



# WSJ

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND

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### What's News

#### World-Wide

**The House** voted 225-201 to approve a \$1.65 trillion spending bill as Congress narrowly averted a government shutdown ahead of the Christmas holiday. **A4**

◆ **With the publication** late Thursday of the Jan. 6 panel's final report and the committee disbanding, the spotlight returns to the Justice Department. **A6**

◆ **Ukraine's military** said it was inflicting heavy losses on Russian forces in the south of the country. **A9**

◆ **Moscow threatened** to cut oil output in response to Western price caps. **A9**

◆ **The FDA revised** the label for the Plan B emergency-contraceptive pill to make clear it shouldn't be used for abortion. **A3**

◆ **Three people** were killed and three injured after a gunman opened fire in and around a Kurdish cultural center in Paris. **A7**

◆ **Japan earmarked** over \$2 billion to buy and deploy U.S. Tomahawk missiles. **A8**

#### Business & Finance

◆ **The U.S. economy** showed fresh signs of slowing late this year as consumer spending and business demand softened and inflation eased, according to new data. **A1**

◆ **Musk's wealth** and borrowing power are now being tested as Tesla shares have sharply declined while he aims to stabilize his large personal investment in Twitter. **A1, B3**

◆ **Caroline Ellison**, a close associate of FTX founder Sam Bankman-Fried, apologized in court this week as she pleaded guilty to fraud and other offenses. **A1**

◆ **U.S. stock indexes** rose, with the S&P 500, Dow and Nasdaq gaining 0.6%, 0.5% and 0.2%, respectively. **B11**

◆ **An internal FAA survey** found concerns among some inspectors about the agency's approach to overseeing Southwest Airlines. **B3**

◆ **Facebook parent Meta** agreed to pay \$725 million to settle a lawsuit stemming from the Cambridge Analytica scandal. **B3**

#### NOONAN

Spare Us  
A Trump-Biden  
Rematch **A13**

#### NOTICE TO READERS

WSJ.com and WSJ mobile apps will publish throughout the Christmas holiday. The print edition won't appear on Monday.

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## Arctic Blast Disrupts Christmas Travel Across the Country



**WINTER'S WRATH:** Airlines canceled thousands more flights Friday as the severe storm hammering the U.S. continued to wreak havoc ahead of the Christmas weekend. Above, travelers at John Glenn Columbus International Airport in Ohio. **A3**

## Musk's Financial Might Wanes With Decline in Tesla Shares

By TIM HIGGINS

Elon Musk's wealth and borrowing power are now being tested as the Tesla Inc. shares that have fueled his fortune have sharply declined while he aims to stabilize his large personal investment in Twitter Inc.

The auto maker's share

value has fallen 18% this past week alone and more than 60% since Mr. Musk announced his plan to buy the social-media platform.

Tesla stock he owns to raise money, by selling or borrowing against them, has been complicated by their rapid fall in recent months.

Historically, Mr. Musk has been a cash-poor billionaire, depending upon so-called margin loans—borrowing backed up by his shares—for his personal expenses and business investments while holding on to his Tesla shares and benefiting from their rising value.

But Tesla's market value, a company Mr. Musk leads, has

fallen by about \$700 billion this year—and \$846 billion from its peak in 2021—sinking his personal wealth along the way. The dramatic decline in Tesla's valuation comes after years of growth that has allowed him to

Please turn to page A4

◆ Twitter succession questions drive speculation..... B3

## Shoppers Slowed Spending Ahead of Holidays

Inflation eased in November, other data suggest the economy softened in late 2022

By AUSTEN HUFFORD

The U.S. economy showed fresh signs of slowing late this year as consumer spending and business demand softened and inflation eased.

Personal spending increased 0.1% in November from the prior month, the Commerce Department said Friday, marking a pullback from a robust 0.9% increase in October. Households boosted spending on services last month while cutting spending on goods, including autos. When adjusted for inflation, consumer spending was flat.

The personal-consumption expenditures price index—the Federal Reserve's preferred gauge of inflation—rose 5.5% in November from a year earlier, a significant cooling from 6.1% in October. The core PCE-price index, which removes volatile food and energy prices, rose 4.7% in November from a year earlier, compared

Please turn to page A2

◆ Global flow of goods gets back to normal..... B1

### EXCHANGE



#### MONEY MOVES

Six ways to protect your finances in the new year. **B1**

## Executives Knew FTX Moves Illegal

By CORINNE RAMEY  
AND JAMES FANELLI

Caroline Ellison, a close associate of FTX founder Sam Bankman-Fried, apologized in court this week as she pleaded guilty to fraud and other offenses, telling a judge that she and others conspired to steal billions of dollars from customers of the doomed crypto exchange while misleading investors and lenders.

"I am truly sorry for what I

did," Ms. Ellison, the former chief executive of Mr. Bankman-Fried's crypto-trading firm, Alameda Research, said in a New York federal court, according to a transcript of the hearing made available Friday. "I knew that it was wrong."

Ms. Ellison, 28 years old, and former FTX chief technology officer, Gary Wang, 29, pleaded guilty Monday during separate hearings in sealed courtrooms. Both agreed to

cooperate with the government's investigation in exchange for the prospect of lighter sentences.

Ms. Ellison, a former romantic partner of Mr. Bankman-Fried, pleaded guilty to seven criminal counts, including fraud, conspiracy and money laundering. During her hearing, she admitted to conspiring to use billions of dollars from FTX customer accounts to repay loans Alameda had taken out to make risky

investments.

FTX executives had enacted special settings that granted Alameda access to an unlimited line of credit without having to post collateral, pay interest on negative balances or be subject to margin calls, she said.

"I also understood that many FTX customers invested

Please turn to page A6

◆ DOJ puts focus on crypto sector, top official says..... A6

## Parents Give Dating Help As Presents

Grown children get matchmakers, dating coaches

By RACHEL WOLFE

Parents who give their grown children a gym membership at Christmas risk a reprimand. What are you saying, Mom? So does surprising them with offers to pay for dating coaches and matchmakers.

Two years ago, Kelli Kaku's mother bought her the \$797 online course, "Fall in Love by Christmas." Ms. Kaku, 34 years old, was blindsided.

"I was like, 'I'm trying!'" said Ms. Kaku, a seventh-grade teacher who had moved back home to Fresno, Calif., at the time. She agreed

Please turn to page A8

## Putin Leans on Hard-Line Advisers

Like-minded allies played down bad news, compounding his Ukraine miscalculations

MOSCOW—Russian troops were losing the battle for Lyman, a small city in eastern Ukraine, in late September when a call came in for the commanding officer on the front line, over an encrypted line from Moscow.

By Evan Gershkovich,  
Thomas Grove,  
Drew Hinshaw  
and Joe Parkinson

It was Vladimir Putin, ordering them not to retreat.

The president seemed to have limited understanding of the reality of the situation, according to current and former U.S. and European officials and a former senior Russian intelligence officer briefed on the exchange. His

poorly equipped front-line troops were being encircled by a Ukrainian advance backed by artillery provided by the West. Mr. Putin rebuffed his own generals' commands and told the troops to hold firm, they said.

The Ukrainian ambushes continued, and on Oct. 1, Russian soldiers hastily withdrew, leaving behind dozens of dead bodies and supplies of artillery to restock Ukraine's weapons caches.

Mr. Putin expected the war in Ukraine to be swift, popular and triumphant. For months, he struggled to

Please turn to page A10

◆ Kyiv claims big losses by Russia in the south..... A9

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# USA TODAY WEEKEND

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | DECEMBER 23-26, 2022

## Need last-minute gifts? Look online

Digital gifts are hotter than ever, are better for the environment and are easy to give. **In Money**

## Dolphins put focus on follow-through

Miami's postseason hopes depend on whether it can make up for three-game slide. **In Sports**

## Rockettes diversify their iconic kickline

Follow dancers through the tryout process to join the elite team. **In Weekend Extra**



PHOTOS BY TANIA SAVAYAN/USA TODAY NETWORK

JAN. 6 COMMITTEE

## Witness feared Trump reprisal

Ex-aide wrangled behind the scenes in order to testify

Josh Meyer and Bart Jansen  
USA TODAY

Former Trump White House aide Cassidy Hutchinson says she was so concerned about being pressured into whitewashing elements of the Jan. 6 Capitol attack that she begged her family for money so she could hire her own defense lawyer.

Hutchinson told her mother about her fears of retaliation by Trump loyalists when it became clear she would have to testify before the House committee investigating the attempted insurrection on Jan. 6, 2021. "I am completely indebted to these people. ... And they will ruin my life, Mom, if I do anything that they don't want me to do."



Cassidy Hutchinson hugs vice chair Rep. Liz Cheney after testifying in June to the committee investigating the Jan. 6 attack. JACQUELYN MARTIN/AP

When that fundraising campaign failed, Hutchinson went behind the back of her "Trump world" attorney to make sure House lawmakers investigating Jan. 6 knew all of the incriminating details that she knew about what really happened that day and in the weeks leading up to it.

And Hutchinson said she ultimately fired former White House ethics lawyer Stefan Passantino, the attorney paid for by Trump allies, after he advised her to withhold damaging information from the Jan. 6 committee by saying she didn't remember. The last straw, she later told congressional investigators, was when Passantino advised her to stop cooperating with the Jan. 6 committee altogether — even if it meant facing contempt of Congress charges and a possible prison term.

"Contempt is a small risk, but running to the right is better for you," she quoted Passantino as saying. "I took that as FOX News, Trump world, Republicans."

On Thursday, the committee released those and other damning details from its extraordinary two days of closed-door interviews with Hutchinson in September, 10 weeks after she went public with her bombshell accusations about Trump and her former

See JAN. 6, Page 3A

## They never saw a Black Santa — so they became one



Chris Kennedy wanted a childhood for his daughter, Emily, different from his own. "I wanted her to be able to fully experience being a kid and all the things that come with that." PROVIDED BY CHRIS KENNEDY

Ashley R. Williams USA TODAY

As Santa Claus jingled up the steps to the Richardson family's suburban Atlanta home on a chilly evening, two eager little faces appeared behind the opened door to greet him. • A jovial "Merry Christmas!" emerged from the white beard of Andre Parker, a professional Black Santa, as a boy and girl of the same complexion screamed with excitement in their pajamas. • Black Santas such as Santa Andre, as he's known to children, are growing in popularity amid a rise in diversity and representation among traditional holiday characters. • "Within the Santa community, fewer than 3% of professional Santas are of ethnic origins, and (I) wanted to fill that void," Parker, a former U.S. Marine and public safety chief, told USA TODAY.

See BLACK SANTAS, Page 5A

## \$1.7 trillion spending bill poised to pass

Defense, domestic plans, Ukraine get big boosts

Sarah Elbeshbishi  
USA TODAY

The Senate overwhelmingly passed a \$1.7 trillion spending package Thursday that includes record amounts for domestic programs and defense priorities as lawmakers scrambled to approve the sweeping bill as a foreboding winter storm threatened to paralyze the nation's capital.

The House was poised to follow suit later Thursday and approve the measure to fund the rest of the 2023 fiscal year that runs through Sept. 30 and avoid a partial government shutdown set to take effect 12:01 a.m. Saturday.

The Senate's 68-29 vote came the day after Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy addressed a joint session of Congress urged lawmakers to approve billions in additional military,

Despite running more than 4,000 pages, the bill left out several measures demanded by progressives.

economic and humanitarian assistance as it tries to repel Russia's invasion. The spending bill includes roughly \$45 billion for Ukraine.

"This is one of the most significant appropriations packages we have done in a very long time. The range of people it helps is large indeed," Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., said on the floor before the vote. "After a lot of hard work and compromise, the Senate is funding the government with aggressive investment in American families, workers and national defense."

The bipartisan legislation would allocate \$772.5 billion for non-defense discretionary programs and \$858 billion in defense funding, according to the bill's summary. Aside from additional emergency assistance to Ukraine, the package includes money for NATO allies as well as funding for rural development, food assistance programs and support for the military and veterans.

Despite running more than 4,000 pages, the measure left out several

See SPENDING, Page 3A

## AMERICA IN PAIN

## Soon, science of treatment could turn a corner

### ABOUT THIS SERIES

This is the fifth 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

Thursday: Cannabis for pain control

Today: The future of pain control

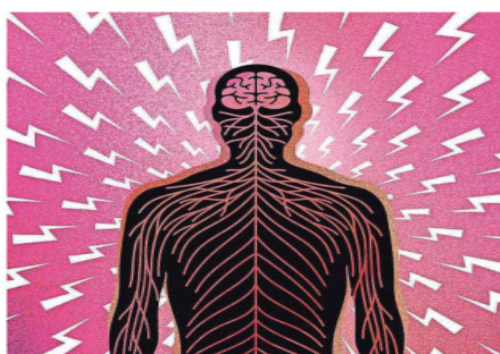


ILLUSTRATION: ANDREA BRUNTY/USA TODAY; GETTY IMAGES

Karen Weintraub  
USA TODAY

Steven Pete knows what it feels like for a knife to slice through his skin. He can tell from the sensation how deep the cut is and how badly he has been hurt.

He believes he can identify such things better than other people can, because he's not distracted by pain. He doesn't feel any.

Yes, he can sense the difference between hot and cold. His foot tingles when he sits on it too long. And he knows his knees are arthritic, because he can see their swelling and finds they're not as mobile as they used to be.

But at 41, he has never cried out in pain, writhed in agony or recoiled from a hot stove. He was born with a genetic

See FUTURE, Page 4A

## Festive edition

- ◆ Quiz of the year
- ◆ Short story
- ◆ Food & drink



# China battles 250mn Covid cases

◆ More than half of Beijing infected ◆ Surge follows lifting of curbs ◆ Health system overrun

QIANER LIU AND  
CHENG LING — HONG KONG  
SUN YU — SHANGHAI  
RYAN MCNORROW — BEIJING

Chinese officials estimate about 250mn people, or 18 per cent of the population, were infected with Covid-19 in the first 20 days of December, as Beijing dismantled restrictions that contained the disease for almost three years.

The estimates, which include 37mn people infected on Tuesday alone, were revealed by Sun Yang, a deputy director of the Chinese Centre for Disease Control and Prevention in a Wednesday health briefing, according to two people familiar with the matter.

Sun said the rate of Covid spread was still rising and estimated that more than half of the population in Beijing and Sichuan were already infected, the people briefed on the meeting said.

The explosion in cases follows Beijing's decision this month to abandon its zero-Covid policy, which kept the virus at bay through mass testing, mandatory quarantine and draconian lockdowns.

Sun's figures, provided in a closed-door meeting, contrasted with data put out by the National Health Commission, which reported just 62,592 symptomatic Covid cases over the same period.

China doubled publicly tallying the total number of infections last week

after authorities curtailed Covid testing. Washington and the World Health Organization have pushed Beijing to be more open on case counts, disease severity, hospital admissions and other health statistics made widely available by other countries.

US secretary of state Antony Blinken called on China to maintain "transparency" on a call with Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi, according to a US state department summary.

In Beijing and other cities, the Covid wave has overwhelmed hospitals and left emergency rooms and intensive care units with few available beds.

The NHC's official account of the



Cases soared in the first 20 days of the month, with almost 37mn people contracting the disease on Tuesday alone

Wednesday event provided little detail on what was discussed. But in the meeting NHC director Ma Xiaowei demanded that hospitals sort out their overflowing emergency rooms, according to one of the participants. He promised that regulators would not hold them accountable for rising fatality rates.

China has officially reported only eight deaths since December 1. Senior health officials said this week they had narrowed the definition of what constituted a Covid death, in a move that reduced the public fatality tally.

The NHC did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Zero-Covid exit wave page 4

## Kyiv's sorrow

### First lady in the line of fire

Ukraine's first lady Olena Zelenska, pictured in November for the Financial Times in the courtyard of the presidential palace in Kyiv.

During lunch with our correspondent, she recalls the morning of February 24 when Russia's all-out invasion began. "It's started," her husband said when she awoke to the roar of explosions.

She evokes the "euphoria" of Kherson's liberation but warns: "We are, I would say, more worried about our enemy because of his losses." Zelenska discusses her career as a comedy writer and her longing for a normal life while appealing to the world not to forsake Ukraine.

Lunch with the FT Life & Arts



Sethi-Korwanya/FT

## Shop till you drop

### Can the US avoid recession?



## Lucy Kellaway

### Kids, ambition, love and prayer



## In search of a Rolex

### The mystery missing watches



## Three falls in the Alps

### A true story of death and life



## Bethlehem gets back to business after pandemic

There is guarded optimism this year as Bethlehem welcomes the return of tourists to its religious sites. But the past two pandemic-blighted festive seasons have left deep scars on the occupied West Bank city.

**Tourists return** — PAGE 3  
**FT View** — PAGE 6

◆ The Financial Times returns on December 28. We wish all our readers a peaceful Christmas holiday period

# Meta and Alphabet lose dominance of US digital ads as tech rivals make gains

PATRICK MCGEE — SAN FRANCISCO

Meta and Alphabet have lost their dominance over the digital advertising market they have ruled for years, as the duopoly is hit by fast-growing competition from rivals Amazon, TikTok, Microsoft and Apple.

The share of US ad revenues held by Facebook's parent Meta and Google owner Alphabet is projected to fall by 2.5 percentage points to 48.4 per cent this year, the first time the two groups will not hold a majority share of the market since 2014, according to research group Insider Intelligence.

This will be the fifth consecutive annual decline for the duopoly, whose market share has fallen from a peak of 54.7 per cent in 2017 and is forecast to drop to 43.9 per cent by 2024. Meta and

Alphabet's worldwide share fell 1 percentage point to 49.5 per cent this year.

Jerry Dischler, head of ads at Google, told the Financial Times that fierce rivalry from new entrants reflects an "extremely dynamic ad market".

Regulators in the US and Europe have added antitrust scrutiny as they pursue Google for allegedly promoting its products over rivals. In December, Facebook owner Meta was served with a complaint from EU watchdogs over concerns that the social network's classified advert service is unfair to rivals.

Tech groups are fighting harder than ever for a share of the \$300bn digital ads market, even as companies cut ad budgets in response to rising interest rates and high inflation. Amazon and Apple have expanded their advertising teams. In July, Netflix announced it would partner Microsoft to build an advertis-

supported tier of its streaming service.

Meta chief executive Mark Zuckerberg has blamed revenue falls on Apple's privacy changes that make it harder to track users and target advertising, as well as the popularity of viral videos app TikTok, owned by Chinese parent ByteDance. "Four years ago, you wouldn't be talking about either [TikTok or Amazon] in advertising," said Dischler.

Since 2015 Amazon has seen ad revenues shoot from less than \$1bn to an estimated \$38bn this year. Apple's revenues have grown from under \$2.2bn in 2018 to more than \$70bn this year.

Insider Intelligence has forecast that Google and Meta's US ad growth in 2023 will be 3 per cent and 5 per cent, respectively, while at least eight of its rivals are to make double-digit gains.

**TikTok tracked FT journalist** page 9  
**Lex** page 16

## World Markets

| STOCK MARKETS    |          |          |       | CURRENCIES |         |         |       | GOVERNMENT BONDS |        |      |       |
|------------------|----------|----------|-------|------------|---------|---------|-------|------------------|--------|------|-------|
|                  | Dec 23   | Prev     | %chg  | Pair       | Dec 23  | Prev    | %chg  | Yield (%)        | Dec 23 | Prev | Chg   |
| S&P 500          | 3831.84  | 3822.39  | 0.24  | \$/€       | 1.061   | 1.060   | 0.00  | US 2 yr          | 4.31   | 4.22 | 0.09  |
| Nasdaq Composite | 10453.27 | 10476.12 | -0.22 | \$/£       | 1.206   | 1.203   | 0.25  | US 10 yr         | 3.73   | 3.67 | 0.06  |
| Dow Jones Ind    | 33116.19 | 33207.48 | -0.27 | £/€        | 0.880   | 0.881   | -0.12 | US 30 yr         | 3.81   | 3.74 | 0.07  |
| FTSEurofirst 300 | 1688.82  | 1689.34  | -0.04 | W/\$       | 132.850 | 132.250 | 0.45  | UK 2 yr          | 3.68   | 3.68 | -0.03 |
| Euro Stoxx 50    | 3816.60  | 3823.29  | -0.17 | W/¥        | 160.224 | 159.090 | 0.70  | UK 10 yr         | 3.62   | 3.59 | 0.03  |
| FTSE 100         | 7473.01  | 7468.28  | 0.06  | SP/¥       | 0.991   | 0.986   | 0.51  | UK 30 yr         | 3.89   | 3.87 | 0.02  |
| FTSE All-Share   | 4083.66  | 4079.25  | -0.11 |            |         |         |       | JPN 2 yr         | 0.01   | 0.00 | 0.01  |
| CAC 40           | 6504.90  | 6517.97  | -0.20 |            |         |         |       | JPN 10 yr        | 0.38   | 0.39 | -0.02 |
| Hang Seng        | 15940.63 | 15914.07 | 0.19  |            |         |         |       | JPN 30 yr        | 1.51   | 1.54 | -0.03 |
| Nikkei           | 26235.25 | 26207.87 | -0.10 |            |         |         |       | GER 2 yr         | 2.60   | 2.55 | 0.06  |
| Hang Seng        | 15940.63 | 15914.07 | 0.19  |            |         |         |       | GER 10 yr        | 2.38   | 2.36 | 0.03  |
| MSCI World \$    | 2505.25  | 2506.92  | -0.07 |            |         |         |       | GER 30 yr        | 2.26   | 2.23 | 0.04  |
| MSCI EM \$       | 964.06   | 962.98   | 0.11  |            |         |         |       |                  |        |      |       |
| MSCI ACWI \$     | 604.39   | 610.14   | -0.94 |            |         |         |       |                  |        |      |       |
| FT Wilshire 2500 | 4059.89  | 4031.95  | -0.45 |            |         |         |       |                  |        |      |       |
| FT Wilshire 5000 | 38723.61 | 38291.47 | -1.45 |            |         |         |       |                  |        |      |       |

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**LATE EDITION**  
Today, partly sunny skies, brisk, very cold, high 19. Tonight, clear, frigid, low 16. Tomorrow, mostly sunny, not as breezy, still very cold, high 27. Weather map, Page A20.



A view of Lake Michigan in Chicago, where the high temperature was 1 on Friday. Roughly two-thirds of the United States was under a winter warning or advisory.

## A Trail of Debts Dogged Santos In His Twenties

This article is by Michael Gold, Greece Ashford and Ellen Yin.

The polite young customer service agent at the Dish Network call center in Queens spoke English and Portuguese, so when Brazilian immigrants had trouble with their billing or their satellite dish, their calls would be routed his way.

It was around 2012, and the man was George Santos, a son of Brazilian immigrants who, more than a decade later, would win a crucial election to Congress.

But on the campaign trail, Mr. Santos, 34, told a different story about his life: Around the same time that Dish Network records show he was working there, he was rising through the ranks at Citigroup in the first step of a lucrative Wall Street career that included a stint at Goldman Sachs.

Neither company could find a record of Mr. Santos's employment. The New York Times reported on Monday, in an article that raised other questions about the life and dealings of the new Republican congressman-elect.

Mr. Santos has declined to directly address The Times's reporting, which uncovered a criminal charge in Brazil and found poten-

Continued on Page A16

## Social Issues Muddle Goals Of BlackRock

By MATTHEW GOLDSTEIN and MAUREEN FARRELL

It was a clarion call to chief executives everywhere.

In 2018, Laurence D. Fink, the longtime chief executive of BlackRock, the world's largest asset manager, urged corporate leaders to assess the societal impact of their businesses, embrace diversity and consider how climate change could affect long-term growth.

"Companies," Mr. Fink wrote in his annual letter to chief executives, "must ask themselves: What role do we play in the community? How are we managing our impact on the environment? Are we working to create a diverse work force? Are we adapting to technological change?"

Nearly five years on, those words have put BlackRock on the back foot amid the increasingly acrimonious and politicized debate over investing with environmental, social and governance — or E.S.G. — goals in mind. Republicans are accusing the firm of "woke capitalism." Progressives are calling BlackRock out for "greenwashing," saying its message to companies doesn't go far enough.

Continued on Page A17

## Thousands Without Power, and It's Not Over Yet

This article is by Julie Bosman, Richard Fausset and Jamie McGee.

CHICAGO — A frigid winter storm pummeled the United States for a third day on Friday, leaving more than one million homes and businesses without power, causing crashes and delays on ice-slicked expressways and stranding thousands of travelers at airports before Christmas.

Most of the country shared in the misery whether from snow, ice or subzero temperatures: Roughly two-thirds of the U.S. population — more than 200 million people — were under winter warnings or advisories at one

## Travelers Stranded as Winter Blitz Plunges Into Deep South

point on Friday. Even New Orleans, famous for its balmy climate, opened three overnight warming centers.

Meteorologists said that the storm was not quite finished. Freezing air was expected to linger through the holiday weekend in the Midwest, Northeast and South. Blizzard conditions could continue in spots around the Great Lakes region for days, in-

cluding in Buffalo, a city that experienced 70-mile-per-hour winds on Friday. In New York City, wind chills are expected to drop below zero and stay there into Saturday morning.

For many, the cold was the storm's most enduring calling card.

"It's cold enough that if you got a walk-in freezer and got in half-naked and sat around for a while, that's what it feels like," said Randy Hayden, 70, who runs a 20,000-acre cattle ranch in Gillette, Wyo., where the wind chill made it feel like 45 degrees below zero.

Just as painful was the cancella-

Continued on Page A13



THOMAS SAMSON/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

## Deadly Attack in Paris

A shooting in a Kurdish area of the French capital led to protests and clashes with police. Page A5.

## Troubled Doctor Sought Solace at Sea, and Then Disappeared

By MICHAEL WILSON

The doctor eased his boat, the Sure Shot, out of its slip on Long Island late that October morning, guided it past Fire Island and into the Atlantic Ocean, toward where the big tuna were biting and away from a world of mounting troubles.

No lawyers, no federal agents,

no courtrooms.

Dr. Marvin Moy, a Manhattan physician, was a regular fixture at the Center Yacht Club in the hamlet of Moriches. Some club members arriving from the city were viewed as outsiders, but Dr. Moy moved with ease in this world, a fisherman's fisherman who happened to have a busy day job.

Then, in January, Dr. Moy was

## Facing Federal Charges and a Bitter Divorce

indicted in federal court in Manhattan, charged with insurance fraud through his medical practice. The government accused Dr. Moy and others of running a scam

that involved bribing emergency responders and hospital employees to direct car crash victims to his pain management offices. A conviction could have led to years in prison.

And he was in the midst of a long and bitter divorce from his wife of 14 almost entirely rocky years. In court filings, he de-

Continued on Page A11

## After Pair of Covid Christmases, Santa Jumps Back on His Sleigh

By EMILY BADGER and EVE WASHINGTON

There's a narrow window when most American children believe in Santa. It's around 3, 4, 5 years old. Six to 8 is starting to push it. Which is to say that, for many families, the pandemic nearly ruined the limited opportunity to get that photo with the child sitting on Santa's lap in complete awe.

Christmas 2020 was a washout. Christmas 2021 was muted by the Omicron wave. But this Christmas, seemingly everyone wants a piece of Santa: the vaccine-boosted who've shaken off pandemic precaution, the companies and stores hungry to lure workers

and shoppers back in, the families whose 3-year-olds will soon start shrugging at all of this.

Those parents especially, "they want to get Santa," said Stephen Arnold, a Memphis Santa and the president of the International Brotherhood of Real Bearded Santas. And they're willing to go to great lengths to get Santa. "That desperation," he said, "leads to what we're perceiving as increased demand."

Santa bookings are way up across the big platforms that help companies hire them and families

Continued on Page A12



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

## Painting a Less Dire Picture

As Covid cases explode, China's murky statistics are expected to underestimate the death toll, the W.H.O. says. Page A7

## Christmas Market Comeback

In Germany, the stalls are open without Covid restrictions, and crowds are returning to sip mulled wine. Page A4

NATIONAL A10-17

## Shutdown Averted

The House passed a \$1.7 trillion government funding package, which now heads to President Biden's desk for his signature. Page A16

## It's Not an Abortion Pill

The government says labels on Plan B One-Step will make clear the pills do not prevent a fertilized egg from implanting in the womb. Page A17

## After R.S.V.P., the Rapid Test

As rising Covid rates collide with a return to holiday festivities, hosts are coming up with inventive compromises for their guests. Page A12



BUSINESS B1-6

## The Tom Brady of Other Jobs

Deon Nielsen Price, an 88-year-old composer, is among the people still going strong in their vocations. Page B4

## Inflation Gauge Slows

The government's preferred inflation index rose 5.5 percent last month, down from the previous 6.1 percent. Page B1

SPORTS B7-10

## Yankees Still Have Needs

Aaron Judge said he had been reassured by Hal Steinbrenner that the Yankees would spend even more money to get better. Left field and the bullpen are obvious places to address. Page B7

## Fiercer Rodeo Bulls

Advanced genetic tracking has helped breeders make rodeo bulls meaner. Riders are having a hard time keeping up. "They better start breeding cowboys," one rodeo judge said. Page B8

OPINION A18-19

## Peter Wehner

Page A19



ARTS C1-10

## Fa-La-La-La-Farewell!

He has been one of those carolers who pop up each year around New York to spread cheer. Now Tom Andolora, center, is calling it quits. Page C2



# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

50¢ U.S. / \$1.25 CAN.



Breezy and cold 25/20 • Tomorrow: Sunny, but cold 33/21 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 2022 • B3

## Legacy of Jan. 6 panel still unwritten

Report hit Trump hard, but some see his real wounds as self-inflicted

BY PAUL KANE  
AND ASHLEY PARKER

In the more than 2,400-word description of its focus, the committee investigating the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol never mentions the words “Donald” or “Trump.” Its founding documents instead outline several purposes, functions and goals, promising to “examine and evaluate evidence” and search for “influencing factors” that led to the insurrection.

Late Thursday, after days of delays, the committee fully unveiled its conclusions, releasing an 800-plus-page report that provides recommendations for how to avert future attacks and a road map to holding those responsible for Jan. 6 criminally accountable.

The report’s findings, which were previewed in hearings this summer and fall, focused primarily on laying out a damning case against Donald Trump and his allies, adding new details of testimony from the former president’s advisers and family members, including as the riot was underway. Its most important legislative proposal — rewriting electoral-college laws to clearly block the methods that Trump and his allies deployed in pressuring Vice President Mike Pence to block the vote — has already been approved in the Electoral Count Act. The legislation will be signed into law once President Biden receives a massive federal funding bill that includes the act, which won final approval in the House on Friday.

On Monday, the panel referred SEE COMMITTEE ON A6  
**Durham inquiry:** Cost to taxpayers is at least \$6.5 million. A2



Antonio Smothers jump-starts his vehicle in Nashville after a large winter storm brought freezing rain, snow and cold temperatures.

## A fierce, frigid jump into Christmas

Extreme weather has taken hold of the U.S., causing power systems to fail and hampering travel

BY DANIELLE PAQUETTE  
AND EMMANUEL FELTON

The fearsome winter storm that forecasters likened to a hurricane within a blizzard tore through the United States on Friday, knocking out power for at least 1.5 million people while exposing nearly two-thirds of Americans to extreme weather. Pounding snow. Freezing rain. Floods. Tree-snapping wind. Frigid air that could inflict frostbite in 10 minutes.

The Arctic blast sent temperatures tumbling, some at record-breaking speed, as blizzards throttled the Great Lakes region and western New York. Even winter-tested cities such as Chicago and Detroit shuttered holiday attractions and urged people to stay inside. The air was so chilly that vapor rose from the waters of the Ohio River and Lake Michigan.

The storm that the National Weather Service described as “once in a generation” began Thursday and is expected to last through Christmas weekend, ultimately carving a 2,000-mile path across much of

### Mean Temperature Forecast



Forecast as of Friday 1 a.m. Eastern  
Source: NOAA JANICE KAI CHEN/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Travel turmoil:** Disruptions continue as flight cancellations surpass 5,000 on Friday. A10

**Disconnected:** Americans in areas with poor cell service can't make calls or get alerts. A12

**Extreme weather:** Arctic warming could be to blame for blasts of cold, scientists say. A12

the country. By Friday evening, the blitz of elements had intensified into a “bomb cyclone,” which forms when cold, dry air from the north slams into warm, moist air from the tropics. The danger zone extended from Canada to Mexico, and from Washington state to Florida.

The potent storm did not respect international borders: In Canada, as in the United States, whitout conditions and fierce winds spurred flight cancellations, shut down major highways and left hundreds of thousands without power. In southwestern Ontario, a 100-vehicle pileup blocked parts of Highway 401, a major thoroughfare.

In the United States, where almost half of the Lower 48 states were subject to powerful winds, 12 governors declared states of emergency. Outages caused by storm gusts zapped power along the East Coast and in Texas, with the worst effects in Virginia and North Carolina.

“I called it a kitchen-sink storm because it is throwing everything at us but the SEE STORM ON A11

## House passes \$1.7T budget

DEAL COVERS BIDEN'S PRIORITIES

Bill's passage averts government shutdown

BY TONY ROMM

The House on Friday approved a roughly \$1.7 trillion bill to fund the government through most of 2023, sending to President Biden a sprawling year-end package that funds his top priorities, provides new aid to Ukraine and averts a government shutdown.

The outcome marked the culmination of a two-year session of Congress that often saw lawmakers hurtling from deadline to deadline, at times threatening to push the economy to the brink. While some Republicans this week backed the spending measure in the Senate, most of them rejected it in the House — foreshadowing the perilous fights to come once the party assumes control of that chamber next year.

The omnibus provides nearly \$773 billion for domestic programs and more than \$850 billion for defense spending, covering expenses through fiscal 2023. It also includes nearly \$45 billion in military, economic and humanitarian assistance for Ukraine, as well as about \$27 billion to respond to natural disasters affecting Florida, Puerto Rico and other parts of the United States.

With it, lawmakers appended a wide array of other long-stalled legislative proposals — banning TikTok on government devices, helping Americans save for retirement, protecting pregnant workers from discrimination and rethinking the way the country counts electoral votes in the presidential election.

SEE BUDGET ON A5

## Masks remain optional as viruses run rampant

Some officials steer clear of mandates, now that they are politicized

BY FENIT NIRAPPEL,  
HENRY ROGERS,  
VANESSA KJELDSEN  
AND SAMANTHA AGUILAR

Nearly every adult ICU bed in Oregon is occupied, driven by an uptick in respiratory viruses. Portland-area hospitals are operating at a “crisis” level for the first time since the coronavirus pandemic began. The dire picture has prompted state health officials to implore people to slap their masks on, once again, to protect against a triple threat of covid, flu and RSV as people travel and gather indoors this holiday season.

But like nearly every community confronting a third pandemic winter, the entreaty is just that

— a plea. Not a mandate. Health officials in a state that was among the last to end an indoor mask requirement in March now characterize mandates as a distraction. Instead, they are counting on Americans to voluntarily don one of the most effective tools for avoiding sickness.

Mandates “have been extremely politicized, polarized and divisive,” said Rachael Banks, director of the Oregon Health Authority’s public health division. “We’re really trying to focus on the behavior and not getting caught in the crossfire of that particular mandate.”

Officials in New York and Los Angeles are also strongly recommending people cover their faces, without new requirements for anyone to actually do so. New York Mayor Eric Adams (D), who has resisted bringing back mask mandates, put on a mask Tuesday SEE MASKS ON A4

**Covid spike:** Cases up in region, with caution urged for holiday. B1

## Ian survivors brace for holidays without a home

Three months after the Category 4 hurricane struck, thousands are still living in trailers and Airbnbs



For the Gauntts and their eight children, who range in age from 15 months to 15 years, their gutted house in Fort Myers Beach, Fla., briefly feels like a home again when they gather for dinner.

BY DEREK HAWKINS  
AND THOMAS SIMONETTI

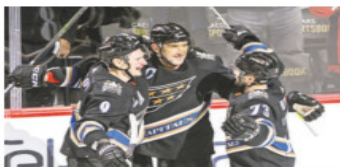
FORT MYERS BEACH, FLA. — The big mango wood table on John and Kate Gauntt’s storm-battered second floor was set with paper plates and a tray full of Costco hot dogs. The couple gathered their kids, said a quick prayer and started serving.

Meals like this have become sacrosanct for the family of 10 since Hurricane Ian inundated their house here in late September, destroying their belongings and forcing them to strip the interior down to the studs and subflooring. This is where they talk, laugh, play games and unwind in the evening before packing into a trailer in their driveway to sleep.

“Family is sacred,” said John Gauntt, 38. “We choose the quality of our relationship over the quality of our stuff.”

Three months after Ian struck, thousands of Floridians whose SEE IAN ON A7

## IN THE NEWS



Another mark for Ovechkin The Capitals star scored his 801st and 802nd goals to tie, then pass, Gordie Howe for No. 2 all-time. D1

### THE NATION

A Democratic House probe of violent white extremism is expected to end when Republicans take control next month. A2  
**New Mexico** Democrats say outreach to Hispanic voters is key to their run of success in the state. A3  
**Activist Charlie Kirk** delivers a warning to the Republican National Committee, and backlash follows. A3

### Arizona contemplates

pipin in water from Mexico to ease its water crisis as drought continues. A14

### THE WORLD

A Russian archive offers up the name of a KGB officer who probed a 1976 act of defiance in St. Petersburg: “Lt. Putin.” A8  
**More than 150 Rohingya** refugees have been adrift in the Andaman Sea for more than two

weeks. A9

**An increase in fuel** prices has set off nationwide demonstrations in Jordan. A9

### THE ECONOMY

**SpaceX** reassured NASA that Elon Musk’s Twitter purchase won’t affect its moon landing ambitions. A13

### THE REGION

**Students at Walt Whitman** High School in Bethesda walked out in response to antisemitic graffiti painted on the school last weekend. B1

**A man wanted in the** 2010 killing of a beloved American University professor was arrested in Mexico. B1

**Student absences** are on the rise because of covid-19, respiratory infections and other illnesses. B1

**Each year, a Maryland** man uses holiday lights as a tribute to his young neighbor who died of cancer. B1

**A woman is arrested** after yelling at two D.C. police officers who were convicted in connection with her son’s death. B6

## INSIDE



### STYLE

**A holiday puzzle** Find the 72 snowmen on the cover of the Style section. Just watch for the impostors. C1

BUSINESS NEWS ..... A13  
COMICS ..... C5  
OPINION PAGES ..... A15  
LOTTERIES ..... B3  
OBITUARIES ..... C4  
TELEVISION ..... C3  
WORLD NEWS ..... A6

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**MIGRANTS** who crossed the U.S.-Mexico border without authorization in the chilly early morning huddle around makeshift fires in San Luis, Ariz. People from a dozen countries said they would plead for asylum.

Photographs by DON BARTLETT For The Times

## The legacy of Title 42

Asylum seekers crowd border with policy's future in doubt

By LEILA MILLER

CIUDAD JUAREZ, Mexico — The first time Mari Marin Bastidas tried to claim asylum at the U.S. border, she was turned away by authorities who said a policy instituted to slow the spread of COVID-19 meant her case would not even get a hearing.

Dejected, she returned to her home in the state of Michoacan in western Mexico.

Two years later, she is back at the border to try again. Word has been spreading that the policy, known as Title 42, is about to be lifted.

"I decided to come because of the opportunity that is opening up," said Bastidas, 29. "I'm not going back anymore."

The fate of the policy now rests with the U.S. Supreme Court as anxiety and confusion build on both sides of the border. In Ciudad Juarez, untold numbers of asylum seekers have been gathering in recent weeks. Across the Rio Grande in El Paso, the mayor has declared a state of emergency in anticipation of a massive influx.

Bastidas, along with her 8-year-old daughter and two brothers, was among scores of migrants waiting along a narrow section of the river.

Some waded across to present themselves to border agents, either not realizing that Title 42 was still in effect or willing to take their chances anyway.

Bastidas and her family decided to wait and made their way to a migrant [See Title 42, A4]



**A FAMILY** from Peru waits in a line with about 60 other migrants in San Luis. The family members surrendered to Border Patrol agents.



**A WOMAN** and child sleep on the ground by a warming fire near the border fence.

"The truth is that they don't give us the opportunity to come into this country. We never came with the idea of coming in illegally."

— YESIMAR, who crossed the border illegally

## Grad students OK deal with big raises, end their UC strike

Historic agreement will boost minimum pay from \$23,250 to about \$34,000.

By TERESA WATANABE

University of California graduate student workers on Friday ratified a new labor agreement with big wage gains, support for child care and new protections against bullying and harassment, ending a historic strike that upended fall term finals and has reverberated nationally.

In separate votes, two bargaining units of United Auto Workers approved the tentative agreement reached last week with the 10-campus university system — six weeks after 48,000 teaching assistants, tutors, researchers and postdoctoral scholars collectively walked off their jobs in the nation's largest strike of academic workers.

SRU-UAW's 17,000 graduate student researchers backed the agreement with 68.4% on a vote of 10,057 to 4,640, securing their first UC contract after forming a union last year. UAW 2865, which represents 19,000 teaching assistants, tutors and other student academic workers, approved the agreement with 61.6% of the votes, 11,386 to 7,097.

"The dramatic improvements to our salaries and

working conditions are the result of tens of thousands of workers striking together in unity," Rafael Jaime, UAW 2865 president, said in a statement. "These agreements redefine what is possible in terms of how universities support their workers, who are the backbone of their research and education enterprise. They include especially significant improvements for parents and marginalized workers, and will improve the quality of life for every single academic employee at the University of California."

UC said the new contracts would make the system's graduate student workers "among the best supported in public higher education in the country." "Today's ratification demonstrates yet again the university's strong commitment to providing every one of our hardworking employees with competitive compensation and benefit packages that honor their many contributions to our institution, to our community, and to the state of California," Letitia Silas, executive director of systemwide labor relations, said in a statement.

The UC strike has drawn national attention for its massive size, breadth and prominence at one of the nation's premier public research university systems. Some graduate students at [See Deal, A6]

## Snuffing Garcetti's last order: Lighting the Hollywood sign

By DAKOTA SMITH AND JULIA WICK

It may have been the shortest-lived executive directive in Los Angeles City Hall history.

Mayor Eric Garcetti, on his last day in office, quietly signed an executive directive — a regal-sounding action that amounts to an order to city departments — for a program to light up the Hollywood sign.

The prospect of lighting the sign has been contentious for decades, and Garcetti's order immediately caused an uproar in the hillside neighborhood near the landmark.

Mayor Karen Bass killed the order on Wednesday, 10 days after Garcetti issued it. Executive directives take effect 15 days after publication, according to the City

Charter.

"I am hereby rescinding Executive Directive No. 36. There is no replacement," Bass wrote to department heads, according to a copy of the memo that was reviewed by The Times.

Bass spokesperson Zach Seidl said Thursday evening that Bass "rescinded the order because there were concerns about the legality of the order."

Garcetti's directive, issued Dec. 11, noted the upcoming 100th anniversary of the Hollywood sign, which was originally built as a temporary advertisement for the development of a new subdivision.

The Hollywood Sign Trust, the nonprofit entity that maintains the sign, "has tested new technology" and the tests "have demonstrated how new technology [See Sign, A6]

## Indigenous people fight for Griffith Park burial for P-22

By NATHAN SOLIS

Even in death, the mountain lion known as P-22 is caught between two worlds.

To many Angelenos, he was a celebrity and symbol of an untamed California that's quickly vanishing. But for centuries, Native Ameri-

can tribes called mountain lions teachers and viewed them as their relatives.

Now that P-22 has been euthanized by wildlife authorities, it's unclear what will happen to the remains of the famous mountain lion. While government agencies and museum officials consider the final resting place

for the cat, the Native American community in Southern California wants P-22 to be buried near Griffith Park with a ceremony that honors his spirit.

Originally from the Santa Monica Mountains, P-22 gained worldwide recognition after he was photographed [See P-22, A10]

## Tribute ideas pour in for cougar

A P-22 statue in Griffith Park? A star on the Walk of Fame? L.A. tackles how to memorialize beloved resident mountain lion. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

## Lanez guilty in shooting of Megan Thee Stallion

The case highlighted rampant misogyny in the hip-hop industry, some observers say.

By JAMES QUEALLY AND JONAH VALDEZ

Daystar Peterson, a Canadian rapper who performs as Tory Lanez, was convicted Friday of assault and weapons offenses for shooting rap star Megan Thee Stallion after an alco-



**TORY LANEZ** faces about 20 years in prison.

hol-fueled party in 2020.

Peterson faces more than 20 years in prison for the gunshots jurors concluded he fired at the feet of Megan Thee Stallion, whose real name is Megan Pete, in a fit of rage.

The case came to highlight the misogyny in the male-dominated hip-hop industry, which Pete upended with blistering songs that often depict women wielding power over men. She endured a deluge of criticism for reporting [See Verdict, A10]

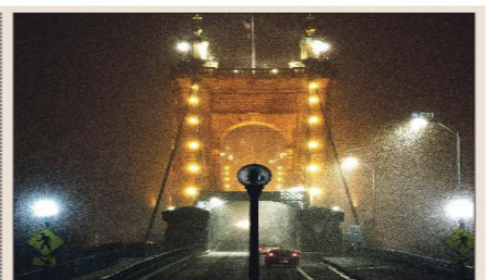
## Spending bill goes to Biden

House passes a \$1.7-trillion package including Ukraine aid, a day after it won Senate approval. **NATION, A5**

## Dodgers ponder Bauer's future

Team executives have until Jan. 6 to decide if the reinstated pitcher should be released or activated. **SPORTS, B12**

**Weather**  
Sunny and warm.  
L.A. Basin: 77/52. **B8**



## FRIGHTFUL WEATHER

Snow and cold grips much of the U.S., including Roebling Bridge near Cincinnati. **NATION, A5**



**MÚSICA** El fenómeno Taylor Swift: qué hay tras su éxito

P36 y 37

**EL PAÍS SEMANAL** Viaje al origen del fervor por la cultura coreana



## La Fiscalía archiva el caso de la tragedia de Melilla

El ministerio público no ve delito en la actuación de los agentes españoles

MARÍA MARTÍN, Madrid

La Fiscalía archivó ayer la investigación sobre la tragedia del 24 de junio en Melilla, cuando cientos de personas trataron de entrar a la fuerza en España desde Marruecos y se vieron atrapadas en una avalancha en la que, según Rabat, murieron 23 migrantes. El ministerio público no aprecia indicios de delito en la actuación de las fuerzas de seguridad españolas que, como las marroquíes, usaron botes de humo y gas lacrimógeno para contener la entrada. "No puede concluirse" que su actuación "incrementara el riesgo para la vida e integridad física de los migrantes, por lo que no se les puede imputar un delito de homicidio imprudente", concluye. El escrito, que avala las devoluciones en caliente, que rechaza la omisión del deber de socorro y que ha sido criticado por UP —socio de Gobierno de Pedro Sánchez—, da oxígeno al ministro Fernando Grande-Marlaska, si bien el caso sigue generando polémica. **PÁGINAS 18 Y 19**

## Una crisis institucional que parece no tener fin

XOSÉ HERMIDA, Madrid

La oposición niega legitimidad al Gobierno y el Ejecutivo le devuelve acusaciones de prácticas golpistas. El Poder Judicial lleva cuatro años con el mandato caducado. El Tribunal Constitucional frena un proceso legislativo en marcha para su renovación. El deterioro institucional en España parece no tener fin. **PÁGINAS 20 Y 21**

## EL PAÍS, en internet

La edición impresa de EL PAÍS solo saldrá mañana, 25 de diciembre, en Cataluña. Los lectores encontrarán toda la información en elpais.com.

SUSCRÍBETE AQUÍ



EL PAÍS

## La comisión del asalto al Capitolio pide vetar a Trump

El informe final del comité asesta un nuevo golpe a las aspiraciones del expresidente de volver a la Casa Blanca

IKER SEISDEDOS, Washington

La comisión del Congreso de EE UU que ha investigado el ataque al Capitolio del 6 de enero de 2021 asestó el jueves otro golpe a las aspiraciones de Donald Trump de regresar a la Casa Blanca. En su informe final concluye

que conspiró para revertir el resultado electoral y pide al Congreso que considere prohibirle la posibilidad de presentarse a un cargo público. "Nuestro país ha llegado demasiado lejos como para permitir que un presidente derrochado se convierta en un tirano",

escribe el demócrata Bennie Thompson, presidente de ese órgano. La recomendación, de enorme carga simbólica, llega semanas después de que Trump anunciara su candidatura a las presidenciales de 2024. **PÁGINAS 2 Y 3**

EDITORIAL EN LA PÁGINA 14



ALBERT GARCÍA

## El adiós de Serrat: "Proclamo mi despido por voluntad propia"

Joan Manuel Serrat dio ayer su último concierto, tras una gira de ocho meses y 74 galas, 45 en España. Fue en Barcelona, donde en

1965 se presentó en un estudio de radio con *Una guitarra*. Tenía 21 años. A punto de cumplir 79, el Palau Sant Jordi, con las entradas

agotadas, se rindió de nuevo y por última vez al *noi* del Poble Sec. "Proclamo mi despido por voluntad propia", dijo al inicio. **PÁGINA 35**

BABELIA

## Cuentos que prescinden de las palabras

Libros sin texto, solo con imágenes, abren fronteras en la literatura infantil y juvenil

El mejor villancico pop de la historia es una canción triste y resacosa **Íñigo López Palacios**

Charles M. Schulz, el padre de Snoopy y Carlitos, cierra su centenario **Mercedes Cebrián**

## El peor debut

Grave lesión de Kraneviter: jugó sólo 6 minutos

P. 60

Mala suerte. A Matías Kraneviter lo fracturaron cuando empezó el partido.



**Borensztein**  
Que la grieta no decaiga



**Fioriti**  
Cristina lleva al abismo a Alberto



**Carlin**  
Del sueño mundialista a la pesadilla iraní



**Vargas Llosa**  
"La literatura me salvó del estalinismo"

SPOT

# Clarín

Un toque de atención para la solución argentina de los problemas argentinos

Sábado 24.12.2022

BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA - PRECIO: \$ 450,00

Fuertes críticas de organizaciones empresarias

## El desacato a la Corte pega en los mercados: caen los bonos y el blue es récord

La incertidumbre política que trajo la rebeldía del Gobierno frente a la Corte llevó al dólar informal a su techo histórico de \$ 340. Los bonos argentinos cayeron y subió el riesgo país. Las

principales entidades de empresarios del país criticaron con dureza la resistencia del Gobierno a acatar el fallo de la Corte que ordena restituir fondos a la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. P. 20

**Una postura "sediciosa"**  
Los especialistas, contra la decisión oficial.

EL RETRASO EN LAS TARIFAS

**Aumentan en enero colectivos y trenes y luego seguirán subiendo una vez por mes**

Desde el primer día de 2023 los boletos de trenes y colectivos subirán un 39%. Desde marzo, las tarifas de transporte público entrarán en un esquema de subas mensuales para acompañar la inflación. Es una medida que había pedido el Fondo Monetario Internacional. P. 44

**Chicago.** La ciudad fue una de las más castigadas por el frío.



AFP

LA VIOLENCIA EN EUROPA

**París, castigada por un atentado racista que dejó tres muertos y tres heridos**

Un hombre que ya tenía antecedentes por un ataque similar entró a un centro cultural kurdo y a locales comerciales en la capital francesa y mató a tres personas. También dejó tres heridos a su paso. P. 32

**Del Editor**

**Ricardo Roa**

Como no podía ser tanta alegría, el Gobierno inventó otra crisis

P. 3

## Una Navidad sin luz y bajo nieve

En la previa de la Nochebuena, el 70% del territorio de Estados Unidos quedó afectado por las nevadas, el viento y las temperaturas extremas. El noreste fue la zona más golpeada. Hasta anoche, 1.400.000 personas estaban sin electricidad. P. 35

**Hasta el lunes.** Mañana 25 de diciembre, no salen diarios papel. Todas las noticias en [clarin.com](http://clarin.com)

## NATAL 2022 cotidiano B3 WhatsApp para Noel

As cartinhas para Papai Noel foram trocadas por mensagens que lotam o WhatsApp de Gesualdo D'Avola. Com celular, as crianças ligam sem parar. Com as mais insistentes, o jeito é bloquear, diz ele.

## cotidiano B2 Aeroviários decidem suspender a paralisação depois de cinco dias

## cotidiano B2 Levantamento mostra queda da qualidade das praias no litoral de SP

## cotidiano B4 Dirigir de chinelos dá multa; confira regras para pegar estrada com crianças e pets

## equilíbrio B5 Ceia sem exageros

Nutricionistas dão dicas de como se faltar, sem gula, em festas de fim de ano

## Política do BNDES para grandes foi ineficaz, diz estudo

A política de campeões nacionais do BNDES nos governos do PT despejou recursos em grandes empresas, mas o retorno não foi o esperado. Estudo mostra que de cada R\$ 1 em empréstimos e subsídios, apenas de R\$ 0,12 a R\$ 0,25 gerou investimentos adicionais. Mercado A16



Gesualdo D'Avola, 64, encarna o Papai Noel desde o Natal de 2012 Karime Xavier/Folhapress

## Maioria dos brasileiros quer trabalho remoto ou híbrido

Se pudessem optar por uma forma de trabalho, 24% dos brasileiros escolheriam o modelo remoto, de casa. Outros 28% preferem o sistema híbrido, dividindo-se entre a casa e a empresa. Para 45%, a jornada deveria ser só presencial. É o que mostra pesquisa nacional feita pelo Datafolha.

Sobre a reforma trabalhista, que completou cinco anos, 56% disseram que ela trouxe mais benefícios para empresários do que para trabalhadores. A pesquisa mostra também que 77% gostariam de trabalhar com carteira assinada e direitos garantidos, mesmo que ganhando menos. Mercado A13

## CVM publica novas regras para fundos de investimento

O novo Marco Regulatório dos Fundos de Investimento traz mudanças como a limitação da responsabilidade de cada investidor ao valor das cotas subscritas. Hoje, cotistas podem ter que depositar valores adicionais em caso de prejuízo causado pelo gestor. Mercado A17

# Indulto de Bolsonaro perdoa PMs do Carandiru

Decreto natalino permite anular condenação de 74 policiais envolvidos no massacre de 111 presos em 1992

O último indulto natalino assinado pelo presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL), publicado ontem, concede perdão aos policiais militares condenados pelo massacre do Carandiru.

No episódio, ocorrido há exatos 30 anos, tropas invadiram a antiga Casa de Detenção em São Paulo para conter uma rebelião. No final da operação, havia 111 presos mortos.

Embora não cite nominalmente nenhum policial, o texto do indulto descreve circunstâncias particulares que se encaixam perfeitamente na situação dos 74 condenados.

O perdão presidencial era uma das últimas esperanças dos PMs, já que as instâncias superiores da Justiça negaram os recursos apresentados pela defesa.

Faltava o Tribunal de Justiça de São Paulo decidir se as penas, que variavam de 48 a 624 anos, estavam adequadas, o que aconteceria em janeiro.

Os policiais não estão presos. Cinco morreram durante o processo. Os demais estão aposentados e com mais de 60 anos. Cotidiano B1

**PM desiste de cargo no governo após críticas por ligação com Carandiru B1**

## Continua impasse sobre Tebet e Marina no governo

Apesar de ter se reunido com a senadora Simone Tebet (MDB-MS), o presidente eleito Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva não conseguiu convencê-la a assumir o Ministério do Meio Ambiente.

Tebet disse que aceitaria o convite apenas se a deputada Marina Silva (Rede-SP) estivesse de acordo.

Petistas tentaram convencer a deputada a assumir um cargo a ser criado, de Autoridade Nacional de Segurança Climática, mas Marina Silva recusou. Segundo ela, essa função deve ser de um técnico.

Marina e Tebet participaram da campanha petista. Política A5

## Camila Rocha Avanço feminino é lento no Brasil

Em 2022, a representatividade de mulheres na Câmara dos Deputados aumentou, mas elas ocupam apenas 17,7% das cadeiras.

Partidos continuam sob domínio masculino, o que se reflete no pouco poder feminino de barganha na disputa por cargos. Opinião A2



## INCÊNDIO EM VIÑA DEL MAR, NO CHILE, MATA AO MENOS 2 PESSOAS

Área residencial afetada pelo fogo propagado por fortes rajadas de vento no balneário chileno nesta quinta-feira (22); o presidente Gabriel Boric decretou estado de emergência na região que teve 400 casas destruídas pelas chamas Mundo A10

## Atirador mata 3 curdos em Paris e gera protesto

Um homem francês de 69 anos matou três pessoas e feriu outras três em um ataque a um centro cultural curdo em Paris. Ele foi preso. Houve protesto após o atentado. A10

## EDITORIAIS A2

**Apetite petista**  
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## LE FIGARO

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



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APRÈS SA RENCONTRE AVEC  
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**Réponses à la question  
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SNCF : le gouvernement  
doit-il prendre des  
mesures pour empêcher  
des grèves au Nouvel An ?

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FATIMA LUCARINI-JEAN-CHRISTOPHE  
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# Le Noël des Ukrainiens à l'ombre de la guerre



Le conflit et les privations planent sur les célébrations, que beaucoup ont décidé d'avancer au 25 décembre pour se démarquer des orthodoxes russes. **PAGES 2, 3 ET L'ÉDITORIAL**

## SNCF : les syndicats lèvent la menace de grève pour le Nouvel An

Les Français pourront rentrer de vacances normalement après le Nouvel An, grâce à un accord entre la SNCF et ses syndicats signé vendredi. Il prévoit la création d'une « di-

rection des chefs de bord » et une revalorisation de la prime pour les contrôleurs. Une fin de conflit qui ne résout pas les difficultés rencontrées pour ce week-end de Noël. **PAGE 5**



## Fusillade meurtrière en plein cœur de Paris

Un homme de 69 ans, déjà inculpé pour avoir agressé des migrants, a ouvert le feu dans le 10<sup>e</sup> arrondissement de la capitale, aux abords du Centre culturel kurde Ahmet-Kaya. Trois personnes sont mortes et trois autres ont été blessées

grièvement, dont une était toujours vendredi soir en urgence absolue. Quelques heures après l'attaque, des échauffourées ont éclaté entre des manifestants, notamment de la communauté kurde, et les forces de l'ordre. **PAGE 8**

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

## La méprise de Noël

Les horreurs de la guerre apparaissent dans une lumière grise et crue, sinistre, plus glaçante encore que d'ordinaire quand le reste du monde se réchauffe près des siens sous les scintillements de Noël. Plongées dans le froid, l'obscurité, la faim et les destructions, condamnées à la solitude ou à l'exil, les victimes ukrainiennes de l'invasion russe méritent notre compassion en plus de notre aide. Leur Noël au son du canon renvoie à des temps archaïques où ne compte plus que la survie, malgré la douleur, le deuil ou la misère. Soldats blessés sur des civières, enfants privés de cadeaux dans des caves gelées, femmes priant pour leurs fils ou leurs maris au front - telle est la réalité brutale de ce Noël de guerre infligé aux Ukrainiens.

Le tourment qui dure depuis dix mois n'est pas près de s'arrêter. Vladimir Poutine a certes perdu sa « guerre de trois jours », mais il prend toutes les dispositions pour gagner à l'usure une guerre de trois ans - ou plus. Passée en « économie de guerre » depuis l'annexion de quatre districts ukrainiens, fin septembre, la Russie n'a de priorité plus grande que son armée, qu'elle entend porter à 1,5 million d'hommes. Elle relance ses usines d'arme-

ment, prépare 200 000 conscrits à rejoindre le front, annonce l'arrivée de 200 chars dernier cri à blindage « réactif », développe ses propres drones, maintient un stock de missiles apparemment inépuisable... C'est pourquoi Volodymyr Zelensky est allé à Washington presser son allié américain de lui donner d'urgence un coup de pouce décisif : sa meilleure chance de vaincre, plaide-t-il, est d'ici à l'été prochain.

L'addition de la rancœur envers l'agresseur et de la peur des mois à venir pousse beaucoup

d'Ukrainiens à afficher leur rejet de tout ce qui est connecté à la Russie. La tradition du Noël orthodoxe, célébré le 7 janvier, en fait les frais. Sans doute est-ce compréhensible au vu du contexte, mais on ne peut s'empêcher de déplorer cette méprise : le rapprochement avec l'Ouest n'impose pas l'uniformité

Le rapprochement avec l'Ouest n'impose pas l'uniformité, encore moins de renoncer à son identité. Le Noël du 7 janvier est tout aussi ukrainien que russe, serbe ou copte. Il mériterait que les Ukrainiens le revendiquent et se l'approprient, au lieu d'y renoncer. ■

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