

What's News

Business & Finance

Southwest canceled more than two-thirds of its flights Monday and plans to slash schedules Tuesday and Wednesday, in a meltdown that worsened while other airlines began to recover from the winter storm. **A1**

◆ **Citing security concerns** over TikTok, some Biden administration officials are pushing for a sale of the Chinese-owned company's U.S. operations to ensure Beijing can't harness the app for espionage and political influence, according to people familiar with the situation. **A1**

◆ **Tesla suspended car production** at its Shanghai factory, extending a planned eight-day production halt at its largest plant by car output, according to people familiar with the matter. **B1**

◆ **The electric-vehicle maker** is on pace for its worst annual stock performance on record. **B2**

◆ **Rocketing electricity prices** are increasing the cost of driving electric vehicles in Europe, in some cases making them more expensive to run than gas-powered models. **B4**

◆ **Creators of blank-check companies** are rushing to liquidate them before the end of the year, seeing few prospects for deals soon and a surprise tax bill looming in 2023. **B1**

◆ **Wide-release movies** earned \$7.23 billion in North America this year through Christmas, according to box office tracker Comscore. **B1**

◆ **The extent to which investors, analysts and economists** got markets' direction wrong this year has left many anticipating 2023 with unease. **B10**

World-Wide

◆ **Chinese health authorities** plan to lift Covid-19 quarantine requirements on international arrivals early next month, taking one of the country's biggest steps to ease restrictions since the pandemic began even as case numbers remain high. **A1**

◆ **The Pentagon said it has stepped up raids** against Islamic State in Syria, conducting nearly a dozen risky helicopter and ground operations to kill or capture top militant operatives. **A18**

◆ **Three Russian service members** were killed during a Ukrainian drone attack on a Russian military air base, Moscow said, the latest apparent demonstration of Kyiv's ability to strike military targets inside Russia. **A8**

◆ **An Arizona judge** threw out the remainder of Republican gubernatorial candidate Kari Lake's claims of election misconduct. **A5**

◆ **Five drones** from North Korea flew into South Korea, worsening ties between two neighbors already trading military shows of force with growing frequency. **A9**

◆ **China's People's Liberation Army** dispatched a swarm of jet fighters and other military aircraft on sorties near Taiwan in a move Beijing said was a response to provocation by Washington and Taipei. **A9**

◆ **U.S. voters** are sharply divided by political party over which groups of Americans face discrimination, a Wall Street Journal poll found. **A4**

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Buffalo, N.Y., Digs Out as Storm Deaths Climb to at Least 27



TRAGIC: Workers on Monday cleared snow in Buffalo, N.Y., as a brutal storm that swept the area left at least 27 people dead in the county that encompasses the city. Officials said the death toll was expected to rise. **A6**

Southwest Scraps Thousands Of Flights, More Cuts Ahead

By ALISON SIDER

Southwest Airlines Co. canceled more than two-thirds of its flights Monday and plans to slash its schedules Tuesday and Wednesday, in a meltdown that stranded thousands of customers and that worsened while other airlines began to recover from the holiday winter storm. "We had a tough day today. In all likelihood we'll have another tough day tomorrow as we work our way out of this," Chief Executive Bob Jordan

said in an interview Monday evening. "This is the largest scale event that I've ever seen."

Southwest plans to operate just over a third of its typical schedule in the coming days to give itself leeway for crews to get into the right positions, he said, adding that the reduced schedule could be extended.

Southwest's more than 2,800 scrapped flights Monday, the highest of any major U.S. airline, came as the Dallas-based airline proved unable to stabilize its operations amid the past

week's storm. Between Thursday and Monday, the airline canceled about 8,000 flights, according to FlightAware.

On Monday, the Transportation Department called the rate of cancellations at Southwest "disproportionate and unacceptable" and said it would examine whether the cancellations were controllable and whether the airline is complying with its customer service plan.

Ryan Green, Southwest's chief commercial officer, said in an interview the airline is taking

steps such as covering customers' reasonable travel costs—including hotels, rental cars and tickets on other airlines, and will be communicating the process for customers to have expenses reimbursed. He also said customers whose flights are being canceled as the airline recovers are entitled to refunds if they choose not to travel.

The troubles at Southwest

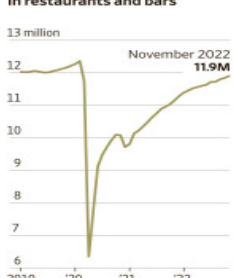
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◆ **Death toll from storm in Buffalo rises**..... **A6**

Restaurant Workers Return

Employees are returning to restaurants, where the pandemic hit hard, drawn by pay increases, improving conditions and fewer other opportunities amid a weakening economy. **A3**

Number of employees working in restaurants and bars



Note: Seasonally-adjusted data; October and November 2022 are preliminary

Source: Labor Department

Average hourly wage of restaurant workers



Movies Reach Peak Pinocchio With Four New Adaptations

Fifty remakes of the classic tale exhaust even the most devoted fans

By DON STEINBERG

Around 50 Pinocchio movies have been released since the classic 1940 Disney film, including, no lie, 1965's "Pinocchio in Outer Space."

Filmmakers' unflagging fascination with the wooden boy's tale may explain why 2022 shaped up as the year America reached peak Pinocchio. Even die-hard fans suspect supply has outrun demand.

Three Pinocchio projects have premiered since January, among them Walt Disney Co.'s "Pinocchio" from director Robert Zemeckis—with Tom Hanks as Geppetto—and "Guillermo del Toro's Pi-

nocchio" this month on Netflix.

A fourth, "Pinocchio and the Water of Life," billed as a coming-of-age comedy, was pushed to summer, presumably to skirt the Pinocchio pileup. In "Lies of P," a videogame also set for release next year, Pinocchio battles his way through a preindustrial hellscape. His mission: return home to Geppetto, the carved kid's creator and surrogate father.

Mat Brunet, an animation historian in Montreal, called Disney's original "Pinocchio" the "Citizen Kane" of animation. He is among the Pinocchio aficionados braying their discontent

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TikTok Security Concerns Revive U.S. Push for a Sale

Some Biden administration officials who are citing security concerns over TikTok are pushing for a sale of the Chinese-owned company's U.S. operations to address the potential for Beijing to harness the app for espionage and political influence, according to people familiar with the situation.

By **Stu Woo, Kate O'Keefe and Aruna Viswanatha**

The proposal for a forced sale has arisen in discussions by the Committee on Foreign Investment in the U.S., an interagency government panel that has been negotiating with TikTok for more than two years on a way to wall off the

company's data and operations from the Chinese government, the people said.

Pentagon and Justice Department representatives on the panel are among those supporting a forced sale, the people said, citing the risk of Beijing accessing TikTok data or influencing the videos that Americans view on TikTok. They said these issues can only be addressed by separating the app from its Chinese owner, Beijing-based ByteDance Ltd.

"We're talking about a government that, in our own intelligence community's estimation, has a purpose to move global technology use and norms to privilege its own interests and its values, which are not consistent with our

own," Deputy Attorney General Lisa Monaco said in an interview, in which she declined to discuss TikTok specifically.

"That's the perspective I bring to these issues."

But the Treasury Department, which chairs the panel, is worried that such an order might be overturned in court, and is looking for other possible solutions, according to a person familiar with that department's thinking.

Cfue experts said the committee could make a recommendation to the president, who has the authority to force a sale, or divestiture, of TikTok by its Chinese owners for it to continue operating in the U.S.

A White House spokesman said the committee is still working on a recommendation.

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INSIDE



PERSONAL JOURNAL

How to start writing your life stories to preserve them for the ages. **A11**



JASON GAY

The great sports stuff in 2022, from college softball to the striped bass blitz. **A14**

Hospitals Shun Poorer Areas

Despite tax breaks for serving needy, many nonprofits grow in wealthier communities

Many of the nation's largest nonprofit hospital systems, which give aid to poorer communities to earn tax breaks, have been leaving

By **Melanie Evans, Max Rust and Tom McGinty**

those areas and moving into wealthier ones as they have added and shed hospitals in the last two decades.

As nonprofits, these regional and national giants reap \$8.8 billion from tax breaks annually, by one Johns Hopkins University researcher's estimate. Among their obligations, they are expected to provide free

medical care to those least able to afford it.

Many top nonprofits, however, avoid communities where more people are likely to need that aid, according to a Wall Street Journal analysis of nearly 470 transactions. As these systems grew, many were more likely to divest or close hospitals in low-income communities than to add them.

Since 2001, half the hospitals divested by CommonSpirit Health, a large Catholic system based in Chicago, were in communities where the poverty rate was above the medians for state hospital markets, compared with

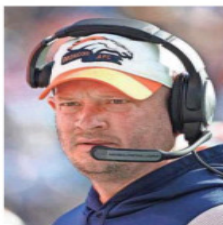
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Minimum wage is going up as \$15 an hour gains steam

Starting in the new year, hikes in some states will help workers cope with inflation. **In Money**

2022 was blockbuster year for movies; let's rank them

See where "Top Gun: Maverick," "The Whale," and "RRR" land on year-end top 10 list. **In Life**



Broncos fire Hackett after huge loss to Rams

First-year NFL head coach let go, leaving Denver with a 4-11 record after a 51-14 beatdown by Los Angeles on Christmas. **In Sports**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27, 2022

In search of the perfect president

What Americans want in their ideal candidate

Susan Page
USA TODAY

What if you could pick a president to order?
Let's stipulate at the start that you can't, that the choice in the 2024 election will be among actual human beings, not some ideal drawn in the abstract.
That said, Americans in the USA TODAY/Suffolk University Poll did express preferences about the characteristics they found appealing in a president and the ones they said didn't matter. In all that may be guideposts and red flags for the real people who will run or are thinking about it.

"Unfortunately, the presidential election of 2024 currently has no declared ideal candidates. Over 6 in 10 say they don't want Trump or Biden to run in 2024."

David Paleologos
Director of the Suffolk Political Research Center

David Paleologos, director of the Suffolk Political Research Center, said the job posting could go something like this: "Wanted - a 51-to-65-year-old governor with business experience and willing to compromise to get things done. Military experience a bonus."
"Unfortunately, the presidential election of 2024 currently has no declared ideal candidates," he said, and neither President Joe Biden nor former president Donald Trump is a neat match to the description. In the poll, he notes, "Over 6 in 10 say they don't want Trump or Biden to run in 2024."
The survey of 1,000 registered voters, taken by landline and cellphone Dec. 7-11, has a margin of error of plus or minus 3.1 percentage points.

How old should the president be?

The sweet spot is later middle age, between 51 and 65 years old, the age group chosen by 50% of those surveyed. An additional 25% picked earlier middle age, 35 to 50 years old.
Those findings could be cautionary for Trump, who last month announced another presidential bid. The former president will be 78 years old on Inauguration Day in 2025; just 8% said an ideal president would be 66 to 80 years old.
It's an even greater caution for Biden, who says he is inclined to seek a second term. He'll be 82 at the next inauguration; less than 1 percent chose a president 80 or older. Put another way, just four respondents among 1,000

See POLL, Page 4A



Abandoned vehicles in downtown Buffalo, N.Y., stand covered Monday in a thick blanket of snow. The death toll of the historic storm was expected to climb as many remained without power. JOED VIERA/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

Death toll in historic winter storm hits 50

Buffalo preps for more snow in worst blizzard in 4 decades



Christian Parker of Buffalo, N.Y., shovels out his car in the Elmwood Village neighborhood of Buffalo on Monday. CRAIG RUTTLE/AP

Cady Stanton
USA TODAY

The death toll from a historic onslaught of winter weather across the U.S. rose to at least 50 Monday as frigid arctic air and heavy lake-effect snow left large swaths of the U.S. frozen.
The pre-Christmas winter storm left at least 27 dead in western New York - one of the worst weather-related disasters in the region's history after the area was pummeled with as much as 43 inches of snow.
The dead have been found in their cars, homes and in snowbanks. Some died while shoveling snow. The death toll across the country was expected to rise as many remained without power in the frigid temperatures and hazardous road conditions continue.
Buffalo, New York, has seen some of

See WINTER, Page 2A



President Joe Biden speaks about student loan debt relief in October. EVAN VUCCI/AP

Whatever happened to Biden's free college plan?

Cutting the cost is out of feds' reach, experts say

Chris Quintana
USA TODAY

President Joe Biden's plan for mass student loan debt relief may be a bust, but the attempt to wipe billions in education-related debt was an acknowledgment: The way the U.S. pays for higher education is not working.
Why else would nearly \$400 billion in student loan debt relief be necessary? Biden himself stated in announcing his plan that an "entire generation is now saddled with unsustainable debt in exchange for an attempt, at least, at a college degree."
"The burden is so heavy that even if you graduate," he said in August, "you may not have access to the middle-class life that the college degree once provided."

Questions about making college affordable for a wide swath of students remain perennially - and stubbornly - unanswered, and few policymakers have offered long-term solutions. Instead, the federal government is largely focused on addressing the impact of student loans on the roughly 44 million people holding education-related debts: The administration has streamlined the Public Service Loan Forgiveness program, canceled the debts of students taken advantage of by predatory colleges and universities and unveiled a new income-driven repayment plan that could reduce how much borrowers have to pay.
It even made it easier for those with student debt to discharge their obligations via bankruptcy - something that once seemed impossible but has been overshadowed by the president's plan

See COLLEGE, Page 6A



A holiday market in Chicago. The vulnerable and the risk-averse find they are among the few still using masks in places like stores.

For Holdouts In Masks, Life Turns Lonelier

By AMY HARMON

Bitsy Cherry had been bracing for the question ever since most of the members of a board game group that had started meeting online during the pandemic began attending in-person meetings a few months ago.

Like many of the dwindling group of Americans still taking precautions like masking indoors and limiting face-to-face interactions, Ms. Cherry, who uses gender-neutral courtesy titles and pronouns, had been fielding nudges to return to pre-Covid routines from all corners. Doctors' offices that have dropped mask protocols encouraged Ms. Cherry to come in for a physical exam. Friends suggested repeatedly that gathering on the porch might be safe enough. And there was President Biden, who in remarks on CBS's "60 Minutes" had declared the pandemic "over."

But when the board-game organizer finally asked this month if Ms. Cherry was ready to go back to gathering on the Cornell University campus, Ms. Cherry fumbled for an answer. The online gaming group on Saturday afternoons had become a key social outlet for Ms. Cherry, who has remained largely confined at home with Nathaniel Neroch, Ms. Cherry's partner, since March 2020 because of an autoimmune disorder that raises the risk of a severe outcome from Covid-19.

"I found that one upsetting," Ms. Cherry said in an interview. "I've been worried in the back of my mind the whole time: When are they going to decide they don't want to do this anymore?"

For many Americans still at pains to avoid infection with the coronavirus, this has become the

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Using Drones, Ukraine Takes the Fight to Russia

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — Ukraine launched a drone attack at an air base deep within Russian territory, killing three servicemen, the Kremlin said on Monday, as Kyiv's forces demonstrated that they are increasingly willing and able to take the fight to Russia, and at longer range than ever before.

It was the third such strike this month, reflecting the assessment by Ukraine's political and military leaders that there was little risk of Moscow's escalating its war in retaliation, despite its threats of dire consequences for attacks against Russia. The Russian military is already fighting at the limits of its

Betting That Kremlin Won't Follow Up on Threat to Retaliate

conventional capabilities, Ukrainians say, and the Kremlin's hints of using nuclear weapons ring hollow.

The Russian military, in a statement cited by the state-run TASS news agency, said that it had shot down a Ukrainian drone on Monday as it approached the Engels air base, about 300 miles from the Ukrainian border. It said that the falling wreckage had caused the

casualties and that no aircraft had been damaged, assertions that could not be confirmed. Engels, home to some of Russia's nuclear-capable strategic bombers that are used to fire cruise missiles at Ukraine, was one of two air bases targeted by Ukrainian drones on Dec. 5.

In the months after Russia invaded on Feb. 24, Ukraine's allies voiced concern about attacks on Russian soil and the risk of retaliation escalation, which the Krem-

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PIPELINE MYSTERY The floor of the Baltic Sea was a nearly ideal place for sabotage. PAGE A6



28 Deaths in Buffalo Blizzard

An emergency crew in Elma, N.Y. Storm effects canceled over 3,700 U.S. flights. Pages A11, 16.

Met Will Tap Into Endowment in a Bid to Woo Back Opera Fans

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ

Hit hard by a cash shortfall and lackluster ticket sales as it tries to lure audiences back amid the pandemic, the Metropolitan Opera said Monday that it would withdraw up to \$30 million from its endowment, give fewer performances next season and accelerate its embrace of contemporary works, which, in a shift, have been

outselling the classics.

The dramatic financial and artistic moves show the extent to which the pandemic and its aftermath continue to roil the Met, the premier opera company in the United States, and come as many other performing arts institutions face similar pressures.

"The challenges are greater than ever," said Peter Gelb, the Met's general manager. "The only

Staging More New Work to Go With Classics

path forward is reinvention." Nonprofit organizations try to dip into their endowments only as a last resort, since the funds are meant to grow over time while producing a steady source of in-

vestment income. The Met's endowment, which was valued at \$306 million, was already considered small for an institution of its size. This season it is turning to the endowment to cover operating expenses, to help offset weak ticket sales and a cash shortfall that emerged as some donors were reluctant to accelerate pledged gifts amid the stock mar-

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Santos Admits To a Long List Of Falsehoods

New Yorker Still Plans to Serve in Congress

By MICHAEL GOLD
and GRACE ASHFORD

Ending a weeklong silence, Representative-elect George Santos admitted on Monday to a sizable list of falsehoods about his professional background, educational history, business experience and property ownership. But he said he was determined to take the oath of office on Jan. 3 and join the House majority.

Mr. Santos, a New York Republican who was elected in November to represent parts of northern Long Island and northeast Queens, confirmed some of the key findings of a New York Times investigation into his background, but sought to minimize the misrepresentations.

"My sins here are embellishing my résumé," Mr. Santos told The New York Post in one of two interviews he gave on Monday.

Mr. Santos admitted to lying about graduating from college and making misleading claims that he worked for Citigroup or Goldman Sachs. He once said he had a family-owned real estate portfolio of 13 properties; on Monday, he admitted he was not a landlord.

Mr. Santos, the first openly gay Republican to win a House seat as a non-resident, also acknowledged owing thousands in unpaid rent and a yearslong marriage he had never disclosed.

"I dated women in the past. I married a woman. It's personal stuff," he said to The Post, adding that he was "OK with my sexuality. People change."

The admissions by Mr. Santos added a new wrinkle to one of the more astonishing examples of an incoming congressman falsifying key biographical elements of his background — with Mr. Santos maintaining the falsehoods through two bids for Congress, the first of which he lost.

Mr. Santos acknowledged that a string of financial difficulties had left him owing thousands to landlords and creditors. But he failed to explain in the interviews how his fortunes reversed so significantly that, by 2022, he was able to lend \$700,000 to his congressional campaign.

Mr. Santos also firmly denied committing a crime anywhere in

Continued on Page A11

U.S. WORK FORCE IS FEELING STRAIN OF RETIREE SURGE

PANDEMIC SPURS EXITS

Baby Boomers Quit for Good, Muddying Fed's Inflation Plans

By JEANNA SMIALEK
and BEN CASSELMAN

Alice Lieberman had planned to work for a few more years as a schoolteacher before the pandemic hit, but the transition to hybrid instruction did not come easily for her. She retired in summer 2021.

Her husband, Howard Lieberman, started to wind down his consulting business around the same time. If Mrs. Lieberman was done working, Mr. Lieberman wanted to be free, too, so that the pair could take camping trips and volunteer.

The Liebemanns, both 69, are one example of a trend that is quietly reworking the fabric of the American labor force. A wave of baby boomers has recently aged past 65. Unlike older Americans who, in the decade after the Great Recession, delayed their retirements to earn a little bit of extra money and patch up tenuous finances, many today are leaving the job market and staying out.

That has big implications for the economy, because it is contributing to a labor shortage that policymakers worry is keeping wages and inflation stubbornly elevated. That could force the Federal Reserve to raise rates more than it otherwise would, risking a recession.

About 3.5 million people are missing from the labor force, compared with what one might have expected based on pre-2020 trends, Jerome H. Powell, the Fed chair, said during a speech last month. Pandemic deaths and slower immigration explain some of that decline, but a large number of the missing workers, roughly two million, have simply retired.

And increasingly, policymakers at the central bank and economic experts do not expect those retirees to ever go back to work.

"My optimism has waned," said Wendy Edelberg, director of the Hamilton Project at the Brookings Institution. "We're now talking about people who have reorga-

Continued on Page A12

Two Siblings Shot at Club Q Embrace Holiday for Healing

By JACK HEALY

COLORADO SPRINGS — Charlene Slaugh's family insisted she did not have to bring presents to Christmas this year. Her survival, they said, was gift enough.

Ms. Slaugh, 35, was shot repeatedly last month when an assailant opened fire inside an L.G.B.T.Q. club in Colorado Springs, killing five people. When the shooting stopped, Ms. Slaugh was bleeding from 13 wounds that ran from her abdomen to her neck. By Christmas, she had been out of the hospital for only two weeks and sometimes needed a cane to walk. But she was determined not to show up empty-handed.

So on Sunday, she made her way around her younger brother James's living room, handing out \$25 Walgreens gift cards to her family and friends.

"I'm sorry, guys," she told them. "I didn't have time to shop."

For families affected by the 639 mass shootings across the country this year, this has been a holiday season of fresh grief and pain. In Uvalde, Texas, some parents of the 19 children killed in May in Robb Elementary School posted



DANIEL BRENNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Charlene Slaugh spent 22 days in the hospital after the attack.

photographs on social media from Christmases past of their children hanging ornaments on the tree.

But in a little yellow house in Colorado Springs, the Slaughs and their friends also made this Christmas an act of resolve.

"I was going to let this break Christmas," James Slaugh, 34, said.

Charlene and James Slaugh had been together at Club Q on Nov. 19, enjoying each other's company and a night of drag performances, when the attacker charged in

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INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Costly Fishing in West Africa

Fishermen in Sierra Leone need large amounts of fish to store their catch. Its price has soared. PAGE A4

Paris Shooting Suspect Indicted

A 69-year-old man is accused of a racist attack, but many Kurds say it was politically motivated terrorism. PAGE A9

NATIONAL A10-13, 16

Senator Cedes Longtime Perch

Senator Richard C. Shelby, who "got everything" for Alabama, is retiring after working in Congress for more than four decades. PAGE A10

BUSINESS B1-4

France Fights Labor Shortage

A proposal to legalize undocumented workers and pare down benefits aims to help fill thousands of jobs. PAGE B1

Rethinking Office Space

Some hope vast amounts of empty real estate can be converted into housing — and transform downtowns. PAGE B1



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

A Heavenly Start

The Webb telescope is exceeding all expectations so far. Above, a star-forming region in the Carina Nebula. PAGE D2

Bedrock Principles

Our reporter explains why planners of St. John the Divine had to cut the cathedral's proposed height in half. PAGE D1

SPORTS B5-7

Women Lagging on Racetrack

Since Danica Patrick's milestone win in 2008, progress for female drivers in the major auto racing circuits has been slow at best. PAGE B6

OBITUARIES B8

From Farmer to Garlic King

Don Christopher used his enthusiasm and a business acumen to build an empire around the once-lowly "stinking rose." He was 88. PAGE B8

OPINION A14-15

Sam Liccardo

PAGE A15



ARTS C1-6

'Kindred' Spirits

In his TV adaptation of the Octavia Butler novel, Brandon Jacobs-Jenkins maintained the author's focus on "making the familial political." PAGE C1



The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

Partly sunny 42/28 • Tomorrow: Sunny 48/32 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27, 2022 • \$3

Diseases resurging as parents resist shots

Outbreaks of measles, chickenpox tied to rise in anti-vaccine sentiment

BY LENA H. SUN

A rapidly growing measles outbreak in Columbus, Ohio — largely involving unvaccinated children — is fueling concerns among health officials that more parent resistance to routine childhood immunizations will intensify a resurgence of vaccine-preventable diseases.

Most of the 81 children infected so far are old enough to get the shots, but their parents chose not to do so, officials said, resulting in the country's largest outbreak of the highly infectious pathogen this year.

"That is what is causing this outbreak to spread like wildfire," said Mysheika Roberts, director of the Columbus health department.

The Ohio outbreak, which began in November, comes at a time of heightened worry about the public health consequences of anti-vaccine sentiment, a longstanding problem that has led to drops in child immunization rates in pockets across the United States. The pandemic has magnified those concerns because of controversies and politicization around coronavirus vaccines and school vaccine mandates.

SEE VACCINES ON A4

Epic blizzard stuns Buffalo as another punch looms

BY SARAH KAPLAN

At least 28 people have died in the catastrophic snowstorm in Western New York, officials announced Monday, marking the blizzard as the region's deadliest in at least 50 years.

Roads remain impassable and almost 10,000 people are still without power as the unrelenting storm is forecast to drop as much as a foot of additional snow, Erie County Executive Mark C. Poloncarz said during a Monday afternoon news conference. Rescuers are struggling to free people trapped in their cars, while people stuck in shelters and nursing homes are running out of food.

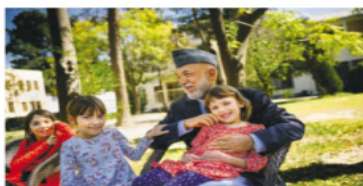
"This is the worst storm probably in our lifetime and maybe in the history of the city," Poloncarz said. "And this is not the end yet."

Much of the county is under a travel ban, with only emergency vehicles and essential workers allowed on the roads. Officials urged people to stay indoors Monday, even if their heat wasn't working and their cupboards

SEE STORM ON A4

Beyond temperatures: Breaking down the storm's key numbers. A3

IN THE NEWS



ELISE BLANCHARD FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The new Afghanistan The outspokenness of former president Hamid Karzai against the Taliban spurs a reevaluation of his legacy. A8
A hobby's golden age Feelings of community, crowdfunding and new creative board games fuel a rise in the industry's global market. A12

THE NATION

After a couple survived a 300-foot fall when their car plunged into a canyon, new technology on an iPhone helped rescuers locate them. A2
Thousands of flights were either canceled or delayed as weather continued to trip up holiday travel. A3
A professor at the University of Idaho is suing a psychic after she espoused baseless claims on TikTok that the teacher was involved in the killings of four students. A5
Investigators in Washington state continued

to search for suspects after four electrical substations were vandalized, leaving thousands of people without power, weeks after similar unsolved incidents around the country. A5
Rep.-elect George Santos acknowledged "résumé embellishment" but said little about the source of his wealth. A7
THE WORLD
The former leader of Nepal's Maoist rebels was sworn in as prime minister, signaling a potential foreign policy shift in the Himalayan nation. A9

The Russian military claimed to have shot down a Ukrainian drone approaching an air base deep inside Russian territory, in what would be the second such attack in a month. A9
THE ECONOMY
Congress decided not to extend four popular tax breaks for companies and families in the recently passed omnibus bill. A12
A \$12.4 billion sale of weapons to Poland signals the emergence of South Korea's defense industry as a major global player. A13
THE REGION
Maryland Attorney

General Brian Frosh ends a 36-year career in public service, retiring after two terms as the top legal officer for the state. B1
A bike group in the District has worked with Howard University to create a tool for students to report near misses they have with cars while biking or walking. B1
Conservation agencies eradicated invasive nutria — "the menace of the marshes" — on the Delmarva Peninsula. B1
Organizers of a local Kwanzaa celebration hope to reinvent a tradition in the area's African American community. B1

INSIDE



STYLE

LGBTQ+ Americans discuss 2022
For many, legislation, harassment and attacks against gay and trans people have meant seeking to protect themselves, showing resistance and holding on to hope. C1
HEALTH & SCIENCE
The section will return next week.

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MASCULINITY IN AMERICA

Pain or glory in eight seconds



RACHEL WOLFF FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A bull rider is thrown amid a cloud of dust during the Wyoming Rodeo Association finals in Laramie, Wyo., on Aug. 27.

Every bull ride is a contest of life and death — and also of story and history. A Mexican American cowboy tries to hang on.

BY JOSE A. DEL REAL
IN LARAMIE, WYO.

A stocky cowboy climbs onto a 1,400-pound bull. For the moment, they are both bound within a bucking chute. But already their muscles are tense and the arena is thick with dirt and adrenaline — and soon, perhaps, also with blood. Joseph Quintana, the 25-year-old rider, is at once the trigger and the target. He needs to hang on for eight seconds to qualify here at the Wyoming Rodeo Association finals. The animal, named Wild Turkey, has been trained to make that nearly impossible.

Joe gives the nod.

The bull bounds out of the chute. The purple tassels from Joe's riding chaps fly akimbo as the animal kicks up and down. But Joe himself looks sturdy; he keeps his left arm down on the bull-ropes and shoots his right one into the air. One second.

Rodeo celebrates the raw skills of ranch work. It is an enunciation of dignity and of nostalgia for a lifestyle that feels far away in modern America. It also provides a respite from the isolation that persists in rural regions like this one. About 150 spectators are gathered here in late August at the Albany County Fairgrounds in Laramie to celebrate "the western way of life."

SEE RODEO ON A10

They were enslaved, then lost to their tribes

In Southwest, Indigenous people were held in bondage even after Civil War, leaving lasting scars

BY JULIE ZAUMER WEIL

FARMINGTON, N.M. — It wasn't until he was about 80 years old that Carlos Gallegos finally learned the word for what he is.

Genizaro.

Bobby Gallegos watched his hard-of-hearing father sounding out the word. Heh-NEE-sah-roh.

What it meant, Bobby explained, was that Carlos's grandfather had been enslaved, along with thousands of other Native Americans in the Southwest in the years before and after the Civil War.

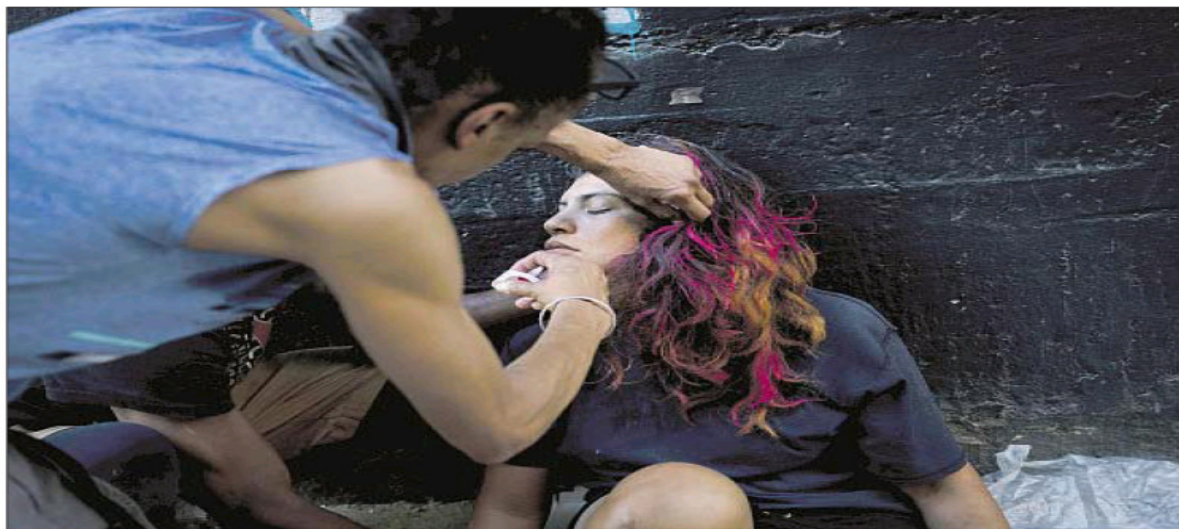
"Dad never talked about slavery," Carlos said, though his own

life has been shaped, in part, by that hidden history.

Carlos had always been told that his grandfather was Navajo, but had somehow lost his membership in the tribe. He knew his grandfather's early life had been hard, violent even. He knew what his grandfather passed down to his father and then his father passed down to him: a heritage of hard work and profound disconnection.

It was Bobby, not Carlos, who yearned to know more. Bobby, now 60, peppered Carlos and Carlos's late father, Preciliano, with one question after another.

SEE ENSLAVERS ON A16



A HOMELESS MAN administers Narcan nasal spray to a woman who appears to have overdosed in Los Angeles in August. Photographs by JAE C. HONG Associated Press

WORST WILDFIRE HAZARD ZONE SWELLS

Under new state map, 17 million acres of rural land will get 'very high' rating, up 14.6% from '07 update.

BY HAYLEY SMITH AND SEAN GREENE

For the first time, more than half of California's rural and unincorporated communities could soon be classified as "very high" fire hazard severity zones, according to a proposed map from the California Department of Forestry and Fire Protection.

Officials unveiled the new map — which ranks the likelihood of certain areas to experience wildfire as "very high," "high" or "moderate" — this month and are taking public comments through February. If approved, nearly 17 million acres will fall under the worst ranking from the Office of the State Fire Marshal, a 14.6% increase since the map was last updated in 2007.

The change is largely a reflection of the state's worsening fire activity, said Daniel Berlant, Cal Fire's deputy director of community wildfire preparedness and mitigation. That includes larger, faster and more frequent blazes, many of which are being fueled by a buildup of vegetation and California's warming, drying climate.

"That increase really is reflective of what our firefighters have been experiencing over the last several years — more severe wildfires in areas that maybe historically, or decades ago, didn't have the same susceptibility to wildfires as they do today," Berlant said. "While the results of the map aren't necessarily surprising, they really are reflective of a [See Fire map, A5]

Liability a worry in overdose aid

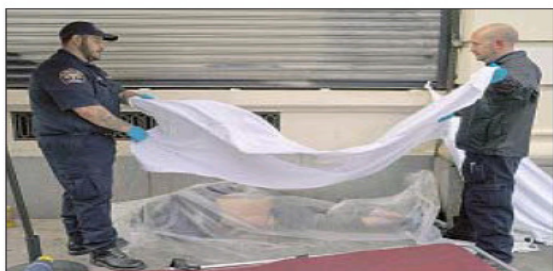
As California leads a fight to reverse a surge in fentanyl deaths, groups that distribute Narcan worry their efforts could encounter legal troubles

BY CONNOR SHEETS

As fentanyl overdose deaths rise unabated, California is at the forefront of the fight to reverse the grim trend. But organizations that distribute overdose reversal drugs worry that their increasingly bold efforts to save lives could land them in legal trouble.

Some, such as an outdoor center in San Francisco that opened in January, have generated wide attention. The facility — which in addition to distributing naloxone to opioid users helped connect them with social services — drew criticism from residents who claimed it encouraged drug abuse by allowing people to use on-site. It closed earlier this month.

Other pioneering approaches have stayed mostly out of the



FORENSIC assistant Laurentiu Bigu, left, and investigator Ryan Parraz cover a homeless man's body in L.A. in April.

spotlight. In a handful of major cities from Oakland to Los Angeles, plans are underway to expand how the reversal drug is distributed: outfitting residential buildings that house large populations of opioid users with boxes of Narcan, the brand name of the widely used nasal spray version, in addition to making it available in schools, libraries and jails.

Elsewhere, service providers want legal cover to distribute naloxone to people who may in turn share it with others who have not been trained to administer it.

The initiatives are a sign of this desperate moment in America's long-running overdose epidemic. The death toll has surged in recent years, largely as a result of the growing ubiquity of the [See Fentanyl, A10]

COLUMN ONE

Rocked, but rolling with it

A reporter visits quake-shaken Humboldt County and finds the sort of resilience she knew back home

BY MACKENZIE MAYS

I woke Tuesday morning to a phone call from my editor before 8 a.m. — earlier than usual — with the kind of assignment you can't plan for. There had been an earthquake. A big one. Could I drive five hours north from my home in Sacramento to Humboldt County? Now?

I rushed to pack a bag, shoveling in phone and laptop chargers, a notebook and pens and business cards to prove I am

who I say I am. I opened my map app and typed in Fortuna — a historic logging town, population 12,000, that I hadn't been to in my eight years of living in California.

I didn't have time to do much research but knew it was a magnitude 6.4 quake that led to two deaths, 11 injuries and the closure of a bridge over the Eel River. I knew that people had gone to bed the night before with a very different life than they woke up to.

What I didn't know was that a new [See Quake, A5]

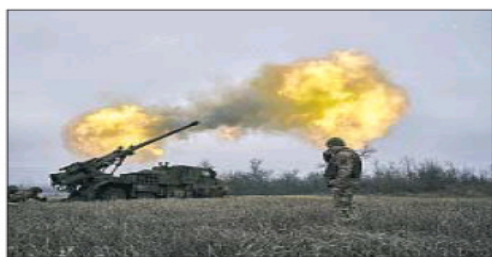
Not enough hit movies

Ticket sales are expected to finish 2022 at around \$7.35 billion, down about 35% from 2019. **CALENDAR, E1**

Chargers clinch berth in playoffs

Austin Ekeler scores twice and the defense has three interceptions in L.A.'s 20-3 romp over the Colts. **SPORTS, B10**

Weather
Rain and drizzle.
L.A. Basin: 67/52. **B6**



RUSSIA DESTROYS DRONE

Soldiers in Ukraine fire a howitzer toward Russian positions. The Kremlin said Monday that it downed a drone far into its airspace. **WORLD, A3**



EUGENE GARCIA Associated Press

LUGGAGE waits to be claimed near a carousel in the Southwest Airlines terminal at Los Angeles International Airport after multiple flights were canceled Monday.

Mass Southwest Airlines cancellations create chaos

Carrier's CEO issues apology to stranded passengers as holiday plans are disrupted by extreme winter storm.

BY MACKENZIE MAYS AND LIBOR JANY

Southwest Airlines canceled more than 2,900 flights Monday, disrupting holiday plans across the country, stranding passengers and

causing chaos at some airports as much of the nation continued to suffer through the aftereffects of a historic winter storm.

The airline blamed the extreme weather for the cancellations, adding in a statement that "our heartfelt apologies for this are just beginning. ... We recognize falling short and sincerely apologize."

Frustrated fliers, including those at Los Angeles International Airport, reported hours-long lines, lost luggage and unstaffed

flights after Southwest routes were canceled or delayed — with some told not to expect a flight home for days.

The low-cost carrier had canceled nearly 70% of its scheduled flights nationwide — some 2,905 flights, far more than any other major U.S. carrier — as of Monday evening, according to the tracking site FlightAware. Among all carriers, more than 3,900 domestic and international flights were canceled, the site said. [See Southwest, A7]

EL PAÍS

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TRÁFICO Siete vidas rotas camino a la cena de Nochebuena **P18 y 19**



MEDIO AMBIENTE 158.000 millones, la factura de los desastres más caros **P26 y 27**

TERCER PLAN ANTICRISIS DEL GOBIERNO

Sánchez reserva 10.000 millones para ayudas contra la inflación

Se eliminan los 20 céntimos por litro de gasolina salvo para transportistas

Se mantiene la rebaja fiscal de gas y luz, y el transporte gratis en tren de cercanías

El Gobierno plancha bajar el IVA a algunos alimentos y discute los topes al alquiler

J. L. ARANDA / P. CHOUZA
J. MARCOS, Madrid
El Gobierno aprueba hoy en Consejo de Ministros el tercer plan anticrisis para intentar paliar los efectos de la inflación, conse-

cuencia de la guerra de Ucrania. El plan tendrá un gasto de entre 7.000 y 10.000 millones.

El decreto combinará el mantenimiento de algunas medidas como la rebaja fiscal de luz y gas

o el transporte gratuito en las cercanías ferroviarias con la eliminación de otras, como la ayuda de 20 céntimos por litro de gasolina, que solo se quedará para los transportistas.

Los socios del Gobierno (PSOE y Unidas Podemos) negociaban anoche topes al alquiler en 2023, bajada del IVA en algunos alimentos y ayudas directas a familias vulnerables. **PÁGINA 39**



Una casa cubierta de hielo en Buffalo (Nueva York) tras la nevada que ha causado ya 26 muertos solo en esa ciudad. FATIH AKTAS (GETTY)

La tormenta histórica amaina pero cientos de personas permanecen atrapadas

El frente polar deja más de 50 muertos en EE UU

M. A. SÁNCHEZ-VALLEJO, Nueva York
Los estragos del frente polar que atraviesa Estados Unidos desde el jueves pasado no ceden pese al paso de la tormenta, histórica según la ha definido el servicio nacional de meteorología. El número de víctimas mortales ha superado ya el medio centenar en todo el país, la mitad de ellas en la región de Buffalo, al oeste del Estado de Nueva York.

Algunas víctimas fallecieron sepultadas mientras retiraban nieve de los accesos a sus domicilios o sus negocios. Otras quedaron bloqueadas en coches y casas. Las labores de ayuda continúan. Cientos de personas siguen todavía atrapadas en viviendas y vehículos mientras la Guardia Nacional se despliega para ayudar a los equipos de emergencia. **PÁGINA 4**

Leer sin límites es saber comer allá donde estés



EL PAÍS

La derecha del CGPJ busca un voto para renovar sin consenso el el Constitucional

REYES RINCÓN, Madrid

El sector conservador del Consejo del Poder Judicial (CGPJ) pretende imponer hoy a sus dos candidatos, César Tolosa y María Luisa Segoviano, para las plazas que permiten desbloquear la renovación del Tribunal Constitucional.

La derecha del CGPJ (10 de los 18 vocales) necesita un solo voto para sumar los tres quintos necesarios con los que aprobar los nombramientos sin consenso y dejar sin efecto la reforma legal que pretende el Gobierno. El objetivo de los conservadores es el vocal Enrique Lucas, elegido a propuesta del PNV, y que se alineaba hasta ahora con el sector progresista. **PÁGINA 16**

Un ataque con dron golpea una base aérea estratégica rusa

M. R. SAHUQUILLO, Jersón

Tres militares de las fuerzas del Kremlin murieron ayer tras el ataque de un dron a la base militar rusa de Engels, a unos 600 kilómetros de la frontera con Ucrania, según reconoció el Ministerio de Defensa ruso. El ataque es el segundo que se produce este mes contra la instalación militar estratégica en la región de Sarátov, en el río Volga, una base que alberga bombarderos que pueden transportar misiles convencionales y también armas nucleares. El ataque muestra las grietas en el sistema de defensa aéreo ruso. **PÁGINA 2**

Christopher, la víctima más joven de las marchas en Perú

I. SANTAULALIA / M. MORALES
Lima / Ayacucho

Christopher Michael Ramos tenía 15 años. Ganaba algunas monedas arreglando las flores y limpiando las lápidas del cementerio de Ayacucho. El 15 de diciembre decidió unirse a las marchas tras el autogolpe fallido de Pedro Castillo. Volvía a casa para cumplir el toque de queda cuando un disparo le atravesó el pulmón y el corazón. **PÁGINA 5**

Scaloni Tiempo de negociación

El presidente de AFA quiere que siga al frente del cuerpo técnico. La discusión será por las cifras. P.36

La nueva camiseta de la Selección se agotó en 2 horas

Hubo revuelo y confusión; dicen que repondrán el stock. P.33

Tema del día • La Ciudad rechaza la decisión del Gobierno

Nuevo giro de Fernández: ahora dice que acata a la Corte pero pagará con bonos

El Presidente metió la marcha atrás y anunció que cumplirá con la decisión judicial. Sin embargo, los bonos con los que saldaría la deuda son, según expertos, de dudoso valor. Por ello, el procurador General de la Ciudad volvió a acudir a la Corte para denunciar

el incumplimiento del fallo. E iniciará una demanda penal a los funcionarios responsables de no acatarlo. En la Rosada ven el anuncio de Alberto Fernández como una solución para contentar a Cristina y no recortarle fondos al gobernador Kicillof. P.3

Repudio en Derecho

Los graduados se suman al pedido de alumnos de suspender al Presidente como docente.

RECUPERA PROTAGONISMO

Tras la condena por corrupción, reaparece Cristina en un acto en el GBA

Junto al intendente de Avellaneda, Jorge Ferraresi, inaugurará allí un polideportivo al que, en plena euforia mundialista, bautizarán Diego Armando Maradona. Se espera que profundice la ofensiva kirchnerista contra la Corte Suprema y contra la Ciudad. P.12

TENSIÓN CAMBIARIA

El blue batió su propio récord: subió \$6 en un día y cerró a \$346

En las últimas seis jornadas, el precio del paralelo ya subió \$22. Entre las causas, expertos señalan la crisis entre el Gobierno y la Corte, el cobro del aguinaldo y la demanda de billetes por gastos en turismo. Es el valor más alto en los 3 años de gestión de Fernández. P.10

IGNACIO ALVAREZ MEYENDORFF

Se atrincheró en Ezeiza un jefe narco colombiano

Vino desde Bogotá a reunirse con su mujer e hijos. Migraciones le impidió la entrada. Aquí vivió varios años y fue extraditado a EE.UU. Condenado en ese país, cumplió la pena. Quiere quedarse en Argentina. P.34



Buffalo, muy castigada.
En la ciudad del estado de NY, hubo 27 muertos.

La tormenta del siglo

El clima no da respiro en Estados Unidos: azotado por una ola polar, el país pasó una de las Navidades más frías de las últimas décadas. En Miami la temperatura llegó a 6° y cayó aguanieve. El temporal ya causó al menos 50 muertes. P.24

DESDE AYER

No se puede comprar remedios con receta por mail o WhatsApp

La decisión es del Ministerio de Salud, y deja sin efecto el mecanismo que se había habilitado en la pandemia para adquirir medicamentos. Es, argumentan, por el avance de la vacunación que disminuyó "de ma-

nera considerable" la incidencia de enfermedad grave y la mortalidad por Covid-19. Ya hay opiniones a favor y en contra. Siguen siendo válidas las órdenes digitales con firmas certificadas. P.29

Del Editor

Pablo Vaca

La ilusión de un puestito en el Estado P.2



Karime Xavier/Folhapress

MAPEAMENTO MOSTRA VOCAÇÃO DAS CIDADES PAULISTAS

O secretário municipal de Cultura de São Caetano do Sul, Erike Busoni, 46, no quintal da casa de sua avó, que preserva o piso feito com cacos de cerâmica, um tipo de pavimento pioneiro da cidade; resgate histórico foi possível graças a projeto do governo de SP Cotidiano B3

EDITORIAIS A4

Desarmar bombas
Sobre tentativa de atentado de bolsonarista no DF.

Carandiru, epílogo
Acerca de indulto a PMs envolvidos no massacre.



Décio Lemos, do Bar Balthazar, teve que contratar novos funcionários para lidar com o movimento Gabriel Cabral/Folhapress

Supremo restringe decisão individual de seus ministros

Aprovação, que ocorreu em sessão fechada para o público, também limita prazo para a devolução de pedidos de vista

O STF (Supremo Tribunal Federal) aprovou emenda a seu regimento interno que restringe as decisões individuais dos ministros da corte e impõe prazo para a devolução de pedidos de vista (extensão de tempo para a análise de processos).

Os dois temas fazem do STF alvo frequente de críticas. A decisão, à qual a Folha teve acesso, ocorreu em sessão administrativa fechada e foi pautada pela presidente da corte, Rosa Weber.

Na prática, os pedidos bloqueiam julgamentos por meses ou anos. Segundo o texto aprovado, o ministro que pedir vista dos autos deverá apresentá-los para o seguimento da votação em até 90 dias após publicação da ata de julgamento, sob pena de liberação automática.

A minuta, que pode sofrer pequenos ajustes, foi entregue aos ministros para avaliação e deve ser publicada em janeiro de 2023 no Diário da Justiça Eletrônico.

O Supremo vem tentando, nos últimos anos, fortalecer suas decisões coletivas em detrimento das individuais.

Com a alteração, o plenário ou as turmas deverão avaliar medidas cautelares dos ministros sempre que elas estiverem embasadas na necessidade de preservação de direito individual ou coletivo. Política A6

Imagem do STF melhora apesar de bolsonarismo, mostra Datafolha AS

Projetos licitados não suprem carências para saneamento

SANEAMENTO NO BRASIL

Os R\$ 72 bilhões previstos até 2026 com concessões em saneamento ainda são insuficientes para universalizar a oferta de água e esgoto tratado no país.

Cálculo da Abdib (associação das empresas de infraestrutura) indica ser preci-

so 0,45% do PIB ao ano para cumprir a meta até 2033.

Há hoje oito grandes projetos que somam R\$ 52,2 bilhões em investimentos, 64% relativos à Ceda, no Rio. As demais grandes licitações que saíram do papel se concentram em cinco estados, e apenas uma foi realizada em 2022. Mercado A18

Tebet negocia Planejamento turbinado, mas Haddad resiste

Mercado A17

Moraes manda prender influencers bolsonaristas

O ministro Alexandre de Moraes, do STF, determinou a prisão dos influencers bolsonaristas Oswaldo Eustáquio e Bismark Fugazza. Ambos apoiam atos pró-golpe militar contra a posse de Lula. A PF procura a dupla. Política A12

Cotado por Lula gastou R\$ 700 mil em gráfica fake

O deputado federal Elmar Nascimento, líder da União Brasil e cotado para ser ministro do governo Lula, gastou R\$ 702 mil em uma gráfica de fachada nesta eleição. Nascimento diz que as contas foram aprovadas no TRE. Política A13

Lula 3 vai encontrar cenário turvo na economia

O governo Lula terá diante um cenário que economistas consideram árido: juros altos, desaceleração da economia global, fim do estímulo com a reabertura pós-pandemia e endividamento das famílias devem limitar o PIB, o que, por sua vez, amornaria o mercado de trabalho quando a pressão inflacionária persiste. Mercado A16

China faz maior incursão aérea contra Taiwan

Mundo A14

SP tem baixo saldo educacional após 28 anos de PSDB

Cotidiano B1

Corrida B12 e B13

Eu errei

Seis colunistas revisitam opiniões para a Folha

Demétrio Magnoli
Impedir Dilma foi um erro político grave

João Batista Natali
Achei que não haveria uma Guerra da Ucrânia

Susana Bragatto
Sexismo no consultório: errei, mas não só eu

Ruy Castro
Caí do cavalo com 'Um Corpo que Cai'

Marcos Nogueira
Viajei na maionese ao prever fim do quilo

Tony Goes
A pressa é inimiga do colunista de TV

Comida B14

Chefs dão receitas com superstitição e tradição para ter sorte em 2023

Mercado A20

Copa e festas de fim de ano impulsionam bares e restaurantes, após período difícil

Ilustrada B8

Música em 2022 teve mortes de Gal, Elza e Erasmo Carlos, política e festivais

Ciência B5

Cientistas dão novo passo para declarar o Antropoceno, a era dos humanos

JHSF
apresenta

Village Gardens & Village Parks.

Dois exclusivos condomínios com clubes reservados e lotes residenciais.



Veja nas páginas A10 e A11.

JEAN-ÉRIC SCHOETTL
TRANSPORTS PUBLICS :
UNE ÉVOLUTION DE LA LOI
EST INDISPENSABLE **PAGE 15**



CARAVAGE
UN BIOPIC SUBTIL ET UNE EXPOSITION
À ROUEN SOULIGNENT LA FACE
MYSTIQUE DU MAÎTRE **PAGE 24**

LR
Délinquance
juvénile : la droite
veut renforcer
la responsabilité
parentale
PAGE 6

SÉCURITÉ
Kurdes tués :
la piste raciste
se confirme
PAGE 10

NEUROLOGIE
Des champignons
hallucinogènes
contre la
dépression
résistante **PAGE 11**

AÉRONAUTIQUE
Pourquoi
le redécoupage
de Boeing
est encore fragile
PAGE 20

CHAMPS LIBRES
• Le circuit
du Mas du Clos
offre
un nouveau
virage
à la Creuse
• La chronique
de Renaud
Girard
PAGES 14 ET 15

**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**
**Réponses
à la question de lundi :**
Craignez-vous
la disparition des
chrétiens d'Orient ?
OUI 85% NON 15%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 124 615
**Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr**
Redoutez-vous l'invasion
de Taïwan par la Chine ?

LUISA CARCAVALE

Taiwan s'arme pour desserrer l'étau chinois

Après l'invasion russe de l'Ukraine, l'île se prépare à contrer les ambitions territoriales de la Chine grâce à un ambitieux programme d'armement américain.

La Chine a déployé ce week-end 71 avions de combat lors de manœuvres autour de l'ancienne Formose, dont 60 avions de

chasse. Dix mois après l'invasion surprise de l'Ukraine par la Russie, Taïwan muscle sa défense avec l'appui des États-Unis,

pour tenter de dissuader Pékin de se lancer dans une aventure militaire. Le Congrès américain vient d'autoriser une nouvelle

série de ventes d'armes à hauteur de 10 milliards de dollars d'ici à 2027, date d'une possible invasion chinoise, selon le Pentago-

ne. Soit 2 milliards par an d'ici là, pour doter l'île « porc-épic » d'un arsenal de pointe.

PAGES 2, 4 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



**En Ukraine avec
les derniers
héros de
Bakhmout**

PAGES 8 ET 9

DEGO HERREIRA CARCERO/ANADOLU AGENCY VIA AFP

**L'essor de
la biomasse,
ces déchets
transformés
en énergie**

Huiles de friture usagées, effluents d'élevage, graisses animales sorties des abattoirs, déchets issus de l'industrie agroalimentaire, résidus de bois... Ces nouvelles sources d'énergie attirent les industriels européens sevrés de gaz russe depuis la guerre en Ukraine. **PAGE 18**

ÉDITORIAL par Patrick Saint-Paul psaintpaul@lefigaro.fr

Le souffle du dragon

Taïwan sera-t-elle l'Ukraine de l'Asie ? C'est le scénario redouté par les États-Unis. Alors que la guerre fait rage aux portes de l'Europe, ils appellent leurs alliés occidentaux à les suivre dans leur pivot asiatique pour contrer les appétits territoriaux de la Chine. La démonstration de force de Pékin dans le détroit de Formose, ce week-end, a relancé les craintes d'une reconquête par la force de l'« île rebelle ». Équipée et entraînée pour une invasion de Taïwan, l'Armée populaire de libération (APL) aurait

reçu l'ordre d'être prête en 2027, selon le Pentagone. Une date qui coïncide avec la fin du troisième mandat de Xi Jinping. Ce territoire échappe au contrôle de la République populaire depuis que les troupes de Tchang Kaï-chek y ont trouvé refuge, en 1949. L'« empereur rouge » a placé la « réunification » au cœur de son projet de renaissance chinoise. Dirigeant le plus autoritaire et le plus puissant depuis Mao, Xi espère laisser une trace dans l'histoire et a juré de faire mieux que le Grand Timonier en reprenant « par tous les moyens » l'ex-Formose pendant son règne.

Surtout, Taïwan commence à faire tache dans l'horizon totalitaire du dictateur, qui a donné un nouveau tour de vis autoritaire lors du dernier congrès du PCC. Le petit dragon asiatique s'est hissé au rang de 15^e puissance économique et s'est imposé comme une démocratie modèle depuis ses réformes politiques des années 1980. Il contredit ainsi la thèse de Xi selon

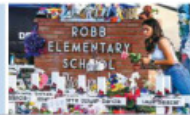
laquelle les sociétés confucéennes sont inadaptées à la démocratie. Aura-t-il assez de souffle pour tenir tête à la Chine ? Il s'inspire des Ukrainiens, qui défient les pronostics face à l'armée russe, et se prépare à affronter seul le rouleau compresseur chinois... Mais avec une aide militaire massive de Washington, mieux ciblée grâce aux leçons de la guerre en Ukraine : moins de navires et d'équipements lourds, plus de missiles pour tenir à distance l'APL. Le dragon n'est pas près de renoncer : comme pour Kiev, il y va de sa survie. ■

Set for takeoff

Test flights of C919 pave way for plane's commercial use
BUSINESS, PAGE 13

'Water tower' sees increased biodiversity

CHINA, PAGE 4



Deadly year

Gun violence continues to plague US, with over 20,900 deaths
WORLD, PAGE 10

CHINA DAILY

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Xi highlights key role of patriotic push for health

By XU WEI

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President Xi Jinping has emphasized the importance of conducting more targeted patriotic health campaigns to guide the people in more proactively learning about health, mastering health skills, developing good health habits and practicing healthy lifestyles.

The instruction made by Xi, who is also general secretary of the Communist Party of China Central Committee and chairman of the Central Military Commission, comes as the nation marks the 70th anniversary of its patriotic health campaigns, a national movement initiated to mobilize the whole of society in 1952 in health promotion and disease prevention.

With China's COVID-19 response facing new situations and tasks, Xi highlighted the need to form a major defense against the pandemic in society with the fostering of millions of individual healthy environments.

The president lauded the key roles played by patriotic health campaigns over the past seven decades in improving the standard of the environment and health in urban and rural areas, effectively responding to major epidemics and bolstering the level of health governance in society.

He expressed hope that workers devoted to the campaigns can remain true to their original aspirations and mission, carry forward their fine traditions, offer more and better services and make new contributions to the Healthy China Initiative.

Experts stress need to repair China-US ties

2022 saw further deterioration, but also sign of hope with presidential summit

By ZHAO HUANXIN in Washington
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The year 2022 turned out to be more eventful than ever for China-US relations, which experts believe are in a "dangerous downward spiral" with trust dipping still lower, making it imperative for both countries to implement the consensus reached by their presidents at their first in-person summit.

Inside

It started with Washington's diplomatic boycott of the 2022 Beijing Winter Games in early February, a move that Beijing said was "politicizing sports". Then there was the rollout by the US of a China policy in May and a national security strategy in October that singled out China as "America's most consequential geopolitical challenge" to "outcompete".

While the United States has been tightening export controls on technology trade or passing legislation targeting China throughout the year, the most explosive event came in August, when US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi flew to Taiwan despite



strong opposition from China, which warned that her "provocative move" would escalate tension across the Taiwan Straits and in bilateral relations.

The troubled relationship started to show signs of recovery on Nov 14, when President Xi Jinping and US President Joe Biden met face to face in Bali, Indonesia, providing strategic guidance for steering bilateral relations back to healthy and stable track.

But whether relations improve in 2023 and beyond will depend on how the two sides translate the presidential consensus into practical policies and concrete action, and how Washington will reckon with a "China threat" that experts believe has been "overblown" for US domestic needs.

On Friday, days before the end of

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Net gain



Fishermen haul in a catch on frozen Chagan Lake in Songyuan, Jilin province, on Monday using an ice-fishing method that dates back centuries. The method, which involves drilling holes in the ice and lowering nets into the frosty waters, is a national-level intangible cultural heritage. The winter fishing season began on Monday. ZHANG JIANGFENG / FOR CHINA DAILY

Colorful journey



A Yi ethnic troupe performs for passengers on Monday on Fuxing bullet train C57 running on the new Chengdu-Kunming Railway. The railway, which links the two major cities in Southwest China, is now fully operational after the last section was opened on Monday. A key project under China's western development strategy, the railway is expected to promote economic growth and the high-quality opening-up of the southwestern region. WANG XI / XINHUA See story, page 5

Shanghai Tower rentals reflect confidence in country

By SHI JING and WANG YING
in Shanghai

The unexpectedly high occupancy rate at Shanghai Tower, China's tallest skyscraper, is a snapshot of foreign companies' unchanged confidence in the country amid its continued efforts in further opening up, said officials and industry experts.

About 80 percent of the office space at the 632-meter-tall building has been rented out so far, while the occupancy rate of commercial space is as high as 98 percent, said Yan Ming, deputy general manager of Shanghai Tower Construction & Development Co.

While the world economy has faced many headwinds since the COVID-19 pandemic started in early 2020, the rental performance at Shanghai Tower has bucked the trend. Located in Lujiazui, the financial hub in eastern Shanghai, the landmark building has seen nearly 60,000 square meters of its office space rented by

78 tenants over the past two-and-a-half years, said Yan.

Foreign companies now account for 41 percent of the leased space, while the rate was only 9 percent at the beginning of 2019. About 30 percent of the building's tenants are Fortune 500 companies, Yan added.

The presence of international industry leaders, such as JP Morgan and Allianz, has demonstrated foreign companies' strong confidence in the Chinese market, which is inseparable from China's continued efforts to advance higher-level opening-up, he said.

At the tone-setting Central Economic Work Conference in mid-December, attracting and utilizing foreign capital through greater efforts was listed as one of the priorities on the country's economic agenda.

Financial companies account for a significant proportion of Shanghai Tower's tenants, a large number of which are planning to increase their rented space mainly prompted by the nation's efforts

toward greater opening-up, said Yan.

BNP Paribas, which rented 8,700-sq-m of office space in the building at the end of last year, is already preparing to rent more space in this landmark building, according to the French bank's China CEO C.G. Lai.

Being located in Lujiazui is crucial as BNP Paribas is aiming to increase its investment in China and seek substantial growth there, said Lai.

JP Morgan rented 8,000 sq m when it relocated to Shanghai Tower at the beginning of 2019, and its office space there has now increased to 26,000 sq m, as the company expands its business in China by acquiring business licenses for commercial banking, securities and futures in the country.

Leading international financial companies deciding to locate in Lujiazui can also be attributed to the mature industrial chain already built in the area, said Yan.

The world's top three asset management companies — BlackRock,

Vanguard and Fidelity International — have all set up offices in Lujiazui.

Lu Yan, head of research for real estate service provider CBRE in China, said that Lujiazui now accommodates more than 6,000 financial companies from home and abroad, as well as the regional headquarters of 120 multinational companies. About 70 percent of finance leasing companies, asset management companies, banks and insurers first choose Lujiazui if they wish to set up businesses in Shanghai, she said.

According to the Shanghai Municipal Commission of Commerce, the city was home to the regional headquarters of 877 multinational companies by the end of September, up 64 percent from late 2015.

About 86.6 percent of the commercial buildings in Lujiazui have been rented out so far, according to CBRE.

"Lujiazui is the best place for financial institutions to grow their business in China," said Lu.

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Tourism market expects turnaround

By CHENG SI

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China's tourism market may reach a turning point during the New Year's Day holiday as people seem more keen to travel across provinces and regions amid the recently optimized COVID-19 response measures.

According to travel portal Trip.com Group, nearly 60 percent of its users have booked cross-province tours between Dec 31 and Jan 2, a year-on-year rise of 34 percent. Group tour bookings have also increased by 46 percent compared with last year, it said.

The portal names Beijing, Shanghai and Chengdu, Sichuan province, as some of the most popular urban destinations among its users.

Zhang Yili, 36, a communications engineer in Beijing, who didn't travel outside the city for a year and a half, said he will spend the holidays in Sanya, Hainan province. "My wife and I are eager to take this romantic break

and usher in the New Year at the beautiful beach getaway. Our health is always my first concern and I am hoping we will be all right during the trip."

Figures from the online travel agency Fliggy also indicate people's growing enthusiasm for long-distance travel. In a recently released report, the agency said that from Dec 7 to 14, air ticket bookings for the New Year's Day holiday tripled compared with bookings made in the first week of the month for the same holiday period.

Searches for New Year-related tour packages soared six times between Dec 7 and Dec 14, the Fliggy report said.

Travel to the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions is also set to increase, thanks to the optimized COVID-19 rules for inbound travelers to the SARs, according to Trip.com Group.

The portal said that holiday bookings among its users for tour packages to Macao and Hong

Kong had increased by 67 percent and 50 percent, respectively. Industry insiders, however, remain reserved in their views on the recovery of the tourism market.

Feng Rao, director of the tourism research academy of Mafengwo, another travel portal, said it had been predicted that people would want to travel long distances once the epidemic control measures were optimized.

While this trend will boost the tourism market during the New Year's Day holiday, the industry cannot fully recover overnight, and tourism operators must take into account health and safety situations, Feng said.

Wei Changren, president of online tourism consultancy company Ccmn.com, said the current wave of infections still has the potential to upset holiday travel plans, and it will take time before the public and the tourism industry can regain their confidence.

He said he hopes the tourism market will put on a better show around spring.

Nationwide vaccination campaign speeds up

By WANG XIAOYU

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China's COVID-19 vaccination campaign has picked up speed in the past week, allowing the country to take the initiative in upgrading its virus-control policies, according to official data and authorities.

The mainland administered 3.1 million doses on Dec 20 and 3.6 million the following day, up from the daily average of less than 1.5 million in the previous two weeks, National Health Commission data shows.

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