

## What's News

## Business &amp; Finance

**Wells Fargo** reached a \$3.7 billion deal with regulators to resolve allegations that it harmed more than 16 million people with deposit accounts, auto loans and mortgages. **A1**

◆ **Musk** said he still planned to step down as Twitter CEO after casting doubt on a poll he initiated that ended up calling for him to cede the top job. **B1**

◆ **The NFL** is in advanced talks on a deal with Google's YouTube, part of Alphabet, for exclusive rights to "NFL Sunday Ticket." **B1**

◆ **3M** said it would stop making so-called forever chemicals and cease using them by the end of 2025, as criticism and litigation grow over their alleged health and environmental impact. **B1**

◆ **Zuckerberg** took the witness stand in a case in which the FTC is seeking to prevent Meta from acquiring a virtual-reality startup. **B1**

◆ **Amazon** agreed to settle two EU antitrust cases related to allegations about its treatment of third-party sellers on its platform. **B4**

◆ **The EU's** antitrust watchdog said it would open an investigation into Broadcom's planned \$61 billion acquisition of VMware. **B4**

◆ **U.S. stocks** edged higher, with the S&P 500, Dow and Nasdaq gaining 0.1%, 0.3% and 0.01%, respectively. **B13**

◆ **An activist shareholder** has accumulated a stake in Six Flags Entertainment and is pushing the theme-park operator to sell or spin off its real estate. **B2**

## World-Wide

◆ **A House panel** voted to release Trump's tax returns, capping a long legal and political fight. The committee released reports and some documents that revealed details about Trump's tax returns and audits Tuesday, and a full set of tax documents is expected to become public in subsequent days. **A1**

◆ **Putin** acknowledged that there are serious challenges facing Moscow's troops in Ukraine, and ordered domestic-security forces to tighten their checks on Russians at home, as the Kremlin appears to gird for what is likely to be a long conflict. **A1**

◆ **Congress** is on the verge of approving a bill that aims to help Americans save more for retirement and leave their retirement savings untouched and untaxed for longer. **A1**

◆ **The \$1.65 trillion** spending bill for fiscal 2023 unveiled Tuesday includes sharp increases in military and domestic funding, with lawmakers facing a sprint to pass the measure before Christmas. **A4**

◆ **White House** economic officials are considering a renewed push for a suite of policies aimed at luring more Americans back to work, including enhanced child-care and eldercare benefits. **A2**

◆ **A 6.4-magnitude** earthquake struck along a section of Northern California's coast, causing widespread damage and power outages in Humboldt County. **A3**

◆ **Afghanistan's Taliban** government banned women from attending universities. **A9**

**CONTENTS** Personal Journal A1-12  
Arts in Review... A13  
Business News... B3  
Sports... A4  
Crossword... A4  
Technology... B4  
Health on Street... B14  
U.S. News... A2-4  
Markets... B13  
Weather... A4  
Opinion... A15-17  
World News... B7-9



© 2022 Dow Jones & Company, Inc.  
All Rights Reserved

## Zelensky Visits the Front Line as Trip to Washington Is Set



**IN HAND:** Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky made an unannounced visit to the front-line city of Bakhmut on Tuesday, rallying troops as Russian President Vladimir Putin acknowledged obstacles in the war. Mr. Zelensky, in his first trip outside Ukraine since the war began, is set to address Congress and meet with President Biden in Washington on Wednesday. **A7**

## Putin Admits Situation in Ukraine 'Extremely Difficult'

By ANIR M. SIMMONS

MOSCOW—Russian President Vladimir Putin acknowledged that there are serious challenges facing Moscow's troops in Ukraine, and ordered domestic-security forces to tighten their checks on Russians at home, as the Kremlin appears to gird for what is likely to be a long conflict.

Mr. Putin made a rare admission Tuesday that the war in Ukraine—where Russian

forces have suffered stinging setbacks since the summer—is facing obstacles. He said there are difficulties in the Ukrainian territories that the Kremlin has illegally claimed as Russian land.

In September, the Kremlin staged referendums in Russian-controlled Luhansk and areas of Donetsk, Kherson and Zaporizhzhia. It then declared that Moscow annexed those regions, despite Russian forces only controlling parts of them.

In video comments published Tuesday, marking Security Workers Day—a special holiday for employees in that sector—Mr. Putin described the situation in those territories as “extremely difficult.”

Moscow previously sought to play down problems with Russia's offensive in Ukraine, with the Kremlin's propaganda machine, casting battlefield retreats as a necessary step to regroup and prevent an unnecessary loss of Russian forces.

In September, Mr. Putin ordered what he called a “partial mobilization” of 300,000 draftees, arguing that the move—unpopular among most Russians, polls show—was needed to defend Russia's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Kremlin leader acknowledged difficulties in the recently seized territories could be a strategy to prepare the Russian population for a protracted war or laying the

Please turn to page A7

## Bond Yields Rise on BOJ Move

After the Bank of Japan lifted its cap on the 10-year government bond, yields rose and the yen strengthened. **A8**

## 10-year government bond yields



Note: Eastern time

## Wells Fargo to Pay Record Fine In \$3.7 Billion Settlement Deal

By BEN EISEN

Wells Fargo & Co. reached a \$3.7 billion deal with regulators to resolve allegations that it harmed more than 16 million people with deposit accounts, auto loans and mortgages.

The settlement with the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau includes a \$1.7 billion penalty, the agency's largest-ever fine, and more than \$2 billion in consumer restitution, the regulator said Tuesday.

The consumer watchdog agency said the bank illegally

assessed fees and interest charges on loans for cars and homes. Some consumers had their vehicles illegally repossessed while others had overdraft fees unlawfully applied, the agency said.

Wells Fargo's regulatory troubles continue to ripple through the bank more than six years after its fake account scandal burst into public view. At the time, regulators alleged that Wells Fargo executives focused so heavily on meeting lofty sales goals that they pressured low-level employees to open unauthorized accounts. Other problems later

surfaced across the San Francisco-based bank, including in its lending and deposit-taking businesses.

The CFPB settlement resolves a major penalty hanging over Wells Fargo but leaves it handcuffed by other regulators. The Federal Reserve has had a cap on the bank's asset growth in place for nearly five years. Politicians continue to target the bank, and investors have filed a series of class-action lawsuits.

"Wells Fargo is a corporate recidivist," said CFPB Director. Please turn to page A2

## Unwanted Treats Are Back at Work

Offices fill up with diet-busting holiday goodies

By RAY A. SMITH

Matthew Price, a corporate security guard in Danbury, Conn., has lately gotten a taste of what he doesn't miss about the office during the holidays: unsolicited cookies, cupcakes and other treats employees drop off at his desk.

Last year, the pastry pile was much smaller, when fewer people were coming in due to Covid-19, says Mr. Price, who is typically stationed at the office building entrance. But as more commuters return this season, so have the sugary treats that Mr. Price sometimes dreads. Certain givers, he says, wildly overestimate their baking skills.

"I always accept them and Please turn to page A10

## Drug Discounts Aimed at Needy Boost Hospitals

Through federal program, some nonprofits pay low prices, sell to patients for more

A decades-old federal program that offered big drug discounts to a small number of hospitals to help low-income patients now benefits

By Anna Wilde Mathews, Paul Overberg, Joseph Walker and Tom McGinty

some of the most successful nonprofit health systems in the U.S.

Under the program, hospitals buy drugs at reduced prices and sell them to patients and their insurers for much more, often at facilities in affluent communities.

One participant is the Cleveland Clinic's flagship

hospital, which reported \$1.35 billion in net income last year. The hospital doesn't admit enough Medicaid and low-income Medicare patients to qualify for the program's original requirements. But a quirk in the law allowed for hospitals to qualify as a "rural referral center," despite its location near the center of Cleveland.

Despite the benefits, the program hasn't resulted in new drug discounts for low-income Cleveland Clinic patients, nor has it caused the hospital to increase the financial assistance it offers to those who can't afford care.

Please turn to page A10

## Changes Move Ahead For Retirement Plans

By ANNE TERGESSEN AND RICHARD RUBIN

Congress is on the verge of passing a bill that aims to help Americans save more for retirement and leave their retirement savings untouched and untaxed for longer.

The bill nearing approval raises the age people are required to start withdrawing money from tax-deferred retirement accounts to 75 from 72. It increases retirement savings contribution limits for older workers and provides an increased incentive to people with low and moderate incomes to save in retirement accounts. It also paves the way for more employers to offer emergency savings accounts inside 401(k) plans.

Congress, which published final details of the bill on Tuesday, is expected to pass the measure in the next few days as part of a larger year-end spending bill. President Biden is expected to sign it soon after.

Lawmakers have been writing and negotiating the

changes to America's retirement system for several years in response to an aging U.S. population. Also driving the need for changes, say lawmakers and many investment professionals, is that more employers have shifted responsibility for retirement savings to individuals. Roughly half of American households aren't saving enough to sustain their standards of living after retirement, according to Boston College's Center for Retirement Research.

The bipartisan retirement measure builds on retirement-policy changes enacted in 2019 that, among other things, raised the age people were required to start withdrawing money from retirement accounts to 72 from 70½.

**Postpones required minimum distributions**

The new legislation raises that age again, from 72 to 73. Please turn to page A4

◆ Deal is set on \$1.65 trillion spending bill... A4





Will green rules spawn zombie office blocks?  
BIG READ, PAGE 13

There were glints of light in a year to forget  
MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 15

## 'Superhuman' Zelenskyy hails troops

Volodymyr Zelenskyy, left, hands out the State Award to a soldier yesterday during a ceremony for Ukrainian servicemen in the eastern city of Bakhmut. Ukraine's president hailed the "superhuman" troops during a surprise visit to the frontline city. He urged them to maintain morale as the boom of artillery sounded in the distance. "Motivate those who are near you, those who might be weaker," Zelenskyy said.

At the same time, Russia's president Vladimir Putin made a rare admission of his country's challenges in the near 10-month war.

In a video message to his security services, he said the situation in four Russian-occupied regions of Ukraine was "extremely complicated", and urged them to intensify efforts to identify "traitors, spies and diversionists". "Extremely complicated" page 2  
Constance Stelzenmüller page 15



Ukraine presidency/AP

# Bank of Japan policy rethink sends shockwaves across global markets

◆ Surprise yield curve shift ◆ Big jump in yen ◆ Traders see 'pivot' point ◆ Kuroda plays down move

KANA INAGAKI AND LEO LEWIS — TOKYO

The Bank of Japan surprised investors with a change to a core tenet of its monetary policy, sending shockwaves across the currency, bond and equity markets. Traders described an adjustment to its longstanding yield curve control measures as potentially marking a "pivot" by the BoJ, the last of the leading central banks to stick to an ultra-loose monetary regime.

"We view this decision as a major surprise, as we had expected any widening of the tolerable band to be made under the new BoJ leadership from spring next year, similar to the market," said Naohiko Baba, chief Japan economist at Goldman Sachs.

The yen jumped more than 4 per cent

to about ¥131.2 against the US dollar in New York trading, while Japan's Topix equity index fell 1.5 per cent. The 10-year Japanese government bond yield surged by its most in almost two decades, reaching a high of 0.47 per cent. The BoJ move ricocheted across other big markets. The US 10-year Treasury yield rose 0.11 percentage points to 3.69 per cent, while the equivalent UK gilt yield increased by a similar margin to 3.6 per cent. Yields rise when prices fall.

**Lex.**

The move is the boldest step Kuroda has taken after years of criticism, and only when he has one foot out the door

Page 16

BoJ governor Haruhiko Kuroda denied that the adjustment amounted to a tightening of monetary policy, stressing that the central bank would not scrap its yield target.

Japan's increasingly extreme outlier status has contributed to a big fall in the yen this year as markets have priced in the differential with the rate-tightening US Federal Reserve.

The BoJ said it would let 10-year yields fluctuate by plus or minus 0.5 percentage points of its target of zero, instead of the previous band of plus or minus 0.25 percentage points. It kept overnight interest rates at minus 0.1 per cent.

Kuroda had earlier said any tweak to the yield curve control policy would in effect amount to an interest rate rise.

But he said yesterday the adjustment was meant to address increased volatility in global markets and improve bond market functioning to "enhance the sustainability of monetary easing". He added: "This measure is not a rate hike. Adjusting the YCC does not signal the end of YCC or an exit strategy."

Japan's core inflation, which excludes volatile food prices, has exceeded the BoJ's 2 per cent target for the seventh consecutive month, hitting a 40-year high of 3.6 per cent in October.

Kuroda had long argued that any tightening would be premature without robust wage growth, which is why most economists had expected the BoJ to stay the course until he steps down in April. The BoJ yesterday maintained its outlook that inflation would slow down

next year and warned of "extremely high uncertainties" for the economy.

"Maybe it's an act of generosity by Kuroda to reduce the burden for the next BoJ governor, but it's a dangerous move and market players feel duped," said Masamichi Adachi, chief Japan economist at UBS. "US yields are falling now but if they start to rise again, the BoJ would once again face the risk of being pressured into raising rates."

The BoJ effort to defend its YCC targets have contributed to a cut in market liquidity and what some analysts describe as "dysfunction" in the Japanese government bond market. The bank owns more than half of outstanding bonds, compared with 11.5 per cent when Kuroda took charge in 2013. Bond bears win page 8

### Briefing

► **Wells Fargo told to pay \$3.7bn over illegal activity**  
Consumer watchdogs have ordered the fourth-biggest US bank to pay out over conduct between 2011 and this year, the latest in a string of fines. — PAGE 5

► **China normal 'in months'**  
State media have promised a quick return to normality and sought to portray an "exit wave" of coronavirus cases as part of a pre-planned strategy. — PAGE 4

► **Scandal claims new scalp**  
Luca Vientini, head of a global trade union body, has quit after admitting taking cash from the MEP at the heart of a European parliament scandal. — PAGE 4

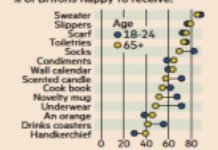
► **Car chip shortage alert**  
Manufacturers and chipmakers have warned that the automotive sector will suffer semiconductor shortages in 2023 as the electric switch accelerates. — PAGE 6

► **Gates takes aim at Musk**  
Microsoft co-founder Bill Gates has said that "seat-of-the-pants" decisions at Twitter since Elon Musk's takeover are worsening digital turmoil. — PAGE 16

► **Amazon seals EU deal**  
The US tech giant has finalised a deal with antitrust regulators and announced new measures to level the playing field for sellers in its marketplace. — PAGE 4

### Datwatch

**Underwear overrated**  
% of Britons happy to receive:



Source: YouGov, Nov 29-30  
Younger Britons are far more likely than pensioners to welcome underwear as a gift — the biggest generational divide among traditional Christmas presents. A handkerchief is a little more likely to be appreciated by an older recipient



## Outspoken oligarch's \$1bn hotel grabbed by court

The Kremlin has denied the seizure of a hotel owned by Oleg Deripaska has anything to do with his opposition to the Ukraine invasion. A court ordered confiscation of the \$1bn Imeretinsky complex in Sochi after a lawsuit from a science organisation under Vladimir Putin's patronage. The claim predates the war but the seizure order came after Moscow asked the tycoon to rein in his criticism. He is one of the few Russian oligarchs to voice opposition. **Complex seized** — PAGE 2

## Media groups shed \$500bn in value as shares head for historic declines

ALISTAIR GRAY — LONDON

More than \$500bn has been wiped off the market value of the world's biggest media companies this year as investors sour on the streaming revolution, triggering historic share price declines for broadcasting and entertainment groups.

Intensifying competition and rising costs have combined with consumer belt-tightening and an advertising slowdown to spark an industry-wide decline.

Media, which for investors spans a range of activities from film production to advertising to cable television, has been among the hardest-hit sectors in what is set to be the worst year for global equities since the financial crisis.

"It's been a perfect storm of bad news," said Michael Nathanson, media analyst at MoffettNathanson. "I've been

covering this sector a long time and I've never seen such a bad collection of data points before."

Walt Disney shares, down about 45 per cent this year, are heading for their biggest annual fall in half a century. The shares have come under more pressure in recent days as takings from Disney's eagerly anticipated *Avatar* sequel fell short of estimates in its debut weekend.

Paramount Global has dropped 42 per cent this year and Netflix 52 per cent, while Warner Brothers Discovery has tumbled 63 per cent since its creation this year by the combination of Discovery and AT&T's WarnerMedia.

The conglomerate's executives are trying to integrate two of the largest operations in media at a time of industry turmoil, and last week warned that it faced as much as \$5.3bn in restructuring and other charges related to the merger.

Streaming companies coped well with the onset of the pandemic as lockdown restrictions boosted audiences. But while executives spent tens of billions of dollars on streaming content, viewing options have proliferated while living costs have soared — encouraging financially squeezed households to "churn", or switch subscriptions.

The Dow Jones Media Titans index, which tracks 30 of the world's biggest media companies, has shed 40 per cent this year, with its total market value shrinking from \$1.35tn to \$808bn.

Rising interest rates have dented valuations, particularly of the sector's "growth stocks". Music provider Spotify has slumped 69 per cent and video specialist Roku 81 per cent.

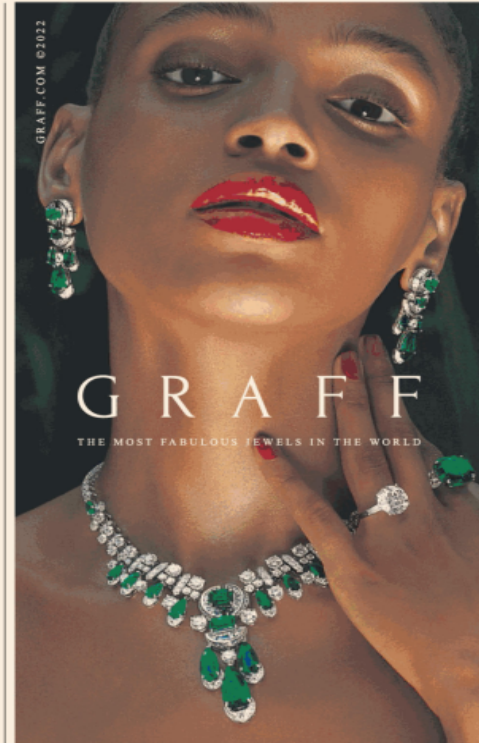
Advertisers have also become more reluctant to promote brands as the global economy slows.

### World Markets

STOCK MARKETS					CURRENCIES					GOVERNMENT BONDS				
	Dec 20	Prev	%Chg		Pair	Dec 20	Prev	%Chg		Yield (%)	Dec 20	Prev	%Chg	
S&P 500	3822.58	3817.68	0.13	E/£	1.084	1.258	6.2	0.940	0.945	US 2 yr	4.27	4.25	0.02	
Nasdaq Composite	10548.02	10546.03	0.02	E/€	1.214	1.213	2/5	0.024	0.024	US 10 yr	3.68	3.59	0.09	
Dow Jones Ind	32839.14	32757.54	0.25	E/¥	0.877	0.872	6/E	1.141	1.147	US 30 yr	3.74	3.65	0.09	
FTSEurofirst 300	1677.27	1682.87	-0.33	W/£	131.415	136.995	W/€	139.820	144.835	UK 2 yr	3.24	3.69	-0.05	
Euro Stoxx 50	3796.78	3811.24	-0.33	W/€	159.525	166.191	E/index	78.813	78.816	UK 10 yr	3.59	3.59	0.10	
FTSE 100	7370.82	7381.31	0.13	\$/¥	0.985	0.988	\$/E/€	1.124	1.132	UK 30 yr	3.89	3.82	0.07	
FTSE All-Share	4005.91	4005.87	0.03							JPN 2 yr	0.01	-0.01	0.02	
CAC 40	6450.43	6473.29	-0.35							JPN 10 yr	0.41	0.25	0.16	
Korea Daxi	13984.06	13942.87	-0.42							JPN 30 yr	1.57	1.62	-0.05	
Nikkei	28568.03	27237.64	2.46							GER 2 yr	2.50	2.44	0.06	
Hang Seng	19094.80	19052.81	-1.33							GER 10 yr	2.30	2.20	0.10	
MSCI World	2595.89	2608.01	-0.77							GER 30 yr	2.18	2.05	0.12	
MSCI EM	867.84	867.39	0.05											
MSCI ACWI	602.80	608.13	-0.88											
FT Wilshire 2500	4949.64	4999.02	-0.99	Oil WTI \$										
FT Wilshire 1000	3864.54	3832.34	-0.89	Oil Brent \$										
				Gold \$										

Prices are latest for action  
Data provided by Bloomberg

A Nikkei Company



GRAFF  
THE MOST FABULOUS JEWELS IN THE WORLD



6 18019 00001 6





## Homecoming Brings Argentina to a Halt

A parade in Buenos Aires to celebrate the country's World Cup victory was cut short as millions of fans thronged the streets. Page B8.

## Older Americans Forgo Boosters Even as Deaths From Covid Rise

By EMILY BAUMGAERTNER

PLEASANT HILL, Calif. — Bonnie Ronk is something of a public health matriarch at the Mt. Diablo Center for seniors in this liberal Northern California suburb.

When Ms. Ronk, a great-grandmother whose red walker bears a sticker saying "El Jefe" (The Leader), tells her peers to pull their masks over their noses, they oblige. When she received both doses of the Covid vaccine and a booster and told others to do the same, they did.

But even Ms. Ronk, 79, has not gotten the latest Covid booster, which was updated to protect against the Omicron variant and has been available since September. She said she didn't know about it.

Across the United States, where

### Immunity Waning Fast, but Many Are Unsure of Their Options

about 94 percent of people 65 and older had their initial Covid vaccines, only 36 percent have received the updated shot, known as the bivalent booster, according to data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Seniors have offered an array of explanations: They were unaware of it, unable to find it or unconvinced of its value.

As the pandemic barrels into its third winter, and Covid hospitalizations and deaths climb once again, medical experts worry that there is no effective plan to update the immunizations of the most

Continued on Page A14

## In Sprint, Lawmakers Advance \$1.7 Trillion Spending Package

By EMILY COCHRANE

WASHINGTON — The Senate on Tuesday advanced a sprawling spending package that would keep the government open through next fall after senior lawmakers from both parties reached a compromise on billions of dollars in federal spending, including another round of emergency aid to Ukraine.

The roughly \$1.7 trillion legislation would increase federal spending from the last fiscal year, providing \$858 billion in military spending and more than \$772 billion for domestic programs, according to a summary released by Senate Democrats.

Still, it was less than Democrats had wanted and more than several conservative Republicans said they could stomach. With Republican support in the Senate needed for the measure to pass,

### Bid to Avert Shutdown Includes \$40 Billion in Aid for Ukraine

Democrats agreed to forgo a larger increase that would have ensured health, education and other domestic programs that President Biden and his party have prioritized received as much funding as the military budget.

But that was not enough to mollify House Republican leaders or some conservative senators, including Senators Rand Paul of Kentucky and Mike Lee of Utah. They called on rank-and-file lawmakers to oppose the spending package, arguing that it was far too costly and that any final agreement should wait until they as-

Continued on Page A12

## Zelensky Plans A Daring Visit To Washington

### Plea to Congress After Meeting With Biden

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR  
and EMILY COCHRANE

WASHINGTON — President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine will meet with President Biden at the White House on Wednesday and later deliver a prime-time address to a joint session of Congress, a daring trip abroad designed to reaffirm American support for his country, top American officials said Tuesday night.

The officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because of concerns about Mr. Zelensky's safety, said that the risks involved in such a visit — with the wartime leader leaving his country for the first time since Russia invaded in February — are high, and that planning for his arrival was conducted under intense secrecy.

Mr. Zelensky will arrive in the United States 300 days after President Vladimir V. Putin ordered Russian troops into Ukraine and as Congress considers approving nearly \$50 billion in aid to help Ukraine's forces battle Russia next year. That would bring the total of American aid to more than \$100 billion.

"He's a national and global hero — I'm delighted to be able to hear from him," Senator Mitt Romney, Republican of Utah, said Tuesday after hearing of Mr. Zelensky's visit.

His visit to the United States comes as Russia's assault, already nearly 10 months old, heads into a



President Volodymyr Zelensky visited Bakhmut on Tuesday.

second, brutal year. Russia's hopes for a quick defeat of Ukraine failed, but have given way to a series of grinding and devastating attacks on civilians that have left major cities without heat or electricity in the bitter cold of Ukraine's winter.

During his meeting with Mr. Biden at the White House, Mr. Zelensky is set to accept the latest American pledge of military assistance: a highly sophisticated Patriot missile battery that senior administration officials said would provide Ukraine with far better defenses against air attacks from Russian missiles and

Continued on Page A6

## Money for Military Instruction Gets the N.R.A. Inside Schools

By NICHOLAS BOGEL-BURROUGHS and MIKE BAKER

CAPE CORAL, Fla. — Beneath the fluorescent lights of a high school gym, dozens of teenagers took turns firing air rifles at a series of bull's-eye targets, part of a marksmanship competition that drew students from schools all along the Florida Gulf Coast.

The event was better outfitted than many high school competitions, with lights that illuminated the targets, scopes for spotting downrange and a heavy curtain to keep pellets from going astray, thanks to the help of a key sponsor: the charitable arm of the National Rifle Association.

## I.R.S. LET TRUMP AVOID TAX AUDITS WHILE IN OFFICE

### 2 YEARS GO UNCHECKED

### House Panel Votes to Make Returns Public, Ending Long Fight

This article is by Charlie Savage, Emily Cochrane, Stephanie Lai and Alan Rappeport.

WASHINGTON — The Internal Revenue Service failed to audit former President Donald J. Trump's tax filings during his first two years in office despite a program that makes the auditing of sitting presidents mandatory, a House committee revealed on Tuesday after an extraordinary vote to make public six years of his tax returns.

Mr. Trump filed returns in 2017 for the two previous tax years, but the I.R.S. began auditing those filings only in 2019 — the first on the same day in April the House and the Ways and Means Committee requested access to his taxes and any associated audits, a report by the panel said. The I.R.S. has yet to complete those audits, it said, and the agency started auditing his filings covering his income while president only after he left office.

The revelation could transform the political context of the committee's nearly four-year fight to obtain information about Mr. Trump's taxes and any related audits. Its chairman, Representative Richard E. Neal of Massachusetts, had said the panel needed the data to assess the I.R.S.'s mandatory presidential audit program, but Mr. Trump's lawyers and Republicans called that a pretext for a politically motivated fishing expedition.

The suggestion of dysfunction in the mandatory auditing program was an early takeaway in what may be a series of disclosures related to the coming release of Mr. Trump's returns. Democrats said it may be several days before thousands of pages of tax filings from Mr. Trump and several associated businesses from 2015 to 2020 become public as they redact sensitive details, like street addresses and bank account numbers.

The party-line vote to release the materials came during the last weeks of Democratic control of the House after Republican gains in the midterm election. The committee invoked a century-old statute that allows it to lawfully make public otherwise confidential tax information involving Mr. Trump, who had defied tradition by refusing to disclose his financial information as a presidential candidate and sitting president.

The vote followed a closed-door debate that lasted more than four hours. It brought to an end a legal and political battle by the House to

Continued on Page A15

## A Day With a U.K. Ambulance: Painful Waits, Crowded Hospitals

By MEGAN SPECIA

WREXHAM, Wales — Rachel Parry and Wayne Jones, two paramedics with the Wrexham Ambulance Service, pulled up to a hospital in northern Wales with a patient just after 10 on a morning in early December.

That's when their wait began. It would be 4:30 p.m. before their patient, a 47-year-old woman with agonizing back pain and numbness in both legs, would be handed over to the emergency room of Wrexham Maelor Hospital. It was more than 12 hours since she had first called 999, the British equivalent of 911.

The delays have grown so bad — and so common — the two paramedics said, that their first interaction with patients is no longer an introduction.

"We start with an apology now," Ms. Parry said. "Every job is, like, they open the front door, 'Hi, we are so sorry we are late.' That has become the norm."

The sight of ambulances lined up for hours outside hospitals has become distressingly familiar in Wales, which last month recorded its worst wait times ever for life-threatening emergency calls. But the problem is far from isolated. Ambulances services in England,



After waiting three hours for an ambulance, Ann Taylor, 79, waited two more to enter the hospital.

Scotland and Northern Ireland are also experiencing record-high waits.

It's a near-crisis situation that experts say signals a breakdown of the compact between Britons and their revered National Health Service: that the government will provide responsible, efficient health care services, mostly free,

across all income levels.

The issue will be cast into sharp relief on Wednesday when ambulance service staff in England and Wales stage the first of two strikes over low wages and deteriorating work conditions. They are scheduled to walk out again next week.

It will be the latest walkout in a period of intense labor strife in

Britain, with a series of strikes planned across the country during the holidays. Nurses are staging their second one-day strike on Tuesday, and rail workers and border control workers at airports will begin several days of strikes later in the week.

Countless harrowing incidents

Continued on Page A7



NATIONAL A10-17

### Rain and Luck Help California

Unusually early rains helped lead to a quiet fire season in California. "We got lucky," a fire adviser said. PAGE A10

### Border Suits in Supreme Court

The Biden administration acknowledged that ending Title 42 would most likely lead to an increase in crossings. PAGE A11

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

### Afghan Colleges Bar Women

Since taking back the government, the Taliban have reinstated many hard-line stances from the 1990s. PAGE A9

### Covid Medicines in China

Millions are desperate to find fever-reducing drugs and antivirals as infections outpace supplies. PAGE A4

ARTS C1-6

### Getting to 'It Was Wrong'

Germany returned 20 Benin Bronzes to their rightful home in Nigeria on Tuesday. How an outcome recently thought far-fetched came to pass. PAGE C1



FOOD D1-10

### Why Panettone Is the New Pizza

The reputation of Italy's national symbol of Christmas has risen, prompting a jostle among Italian bakers. PAGE D1

### Puff Pastry Knows How to Party

Pigs and figs in a blanket, cheesy pin-wheels and crunchy twists: The fun starts in the freezer section. PAGE D7

BUSINESS B1-6

### Musk May Exit Twitter Job

Elon Musk said that he will resign as the social media company's chief executive if he can find a replacement, apparently heeding the results of a poll of his online followers. PAGE B1

### Wells Fargo Fined Again

The bank agreed to pay a record \$1.7 billion fine and an additional \$2 billion in damages to settle claims that it engaged in an array of banking violations over the last decade. PAGE B1

OPINION A20-21

### Roxane Gay

PAGE A20



SPORTS B7-10, 12

### In the N.B.A., Socks Rule

Zion Williamson rocks an orange stripe. Marcus Smart was almost fined over his socks. And some guys wear them on the wrong feet. (The wrong feet?) PAGE B7



0 354 613 9





**MATEO** Martinez Mendoza works at a salt mine near Salina Cruz, Mexico. His father says the family can afford to eat meat more often under the president's policies, which critics say are just a play for votes.

## 'We've never had a leader so close to the people'

Despite hardships, Mexicans give president sky-high rating

By KATE LINTHICUM

**SAYULA DE ALEMAN, Mexico** — From the roadside stand in this muggy stretch of southern Mexico where Carmelo Morruagues sells coconuts for a living, the 45-year-old father of three says he can see his country changing for the better.

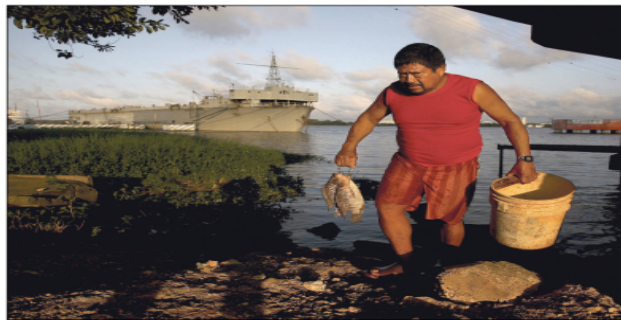
There's his pay, which has doubled from \$5 to \$10 daily thanks to a series of minimum-wage hikes. And there are the hefty welfare payments that his elderly father and student daughter now receive from the government.

Then there's the highway itself, repaved amid a boom of fresh investment across the impoverished south.

For all this good fortune, Morruagues credits one man: President Andrés Manuel López Obrador.

"He's a visionary," said Morruagues, who cheered on the president recently as he zipped past the coconut stand on his way to promote a refurbished train line that will pass

[See Mexico, A10]



**JOSE** Martinez Pabon holds crappie he caught in Coatzacoalcas, Veracruz. He is worried his household could be displaced by a rail project.

## Trump's tax returns to go public

A Democratic-led House panel votes to release his 2015-2020 financial records.

By NOLAN D. McCASKILL

**WASHINGTON** — A House panel voted along party lines Tuesday to release former President Trump's tax returns, an unprecedented move that marks the culmination of a

years-long legal battle to disclose his financial records.

Republicans said the move underscored Democrats' ongoing obsession with Trump, warning that the release would create a dangerous weapon that could be used against other politicians, business executives, labor leaders and even private citizens.

Democrats called the move long overdue. Unlike other modern presidents, Trump — who announced last month that he would

run for president again in 2024 — has refused to release his returns, which would reveal details about the source and size of his wealth, potential financial conflicts and whether he has paid taxes in recent years.

Some legal experts questioned whether the House Ways and Means Committee has adequate legal justification to release the information to the public. Democrats argued in court that their interest in seeing Trump's taxes was based on

the need to craft legislation and that they would not simply release confidential information to the public.

But now Democrats are under pressure to act, as Republicans will take over the House in January.

After meeting privately Tuesday for more than four hours, members of the House Ways and Means Committee quickly voted to release the returns, without debate or speeches.

"This is not about being [See Trump, A4]

## Quake cuts power, water to thousands

The 6.4 temblor in Northern California leaves 2 dead, does widespread damage.

By MACKENZIE MAYS, ALEXANDRA E. PETRI, SUMMER LIN AND NOAH GOLDBERG

**FORTUNA, Calif.** — A powerful earthquake jolted Humboldt County early Tuesday, leaving at least two people dead, tens of thousands without power and widespread damage in its aftermath.

Even in this seismically active region of Northern California known for large temblors, the 6.4 magnitude quake felt particularly violent to many longtime residents. Officials were still trying to tally the destruction hours later.

The force of the shaking shattered windows, sent objects flying and damaged at least one historic bridge in the small communities south of Eureka. At least 11 people were injured.

"It was the most intense

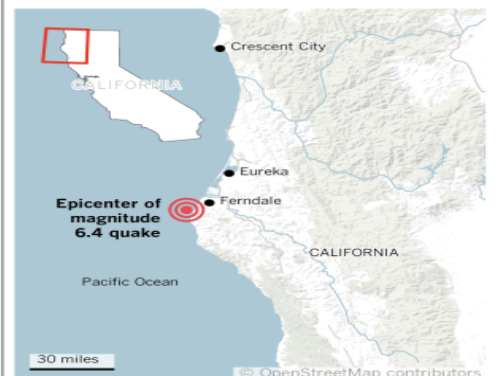
earthquake that I've felt," said Rio Dell Mayor Debra Barnes, whose hamlet was hard hit. "It was a long-duration earthquake, so it was not only significant in size at 6.4, it was also long."

Garnes and other officials spent a frantic morning assessing the damage, inspecting buildings and tending to people who they said had mostly minor injuries. City officials in Rio Dell expect about 50 to 150 families to be displaced by the earthquake.

"Our biggest issues are no electricity and no water. Structural damage is the next thing on the list," Garnes said. "Our water system got really wrecked. So many leaks."

The quake was reported at 2:34 a.m. just offshore about 7½ miles southwest of Ferndale, according to the U.S. Geological Survey. No tsunami was expected, the Humboldt County Sheriff's Office said on Twitter, but the agency advised residents to prepare for aftershocks.

According to the Sheriff's Office, two people died as a [See Quake, A5]



PAUL DUGINSKI Los Angeles Times

## First resignation, then resilience

By MACKENZIE MAYS, SUSANNE RUST AND THOMAS CURWEN

**RIO DELL, Calif.** — Combining their homes with flashlights in the darkness, residents of the rural communities of the Eel River Val-

ley could only sense what damage Tuesday's earthquake had brought to their lives five days before Christmas.

Rooms littered with shards of glass. Framed pictures broken on the floor. Cups and keepsakes in pieces beside them. Bookshelves and kitchen cabinets emptied.

By first light, though, the devastation became apparent. Front porches had collapsed. A building caught fire. The beloved, multi-arched Fernbridge, a 1911 Humboldt County landmark and veteran of past earthquakes and floods — its guardrails bent, evidence of the fierce shaking — was closed by the California Department of Transportation.

More than 70,000 residents were without power at one point. Estimates placed the number of households who had lost their homes or were waiting to know their fate at 150. The local water system was wrecked. "So many leaks," said Debra Barnes, mayor of Rio Dell, a small town on the banks of the Eel River.

The Humboldt County sheriff reported two people killed and 11 injured.

Striking at 2:34 a.m., the [See Residents, A5]

## Zelensky set for address to Congress

The Ukrainian leader, on his first known foreign trip since the invasion, also plans to speak with President Biden. **WORLD, A3**

## Biden lawyers battle Title 42

The high court is urged to help end the Trump-era policy that turned away migrants. **NATION, A4**

## Weather

Sunny, a bit warmer. L.A. Basin: 70/49. **B6**



## Is clock ticking on 40-hour workweek?

Some firms give five days of pay for four days of labor. Staffers, many bosses love it.

By ROGER VINCENT

Video game makers in Kentucky are cranking four days a week on a new title based on the classic slasher movie "The Texas Chainsaw Massacre."

The twist? Workers making the horror game are being paid the same salaries they used to get for working five days a week. As disruptions to standard workplace practices caused by the pandemic



**WES KELTNER**, left, CEO of game maker Gun Interactive, says the 32-hour workweek is a winner.

continue to ripple through the economy, some companies are adopting 32-hour workweeks at formerly 40-hour pay, which effectively makes every Friday a paid holiday.

The shortened week has been a winner for Gun Interactive, Chief Executive Wes Keltner said, as employees stay focused to complete their tasks on time and return to the office on Monday with a full head of creative steam because they've had sufficient downtime.

"You have a finite well of creativity in your body. When it's tapped, it's tapped," he said. "After that, you do subpar work."

A four-day workweek at [See Workweek, A7]



# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington



Partly sunny 47/34 • Tomorrow: Rain 51/43 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 2022 • B3



Special forces vehicles drive through Masjid Ali Guduuud, Somalia, an area recently taken back from al-Shabab control, on Nov. 13. Al-Shabab was able to consolidate control largely over the last three years because of political infighting in the Somali government.

## The Somali coalition contesting al-Shabab

Backed by government troops, the nation's clan militias have insurgents on the back foot

BY KATHARINE HOURELD

**BAKDO, SOMALIA** — A determined but often chaotic uprising by clan militias supported by Somali government troops has forced the al-Shabab militant group, one of al-Qaeda's wealthiest and strongest global affiliates, onto the back foot, say Somali and U.S. officials.

Political infighting in the Somali government had stymied any military offensive against al-Shabab for the past three years, allowing the group to consolidate its control over parts of Somalia. But after elections were held in May and the new government put its backing behind some of the clans in central Somalia, their militias began to claw back territory, taking over insurgent checkpoints previously used to extort money and bases used to launch attacks.

"What we're seeing is really large-

scale combat operations taking place in Somalia and incorporating the clans in a way that we just have not ... seen," Rear Adm. Milton Sands, who heads U.S. Special Operations Command Africa, said in an interview. "I'm really optimistic."

Clan militias have fought the insurgency before, but it is the first time they have had such extensive military backing, and that support is now encouraging many aggrieved Somalis to join the militias and fight.

"I've been in and out of Somalia for 13 years, and I've never seen the federal government, member states and clans all angry and so united to finish al-Shabab," said Gen. Keith Katungi, the acting force commander of the African Union peacekeeping force. "This is the first big Somali-led offensive."

Local militiamen in several towns

SEE SOMALIA ON A10

## Senate starts debate on critical spending package

FIRST STEP IN RACE TO AVOID A SHUTDOWN

Vote on \$1.7 trillion omnibus splits Republicans

BY TONY ROMM

The Senate on Tuesday took the first formal step toward advancing a bipartisan, roughly \$1.7 trillion deal to fund the U.S. government, as Democrats and Republicans raced to avert a shutdown in the final days of the year. Lawmakers voted 70-25 to begin debate on the 4,155-page measure, known in congressional parlance as an omnibus, which would fund key elements of President Biden's economic agenda, boost defense programs, and provide an additional \$44.9 billion in emergency military and economic assistance for Ukraine.

The lumbering Senate sought to move with uncharacteristic

haste after congressional leaders released the full text of the bill in the early hours of the morning, capping off months of intense negotiating. The subsequent vote splintered Republicans, some of whom threatened one another politically, as conservatives argued that the party should have walked away from budget talks until the GOP assumed control of the House in January.

Democrats and Republicans agreed to stitch onto the omnibus

SEE BUDGET ON A17

**Labor board:** Funding boost helps agency amid a staffing crisis. **A14**

**TikTok:** Provision in bill would ban app on government devices. **A16**

## Panel votes to release Trump's taxes to public

BY AMY B. WANG AND MICHAEL KRANISH

The House Ways and Means Committee on Tuesday voted 24-16 to release former president Donald Trump's tax returns, capping a protracted legal and political battle that began when he was in the Oval Office.

Democrats have for more than three years pushed to make Trump's tax returns public, and the documents were finally made available to the Ways and Means Committee late last month after the Supreme Court denied a last

attempt by Trump to withhold the records.

It's not clear when the committee would release the tax records, which include Trump's returns from 2015 to 2020.

But two Democrats on the committee said on Tuesday that the records suggest Trump had not been correct in claiming during his 2016 campaign that he could not release the records himself because of an ongoing Internal Revenue Service audit.

Rep. Lloyd Doggett (D-Tex.) said in a CNN interview that the

SEE TAX RETURNS ON A4

## Many doubt Nord Stream pipeline attack was by Russia

BY SHANE HARRIS, JOHN HUDSON, MISSY RYAN AND MICHAEL BIRNBAUM

After explosions in late September severely damaged undersea pipelines built to carry natural gas from Russia to Europe, world leaders quickly blamed Moscow for a brazen and dangerous act of sabotage. With winter approaching, it appeared the Kremlin intended to strangle the flow of energy to millions across the continent, an act of "blackmail," some leaders said, designed to threaten countries into withdrawing their financial and military support for Ukraine.

But now, after months of investigation, numerous officials privately say that Russia may not be to blame after all for the attack on the Nord Stream pipelines.

"There is no evidence at this

SEE PIPELINES ON A4

## Coached until collapsing, now she's on life support

An aspiring bodybuilder's trainer put her on a severe diet and performance-enhancing drugs

BY JENN ARELSON

A 36-year-old female bodybuilder who collapsed days before a November competition is on life support after following an aggressive conditioning plan from one of the industry's most controversial coaches.

Neggy Shelton had been struggling to finish her 2½-hour workouts, subsisting on performance-enhancing drugs and an 890-calorie meal plan detailed by her coach, James Ayotte. "I'm very low energy and sometimes I have dizziness," she messaged.

"No problem. Do ur best," Ayotte responded. "Just don't cheat on diet."

Two days after the exchange, Shelton was found unconscious in her Ashburn, Va., apartment with a dangerously low blood glucose level, according to medical records reviewed by The Washington Post.

Doctors at Inova Loudoun Hospital concluded that Shelton's hy-

SEE SHELTON ON A6



Neggy Shelton's sister, Negar Shaltouki, left, and their mother, Sedighe Mousavi, tend to Shelton in Alexandria, Va. She remains largely unresponsive with an extensive brain injury.

BUILT & BROKEN

## White House prepares for GOP probe of Afghanistan

BY YASMINE ABUTALEB AND DAN LAMOTHE

From the moment President Biden's Afghanistan pullout began to go wrong — chaos at Kabul's airport, 13 U.S. service members killed by a suicide bombing, Afghans falling to their deaths from departing planes — the White House braced for withering congressional inquiries.

But it never had to face one from an empowered opposition — until now. While much attention is focused on Republicans' plans to investigate Biden's son Hunter, some White House and other administration officials privately say an Afghanistan probe could prove more emotionally difficult and politically damaging.

The White House can — and plans to — dismiss any investigation.

SEE AFGHANISTAN ON A5

**Out of prison:** "Goodwill gesture" frees two Americans. **A12**

## IN THE NEWS



FRED GREAVES/REUTERS

**California quake** A 6.4-magnitude temblor struck the state's north, killing two and leaving tens of thousands without power. **A3**

**Holiday storm threat** A fierce system could inflict mayhem on U.S. travelers as 112 million hit the skies and roads for the holidays. **A16**

**THE NATION** Volodymyr Zelensky, the wartime president of Ukraine, plans to appear on Capitol Hill today in his first international appearance since the Russian invasion. **A2** The DEA said it seized enough fentanyl in 2022 "to kill everyone in the United States." **A2** More than 500 members of the Texas National Guard blocked migrants attempting to cross the border in El Paso from Mexico. **A3**

**THE WORLD** In Britain, it's a "winter of discontent" as public-

sector workers continue to walk out over high living costs. **A8**

**THE ENVIRONMENT** Zelensky visited Ukraine's parliament in Kyiv, the site of some of the war's bloodiest fighting. **A9**

**CHINA'S REPORTED** daily covid-19 death tolls, stated to be in the single digits this week, have been criticized as implausibly low. **A12**

**IN ISRAEL**, far-right politicians want to change immigration law and restrict who can gain citizenship. **A13**

**THE ECONOMY** Wells Fargo was or-

dered to pay \$3.7 billion to settle claims of bungled consumer loans, illegal fees and other wrongdoing. **A14** The Environmental Protection Agency finalized a rule that will crack down on pollution from trucks, vans and buses. **A15**

**THE REGION** The D.C. Council approved an overhaul of the board for the city's housing authority. **B1**

**THE PRINCE GEORGE'S** County Council is making moves its new members see as aimed at curbing sprawl but that longer-tenured officials say could signal the county is "closed for

business." **B1** **TURNOUT WAS ROBUST** across Virginia's 4th Congressional District among Democrats picking a nominee for the seat of Rep. A. Donald McEachin, who died last month. **B1** In a win for environmental groups, judges tossed out a deal that exempted a Maryland power company from cleaning up the Chesapeake Bay. **B1**

**SPORTS** Billionaire business executive Mat Ishbia agreed to buy Phoenix's NBA and WNBA franchises from disgraced owner Robert Sarver for about \$4 billion. **D1**

## INSIDE



**FOOD** Holiday tamales The everyday Mexican dish is also a celebratory centerpiece. **E1**

**SPECIAL SECTION** The Post's All-Met See our fall sports selections for high school players of the year.

**BUSINESS NEWS** .....A14  
**COMICS** .....C6  
**OPINION PAGES** .....A19  
**LOTTERIES** .....B3  
**OBITUARIES** .....B4  
**TELEVISION** .....C4  
**WORLD NEWS** .....A8

CONTENT © 2022  
The Washington Post / Year 146, No. 53343  
0170628121100 3



**Higher rate hikes? Experts not sure they'll be needed**Economists say Fed forecasts don't jibe with reports showing easing inflation. **In Money****Colleges clamoring to sign this elite prep prospect**Teen in Washington, D.C., has size of NFL edge rusher and speed of Olympic sprinter. **In Sports**REBECCA CABAGE/  
INVISION/AP**'Whale' role emotional and physical, Fraser says**Actor says he gave it all he had, drawing on being a father himself. He also says he gained respect for strength of people living with obesity. **In Life****USA TODAY**

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 2022

**TITLE IX**  
FALLING SHORT AT 50**Aggrieved students wait years for redress****Enforcement of equity law essentially toothless****Rachel Axon**  
USA TODAY

Nestled among Lexington's rolling hills, the University of Kentucky is steeped in horse culture. Some of the best thoroughbreds in the world graze in wide-fenced paddocks outside campus. A premiere academic program draws many students to the school, which boasts eight club teams dedicated to equine sports.

Yet it does not sponsor an NCAA Division I equestrian team.

It's not for lack of interest or demand.

Rather, the school has had overwhelming student support for adding a varsity team going back decades — and a federal investigation that should have prompted it to respond to that demand.

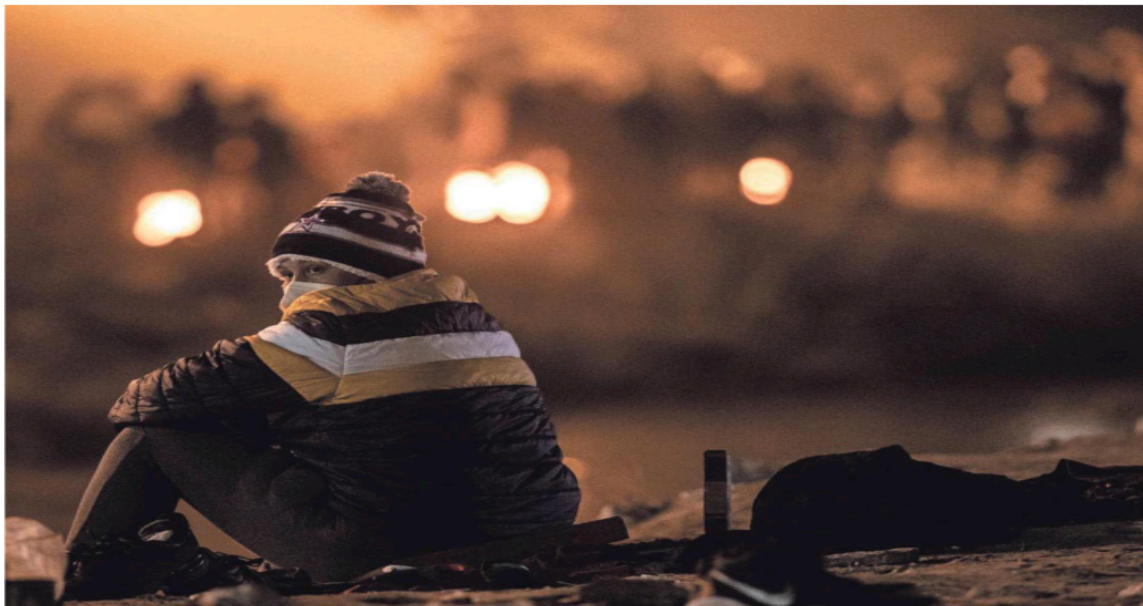
Instead of adding an equestrian team — or other sports that hundreds of women have shown interest in over the years — the school has pushed back.

For nine years, the university has fought against its aspiring female athletes and the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights, which is tasked with enforcing the landmark gender equity law, Title IX. The agency found the school out of compliance with Title IX for not offering women enough athletic opportunities. Since then, the school has questioned the way the agency interprets the law, balked at requests to add teams, denied violations, and it continues to shortchange women.

That it has done so without consequence, gender equity advocates and others say, is a symptom of a federal agency that's ineffective at ensuring the nation's schools comply with the 50-year-old law.

See **TITLE IX**, Page 3A

Grace Biegler and Buddy clear a jump during equestrian practice for the University of Kentucky. The school has pushed back against sponsoring an NCAA Division I team. MICHAEL CLEVINGER/USA TODAY NETWORK

**TITLE 42** IMMIGRATION POLICY**El Paso getting ready for 'whatever happens'**

A migrant watches people from the south bank of the Rio Grande in Juárez, Mexico, who had crossed the border to seek asylum in El Paso, Texas, on Monday. PHOTOS BY OMAR ORNELAS/USA TODAY NETWORK

**Migrants watching, waiting as Supreme Court enters fray****Lauren Villagran** USA TODAY

JUÁREZ, Mexico — With the future of Title 42 migrant expulsions in limbo, migrants watched and waited in this Mexican border city for any sign their luck could change.

Kelson Joseph has spent the past year in Juárez waiting for a shift in U.S. immigration policy.

He stood on the south bank of the Rio Grande on Monday and looked north. The 26-year-old Haitian had crossed the better part of the Western Hemisphere to arrive here, working in Brazil for a time and then at a Juárez assembly plant. His Mexican work permit had run out; he longed to reunite with friends and family in California.

What would the end of Title 42 mean for him? The Biden administration intended to lift the order Wednesday, but its fate may rest with the Supreme Court.

See **MIGRANTS**, Page 5A

Migrants cross and line up on the north bank of the Rio Grande to turn themselves in to Border Patrol agents, seeking a chance to remain in the U.S. to seek asylum.

**AMERICA IN PAIN****For some, yoga, massage, meditation spell relief****ABOUT THIS SERIES**

This is the third of a five-part series exploring chronic pain, the challenges of treatment and the scientific advances offering hope for the future.

Monday: The biology of pain

Tuesday: Pediatric pain

Today: Complementary therapies for pain

Thursday: Cannabis for pain control

Friday: The future of pain control



ILLUSTRATION BY ANDREA BRUNTY/USA TODAY; GETTY IMAGES

**Karen Weintraub**  
USA TODAY

The Rev. James Mitchell was skeptical the first time he watched a yoga class. "Initially, I thought it was a joke. That's for women and old people."

But then Mitchell saw a fellow veteran in his 80s making movements he wasn't sure he could do himself.

To avoid embarrassment, Mitchell waited until he got home to try some of the positions the older man held — and found he couldn't.

"Maybe I need to try this yoga," he said to himself.

So, five years ago, while still suffering the effects of two foot surgeries and nerve problems, he signed up for a class.

See **RELIEF**, Page 6A

HOME DELIVERY  
1-800-872-0001, USATODAYSERVICE.COM



©COPYRIGHT 2022  
USA TODAY  
A division of  
Gannett Co., Inc.



# LA NACION

Atención al lector 5199-4777

[www.lanacion.com.ar/tema/tema](http://www.lanacion.com.ar/tema/tema)

Club LA NACION 5199-4792

[www.miclub.lanacion.com.ar](http://www.miclub.lanacion.com.ar)

Propietario S.A. LA NACION, Zepita 3251, Ciudad de Buenos Aires (C1285ABG), Tel. +5411 5550-1800. Oficinas LA NACION, Av. Del Libertador 301, Vicente López (B1638BEA) Buenos Aires, Argentina. Tel. +5411 6090-5000. Atención personalizada: [www.lanacion.com.ar/redcomercial](http://www.lanacion.com.ar/redcomercial)  
ISSN: 0165-1946. Responsable por Impresión: Luciano Ariel Bianchi, Zepita 3202, CABA.  
Las ventas de LA NACION son auditadas por el IVC. © Año 2013. LA NACION. Dirección Nacional del Derecho de Autor, expediente renovación N° 5298323. Queda prohibida la reproducción total o parcial del contenido del presente diario.  
Precio del ejemplar: Lun a Vie \$280.- Sáb \$400.- Dom \$480.- Recargo envío al interior: \$50.- En Uruguay: Lun/Vie. \$360.- Sáb. \$385.- Dgo. \$410.- En Paraguay: Lun/Sáb. G9000.- Dgo. G12.000.- En Brasil: Lun/Sáb. R\$7/Dgo. R\$9.-





## Câmara distribui aumentos de até 50%

A três dias do recesso natalino, a Câmara dos Deputados aprovou projeto que reajusta salários da cúpula do Executivo e do Congresso — presidente da República, ministros, deputados e senadores. O percentual de aumento varia de 37% a 50%.

A proposta equipara aos salários de ministros do STF, elevados para R\$ 46,4 mil. Ainda precisa aprovação no Senado. **Política A4**

# Deputados aprovam formato desidratado da PEC da Gastança

Texto passa em primeiro turno, com validade de um ano e R\$ 10 bi em emendas de relator

A Câmara dos Deputados aprovou, em primeiro turno, a Proposta de Emenda à Constituição da Transição, que possibilita o aumento de verbas do Orçamento para além do teto de gastos. A medida é considerada essencial para que o PT cumpra promessas de campanha.

O texto-base aprovado amplia o teto de gastos em R\$ 145 bilhões no próximo ano e autoriza outros R\$ 23 bilhões em investimentos, sem prazo de validade.

O acordo que levou à aprovação fez duas mudanças significativas na proposta inicial da PEC da Gastança.

A duração será de um ano, em vez de dois como queria o governo eleito, e incluirá o rateio da verba destinada às emendas de relator, dispositivo vetado na segunda-feira pelo Supremo Tribunal Federal (STF). Serão R\$ 19,5 bilhões, divididos entre parlamentares e governo.

No primeiro turno, que terminou ontem à noite, o placar foi de 331 votos a favor e 168 contra — eram necessários 308 votos. PL, Republicanos e Novo não aprovaram a proposta. O plenário analisará os destaques, que podem alterar trechos do texto, antes do segundo turno.

O trecho da PEC que trata da verba das emendas individuais e do governo terá que passar pelo Senado.

A equipe de Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva queria inicialmente uma autorização permanente para elevar as despesas em cerca de R\$ 200 bilhões. **Política A8 e Mercado A15**



Agustín Marcarini/Reuters

## JOGADORES SÃO RESGATADOS DE HELICÓPTERO EM DESFILE NA ARGENTINA

Multidão lota a avenida Nove de Julho, em Buenos Aires, para ver os tricampeões desfilarem; seleção precisou interromper o roteiro diante do "mar de gente" **Esporte B5**



Cédulas de 5, 10, 20 e 50 libras Bank of England via The New York Times

## mercado A20

### A cara da riqueza

O Banco da Inglaterra apresentou na segunda (19) novas notas de libras com o retrato do rei Charles 3º. As cédulas de 5, 10, 20 e 50 entram em circulação em meados de 2024.

## mercado A28

Sem restrição sanitária, Rio espera Réveillon lotado

## ilustrada B7

Daniel Craig volta ao jogo detetivesco em 'Glass Onion'

## corrida B12

Nélida Piñon deixa apartamento no Rio como herança para suas cachorrinhas

## Corsan é vendida para consórcio por R\$ 4,15 bilhões

O consórcio Aegea arrematou nesta terça-feira (20) a Corsan, companhia gaúcha de saneamento, em leilão de privatização realizado na sede da B3 em São Paulo. Foi o vencedor como único participante do certame, que teve ágio de 1,15%. **Mercado A25**

## Chuva abre cratera e divide rua no Norte Fluminense

As fortes chuvas que atingiram Macaé (RJ) na madrugada desta terça (20) abriram uma cratera e dividiram uma rua na cidade do Norte Fluminense. Segundo a prefeitura, o caso ocorreu no morro São Jorge, onde havia obras de drenagem. **cotidiano B4**

## STF dá 48 horas para Zambelli entregar arma

**Política A6**



Cratera aberta no meio de uma rua no morro São Jorge, em Macaé, no Norte Fluminense, após chuvas **Frederico Mesquita/Inter TV**

## EDITORIAIS A2

**Cabral em casa**  
Sobre soltura do ex-governador do Rio de Janeiro.

**Acordo em Montreal**  
A respeito de tratado global pela biodiversidade.

## Beatriz Bracher

### Qual frente ampla vai governar?

A impressão é que há duas frentes amplas. Uma que foi necessária para a chapa Lula-Alckmin eleger-se, em que Simone Tebet (MDB) e Marina Silva (Rede) foram a face mais significativa, e uma segunda, montada para que a chapa governe. **Opinião A3**

## Filho de brasileiro eleito nos EUA mentiu, diz jornal

O New York Times revelou na segunda-feira (19) que o currículo do deputado George Santos, filho de brasileiros e primeiro republicano abertamente gay eleito, contém inverdades sobre formação e fortuna e omite roubo praticado no Rio. **Mundo A14**







En diálogo con Monumental 1080 AM, Peña calificó de soberbio a Marito

## Oficialismo pone cuesta arriba a Cartes el abrazo republicano

Wiens rechazó vicepresidencia 2ª de la Junta de Gobierno y Abdo lo nombró miembro del Consejo de Administración de Itaipú. Salomón se ofreció para articular el acercamiento.

PÁGINAS 2 y 3

No existe una decisión consensuada  
**Paraguay ratifica postura  
de mantener precio actual  
de la energía de Itaipú**

PÁGINA 10

Película hartó repetitiva  
**Tesoro tuvo que cubrir con  
impuestos USD 122 millones  
de déficit de la Caja Fiscal**

PÁGINA 11

Reducen a víctimas con armas de fuego  
**Los delincuentes aprovechan  
el embotellamiento para  
asaltar a paraguayos en Foz**

PÁGINA 20



RODRIGO VILLAMAYOR ROA

### Cambiaron recetas por música

**Homenaje.** Como ya es tradición de todos los años, los médicos del Hospital Acosta Ñu homenajearon con arte a sus pequeños pacientes.

PÁGINA 18

16 meses consecutivos de superávit  
**Aduanas afirma que el 2022  
tiene la mayor recaudación  
de todos los tiempos**

PÁGINA 15

Impulsaron causas con denuncias falsas  
**JEM dilata sentencia para  
fiscales que se prestaron  
a los aprietes de RGD**

PÁGINA 41

Encontraron 61 vehículos desarticulados  
**Ordenan detención de un  
candidato a diputado tras  
allanar un desarmadero**

PÁGINA 40

## HILUX

MANTENIMIENTO INCLUIDO  
HASTA 100.000 KM  
CONSULTE PLANES DE FINANCIACIÓN

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



DX D/C MEC.  
DESDE  
**\$ 34.830**  
ENTREGA  
INMEDIATA



TOYOTOSHI  
SOCIEDAD ANÓNIMA

+595 21 619 0000

PETROBRAS LUBRAX





**ENQUÊTE**  
À SCIENCES PO,  
LA POLÉMIQUE S'INVITE  
DANS LA DANSE **PAGE 14**

**ÉNERGIE**  
GAZ, ÉLECTRICITÉ : SPECTACULAIRE  
BAISSE DE LA CONSOMMATION  
EN EUROPE **PAGE 18**



**LR**  
Retraites: Éric Ciotti  
conjure les députés  
de son parti  
de jouer l'unité **PAGE 5**

**HORIZONS**  
Comment  
Édouard Philippe  
multiplie les visites  
à l'étranger **PAGE 5**

**MOYEN-ORIENT**  
Au sommet  
sur l'Irak,  
Emmanuel Macron  
s'en prend à l'Iran  
**PAGE 6**

**EUROPE**  
Fight Impunity,  
cette ONG au cœur  
du « Qatargate »  
**PAGE 8**

**TRANSPORTS**  
« Je vais fêter Noël  
seule » : les usagers  
de la SNCF  
en colère face  
à une nouvelle  
grève **PAGE 10**

**FOOTBALL**  
Coupe du monde  
2026 en Amérique:  
plus d'équipes,  
de matchs  
et d'argent **PAGE 12**

**LOGEMENT**  
MaPrimeRénov'  
rate une partie  
de ses objectifs **PAGE 19**

**CHAMPS  
LIBRES**

• La chronique  
de Bertille Bayart  
• La tribune  
de M<sup>me</sup> Rougé  
**PAGE 15**

**FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question  
de mardi :**  
Approuvez-vous  
la décision de Darmanin  
de mettre fin  
à la restriction des visas  
accordés aux Algériens ?

**NON 81% OUI 19%**  
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 261.801

**Votez aujourd'hui  
sur lefigaro.fr**  
Donald Trump doit-il  
renoncer à se présenter  
à la prochaine élection  
présidentielle américaine ?

LP/CÉLINE CAREZ/PHOTOPQR/  
LE PARISIEN/MAXPPP/  
SEBASTIEN BOZON/AFP

# Immigration : les annonces de Darmanin et Dussopt

Retour de la double peine, critères du titre de séjour « métiers en tension »... Dans un entretien au « Figaro », les deux ministres détaillent le texte qui va être soumis aux parlementaires.

C'est, avec la réforme des retraites, le texte le plus attendu de l'année 2023 : *Le Figaro* a pu décortiquer en avant-première les 25 articles du projet de loi sur l'immigration qui sera présenté

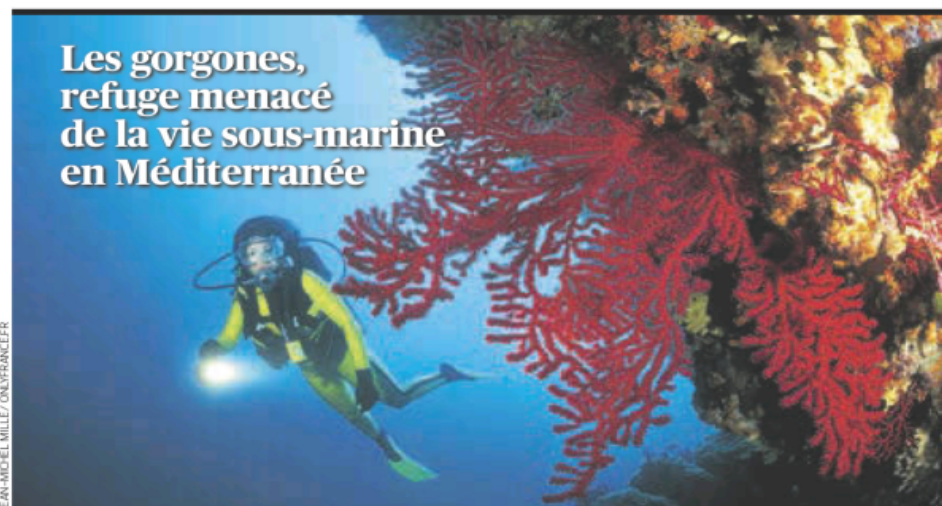
par les ministres de l'Intérieur et du Travail, Gérard Darmanin et Olivier Dussopt. Dans un entretien, ils vantent un projet « équilibré », qui répondrait à la double exigence d'une meilleure

intégration des immigrés légaux et d'une plus grande fermeté vis-à-vis des clandestins. Conscients de la nécessité d'obtenir le soutien de la droite, ils précisent les contours du titre de

séjour « métiers en tension », qui pourront selon eux être modifiés par les parlementaires. Gérard Darmanin et Olivier Dussopt rappellent également leur volonté de remettre en place une

double peine pour les étrangers condamnés à au moins dix ans de prison. « Tout ce que LR a toujours demandé, nous le proposons », prétend le ministre de l'Intérieur.

→ **CE QUE CONTIENT LE PROJET DE LOI IMMIGRATION DU GOUVERNEMENT** → **XAVIER DRIENCOURT : « LES AUTORITÉS ALGÉRIENNES N'ONT PAS INTÉRÊT À RÉCUPÉRER LEURS RESSORTISSANTS »** → **L'Australie recrute à l'étranger pour trois cents métiers en tension** **PAGES 2 À 4**



**Les gorgones,  
refuge menacé  
de la vie sous-marine  
en Méditerranée**

Dans les eaux peu profondes, ces cousins des coraux souffrent du réchauffement climatique. L'Unesco et la fondation I Ocean lancent un projet de recherches pour mieux connaître les populations des grandes profondeurs. **PAGE 11**

**Le Congrès  
américain  
prône des  
poursuites  
pénales  
contre Trump**

Après dix-huit mois d'enquête et plus de mille auditions des membres de l'Administration Trump et d'autres témoins clés, la commission d'enquête de la Chambre des représentants sur les événements du 6 janvier 2021 a recommandé, par un vote à l'unanimité, au ministère de la Justice américain, d'engager des poursuites pénales contre Donald Trump. Celui-ci est accusé de quatre crimes contre l'État. Une première. **PAGE 7 ET L'ÉDITORIAL**

**ÉDITORIAL** par Philippe Gélle [pgelle@lefigaro.fr](mailto:pgelle@lefigaro.fr)

## Trump, une saison en enfer

**L**a série de télé-réalité « Mister Trump fait de la politique » va-t-elle toucher à sa fin ? La saison 1, celle de sa candidature, avait intrigué, puis fasciné ; la 2, celle de sa présidence, avait tenu le monde en haleine ; la saison 3, le refus de la défaite, avait effaré ceux que les précédents épisodes n'avaient pas lobotomisés. La dernière, bâtie sur le scénario d'une nouvelle candidature en 2024, et qui se déroule sous les nuages noirs de périls judiciaires amoncelés, peine à réveiller les passions. Le flamboyant Donald Trump serait-il « sur la voie de l'insignifiance », comme le lâche froidement un élu républicain dans le *New York Times* ? Ce serait une sentence de mort pour celui qui dépend de la réalité alternative des écrans et des réseaux sociaux. Première dans l'histoire américaine, une commission d'enquête parlementaire vient de recommander au ministère de la Justice d'engager des poursuites criminelles contre un ancien président, pour conspiration et tentative de coup d'État, rien de moins. Bien sûr, la Chambre des représentants est encore démocrate jusqu'en janvier et la suivante, républicaine, pourrait anéantir ses dix-huit mois d'enquête sur les événements du 6 janvier 2021. Rien n'oblige en outre l'Attorney General à enté-

ner ses conclusions en inculquant Donald Trump. Mais un procureur indépendant, nommé fin novembre, instruit les mêmes faits, ainsi que le détournement de documents classifiés. S'y ajoutent une procédure en Géorgie pour tentative de prévarication et la condamnation de la Trump Organization pour fraude fiscale à New York ce mois-ci.

Les cinq lettres de son nom, qui constituent son fonds de commerce, étaient déjà ternies par le

**Un feuillet  
menacé  
d'« insignifiance »**

résultat décevant des législatives de novembre, où l'extrême-droite a gagné. Les candidats trumpistes n'ont guère séduit. Candidat lui-même pour lever des fonds et pouvoir crier à la persécution politique, Donald Trump se trouve au plus bas dans les sondages depuis sept ans. En guise de campagne, il se borne pour l'instant à mettre en vente un jeu de cartes le représentant en super-héros... Rien ne dit qu'il ira au bout de l'aventure face à des concurrents comme le gouverneur de Floride, Ron DeSantis, capable de le battre dans les primaires. La saison 4 du feuillet Trump ne commence pas au paradis. ■

**NEW BR-X5**

**Bell & Ross**

Calibre Manufacture • 170 H de réserve de marche • Certifié Chronomètre

NOUVELLE BR-X5



# What did I miss?

The best TV of 2022

G2



## Positively Coronation Street

Why it's Bob Dylan's favourite



Wednesday  
21 December 2022  
£2.50

From £1.85 for subscribers

# The Guardian

News provider of the year

## NHS bosses urge PM to intervene to avoid war of attrition on strikes

Appeal made day before ambulance staff take action as dispute widens

Denis Campbell  
Steven Morris  
Dan Sabbagh

NHS leaders warned the public yesterday to avoid risky activity for fear of being left helpless and unable to reach A&E during the ambulance strike today.

The action by staff across England and Wales comes as the pay dispute between ministers and NHS workers looks poised to descend into a bitter and disruptive war of attrition that could go on for months.

Health chiefs made the remarkable intervention of asking people to avoid getting drunk during the strike, four days before Christmas, as the potential for disruption in transporting people to hospital is so severe.

The two bodies representing hospitals and other providers of NHS care in England staged an 11th-hour bid yesterday to head off today's strike by appealing directly to Rishi Sunak to intervene to end the standoff, warning him that otherwise people "will suffer unnecessarily".

Thousands of patients, including some with serious conditions, will have to make their own way to hospital today



▲ Nurses sing in the rain on the picket line in Liverpool on the second day of the Royal College of Nursing strikes PHOTOGRAPH: CHRISTOPHER THOMOND/THE GUARDIAN

## Germany returns bronzes looted by British soldiers

Philip Oltermann  
Abuja

Twenty-one precious artefacts that were looted by British soldiers from the former west African kingdom of Benin 125 years ago have been physically handed over by Germany to Nigeria amid laughter, tears, and some audible frustration with the

ongoing silence of the country that first stole them.

The objects from the haul of treasures known as the Benin bronzes, including a brass head of an oba (king), a ceremonial *ada* (a sword or sceptre-like symbol of authority) and a throne depicting a coiled-up python, were taken from the sacked city during a British punitive expedition in 1897 and later sold to

German museums in Berlin, Hamburg, Stuttgart and Cologne.

Yesterday, Germany's foreign minister, Annalena Baerbock, passed perhaps the most spectacular of the returned objects into the gloved hands of Nigeria's culture minister, Lai Mohammed.

"She comes back to where she belongs," Baerbock said as she handed over a miniature mask of the *iyoba* (queen mother), made of ivory and decorated with yellow glass pearls, red coral and a crown of stylised electric catfish, which was looted from the bedchamber of the last independent oba.

A sample of more than 1,000 Benin

bronzes whose ownership Germany legally transferred to Nigeria on 1 July this year, the artworks were picked up by lorry from the museums, loaded into the cargo hold of a German air force plane at Cologne airport and then flown to Abuja via Berlin on Sunday.

Yesterday, the artworks were unwrapped and put on display on the back of a stage inside the wood-panelled conference hall at Nigeria's foreign ministry.

But as a nation celebrated the return of its long-lost cultural heritage, there were rumbles of frustration with Britain, which holds the single largest

## 'It's a prison' What now for men of Qatar's labour camps?

Sport Page 42 →

