

What's News

Business & Finance

Two associates of FTX founder Bankman-Fried have pleaded guilty for their roles in fraud that contributed to the cryptocurrency exchange's collapse and are cooperating with federal investigators. **A1**

◆ Bankman-Fried was transferred to U.S. custody to face criminal charges after a judge in the Bahamas approved his extradition. **A6**

◆ U.S. existing-home sales slid in November for a 10th straight month, extending a record streak of declines as high mortgage rates and home prices pushed many buyers out of the market. **A1**

◆ U.S. stocks rose, boosted by consumer-confidence data. The S&P 500 and Nasdaq both gained 1.5%, while the Dow added 1.6%. **B1**

◆ Citadel expects to return about \$7 billion in profits to its clients on the back of what is expected to be its most profitable year ever, said people familiar with the hedge-fund firm. **B1**

◆ After years of wrong-way bets, investors shorting the shares of Tesla have made \$15 billion in collective gains in 2022, according to data from S3 Partners. **B1**

◆ Musk said Twitter was on track to post negative cash flow of \$3 billion a year before the company slashed costs in part by cutting thousands of jobs. **B4**

◆ Hundreds of Tyson Foods employees plan to leave the company as it consolidates its corporate offices to northwest Arkansas next year, according to people familiar with the matter. **B1**

World-Wide

◆ Ukraine's Zelensky said his country would never surrender in its fight against Russia and urged Washington to ramp up military aid in an impassioned speech before Congress that unfolded as the war enters its 11th month. **A1**

◆ The Biden administration announced a nearly \$2 billion arms package for Ukraine that for the first time includes a Patriot air-defense system. **A8**

◆ The IRS's audits of Trump's tax returns were thinly staffed and at times unusually deferential to the former president's tax advisers, according to a nonpartisan report from congressional tax specialists. **A1, A4**

◆ Efforts to quickly pass the \$1.65 trillion omnibus spending bill were derailed by a fight over border policy late Wednesday, as a weekend deadline to approve the package and avoid a government shutdown crept closer. **A4**

◆ Life expectancy in the U.S. fell again last year to the lowest level since 1996, federal data showed, after Covid-19 and opioid overdoses drove up the number of deaths. **A3**

◆ The Taliban banned girls from attending primary school a day after closing universities to women, effectively instituting a total ban on the education of females. **A18**

◆ Officials are warning people to prepare for severe winter weather as a deep freeze sweeps across much of the U.S. this week. **A3**

◆ Died: Franco Harris, 72, NFL Hall of Famer. **A2**

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Zelensky Appeals for More Aid



Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky addressed Congress during a whirlwind trip to Washington on Wednesday. His speech was met with bursts of applause, including from Vice President Kamala Harris and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi.

In speech to Congress, Ukraine's president says nation will never surrender to Russia

BY KEN THOMAS
AND ANDREW RESTUCCIA

WASHINGTON—Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky said his country would never surrender in its fight against Russia and urged Washington to ramp up military aid in an impassioned speech before Congress that unfolded as the war enters its 11th month.

Speaking in a packed House chamber, a defiant Mr. Zelensky touted Ukraine's successes on the battlefield and said the West was united in its opposition to Russia's invasion. It capped a whirlwind, roughly eight-hour visit to Washington that included an Oval Office meeting with President Biden and a joint news conference at the White House.

"Against all the gloom-and-doom scenarios, Ukraine didn't fall. Ukraine is alive and kicking."

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◆ Ukraine steps up defense of Bakhmut... A8

Bankman-Fried Associates Admit Fraud Charges in FTX Collapse

BY CORINNE RAMEY
AND DAVE MICHAELS

Two associates of FTX founder Sam Bankman-Fried have pleaded guilty for their roles in fraud that contributed to the cryptocurrency exchange's collapse and are cooperating with federal investigators.

Caroline Ellison, the former chief executive of Alameda Research, a trading firm tied to FTX, and Gary Wang, FTX's former chief technology officer, both pleaded guilty to criminal offenses similar to those Mr. Bankman-Fried was charged with last week.

Damian Williams, the U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York, announced the charges and plea agreements in a video posted online Wednesday night. Mr. Williams called for others who participated in alleged misconduct at FTX or Alameda to come forward.

"We are moving quickly and our patience is not eternal," he said.

The announcement came shortly after Mr. Bankman-Fried had been transferred to U.S. custody in the Bahamas, where he was arrested last week.

Ms. Ellison, 28 years old, pleaded guilty to seven counts,

including wire fraud and conspiracy to commit securities fraud, according to her plea agreement, which was signed Monday. Mr. Wang, 29, pleaded guilty to four counts, including wire fraud.

Ilan Graff, a lawyer for Mr. Wang, said in a statement, "Gary has accepted responsibility for his actions and takes seriously his obligations as a cooperating witness." An attorney for Ms. Ellison declined to comment.

The Securities and Exchange Commission and Commodity Futures Trading Commission also sued Ms. Ellison and Mr. Wang, alleging they

committed civil securities and commodities fraud. Both agreed to settle the SEC's and CFTC's claims and to accept liability, with monetary penalties to be decided in the future, according to the regulators.

Mr. Bankman-Fried, 30, is expected to appear in federal court in Manhattan as soon as Thursday. Prosecutors have charged him with eight criminal counts, alleging he de-

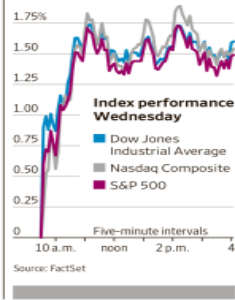
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◆ Bankman-Fried is transferred to U.S. custody... A6

◆ Binance draws calls for more transparency... A6

Consumer Data Boost Markets

Stocks got a lift from gains in consumer confidence. **B1**



Netflix Braces for Sharing Crackdown

Putting a stop to borrowed passwords without alienating viewers will be a challenge

BY SARAH KROUSE
AND JESSICA TOONKEL

The end of password sharing is coming to Netflix soon—and it will be a challenge for both viewers and the streaming giant.

The company has put off this moment for years. Researchers inside Netflix Inc. identified password sharing as a major problem eating into subscriptions in 2019, people familiar with the situation say, but the company was worried about how to address it without alienating consumers. Then Covid lock-

downs hit, bringing a wave of new subscribers, and the effort to scrutinize sharing petered out.

Netflix didn't pursue a plan to crack down widely on the practice until this year, as subscriber losses mounted. At a company gathering outside Los Angeles early this year, Co-Chief Executive Reed Hastings told senior executives that the pandemic boom had masked the extent of the password-sharing issue, and that they had waited too long to deal with it, according to people

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Drivers Can't Find Your Number

Workers delivering packages hunt for addresses under Christmas decorations

BY ESTHER FUNG

With one click, shoppers expect items to be shipped to them with alacrity and precision, across continents and oceans. Why then, do so many people make it hard for delivery drivers to find their homes?

Tiny house numbers, perhaps OK for hawks or eagles but not human drivers in a moving vehicle, are among the top pet peeves, drivers say. So are Christmas decorations or

snow blotting out mailbox numbers. House numbers spelled out in cursive are a pain.

Ditto for those in Roman numerals: Time is lost when workers have to drive by IV or V times to find the right house.

Steve Spitzer, a seasonal delivery driver covering routes south of Atlanta, recently reached a driveway that had three houses. Only one had a house number and it wasn't the ad-

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IRS Trump Audits Are Found Limited in Staffing, Scope

The Internal Revenue Service's audits of Donald Trump's tax returns were thinly staffed and unusually deferential to Mr. Trump's tax advisers, according to a nonpartisan report from specialists, according to the report by the staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation, which provided the information to the House committee that voted to release the former president's tax information.

By Mark Maremont,
Richard Rubin
and Joe Palazzolo

port from congressional tax specialists.

At times, only a single IRS agent was assigned to examine Mr. Trump's complex tax returns, with insufficient sup-

port from specialists, according to the report by the staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation, which provided the information to the House committee that voted to release the former president's tax information.

The IRS initially limited the scope of some audits, with an agent noting in internal documents that Mr. Trump's professional accounting firm and lawyers "perform the necessary activities to ensure the taxpayer properly reports all income and deduction items

correctly," the report says.

While the IRS often struggles to audit the returns of wealthy taxpayers with sophisticated advisers, the portrayal in the report suggested the agency had more trouble than usual grappling with the daunting task of examining the returns of a sitting president.

"Every rich person's tax returns are prepared by lawyers and accountants," said Daniel

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◆ Panel calls for Trump loans to be scrutinized by IRS... A4

INSIDE



SPORTS

The New York Mets sign infielder Carlos Correa to cap MLB's highest payroll. **A14**

WORLD NEWS

Netanyahu says he has backing to form a governing coalition in Israel. **A18**

U.S. Home Sales Fall For 10th Month in Row

BY NICOLE FRIEDMAN

U.S. existing-home sales slid in November for a 10th straight month, extending a record streak of declines as high mortgage rates and home prices pushed many buyers out of the market.

Sales of previously owned homes declined 7.7% in November from the prior month to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 4.09 million, the weakest since May 2020, the National Association of Realtors said Wednesday. November sales fell 35.4% from a year earlier. The series of monthly drops is the longest on record in data going back to 1999, NAR said.

Existing-home sales have dropped about 37% from their recent peak in January. Mortgage rates surged to above 7% in early November from 3.1% at

the end of 2021. That boosted expected mortgage payments for many buyers by hundreds of dollars a month, driving many shoppers out of the market.

This year's sharp housing-market slowdown marks a major war the Federal Reserve's aggressive interest-rate increases are rippling through the economy. The central bank raised rates seven times this year, including in November and last week, in an effort to combat high inflation by slowing spending, hiring and investment.

U.S. consumer confidence rose sharply this month, to its highest reading since April, because of easing inflation pressures and a resilient labor market, the Conference Board, said Wednesday.

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◆ Heard on the Street: Reason to bet on housing recovery... B12



Lessons from the gilts crisis

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The unease behind Argentina's celebrations

LUCINDA ELLIOTT, PAGE 14

In Washington Zelenskyy travels abroad

Volodymyr Zelenskyy walks alongside Rufus Gifford, chief of protocol of the US, as he arrives in Washington yesterday on his first trip outside Ukraine since Russia invaded his country more than 500 days ago.

The Ukraine president was set to meet Joe Biden, his US counterpart, before addressing a joint session of Congress last night.

Zelenskyy landed at a critical moment in the fight against Russia's war as officials in Kyiv warned Moscow was preparing for a winter offensive.

The Ukraine leader wrote in a Telegram post: "I am in Washington today to thank the American people, the president and the Congress for their much-needed support."

Shortly before his arrival, the Biden administration announced \$1.85bn in new lethal assistance for Ukraine. Zelenskyy boosted page 2



Reuters

US tech retreat from European offices piles pressure on continent's landlords

◆ Rapid expansion halts ◆ Bid to cut space in London and Dublin ◆ Homeworking spurs pullback

GEORGE HAMMOND AND CRISTINA CRIDDLE — LONDON

Big Tech groups are ditching offices that are part of their European headquarters as a cooling economy brings the sector's years of rapid expansion to a halt.

Google's parent Alphabet, Facebook parent Meta and enterprise software giant Salesforce are among the US groups seeking to abandon leased office space in London and Dublin, according to people familiar with the plans.

The moves come as the companies respond to the downturn in tech stocks with cost cuts, including by shedding jobs. The pullback is a new setback for landlords already facing their biggest challenge since the 2008 financial crisis. Office values are tumbling on both sides of the Atlantic because of rising interest

rates, an increasingly bleak economic outlook and increased homeworking.

Meanwhile, demands from staff to work remotely during the coronavirus pandemic have turned some tech companies into accidental landlords that are now jostling to sublet surplus space in a challenged property market.

"Walk round any of those [Big Tech] offices and there is a huge amount of space given over to non-fee generating functions which look very generous,"

Alphabet, Meta and business software giant Salesforce are seeking to ditch leased office space

rates, an increasingly bleak economic outlook and increased homeworking. said Chris Lewis, who advises office occupiers at property company DeVono Cresco. "The amount of space taken was taken by a really ambitious view of headcount."

Google plans to leave at least one of its London offices — in Belgrave House, Victoria — next year, according to three people familiar with the matter.

Belgrave House is its former London headquarters but Google's lease across several floors on the building was drawing to an end, these people said.

That move is part of a broader shake-up, with the company intending to move most staff into its £1bn office in King's Cross, now under construction.

The closure has been accelerated because one in 10 of Google staff has chosen to work from home

permanently, according to a person familiar with the operations.

Google is also exploring subletting or abandoning more of its existing rented office space across London, according to people familiar with the company's plans. Google declined to comment.

Meta signed a lease on a 310,000-square foot office in Fitzrovia in central London last year but is now trying to sublet the block without ever having moved in, according to people with knowledge of the deal. The company is also looking for new tenants for hundreds of thousands of square feet in Dublin which it had intended to occupy.

Chief executive Mark Zuckerberg said the company's "real estate footprint" would be "shrunk" to cut costs, with hybrid workers asked to share desks.

Such moves mirror efforts in the US, where the company is trying to find tenants for its building in Fremont, California. It has also paused a plan to expand in Austin, Texas, and is instead subletting. Meta has also terminated leases on two of its three offices in Manhattan, New York.

Salesforce, which owns workplace messaging platform Slack, confirmed that it will sublet part of a floor in its tower in the City of London.

Amazon Web Services and Microsoft intended to expand in London before the pandemic but have put the plans on hold, according to one office leasing agent in the capital.

Amazon and Microsoft did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

Briefing

► Musk defends 'cutting costs like crazy' at Twitter
Elon Musk has argued that the social media platform would have negative cash flow of \$53m a year were it not for his actions. — PAGE 5
TESLA SLIDE, PAGE 6; LEX, PAGE 16

► Putin bolsters war chest
Russia's president has hit back at claims the Kremlin has left its forces without key equipment, saying the Ukraine war could be financed without "limits". — PAGE 2

► Trump taxes unveiled
A summary of returns has shown Donald Trump paid \$1.8m in federal income tax between 2015 and 2020, as well as vigorous use of losses and deductions. — PAGE 2

► Chinese deficit hits record
Beijing's budget shortfall has hit a record high as a meltdown in the property sector and Xi Jinping's recently eased zero-Covid policy weighed on the economy. — PAGE 4

► Brussels scandal deepens
The EU commission has said it will ask ex-member Dimitris Avramopoulos to explain his role for a campaign group at the heart of a Qatar-linked scandal. — PAGE 2

► FTX founder set for US
Sam Bankman-Fried has told a Bahamas court he will consent to US extradition, paving the way for him to face charges over the failed crypto exchange. — PAGE 6

Datawatch

Festive fretting



Price rises are causing extra stress in the run-up to Christmas, according to a poll of 12 countries. On average, 55 per cent say they are more anxious about prices than last year. Romanians are the most stressed, Brazilians are the least worried



Buyout firms barge into the US emergency room

Private equity firms have seized on a feature of the disjointed US healthcare system in which emergency doctors do not work for the hospitals where they operate. Over five years some of the biggest groups have snapped up the companies that employ ER medics. The swoop has thrown up lawsuits from doctors' groups and insurance companies that threaten the stability of a life-saving industry now saddled with billions in debt after the buyouts. The buyout knife — PAGE 7

Wood's Ark fund sheds nearly \$50bn in assets since 2021 peak after tech sell-off

HARRIET AGNEW — LONDON

Cathie Wood's Ark Investment Management has lost almost \$50bn in assets from its stable of exchange traded funds since its 2021 peak, highlighting the scale of this year's losses in speculative tech stocks.

Total assets across Ark's nine ETFs have slumped to \$11.4bn from a peak of \$60.3bn in February last year, according to Morningstar.

This was led by steep declines in its flagship Ark Disruptive Innovation ETF, known by its ticker ARKK, which has lost about two-thirds of its value this year and is on track for its worst-ever annual performance.

"Ark Innovation's results have been horrendous this year and very disappointing for investors," said Robby Greengold, a strategist at Morningstar,

which in April downgraded the ETF to "negative".

The steep fall highlights how growth investors such as Wood have been wrongfooted this year as the US Federal Reserve and other central banks globally called time on a decade-long period of cheap money with a series of interest rate hikes to combat inflation.

This has prompted a sell-off in tech stocks, notably fast-growing and loss-making companies, which are seen as susceptible to rises in interest rates that diminish their potential future returns. Investors have rotated into value stocks that look cheap compared with metrics such as book value and profits.

ARKK is the largest of a group of strategies that combine an ETF structure with an ability to pick stocks. Wood seeks to identify the handful of companies that can make exponential gains by

shaping the future, covering areas ranging from space exploration and fintech, to robotics and the genomic revolution.

The flagship ARKK's shares are down roughly 65 per cent this year, lingering at a five-year low and underperforming the tech-heavy Nasdaq, which is down 32 per cent in the same period.

"A huge driver of the underperformance has been stylistic in nature... globally, growth stocks have suffered and value stocks have been more resilient," said Greengold.

ARKK's three largest positions are video platform Zoom, a Covid-19 winner that has given up its pandemic-era gains; Exact Sciences, a provider of molecular cancer screening and prognostic testing, and electric-vehicle maker Tesla, whose shares are down more than 60 per cent this year. Ark declined to comment.

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Dec 21	Prev	%Chg		Dec 21	Prev	%Chg		Dec 21	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	3879.05	3871.62	1.92	\$/£	1.081	1.084	-0.3	US 2 yr	4.24	4.27	-0.03
Nikkei Composite	32786.09	32542.11	1.51	\$/€	1.211	1.214	-0.2	US 10 yr	3.88	3.89	-0.01
Dow Jones Ind	33349.09	32949.74	1.52	€/£	0.877	0.877	0.0	US 30 yr	3.75	3.74	0.01
FTSEurofirst 300	1704.68	1677.27	1.63	\$/¥	131.996	131.475	0.4	UK 2 yr	3.71	3.74	-0.03
Euro Stoxx 50	3870.62	3862.40	1.79	\$/¥	186.847	189.525	-1.4	UK 10 yr	3.57	3.59	-0.02
FTSE 100	7481.30	7270.62	2.92	\$/¥	0.983	0.985	-0.2	UK 30 yr	3.85	3.89	-0.04
FTSE All-Share	4085.42	4026.91	1.70	\$/¥	1.122	1.124	-0.2	JPN 2 yr	0.02	0.01	-0.03
CAC 40	6580.24	6450.43	2.01					JPN 10 yr	0.47	0.41	0.06
Xetra Dax	14087.82	13984.86	1.54					JPN 30 yr	1.54	1.57	-0.03
Nikkei	32786.09	32542.11	1.51	Bitcoin (\$)	16832.63	16903.72	-0.42				
Hang Seng	19180.49	19004.80	0.94	Ethereum	1213.75	1216.88	-0.24				
MSCI World \$	2582.86	2565.89	0.27								
MSCI EM \$	861.08	867.84	-0.68								
MSCI ACWI \$	882.38	882.09	0.16	Oil WTI \$	79.58	79.38	0.25				
FT Wiltshire 2000	4967.04	4949.64	0.15	Oil Brent \$	82.00	79.80	2.76				
FT Wiltshire 5000	38705.63	38644.54	0.16	Gold \$	1813.90	1790.80	1.29				

Prices are latest for edition. Data provided by Morningstar

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Addressing Congress on Wednesday, President Volodymyr Zelenskyy of Ukraine presented a flag signed by members of the military.

U.S. Predicts Impasse as Ukraine War Endures

This article is by **Julian E. Barnes**,
Helene Cooper and **Eric Schmitt**.

WASHINGTON — As the war in Ukraine soon enters its second year, Ukrainian troops will find it much more challenging to reclaim territory from Russian forces who are focused on defending their remaining land gains rather than making a deeper push into the country, American officials say.

Over the course of the first 10 months of the war, the Ukrainian military has — with significant American support — outmaneuvered an incompetent Russian military, fought it to a standstill and then retaken hundreds of square miles and the only regional capital that Russia had captured.

Russia Learns Lessons That Could Change Tide of Conflict

tacks on civilian power supplies, Ukraine has still kept up the momentum on the front lines since September. But the tide of the war is likely to change in the coming months, as Russia improves its defenses and pushes more soldiers to the front lines, making it more difficult for Ukraine to retake the huge swaths of territory it lost this year, according to U.S. government assessments.

All of these factors make the most likely scenario going into the

second year of the war a stalemate in which neither army can take much land despite intense fighting.

"I do think that it is far easier for Ukraine to defend territory than to go on the offensive to recapture territory," said Evelyn Farkas, a former senior Pentagon official and Russia expert. "We need to be providing Ukrainians the necessary equipment and training to do that."

President Volodymyr Zelenskyy of Ukraine asked for such assistance when he met President Biden and addressed Congress on Wednesday evening, his first visit outside the country since the start of the war.

Over the past six months,
Continued on Page A8

Putin Admits Battle Failures But Fights On

By **ANTON TROIANOVSKI**

After months of blistering assessments from inside and outside Russia that his war effort in Ukraine lacked even the basic resources necessary to prevail, President Vladimir V. Putin delivered his own verdict on that criticism on Wednesday: It's valid.

In an unusual acknowledgment of Russia's shortcomings in a speech at the Ministry of Defense in Moscow, the Russian leader ticked off a list of areas his military must improve on. He declared that drones must be able to communicate targeting information through encrypted channels "in real time." He said the military needed to "improve the command and control system" and its ability to strike back at enemy artillery.

And he nodded to the widespread reports of soldiers' being sent to the front without basic equipment, instructing officers to pay attention to "medical kits, food, dry rations, uniforms, footwear, protective helmets and bulletproof vests."

But far from an admission of defeat, Mr. Putin's reference to his army's woes reflected his defiant message on a day when Ukraine's president put on a show of unity with the United States: Russia will keep fighting.

"We have no limits in terms of financing," Mr. Putin said, insisting that Russia would eventually prevail in Ukraine. "The country and the government are providing everything that the army asks for — everything."

Continued on Page A7

AID ISN'T 'CHARITY,' ZELENSKY ASSERTS BEFORE CONGRESS

He Seeks More Support and Vows Victory — Biden Offers Missile System

By **MICHAEL D. SHEAR** and **ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS**

WASHINGTON — President Volodymyr Zelenskyy of Ukraine delivered an emotional wartime appeal to a joint meeting of Congress on Wednesday night, telling Americans that "your money is not charity" and vowing that his people would eventually secure an improbable victory against Russia on behalf of all free nations.

"Against all odds and doom-and-gloom scenarios, Ukraine did not fail," Mr. Zelenskyy said in halting but forceful English from the dais in the House chamber, where he was greeted with extended applause from lawmakers.

"Ukraine is alive and kicking," he said. "And it gives me good reason to share with you our first joint victory: We defeated Russia in the battle for minds of the world."

In blunt terms, Mr. Zelenskyy pleaded for more military assistance from the lawmakers, who are poised to approve \$45 billion in additional aid by the end of the week, bringing the total over a year to

nearly \$100 billion. His message: Your support has kept President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia from overrunning our country. Now keep it coming.

"We have artillery, yes, thank you," he said. "We have it. Is it enough? Honestly, not really."

Mr. Zelenskyy's visit to Washington — kept secret until the eve of his arrival for security reasons — was a dramatic show of confidence by Ukraine's leader, who had not left his country since Mr. Putin began his assault 300 days ago.

In the space of 24 hours, just days before Christmas, Mr. Zelenskyy flew from the battered front lines of a country plunged into darkness by Russian air attacks to the marble-lined rooms of the White House and the Capitol, where he repeatedly thanked Americans for being partners in Ukraine's battle to survive.

Dressed in his wartime uniform of an olive green sweater and
Continued on Page A6



A resident of Kamianka, Ukraine, who is living with a neighbor after her house was destroyed. The town has no electricity.

Musk's Tweets Only Aggravate Tesla's Troubles

This article is by **Jack Ewing**,
Daisuke Wakabayashi and **Melissa Eddy**.

Production headaches on three continents. Intensifying competition. A plunging share price. And a distracted chief executive seemingly bent on alienating some of the company's most loyal customers.

A growing list of problems at Tesla, the world's most valuable car company, is puncturing its mystique as the segment's technology leader, leading analysts and investors to question whether it can continue to dominate the market for electric vehicles.

At the center of investors' concern is Elon Musk, the chief executive, whose high-profile purchase of Twitter has overshadowed his Tesla role at a critical moment in the automaker's relatively short history.

Tesla is straining to ramp up production at new factories in Austin, Texas, and outside Berlin. Covid restrictions and dysfunctional supply chains, a problem for all carmakers, have led to intermittent shutdowns at Tesla's factories.

Continued on Page A14

Debate Mounts On How Trump Avoided Audits

By **CHARLIE SAVAGE**
and **ALAN RAFFAPORT**

WASHINGTON — The I.R.S. subjected both President Donald J. Trump's predecessor and his successor to annual audits of their tax returns once they took office, spokespeople for Barack Obama and President Biden said on Wednesday, intensifying questions about how Mr. Trump escaped such scrutiny until Democrats in the House started inquiring.

Late Tuesday, a House committee revealed that the Internal Revenue Service failed to audit Mr. Trump during his first two years in office despite a rule that states that "the individual tax returns for the president and the vice president are subject to mandatory review." But its report left unclear whether that lapse reflected general dysfunction or whether Mr. Trump received special treatment.

The disclosure of routine audits of Mr. Obama and Mr. Biden during their time in office suggested that the agency's treatment of Mr. Trump was an aberration.

Continued on Page A19

Calm Before Holiday Storm

Blizzard conditions are expected for Lake Michigan in Chicago and across the country. Page A21.

Speaker Ban at Berkeley Law School Incites Free Speech Fight

By **VIMAL PATEL**

On the first day of the fall semester, Erwin Chemerinsky, the dean of the law school at the University of California, Berkeley, learned that a student group created a bylaw that banned supporters of Zionism from speaking at its events.

Mr. Chemerinsky said he rarely used profanity but did so in that moment. As a constitutional law scholar and co-author of a book about campus free speech, Mr. Chemerinsky said that he knew the group, the Berkeley chapter of Law Students for Justice in Palestine, had the legal right to exclude

speakers based on their views. But he also knew the bylaw, which eight other student groups also adopted, would be polarizing within the law school and used as a cudgel by forces outside of it.

In hindsight, he said, he underestimated the response. The story "went viral in a way that I could have never possibly imagined," he

said. The controversy, pushed along online by conservative commentators, hits two of the pressure points in campus politics today. The bylaw was adopted as anti-Semitism is rising across the country. And some critics of academia have cast left-wing students as

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Netanyahu on Cusp of Power

After weeks of talks, Benjamin Netanyahu said he had formed a new Israeli coalition that would return him to office just 18 months after he left it. PAGE A10

BUSINESS B1-5

Crypto Executives Plead Guilty

The former chief executive of Alameda Research and a founder of FTX are cooperating in the federal criminal case against Sam Bankman-Fried. PAGE B1

SPORTS B6-8

Mets Add Another Superstar

When a deal with the San Francisco Giants fell apart, Carlos Correa didn't need much to head east. Just \$315 million from Steven A. Cohen. PAGE B6

OBITUARIES B9-10

Steeler With 'Immaculate' Snag

Franco Harris, a Hall of Fame running back who won four Super Bowls, made one of the most memorable receptions in N.F.L. history. He was 72. PAGE B9

OPINION A22-23

Lydia Polgreen

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PAGE A22



TIFFANY & CO.

Andy Warhol



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LEGAL WEED, BROKEN PROMISES



Some pot farm workers face exploitation, misery

Immigrants who grow cannabis endure abuse, wage theft, threats, squalid conditions — even death. Regulators ignore their plight.

By Paige St. John and Marisa Gerber

Sareth Sin, 67, died upright, seated in a plastic chair, on Christmas Day. He was asphyxiated by fumes from the generator or he ran to chase the desert chill out of a cannabis greenhouse on the eastern edge of Los Angeles County.

Leuane Chounlabout, 79, was found lifeless, lying on his back surrounded by a tangle of electrical cords connecting heat lamps to a greenhouse generator outside Palmdale. He had arrived two days earlier to help harvest.

Miguel and Rufino Garcia Rivera, 28 and 36, collapsed on the floor of a desert greenhouse not far away that reeked of diesel and pesticide fumes. The brothers, recent arrivals from Mexico, died of carbon monoxide poisoning near the small cannabis plants they had been hired to cultivate.

For millions of consumers, the legalization of cannabis has brought a multi-billion-dollar industry out of the shadows and into brightly lit neighborhood dispensaries.

[See Cannabis, A8]



A CANNABIS worker, top, consoles his girlfriend during a raid on an unlicensed farm in San Bernardino County. Above, a toddler plays with her mother and other pot farm workers in Oregon.

Photographs by BRIAN VAN DER BRUG Los Angeles Times

Zelensky tells Congress: Aid 'is not charity'

In rare wartime visit, Ukraine's leader says his army is defending democracy globally.

By TRACY WILKINSON, COURTNEY SUBRAMANIAN AND NOLAN D. MCCASKILL

WASHINGTON — Making a dramatic, risky wartime visit to Washington on Wednesday, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky strategized privately with President Biden at the White House and then, to repeated standing ovations, delivered an impassioned plea to Congress for sustained U.S. military aid.

"Your money is not charity," Zelensky told the unusual joint session of Congress on Wednesday evening. "It is an investment in global security and democracy that we handle in the most responsible way."

The Ukrainian leader, fresh from the front lines and making his first known trip outside of his country since Russia's invasion 300 days ago, pressed a message of thanks to "ordinary" Americans for their support while also making the case for more help.

Throughout the day, he wore his drab olive fatigues as a glaring reminder of the war back home, even as he sat on the upholstered chairs of the Oval Office or addressed the suits and ties of Congress.

In addition to warm welcomes from Biden, administration officials and enthused members of Congress, Zelensky was greeted with the president's announcement of \$1.8 billion in new aid, including a sophisticated Patriot missile battery that Kyiv has long sought.

But despite mutual praise and appreciation and [See Ukraine, A6]

It's a red-tagged holiday for some

Quake leaves dozens of houses unsafe and numerous homeless days before Christmas.

By MACKENZIE MAYS, SUSANNE RUST AND JESSICA GARRISON

RIO DELL, Calif. — As aftershocks rumbled and crews worked across Humboldt County on Wednesday afternoon to restore water and power knocked out by the powerful earthquake that struck earlier this week, Kevin McNeice rushed to his former home, hoping to beat a code enforcement team so he could grab some of his possessions before access was blocked.

Residents are no longer in the dark

Crews restore power to 71,000 customers after the temblor hit the region. CALIFORNIA, B2

He was too late. The quake-battered structure had already been red-tagged by the time McNeice, 37, a sawmill machinist, arrived to try to salvage some of his belongings, including his beloved record collection, worth thousands of dollars.

He could only peer helplessly through what used to be his kitchen window at the damage: cupboards blown open, fire retardant stains on the ceiling and shattered [See Earthquake, A14]

Dive boat passengers tried to escape fire, video shows

By RICHARD WINTON

Following the horrific Concepcion boat fire in 2019, authorities offered a small solace: The 33 divers and one crew member had died of smoke inhalation and may have perished in their sleep without suffering.

That theory was called into question when some of the dead were found to have been wearing their shoes, leading investigators to speculate they had tried to escape before the ship was

engulfed in flames.

Now, more than three years after one of the country's deadliest maritime accidents, a sobering piece of evidence has put the question to rest, showing conclusively that the divers were awake and searching for a way off the boat in the minutes after crew members had jumped into the water.

A 24-second video federal investigators recovered from a victim's badly damaged phone recorded the relatively calm, but increasingly desperate scene as

smoke seeped below deck into the dive boat's bunk room, according to relatives of two unrelated victims who viewed the footage, as well as authorities involved in the investigation who confirmed the contents of the video.

In the video, "the fire alarm is going off ... you see smoke coming in from some of the fans and down the stairwell," said a man who lost his sister in the fire. "People are walking around looking for a way to get out."

[See Divers, A14]



FRANCO HARRIS DIES

A statue in Pittsburgh depicts 1972's "Immaculate Reception" by the Steelers running back. The Pro Football Hall of Famer was 72. CALIFORNIA, B5

Netanyahu says he has a coalition

The designated Israeli prime minister's new government would be the nation's most right-wing ever. WORLD, A3

Storm could snag holiday travel

As millions venture out, forecasters predict heavy snow and ice across a broad swath of the U.S. NATION, A4

Weather
Partly sunny.
L.A. Basin: 70/47. B6



SYSTEMS ENGINEER Pranay Mishra clears dust from ForeSight, a model of NASA's Mars lander InSight, which had been studying the red planet since 2018.

A farewell to Mars lander's twin at JPL as mission ends

By CORINNE PURTILL

Pranay Mishra reached down to the floor of his workplace and scooped a handful of what might be the closest thing on Earth to the feel of Martian soil.

"This is actually unprocessed garnet," he said, sifting the gray granules in his palm. Tiny ruby-colored flecks caught the light. Mixed with diatomaceous earth, a fine powder of algae fossils often used by garden-

ers, the coarse gray stuff makes a decent substitute for the density and texture of Mars' dirt. The only difference is that on Mars, no one has to clean it up.

"I've torn up three pairs of shoes working in this," the JPL systems engineer said, laughing. "It follows you home. It's in your car, it's in your house — it's everywhere."

More than 50 million miles away, a critical amount of actual Mars dust has covered the solar panels

of NASA's InSight lander, which had been studying the red planet's crust, mantle, core and seismic activity since 2018. With the solar panels out of commission, the batteries can't generate enough voltage to keep the spacecraft's instruments online, prompting the lander to power itself down and bringing the mission to an official end, NASA announced Wednesday.

InSight was designed to go out this way. And when it [See Lander, A11]

BUSINESS INSIDE: Tesla's stock has plunged this year, and 2023 doesn't look good. A10

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington

Rain 51/38 • Tomorrow: Rain, snow 44/14 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 22, 2022 • B3

2 officers convicted in fatal chase in District

One guilty of murder, both of obstruction in 2020 pursuit of moped

BY PAUL DUGGAN

Two D.C. police officers were found guilty of obstructing justice and one of them was convicted of second-degree murder Wednesday in connection with a 2020 vehicular chase that killed a young Black man on a moped and sparked destructive civil unrest by hundreds of demonstrators outside a city police station.

After deliberating for five days in a trial that began Oct. 25, a jury in U.S. District Court in Washington found Officer Terence Sutton, 38, guilty of second-degree murder in the death of 20-year-old Karon Hylton-Brown, who crashed his rented moped during a pursuit that prosecutors said violated police policy and was conducted in an illegally reckless fashion.

Sutton and his co-defendant, Lt. Andrew Zabavsky, were convicted of conspiracy and obstructing justice in what authorities said was an attempt to cover up the chase and the seriousness of the crash on the night of Oct. 23, 2020. Jurors returned guilty verdicts on all charges against the officers, both of whom are White. Zabavsky, 54, was not charged directly in Hylton-Brown's death.

At a time of raw racial tensions nationwide following the police killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis in May 2020, the crowd

SEE VERDICT ON A16

Weight-loss drugs a boon, save for some in dire need

BY LAURIE MCGINLEY AND LENNY BERNSTEIN

Rachel Graham has battled excess weight for years, cycling through trendy diets, various drugs, even bariatric surgery. Nothing worked for long. But last summer, she started a new medication, and today is 40 pounds lighter — and still shedding weight.

"It used to be that if I saw food, I would want to eat it," said the 54-year-old Graham, who is 5-foot-7 and 190 pounds. "Now, if I have three or four bites of food, I don't want to eat more."

The drug she's taking, Mounjaro by Eli Lilly, is part of a new crop of therapies that experts are hailing as a medical milestone — a long-sought way to transform the treatment of obesity, one of the nation's most serious health threats.

Designed for diabetes but used for obesity at higher doses, the medications induce loss of 15 to 22 percent of body weight on average — more than enough to

SEE WEIGHT ON A15

Zelensky, Biden seek to rally support



Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky addresses Congress on Wednesday night, making an impassioned case for continued financial support for his country's defense against Russia. Earlier in the day, he met with President Biden at the White House.

For two presidents, a show of strength and shared objectives

BY TOLUSE OLORUNNIBA

Capping a year in which they each faced long odds and defied gloomy predictions, the two men stood side by side at the White House on Wednesday — President Biden in a blue suit, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky in an olive-green military shirt and heavy boots.

The stark sartorial contrast was one of the few differences on display as Biden and Zelensky praised one another and

presented a united front during the Ukrainian leader's visit to Washington, his first appearance abroad since Russia's invasion. The visit underscored how the relationship between the two men — a 44-year-old born in what was then the U.S.S.R. and an octogenarian born in Scranton, Pa. — has unexpectedly become one of the most vital partnerships in global affairs.

"I am standing here in the United States with President Biden on the same podium be-

cause I respect him as a person, as a president, as a human being," Zelensky said Wednesday during a joint news conference. Biden reciprocated, "This guy to his very soul is who he says he is. It's clear who he is. He's willing to give his life for his country."

The visit was significant for both men. It offered Zelensky, who briefly left a country racked by war, an opportunity to tout his government's accomplishments in standing up to Russian aggres-

sion. It gave Biden a chance to reiterate his "America is back" message and his defense of democracy that has been directed at both domestic and international audiences, and to play the role of savvy global leader he has always ascribed to himself.

"The American people have been with you every step of the way, and we will stay with you. We will stay with you for as long as it takes," Biden said. "What you're doing, what you've

SEE PRESIDENTS ON A6

UKRAINIAN LEADER VISITS D.C. AMID WAR

In speech to Congress, he again pleads for more aid

BY YASMEEN ABUTALEB AND TYLER PAGER

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky made an impassioned and emotional plea to Congress on Wednesday for continued American support against Russia's unrelenting assault, speaking personally and passionately about why Ukraine needed more aid and weapons to lawmakers whose ranks include some vocal skeptics of future reinforcements.

Zelensky's address to a joint session of Congress came after he met with President Biden during an extraordinary day in Washington that marked the Ukrainian leader's first international trip since Russia invaded Ukraine 300 days earlier. The two projected a united front at the White House, and both men issued blistering rebukes of Russia as they sought to rally support for a long and grueling war.

But Zelensky, who has found his closest ally in Biden, faced a far greater challenge on Capitol Hill, where a growing number of House Republicans — who are poised to take control of the chamber in January — have expressed skepticism or outright opposition to continuing to send more aid to Ukraine. Zelensky's visit also came as U.S. public support for sending expansive amounts of aid to Ukraine has softened significantly over the past several months amid rising economic anxieties.

Still, Zelensky — who donned

SEE ZELENSKY ON A6

Policies: Despite unity, presidents differed on some war needs. **A7**

DIY patriotism: Kremlin calls on bakers, knitters to aid troops. **A10**

After Uvalde shooting, a chaotic medical response

Previously unreleased records reveal delays as victims lost blood

This article is by Zach Despart, Loni Kriel, Alejandro Serrano, Joyce Solgen Lee, Arellis R. Hernández, Sarah Cahlan, Imogen Piper and Uriel J. García

UVALDE, Tex. — Bullets had pierced Eva Mireles's chest as she tried to shield students from a gunman's semiautomatic rifle. But the fourth-grade teacher at Robb Elementary was still conscious when police carried her out of Classroom 112 and through a hallway crowded with dead and dying victims.

"You're fine. You're fine," said her husband, Uvalde school district police officer Ruben Ruiz, who had been frantically trying to rescue her since the attack began. Mireles looked at him but could not speak. She'd been losing blood



for more than an hour. Officers placed Mireles on the sidewalk just beyond one of the school's exits and started treating her wounds. A medic later told investigators he did not see any ambulances, though video footage showed two parked just past the corner of the building, about 100 feet away.

The chaotic scene exemplified the flawed medical response — captured in video footage, investigative documents, interviews and radio traffic — that experts said undermined the chances of survival for some victims of the May 24 massacre. Two teachers and 19 students died.

Law enforcement's well-documented failure to confront the

SEE UVALDE ON A8



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

Growing absence of Afghan women in classrooms

A curtain separates the male and female sections of a classroom at a university in Afghanistan's Kandahar province on Wednesday. This week, the Taliban decided to ban women from public and private universities. However, some female teachers and girls at primary schools said they were also turned away from classes, renewing fears over the crackdown on women's rights. **Story, A12**

IN THE NEWS



HARRY CABLUCK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A Steelers cornerstone Franco Harris, whose "Immaculate Reception" made NFL history in 1972, has died at 72. **B4**

Israeli government Benjamin Netanyahu formed a new coalition, the most right-wing and conservative in the country's history. **A10**

THE NATION

A rare, invasive form of strep A has been popping up around the United States and Europe, causing perplexing symptoms and some pediatric deaths. **A2**
Some U.S. schools are trying "high dosage" tutoring to help students who fell behind in math and reading during the pandemic. **A3**
Dyslexia has become a social justice issue for Black and Latino parents who struggle to get specialized reading help for their children. **A4**
The first grants that will send \$686 million

TO UPGRADE THE ACCESSIBILITY

of 28 transit stations were announced by Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg. **A5**
Life expectancy in the United States continued its steady decline in 2021, with covid-19 and drug overdoses taking the lives of hundreds of thousands. **A5**

THE WORLD

Families of Seoul crowd-crush victims say said a widespread "accountability failure" persists despite the news this week that several additional officials could be charged. **A11**

THE ECONOMY

Fewer than half of all nursing home residents have received the latest booster shot, stoking fears of another wave of coronavirus deaths. **A13**
Elon Musk announced he will resign as CEO of Twitter but maintain control over product decisions after users voted that he should leave. **A13**
Congress's \$1.7 trillion spending bill would enact historic child nutrition benefits but reduce programs for food-insecure Americans. **A14**

THE REGION

D.C. high schools saw a two-point bump in four-year graduation rates, but chronic ab-

SENTEISM ALSO ROSE. B1

Results were slow to arrive in the Democratic primary for Virginia's 4th Congressional District, where two state senators were vying for the nomination. **B1**
Advocates held a vigil for at least 77 homeless people who have died in D.C. in 2022, as the toll is expected to rise. **B1**
A judge in Fairfax County threw out the murder case against a man accused of fatally assaulting his 82-year-old father. **B1**
The family of a diplomat who was fatally struck while riding her bike in Bethesda has sued the truck driver and his company. **B1**

INSIDE



LOCAL LIVING

Host couture An interior designer transformed her formerly flooded basement into an Airbnb. Here's what she learned.

STYLE An extra mile to see Black Santa For many families, finding a Saint Nick who looks like their children is worth the long drive. **C1**

BUSINESS NEWS.....A13
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LIFESTYLE.....B3
OBITUARIES.....B4
TELEVISION.....C4
WORLD NEWS.....A10

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IRS didn't audit Trump tax returns 2 years in office

House panel's report shows only one mandatory review was started during his term. **In News**

'Matilda': Emma Thompson disappears into villain role

Costuming, makeup and other preparations pay off as she portrays Trunchbull. **In Life**



BOB GRIESE/ALLSPORT/GETTY IMAGES

There was far more to Franco than one play

His brilliant Immaculate Reception aside, Harris built a Hall of Fame career – and an NFL dynasty, Mike Freeman writes. **In Sports**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | THURSDAY, DECEMBER 22, 2022

E3

Snow, extreme cold may hamper travel

An intense storm is set to hit large swaths of the country before Christmas, bringing brutal cold, heavy snow, damaging winds and rain. Forecasters say it could create dangerous conditions for air and road travel.

- More about the forecast, 4A
- What flyers can expect this week. 1B



CHARLIE NEIBERG/ALP

Jan. 6 panel postpones release of final report

Ukraine president's visit among reasons cited

Bart Jansen and Josh Meyer
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – The Jan. 6 committee postponed issuing its final report on Wednesday, citing the last-minute visit to Washington of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and some other unspecified logistical complications.

"The Select Committee now anticipates its final report will be filed and released tomorrow," a committee staffer confirmed Wednesday to USA TODAY.

The staffer, who spoke about internal committee matters on the condition of anonymity, said some "select committee records" could be released later Wednesday but did not specify what ones.

Committee staffers confirmed Wednesday morning that they were planning to release it later in the day. But as the afternoon progressed, the committee had second thoughts.

The report culminates an 18-month inquiry into what led to the worst attack on the Capitol since 1814 and what happened that day. With Republicans who labeled the panel partisan and illegitimate taking control of the House in January, the report will be the panel's last opportunity to summarize its findings and make recommendations aimed at preventing another attack.

On Monday, the committee released a 160-page executive summary of the report. It broke little new ground, but yielded 17 findings that former President Donald Trump was at the center of the plot to overturn results of the 2020 election and spurred an angry mob to the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

Zelenskyy tells Congress: Ukraine 'alive and thriving'

Leader looks to reaffirm support during historic visit



President Joe Biden greets Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelenskyy at the White House Wednesday. Zelenskyy met privately with Biden and later addressed a joint meeting of Congress. JOSH MORGAN/USA TODAY

Candy Woodall, Joey Garrison, Maureen Groppe and Francesca Chambers
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – President Joe Biden pledged staunch and sustained support for Ukraine in its war with Russia as Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy traveled to Washington Wednesday on a monumental – and dramatic – mission to secure continued assistance from the U.S.

After meeting with Biden at the White House, Zelenskyy delivered a prime-time speech before a joint session of Congress. The historic visit came on the 300th day of the Russian attack on the U.S. ally – and as some Republican lawmakers have indicated

"We understand in our bones that Ukraine's fight is part of something much bigger."

President Joe Biden

they may not be willing to provide Ukraine such aid in the future.

"Ukraine is alive and kicking," a defiant Zelenskyy, dressed in his green military garb, told lawmakers during his speech.

Earlier, Biden stood behind the Ukrainian president.

"You will never stand alone," Biden

told Zelenskyy as both stood near each other during a news conference in the packed East Room of the White House.

Biden said Americans know that the world will face worse consequences if the U.S. doesn't stand up to bullies and stand up for freedom.

"We understand in our bones that Ukraine's fight is part of something much bigger," he said.

Zelenskyy applauded Biden's support and said the next few months, when the harsh weather will test Ukrainian mettle and resources, will be crucial in deciding the war's outcome.

"We need to survive this winter," Zelenskyy told reporters. "This is the survival issue."

See UKRAINE, Page 3A

AMERICA IN PAIN

Pot has promise, but it's not ready for prime time

ABOUT THIS SERIES

This is the fourth 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

Wednesday: Complementary therapies for pain

Today: Cannabis for pain control

Friday: The future of pain control



ILLUSTRATION: ANDREA BRUNTY/USA TODAY; GETTY IMAGES

Karen Weintraub
USA TODAY

Rob Sims grew up hearing stories about what opioid addiction could do. The former Detroit Lions guard, whose father, Mickey, also played in the NFL, watched a number of his dad's friends get hooked. Some died. He vowed his own story would be different.

Then, playing for the Seattle Seahawks in 2008, early in his pro football career, Sims tore a pectoralis muscle in his chest. Primed for his best year ever, Sims was sidelined.

After surgery, he received an open-ended prescription for opioids. "Take when you have pain," the bottle read. "That's seared in my memory," he said. As a football player, "I have pain all the

See CANNABIS, Page 6A



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Biden le prometió a Zelensky más ayuda militar para Ucrania

En su primer viaje al exterior tras la invasión rusa, el líder ucraniano recibió en Washington una oferta de mayor asistencia, incluido el sistema antimisiles Patriot. **Página 2**



ARGENTINA, 1985 DIO UN PASO MÁS EN SU CAMINO AL OSCAR

—espectáculos

El film dirigido por Santiago Mitre es uno de los quince preseleccionados para conseguir una nominación en la categoría de mejor película internacional.

LA NACION

JUEVES 22 DE DICIEMBRE DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

La Corte anuló el recorte de fondos que impuso Fernández a la Ciudad

COPARTICIPACIÓN. Aceptó por unanimidad el planteo de Larreta contra la quita de recursos; como consecuencia del fallo, el gobierno porteño eliminará el impuesto a las tarjetas; desde el kirchnerismo amenazan con la desobediencia

La Corte Suprema le dio la razón al gobierno porteño en su reclamo contra la Nación por los fondos que la administración de Alberto Fernández le redujo hace más de dos años y que en 2022 representarán una pérdida de \$154.000 millones para las arcas de la Ciudad.

Como consecuencia del fallo, el jefe de gobierno porteño, Horacio Rodríguez Larreta, anunció que eliminará el impuesto a las compras

con tarjeta de crédito, un tributo que impuso la Ciudad tras el recorte de fondos. "El Presidente decidió quitarle a la Ciudad un monto equivalente al sueldo de todos nuestros docentes", dijo ayer Rodríguez Larreta.

El fallo de la Corte generó la reacción del presidente Alberto Fernández, que convocó a los gobernadores para enfrentar la decisión del máximo tribunal. El goberna-

dor kirchnerista de Chaco, Jorge Capitanich, llamó a desobedecer el fallo.

El recorte había sido resuelto unilateralmente el 9 de septiembre de 2020, durante la pandemia de coronavirus, luego de que policías bonaerenses rodearan la quinta de Olivos en reclamo de un aumento de sueldo. Alberto Fernández se lo concedió tras sacarle fondos a la ciudad de Buenos Aires. **Página 10**

EL ESCENARIO

Con los astros en contra

Carlos Pagni

Se podría pensar, cediendo a la superstición, que para las Fiestas los astros se han conjurado en contra de Alberto Fernán-

dez. Sería un alivio. Porque el problema en realidad es mucho más estructural. **Continúa en la página 14**



LA EMOCIÓN DE VOLVER AL TERRUÑO. CALCHÍN, Córdoba (De una enviada especial).— El de ayer será un día grabado a fuego en la memoria de Calchín, un pueblo de 2700 habitantes a cien kilómetros de la capital de Córdoba. Llenos de orgullo, recibieron a Julián Álvarez, su hijo pródigo. **Página 22**

Los campeones pisan fuerte en el mercado

Varios jugadores vieron crecer su cotización; Enzo Fernández, el más representativo

Los beneficios de la consagración de la selección en el Mundial de Qatar serán múltiples. Un derrame bien rentable: la mayor parte de los futbolistas argentinos aumentaron su cotización tras la Copa que finalizó el domingo pasado. El caso más representativo es el de Enzo Fernández,

que en junio de este año fue vendido por River a Benfica en 10 millones de euros más otros ocho millones en variables, y según el portal Transfermarkt su valor de mercado actual es de 35 millones de euros. Enzo, de 21 años, comenzó como suplente, se consolidó como una pieza clave del

equipo y fue distinguido por la FIFA como el mejor jugador joven.

Las acciones de Julián Álvarez (22 años), de Manchester City, y de Alexis Mac Allister (23), de Brighton, ambos de la Premier League, también crecieron significativamente en el fútbol europeo. **Deportes**

OPINIÓN

La euforia de sentir que otra cosa es posible

Enrique Valiente Noailles

—PARA LA NACION—

Página 25

Por segundo mes, cayó la economía y da signos de agotamiento

ACTIVIDAD. El PBI bajó 0,3% en octubre, tras un septiembre negativo

La actividad económica cayó 0,3% en octubre respecto del mes anterior y sumó así un segundo mes consecutivo en baja, tras el -0,2% de septiembre. Según informó ayer el Indec, el EMAE (indicador que anticipa la evolución del PBI) muestra un alza de 6,1% acumulada en los primeros diez meses del año, pero esa expansión se vería recortada al final de 2022, según anticipan varias consultoras privadas, que estiman bajas para noviembre y diciembre. **Página 18**

El fiscal Scapolan, a un paso del juicio político

RESOLUCIÓN. La Corte rechazó un planteo de la defensa: enfrenta graves acusaciones por vínculos con el narcotráfico

Página 28

FOLHA DE S. PAULO

DESDE 1921 ★ ★ ★ UM JORNAL A SERVIÇO DO BRASIL

ANO 102 ★ Nº 34.231

QUINTA-FEIRA, 22 DE DEZEMBRO DE 2022

R\$ 6,00



Turistas aproveitam o dia de sol na praia de Coqueiros, ao lado do rio Trancoso, no sul da Bahia, um dos destinos mais procurados no final de ano e nas férias de verão **Adriano Vizzoni/Folhapress**

turismo especial férias

Verão com estilo

Trancoso é reduto hippie chique do Réveillon, com leque de praias para todos os perfis **CS**

cotidiano B2

Sem acordo, greve de aeronautas se aproxima de viagens de Natal com atrasos em voos



Sucesso na TV e no teatro: 3 prêmios Molière **Lucio Luna/Divulgação**

ilustrada C5

Morre Pedro Paulo Rangel

Presença marcante nos palcos e nas telas, ator tinha enfisema e morreu aos 74 anos, no Rio. Fez o primeiro nu masculino na TV brasileira em 'Gabriela' em 1975.

ilustrada C1

'Pantanal' e 'Senhor dos Anéis' marcam ano de gigantes na TV e no streaming

mercado A15

Transações com Pix ultrapassam 100 milhões em dia de pagamento do 13º

Marília Marton é a nova secretária de Cultura de SP

Ilustrada C2

EDITORIAIS A2

MEC cearense

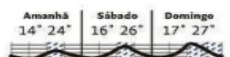
Acerca de escolhas de Lula para a pasta da Educação.

Além do reajuste

Sobre aumento salarial para a cúpula dos 3 Poderes.

ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br



A PEC aprovada

- Mantém o benefício mínimo de R\$ 600 para o Bolsa Família
- Prevê que o aumento no teto de gastos terá validade apenas em 2023
- Permite o uso de recursos esquecidos do PIS/Pasep para investimentos públicos
- Muda as regras das emendas: só metade dos R\$ 19,4 bi iniciais fica em emendas individuais

O impacto da PEC no teto dos gastos

Previsão original

R\$ 1,8 trilhão

Valor com a PEC

R\$ 1,94 trilhão

Governo eleito ganha fôlego para aprovar regra fiscal

PEC da Gastança é promulgada pelo Congresso Nacional, com indicação de nova âncora por lei complementar

O Congresso Nacional promulgou, na noite de ontem, a PEC (Proposta de Emenda à Constituição) da Gastança, que expande o teto de gastos pelo período de um ano, permitindo que o presidente eleito, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), cumpra promessas de campanha como manter o Bolsa Família em R\$ 600.

A proposta foi aprovada em dois turnos na Câmara e no Senado. Após negociação com o Republicanos, os deputados derrubaram uma tentativa de mudança encaaminhada pelo Novo. A emenda propunha que o governo tivesse de aprovar a nova âncora fiscal, que substituirá o teto de gastos, por uma PEC, que requer 308 votos.

Em vez disso, ficou estabelecido que o projeto fiscal de 2023 pode ser aprovado por projeto de lei complementar (257 votos ao menos).

A PEC da Gastança amplia o teto de gastos em R\$ 145 bilhões no próximo ano. O texto ainda autoriza outros R\$ 23 bilhões em investimentos fora da regra fiscal. **Política A7 e Mercado A12**

Mercadante diz não querer o BNDES do passado

Ao anunciar nova diretoria, Aloizio Mercadante, futuro presidente do BNDES no governo Lula (PT), afirmou querer um "BNDES do futuro". As prioridades, segundo ele, serão as micro e pequenas empresas, a economia verde, e a reindustrialização do Brasil. **Mercado A14**

Nova gestão indica Padilha e recua na Polícia Rodoviária

O deputado federal Alexandre Padilha (PT-SP) foi escolhido para dirigir a Secretaria das Relações Institucionais. Médico, Padilha já foi ministro duas vezes em governos do PT.

Ele deve recriar o Conselho, que reunia diferentes setores para discutir medidas de desenvolvimento.

Ontem, o futuro ministro da Justiça do governo Lula (PT), Flávio Dino (PSB), decidiu cancelar a nomeação de Edmar Camata para o comando da Polícia Rodoviária Federal.

O servidor foi um entusiasta da Operação Lava Jato e apoiou a prisão do ex-presidente petista. **A6 e C2**

Bruno Boghossian Lavajatismo é pecado para PT

Faltou dar um Google. Escolhido para chefiar a Polícia Rodoviária Federal, Edmar Camata foi o primeiro integrante do novo governo a cair, 24 horas depois de anunciado. A equipe de Lula descobriu tarde que o servidor havia comemorado a prisão do petista em 2018. **Opinião A2**



Zelenski caminha ao lado de Joe Biden na Casa Branca, em 1ª viagem desde a invasão russa **Brendan Smialowski/AFP**

Quase 50 mil motoristas recusam bafômetro em SP

Respostas negativas à abordagem de policiais militares no estado de SP já são maiores do que antes da pandemia, o que acende alerta neste período de festas e de maior risco de pessoas dirigirem após ingerir bebidas. **Cotidiano B1**

EUA anunciam envio de armas à Ucrânia ao receber Zelenski

Washington confirmou ontem o envio de um sistema de defesa antiaéreo que pode mudar o rumo da guerra na Ucrânia. O anúncio foi feito durante visita do presidente ucraniano, Volodimir Zelenski, aos EUA. **Mundo A10**

Maioria é a favor de punir quem pede golpe militar

Pesquisa Datafolha aponta que 75% dos brasileiros se dizem contrários aos atos antidemocráticos realizados pelo país. Entre os que votaram em Bolsonaro, esse índice é de 50%.

A maioria (56%) considera que deve haver punição aos manifestantes que pedem golpe militar. Questionados, porém, sobre o bloqueio de perfis antidemocráticos nas redes sociais, 63% desaprovaram a medida. **Política A4**

Extensão da marginal Pinheiros é aprovada

Os vereadores de São Paulo aprovaram projeto de lei que muda o zoneamento e permite o prolongamento da marginal Pinheiros em oito quilômetros. **B3**



Hay críticas hacia los que siguen actuando como si continuaran en campaña

Salomón dice que el cartismo no está ayudando a la unidad

Referentes del oficialismo reclaman que desde el sector vencedor dejen de lanzar dardos. Daniel Centurión renunció a la Junta de Gobierno porque no quiere estar con Cartes.

PÁGINAS 2 y 3

La investigación no está cerrada
Hijo de Antonio Fretes no declaró al Fisco G. 1.000 millones, según la SET

PÁGINA 8

Comerciantes tienen altas expectativas
Tras el pago del aguinaldo subió flujo de compradores en los centros comerciales

PÁGINA 10

Nuevo mercado para la carne paraguaya
Canadá auditó la industria cárnica y los primeros resultados son positivos

PÁGINA 12



FERNANDO CALISTRO

No termines las fiestas aquí
Prevención. No manejes ka'üre es la campaña del Hospital de Trauma para no conducir ebrio y evitar desgracias en Navidad y Año Nuevo.

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Llama la atención que se anunciara después de las internas
Expertos acusan que el Gobierno ocultó rebaja de tarifa de Itaipú

PÁGINA 11

Fue detenido en Venezuela y será juzgado en ese país
Cayó el conductor del jet ski que usaron asesinos de Pecci

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
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LE FIGARO

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



REPORTAGE
DANS LE MORBIHAN,
LES GENDARMES TRAQUENT
LES VOLEURS D'HUITRES **PAGE 10**

ENQUÊTE
À ROCHELONGUE, LES MYSTÈRES
D'UN TRÉSOR SOUS-MARIN
VIEUX DE 2 600 ANS **PAGE 11**



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la grogne s'amplifie
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L'Europe spatiale
accumule
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doit cesser
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**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**
Réponses à la question
de mercredi :
Donald Trump doit-il
renoncer à se présenter
à la prochaine élection
présidentielle américaine ?

NON 71% OUI 29%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 126 794

**Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr**
Faudrait-il interdire
les grèves dans
les transports les jours
de départ en vacances ?

THIBAUD VAERMAN/HANS LUCAS
POUR LE FIGARO - DENIS GLIKSMAN

SNCF : la grève de trop qui met les Français en colère

Un passager sur quatre ne pourra pas voyager ce week-end, en raison d'un mouvement social mené par les contrôleurs. Excédés, beaucoup doivent changer leurs plans à la dernière minute.

« On est pris en otages ! » La grogne monte chez les usagers de la SNCF, alors qu'une nouvelle grève vient perturber le service pour le week-end de Noël, avec un

TGV sur trois annulé samedi et dimanche, et 200 000 passagers privés de voyage. Ce mouvement social « atypique », selon les mots du PDG de SNCF Voyageurs,

Christophe Fanichet, émane d'un collectif de contrôleurs indépendant des syndicats : ces derniers avaient certes déposé un préavis pour le week-end, mais

sans appeler à la grève. Résultat, ce mouvement sans leader, impossible à endiguer, marque un vrai coup d'arrêt à l'« excellente année » 2022 que prévoyait

Jean-Pierre Farandou, le PDG de la SNCF. De son côté, l'exécutif craint, une fois les vacances passées, un hiver social particulièrement chargé.

→ LES SYNDICATS DÉBORDÉS PAR UN COLLECTIF DE CONTRÔLEURS CRÉÉ SUR FACEBOOK → LA COMPAGNIE PAYERA AU PRIX FORT CE CONFLIT SOCIAL → DÉFAILLANCES À LA RATP : LE MISTIGRI DES POLITIQUES → L'EXÉCUTIF VEUT ÉVITER DE CALER AVANT L'AUTOROUTE DES RÉFORMES → LES USAGERS DU MÉTRO PARISIEN SONT À BOUT **PAGES 2 À 4 ET 1. EDITORIAL**



Le président ukrainien a été accueilli par Rufus Gifford, chef du protocole.

À Washington, Zelensky demande de nouvelles armes à Biden

Venu en personne à la Maison-Blanche réclamer un soutien accru de l'Amérique à un moment crucial de la guerre, le président ukrainien a obtenu près de 2 milliards de dollars supplémentaires, dont le système antimissile Patriot. **PAGES 6 À 8**

PRÉSENCE UKRAÏNNE

À la veille de Noël, les ventes en grande surface reculent

La flambée des prix de l'alimentation est passée par là. S'y ajoutent les effets ravageurs de la grippe aviaire, qui provoque une pénurie de volailles. À quelques jours de Noël, les ventes de foie gras, de champagne ou de bûches glacées sont en recul d'environ 20 %. Les grandes surfaces rivalisent de promotions et espèrent bien un rattrapage de dernière minute, jusqu'à samedi. **PAGE 18**

ÉDITORIAL par Jacques-Olivier Martin jomartin@lefigaro.fr

Les otages de Noël

On ne prend pas les mêmes, mais on commence ! À la SNCF, même lorsque la CGT et SUD-rail ne débraient pas, il y a des grèves à Noël. Chez les cheminots, la « gréviculture » n'est jamais en jachère et prospère partout. Le mouvement est mené cette année par un collectif de contrôleurs né sur Facebook. Il n'empêche, la grève 2.0 ne fait pas moins mal. Pour les voyageurs privés de trains à Noël et au jour de l'An, c'est l'écoeurement, la colère, des fêtes gâchées. Ni le remboursement des billets ni les excuses du PDG n'y changeront quoi que ce soit. L'indignation dépasse les seules victimes, car rien n'est vraiment défendable à la SNCF. Les conditions sociales ? Avec une hausse de leurs rémunérations de près de 12 % en deux ans, qui peut croire que les contrôleurs sont mal protégés contre la flambée de l'inflation ? La qualité du service ? On ne compte plus les retards et les annulations de TGV, de TER, de RER. Soucis dans les trains, mais aussi dans les métros. Monter dans une rame archibondée à Paris aux heures de pointe est tout simplement devenu une épreuve, un enfer ! Alors que faire pour mettre fin à cette déliquescence des transports publics et à ces grè-

ves à répétition ? La réponse est largement entre les mains de l'État, propriétaire des entreprises publiques. Encore faut-il qu'il se mobilise. Le ministre des Transports est aux abonnés absents depuis quelques jours, et le porte-parole du gouvernement s'est contenté de dire au lendemain des annonces d'annulation de trains « qu'à Noël on ne fait pas grève ». Avouons que c'est un peu court...

Interdire les arrêts de travail dans les transports en période de fêtes

Les solutions pourtant ne manquent pas. À commencer par l'accélération de la libéralisation des lignes pour briser les monopoles de la SNCF et de la RATP. Les clients de Trenitalia, qui fait rouler ses TGV entre Paris et Lyon depuis un an, ne sont pas concernés par le mouvement des contrôleurs. Autre mesure plus radicale mais 100 % efficace : interdire tout simplement les arrêts de travail dans les transports en période de fêtes ou de congés. Après tout, le droit de grève doit-il autoriser une poignée de cheminots à prendre en otages 200 000 voyageurs tous les ans à Noël ? ■



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Cuvée Rosé, choisie par les meilleurs.



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