Au sein de l'Union européenne, cet affaiblissement financier a un coût politique exorbitant, singulièrement dans notre rapport de force avec l'Allemagne. Que nous discussions d'industrie, de défense ou d'énergie, Berlin ne manque jamais une occasion de nous renvoyer à nos devoirs budgétaires. Le gouffre de la dette hypothèque aussi notre souveraineté, en nous plaçant plus que jamais dans la main des marchés financiers. Sans ces créanciers internationaux que l'on aime tant détester en France, l'État ne serait plus en mesure de payer ses fonctionnaires à partir de l'automne. Prions pour que l'avenir nous

épargne une crise financière comme nous en avons connu il y a dix ans seulement. Invoquer les chocs successifs du Covid et de la crise énergétique est un peu court pour justifier pareille situation. Le gigantesque endettement de la France résulte avant tout d'un laxisme qui conduit tous les gouvernements, de droite comme de gauche, à présenter des budgets en déficit depuis cinquante ans. Loin de l'« ultralibéralisme » que certains dépeignent, nous vivons dans un socialisme douillet, où tout commence et tout finit à l'abri de l'État. En renonçant à tout effort – sauf l'impôt, cette autre exception française qui écrase déjà les entreprises comme les ménages –, nous reportons sur la jeunesse la facture de nos lâchetés. Merci, les enfants ! Aujourd'hui, chaque petit Français naît avec dans son berceau une dette d'environ 50 000 euros. En nous réfugiant dans la vie à crédit, nous leçons de manière irréparable l'avenir des prochaines générations. ■

Chaque petit Français naît avec 50 000 euros de dette



## Rencontre avec le juge qui lutte contre la corruption au Parlement européen

Michel Claise, devenu le juge d'instruction le plus connu d'Europe, a fait implorer le Parlement européen en provoquant le « Qatargate ». Il a fait écrouer sa vice-présidente, soupçonnée

d'avoir été payée par Doha pour défendre les intérêts de l'émirat. Il revient sur la lutte contre la délinquance en col blanc, une « gigantesque guerre économique souterraine ». PAGE 12

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