

EL SESGO INFORMATIVO A TRAVÉS DE LA IMAGEN

*Un estudio de las fotografías de Joe Biden y Donald Trump publicadas por el
USA Today y el Wall Street Journal durante la campaña electoral
estadounidense de 2020*

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1. INTRODUCCIÓN METODOLÓGICA

1.1 PRESENTACIÓN DEL TEMA

En este TFG se llevará a cabo un análisis fotográfico de las publicaciones que se realizaron durante los primeros tres meses de la campaña electoral estadounidense de 2020, . Las fotografías que se analizarán dentro de los periódicos USA Today y Wall Street Journal serán sobre el candidato republicano Donald Trump y el candidato demócrata Joe Biden, así como algunas imágenes en las que aparezcan junto a sus compañeros o rivales de partido, al ser unos primeros meses donde todavía no se encontraban como candidatos definitivos de los partidos mencionados. El objetivo principal del análisis será el de comparar qué tipo de imágenes se publicaron de uno u otro candidato y sus compañeros de partido siguiendo un patrón definido e igual para todas, de manera que se pueda obtener una muestra cuantitativa que permita concluir si, efectivamente, las imágenes publicadas de los políticos en uno y otro periódico pudieron ser fruto de un sesgo ideológico o pudieron transmitir mensajes diferentes sobre los candidatos de cara a la opinión pública.

El tema seleccionado resulta de gran interés tanto personal como profesional para la autora. La fotografía como concepto artístico a la vez que periodístico siempre me ha planteado diferentes preguntas en torno a su compatibilidad, sus diferencias y similitudes y su importancia como fuente de ideas, reflexiones y retratos de la realidad.

Personalmente siempre me ha fascinado el mundo de la fotografía desde un trasfondo filosófico y antropológico, pero no ha sido hasta entrar en contacto con el fotoperiodismo que verdaderamente he comenzado a cuestionarme la relación entre ambos. Pues si en un contexto artístico la fotografía es uno de los pilares más competitivos y analizamos tanto por sus profesionales como por su público, cómo puede ser que el fotoperiodismo quede relegado a un segundo plano y que apenas sea mencionado cuando analizamos los factores que más nos impactan de una noticia. Si una imagen nos impacta artísticamente, ¿por qué no también informativamente?

Esto me lleva al interés profesional que despierta en mí la fotografía o, mejor dicho, el fotoperiodismo. La imagen es un punto clave del periodismo del siglo XXI; sea a través de un documental, de un reportaje escrito en papel o en web, de una información transmedia/multimedia, de un telediario, de un post en Facebook, de una historia temporal en Instagram... la imagen importa. Las fotografías forman parte de la información que recibimos, tanto acompañadas de otro medio informativo como siendo ellas mismas la información en sí; todas ellas hacen que aquello de lo que se nos informa conforme una idea u otra en las mentes

de los consumidores, nos ayudan y nos obligan a reflexionar y plantearnos preguntas sobre lo que retratan, por mínimas que sean. Es por ello que para mí las imágenes informativas deben ser una fuente de amplio análisis y reflexión, prestando atención, tanto como consumidores como productores de ellas, a las imágenes que se nos muestran, y manteniendo siempre presente que todas y cada una de las fotografías han sido seleccionadas por una persona o un periodista (al igual que un fotógrafo elige las fotografías que aparecen en su exposición) con el objetivo de transmitirnos un mensaje y, con ello, de hacernos pensar de una manera determinada.

1.2 JUSTIFICACIÓN Y RELEVANCIA SOCIAL

La relevancia social de este tema, esto es, el fotoperiodismo como agente influyente en la opinión pública, nace de la inquietud personal de la autora por este ámbito. Como ya ha sido mencionado anteriormente, las fotografías que se publican en la prensa de masas o en periódicos de grandes tiradas, especialmente en Estados Unidos – conocido por ser el país que inventó la prensa de masas –, tienen un fuerte impacto en la opinión pública.

El ser humano siempre ha sido un ser visual. Ya desde la prehistoria las comunidades del Paleolítico y del Neolítico dejaban representaciones visuales de diversos ritos y acciones comunitarias en las cuevas y cavernas que habitaban, y así sucesivamente en todas las etapas y culturas de la historia como Egipto, Grecia, la Rusia ortodoxa, el Japón imperial o el renacimiento italiano. Incluso remitiéndose a ejemplos de a pie populares como es “la comida entra por los ojos y después por la boca”, el mensaje continúa siendo el mismo: la imagen es esencial para la construcción de una cultura y la transmisión y perpetuación de determinados mensajes a lo largo del tiempo, sean del ámbito que sean (político, religioso, cultural, etc.). Hoy en día, con la aparición y el rápido desarrollo de las redes sociales, la imagen ya no es solo un aspecto complementario de la cultura, sino que es una parte integral de la misma; a través de ámbitos académicos como el marketing o la publicidad, y la aparición de conceptos como la imagen de marca empresarial o la marca personal de cada uno, el mundo ha pasado a interpretarse a través de proyecciones atractivas, seductoras y “comestibles” visualmente.

En esto el periodismo no es una excepción: ya sufrió un cambio de paradigma con la aparición de la televisión y la radio a finales del siglo XX y, actualmente, con el desarrollo de internet y las plataformas digitales, el periodismo está volviendo a renovarse hacia un formato de información más inmersiva, digital y, de nuevo, visual. Ya sea mediante el storytelling, reportajes fotográficos, documentales, videografías, análisis informativos en YouTube, narrativas transmedia o la marca personal de un periodista freelance: la imagen siempre está

presente. Y es justamente esta predominancia fotográfica y visual en la sociedad y en la cultura actuales lo que lleva a las personas a no tener un espíritu crítico y reflexivo hacia ella; a veces por desinterés, pero otras veces por simple incapacidad de procesar todas y cada una de las imágenes que el cerebro de una persona actual puede recibir en un mismo día.

Esta situación puede extrapolarse a la situación del periodismo político. La política, como el resto de ámbitos, también ha pasado a caracterizarse por primar la imagen de sus representantes antes que fomentar el respaldo de verdaderas políticas e ideas (aquello que académicamente está denominado como la “personificación de la política”). La imagen ha invadido la política, y ha hecho de la percepción y la apariencia sus herramientas para transmitir los mensajes de cada partido a la opinión pública, tanto en el periodismo más tradicional - como puede ser actualmente la prensa escrita -, como en los formatos digitales y sociales utilizados hoy en día por las nuevas generaciones.

A modo de resumen, considero que especialmente ahora que la información que consumimos es mayoritariamente visual, es de vital importancia dotar a las imágenes del papel protagonista que tienen a la hora de conformar el entorno en el que vivimos: entre ellos, analizar cómo en una dinámica de gran magnitud social – como son unas elecciones presidenciales – las imágenes que se publican en la prensa sobre un candidato u otro pueden terminar alterando la visión que los ciudadanos tienen sobre estos, hasta el punto de, en cierta manera, alterar el resultado final de las elecciones.

1.3 OBJETIVOS

Como ya ha sido mencionado anteriormente, el objetivo principal de este TFG es analizar las fotografías publicadas de Donald Trump y Joe Biden en los periódicos USA Today y Wall Street Journal durante los primeros tres meses de la campaña presidencial estadounidense de 2020, y discernir si el tipo de imágenes que se publicaron sobre uno u otro candidato – en cuanto a encuadre, gesticulación, mensaje, ubicación dentro de la portada, etc. – en ambos periódicos pudieron sesgar de alguna forma la percepción del público sobre los mismos.

Como objetivos específicos, este TFG presentará varias reflexiones entorno a:

- estudiar la evolución de la fotografía, la opinión pública y la comunicación política a lo largo de la Historia;
- comparar la relación existente entre la fotografía y el periodismo a través del diseño periodístico;
- estudiar la posibilidad de manipulación mediante la imagen;

- analizar la evolución de la opinión pública tras la aparición de la prensa de masas;
- conocer la personalización política como nuevo formato de comunicación política;
- reflexionar sobre la correlación e interdependencia de la fotografía, la opinión pública y la comunicación política en el ámbito de la comunicación.

Con todo ello se espera llegar a un nuevo punto de reflexión y análisis sobre la importancia de las fotografías en el periodismo, en concreto el periodismo político, y el papel que pueden jugar siendo utilizadas por los medios de comunicación, o incluso por los propios candidatos, para alterar la percepción de la opinión pública.

1.4 METODOLOGÍA

Este trabajo de investigación se llevará a cabo a través de un marco teórico y un marco práctico. Por un lado, el marco teórico englobará tres capítulos diferentes que conformarán la justificación teórica del análisis fotográfico y una cuarta sección breve donde se realizará una exposición y justificación de la elección de los periódicos elegidos para este trabajo, el USA Today y el Wall Street Journal.

El primero de los capítulos estará centrado en el ámbito de la fotografía, concretamente en sus orígenes tanto artísticos como periodísticos y las principales teorías de aproximación, en la idea de fotografía como una necesidad antropológica que ha acompañado al hombre desde los orígenes de su evolución en comunidad y, por último, en los vínculos que pueden establecerse entre la fotografía y el periodismo a través del diseño periodístico y la dinámica entre ambos hoy en día tras su adaptación a los medios de comunicación. El segundo capítulo tendrá como punto de partida el concepto de opinión pública, unos conceptos clave sobre el desarrollo de su estudio y su evolución como ciencia moderna, así como también el análisis de la relación entre la opinión pública y la prensa de masas, concretamente en Estados Unidos. El tercer capítulo tratará el tema de la comunicación política, de nuevo, realizando una breve introducción a su estudio y evolución hasta hoy en día; y tratando posteriormente la noción de “personalización de la comunicación política”, enfocado al tablero político actual y su dinámica con la opinión pública y los medios. Por último, como ya mencionado anteriormente, el cuarto capítulo consistirá en un breve resumen panorámico del origen y la evolución de los dos periódicos seleccionados para este análisis, el USA Today y el Wall Street Journal, centrándose en las vinculaciones políticas de uno y otro, posibles peculiaridades de los últimos años y su trayectoria como medios de comunicación nacionales en Estados Unidos.

Para la realización de este marco teórico se contará con una extensa bibliografía de libros y artículos académicos principalmente en inglés y que han sido traducidos por la autora a propósito de ser utilizados para esta investigación. Asimismo se contará con los testimonios de Silvia Belloso, licenciada en Comunicación Audiovisual y Diseño Multimedia, fundadora y directora de PositivaImagen; profesional del ámbito de la comunicación y de la fotografía.

Con la intención de facilitar la introducción al desarrollo del contenido de este marco del trabajo, y debido a las tres vertientes que trata por separado, el inicio de cada capítulo contará con un “Extracto” a modo de resumen de las ideas principales del capítulo en cuestión para que, de esta forma, el lector pueda tener un marco general de guía sobre las principales ideas que se pretenden transmitir en cada tema elegido.

Por su parte, el marco práctico incluirá un extenso uso de fuentes de hemeroteca, y consistirá en un análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo de las fotografías incluidas en las portadas impresas de los periódicos entre el 1 de enero de 2020 y el 31 de marzo de 2020. Debido a problemas de hemeroteca, no todas las portadas comprendidas entre las dos fechas mencionadas podrán ser analizadas al no tener acceso a ellas a través de internet u otros recursos.

Las imágenes serán analizadas sistemáticamente bajo una misma tabla de requisitos, donde quedará retratado el nombre del periódico analizado, la fecha de portada, el candidato retratado en la imagen así como algunas características técnicas como el tamaño, la posición, el plano y el encuadre. Posteriormente se incluirá una breve descripción general del contenido de la fotografía que ofrezca una mejor idea de aquello que se está visualizando, y un último apartado de valoración donde se englobará la percepción general de la imagen.

Para concluir el análisis se recopilarán las valoraciones generales de cada imagen, junto con los detalles más destacables de las mismas, y se procederá a la extracción de las ideas principales transmitidas por los cuadros descriptivos de las mismas. De esta manera se intentará concluir si es posible, o no, que las fotografías visualizadas entre el período de tiempo seleccionado durante la campaña presidencial estadounidense del año 2020, publicadas en los periódicos USA Today y Wall Street Journal, puedan haber sesgado o, en cierto sentido, perfilado la percepción de alguno de los dos candidatos principales de cada partido político: Joe Biden por parte del partido demócrata, o Donald Trump como representante del partido republicano.

2. MARCO TEÓRICO

2.1 FOTOGRAFÍA

2.1.1 EXTRACTO

A pesar de que los mecanismos modernos de la fotografía no se desarrollaron hasta principios del siglo XVIII, la imagen lleva acompañando al hombre desde los inicios de su existencia. Ya fuese a través de las pinturas rupestres, la arquitectura, el dibujo, la escultura humanista o el arte moderno, la capacidad del ser humano de representar, retratar e interpretar aquello que le rodea ha resultado para muchos en el descubrimiento de una necesidad inherente al hombre de perpetuarse a sí mismo. En este sentido, la fotografía puede entenderse como una herramienta de asistencia más para que, de acuerdo con las nuevas épocas y los avances tecnológicos, las sociedades continúen esa tradición antropológica que les permite capturar todo aquello que desean recordar.

Asimismo, tal y como ocurrió en todos los ámbitos de la vida social, la irrupción de los medios de comunicación supusieron un antes y un después en la percepción de la fotografía como ámbito artístico y comunicativo, así como también un cuestionamiento de sus aspectos más característicos. La incertidumbre ante la manipulación escrita rápidamente giró hacia el medio a una manipulación mediática y visual descontrolada; algo que provocó la polarización de los distintos acercamiento a la fotografía en medios, ya fuese para tacharla de irremediablemente engañosa, o para mantener una constante fe ciega en las buenas intenciones de los productores de información. Ante esto, el diseño periodístico irrumpió en un primer plano como un punto clave y fundamental para discernir hasta qué punto una información, una fotografía, puede o no responder a unas intenciones diferentes a las de publicar los hechos descubiertos. Pero, al igual que en todos los aspectos vitales, el punto medio suele ser el más acertado: asumir que la manipulación y la subjetividad son factores intrínsecos a la actividad humana pero a la vez confiar en el ideal de una información objetiva cuya motivación es la de mantener al ciudadano informado y cuidado en su entorno, es lo que finalmente desvela la riqueza y el poder que puede llegar a tener las imágenes dentro del tablero comunicativo.

2.1.2 ORÍGENES DE LA FOTOGRAFÍA: LA IMAGEN

No hay un momento en la historia de este arte que declare el inicio exacto de la aparición de la fotografía. La cámara oscura fue la primera de las invenciones que marcó el desarrollo evolutivo de esta ciencia en el siglo XIX, permitiendo la proyección de una imagen desde el exterior hacia el interior de una caja cerrada (salvo por un pequeño agujero por donde entraba

la luz) para obtener lo que hoy denominaríamos, un indicio de fotografía. El inventor Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1756 - 1833) mejoró el prototipo años más tarde logrando obtener, en 1826, la primera imagen fija del patio de su casa¹. Esta imagen, denominada “heliografía” fue considerada la primera fotografía de la historia. Trece años después, en 1839, Louis Daguerre inventó la primera cámara fotográfica, bautizada como “el daguerrotipo” en honor a su creador. Paralelamente a los experimentos de Daguerre cabe destacar a Henry Fox Talbot, científico británico descubridor del “calotipo”², aquello que en un futuro pasaría a conocerse como el negativo de una imagen a partir del cual pueden hacerse copias de una misma fotografía.

Pero ¿a partir de qué momento podría verdaderamente hablarse de la primera *imagen*? ¿Cuándo fue la primera vez que el ser humano plasmó materialmente aquello que veía? De acuerdo con los períodos históricos en los que son fechados los principales avances hacia la técnica fotográfica, sería acertado afirmar que la imagen vino antes de la fotografía. Eso sí, resulta importante notar que el concepto “imagen” no hace referencia únicamente a su vinculación con la fotografía - tal y como puede entenderse hoy en día, en el formato más digital y audiovisual -, sino que también abarca todos los ámbitos artísticos e inventivos del ser humano donde se hayan llegado a plasmar cualquier tipo de representaciones de la realidad humana (como pueden ser el la pintura, el dibujo, la escultura, etc.).

De acuerdo con el historiador francés, Fustel de Coulanges, “posiblemente fue a la vista de la muerte cuando el hombre tuvo por primera vez la idea de lo sobrenatural y decidió esperar más allá de lo que veía. La muerte que fue el primer misterio, pone al hombre en el camino de los otros misterios, eleva su pensamiento de lo visible a lo invisible, de lo pasajero a lo eterno, de lo humano a lo divino”³. “La muerte”, decía Gaston Bachelard, “es primero una imagen, y sigue siendo una imagen”⁴. La idea - la muerte como renacimiento, viaje o tránsito - apareció en segundo lugar, posteriormente. Desde una perspectiva antropológica resultaría lógico afirmar que de nada se hacen tantas fotos o películas como de aquello que se sabe que está

¹ Thomsen, M. R. (2018, 19 octubre). *Los orígenes de la fotografía*. La Vanguardia. <https://www.lavanguardia.com/vida/junior-report/20180411/442459480247/historia-fotografia-camara-kodak-polaroid-digital-daguerrotipo.html#:~:text=En%201839%20Louis%20Daguerre%20patent%C3%B3,c%C3%A1mara%20fotogr%C3%A1fica%20de%20la%20historia.&text=En%20paralelo%2C%20el%20cient%C3%ADfico%20brit%C3%A1nico,papel%20sensible%20a%20la%20luz>.

² Ídem

³ Debray, R., *Vida y Muerte de la Imagen: historia de la mirada en Occidente*, Paidós Comunicación, Barcelona, 1994, p. 26

⁴ Bachelard, G., *La Tierra y las Ensoñaciones del Reposo*, París, José Cortí, 1948, p. 312.

amenazado de desaparición: fauna, flora, tierra natal, viejos barrios, fondos submarinos. Con la ansiedad de quien tiene los días contados, se agranda el furor documental⁵.

Esta línea de pensamiento lleva a establecer que incluso durante la Prehistoria, ya en los primeros años del Paleolítico, pueden encontrarse las primeras *imágenes* jamás creadas por el ser humano, las pinturas rupestres, creadas con la intención de perpetuar aquello que ve, experimenta a su alrededor. Bien es cierto que tales imágenes parten de una noción del tiempo, el mundo, y el espacio radicalmente opuestos a los entendidos actualmente - llenos de miedo, ritualidad religiosa, magia y supersticiones, entre otras -, pero que igualmente reflejan la misma inquietud que brota del intento del hombre de perpetuarse a sí mismo y todo aquello que le rodea. Tal y como expone el filósofo y escritor francés, Régis Debray, “Hubo ‘magia’ mientras el hombre, insuficientemente equipado, dependía de las fuerzas misteriosas que le anonadaban. Hubo arte, a continuación, cuando las cosas que dependían de nosotros se hicieron al menos tan numerosas como las que no dependían. Lo ‘visual’ comienza cuando hemos adquirido bastantes poderes sobre el espacio, el tiempo y los cuerpos para no temer ya a la transcendencia. Cuando podemos trabajar con nuestras percepciones sin temor a los mundos ocultos”⁶.

Para muchos, representar es hacer presente lo ausente; un acto que no consiste únicamente en evocar sino en reemplazar algo. La imagen fabricada es fechada en su publicación; y también a su recepción. “Lo intemporal es la facultad que la imagen tiene de ser percibida como expresiva incluso por ojos que no dominan el código. Una imagen del pasado nunca está pasada porque la muerte es nuestro foso insalvable y el inconsistente religioso no tiene edad”⁷. Las imágenes que se encuentran creadas desde hace milenios, muchas veces han sido utilizadas por el hombre para entrar en un sistema de “correspondencias simbólicas, orden cósmico y orden social”⁸, incluso siglos antes de que la invención de la escritura irrumpiese en el pensamiento humano. Podría decirse que la imagen fue la forma de expresión más primitiva e instintiva inherente al hombre que le permitió dar sentido al mundo. “Estas imágenes, y los rituales a los que están asociadas, han contribuido a formar, a mantener o a transformar su situación en el mundo, pues transmitir un *ismo* no es sólo popularizar valores, es también modelar comportamientos, instaurar un estilo de existencia. Esas imágenes piadosas no eran mensajes

⁵ Debray, R., *Vida y Muerte de la Imagen: historia de la mirada en Occidente*, Paidós Comunicación, Barcelona, 1994, p. 25-26.

⁶ Ídem, p. 34.

⁷ Ídem, p. 36.

⁸ Ídem, p. 47.

lingüísticos, pero ejercieron una acción en los hombres. En rigor fueron, pues, *operaciones simbólicas*⁹.

Teniendo presentes estas cuestiones antropológicas en relación con la necesidad simbólica y material del hombre, es posible volver a aproximarse a la fotografía esta vez como canalizadora de dicha necesidad. Hablar de ella en estos términos, dota a la fotografía de todo un contexto y un sentido de pertenencia que radica en lo más profundo del ser humano; acompañada de sus primos-hermanos de profesión tanto artística como científica -la pintura, la escritura, la escultura y más -, la fotografía puede ser contemplada como un diálogo entre la voluntad de acercarnos a lo real y las dificultades para hacerlo. Por eso, a pesar de las apariencias, el dominio de la fotografía se sitúa más propiamente en el campo de la ontología que en el de la estética¹⁰. Alfred Stieglitz, puente entre las prácticas pictorialistas y documentales del siglo XIX y la modernidad del siglo XX, declaró: “La función de la fotografía no consiste en ofrecer placer estético sino en proporcionar verdades visuales sobre el mundo”¹¹.

2.1.3 APROXIMACIONES A LA FOTOGRAFÍA EN LA ERA AUDIOVISUAL

Al igual que todos los ámbitos estudiados de la comunicación a lo largo de su creación y desarrollo, la fotografía también sucumbió a esa ola de cambio radical que se produjo a raíz de la aparición de los medios de comunicación a mediados-finales del siglo XX. También fue aquí donde coincidió el período de mayor estudio de la fotografía, ya que, tal y como se ha mencionado anteriormente, la creación de la cámara fotográfica tal y como se conoce hoy en día no fue inventada hasta mediados del siglo XIX; por lo que no resulta sorprendente que el auge de su estudio, crítica y análisis no diese comienzo hasta décadas después, cuando la técnica y la profesión fotográficas ya estuviesen consolidadas.

Para la fotografía, la aparición de los medios de comunicación, especialmente la aparición de la televisión y de internet, supuso no sólo un replanteamiento de su técnica y estudio en relación con nuevos actores en el tablero audiovisual, sino también un cuestionamiento de su uso y veracidad, así como también una crítica del papel que juega el fotógrafo en la toma de la imagen - una corriente crítica que alcanzó su punto culmen en la crisis que azotó a los medios de comunicación en la década de los años noventa, con todos los escándalos políticos y el rechazo de los paparazzi por sus actuaciones cuanto menos intrusivas -. En ese momento fue cuando la

⁹ Ídem, p. 47.

¹⁰ Fontcuberta, J., *El beso de Judas: fotografía y verdad*, 2ªed, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1998, p. 12.

¹¹ Ídem, p. 12.

imagen comenzó a inundarlo todo. Régis Drebay afirma a finales de los años noventa, que “somos la primera civilización que ha establecido una relación de igualdad entre visibilidad, realidad y veracidad”¹². A partir de entonces fue cuando el paradigma de la comunicación cambió radicalmente, desplazando a la palabra como auténtica portadora de la verdad informativa a un segundo, e incluso a veces tercer, lugar, por detrás de la imagen. William M. Ivins Jr., periodista e historiador de arte norteamericano, fue uno de los primeros en establecer que “en un momento dado, el informe aceptado de un acontecimiento tiene más importancia que el propio acontecimiento, ya que en lo que pensamos y actuamos es en el informe simbólico y no en el propio acontecimiento concreto. El siglo XIX empezó creyendo que lo que era razonable era cierto y acabaría creyendo que de lo que veía una fotografía era cierto”¹³. Según las palabras de John Szarkowski, fotógrafo e historiador estadounidense, “nuestra fe en la verdad de una fotografía se basa en nuestra creencia de que el objetivo es imparcial. Esta fe puede ser ingenua e ilusoria (pues aunque el objetivo dibuja el tema, el fotógrafo lo define), pero persiste. La visión del fotógrafo nos convence en la medida en que el fotógrafo esconde su mano”¹⁴.

Este creciente protagonismo del fotógrafo en la dinámica de la imagen, y la crítica social derivada del antagonismo suscitado por los paparazzi y reporteros de guerra, provocó toda una oleada de teorías reivindicativas que justificasen o dotasen de sentido la labor y, hasta cierto punto, el servicio público que desempeñan. En esencia, de devolverle a la fotografía su componente más antropológico, “de reinventar lo real, de extraer lo invisible del espejo y de revelarlo”¹⁵, y de intentar justificar y argumentar el sesgo inherente de cada imagen que rápidamente derivó en acusaciones de censura y manipulación. “Tradicionalmente la fotografía se entendió como el resultado de una corriente de pensamiento que suponía que la observación directa de la naturaleza y el rigor y precisión de la ciencia proporcionaban el único acceso a un conocimiento fiable del mundo físico”.

Joan Fontcuberta, artista y ensayista español, defiende: “Hay que insistir, no existe acto humano que no implique manipulación. La leche que mamamos de nuestra madre, decía Josep Renau, ya es una forma de manipulación. La manipulación por tanto está exenta *per se* de valor moral. Lo que sí está sujeto al juicio moral son los criterios o las intenciones que se aplican a

¹² Fontcuberta, J., *La imagen como señuelo*, La Fábrica, Madrid, 2017.

¹³ Szarkowski, J., *The Photographer's Eye*, Museo de Arte Contemporáneo, Nueva York, 2007, p. 8.

¹⁴ Ídem, p. 12.

¹⁵ Fontcuberta, J., *El beso de Judas: fotografía y verdad*, 2ªed, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1998, p. 45.

la manipulación. Y lo que está sujeto al juicio crítico es su eficacia”¹⁶. Sea consciente o no, el fotógrafo impregna su obra con su sensibilidad e ideología, propias de cada ser humano; no cabe la neutralidad pura. Realizar una fotografía requiere adoptar todas las decisiones y dotarlas de un contenido expresivo, o sea, construir una retórica. Silvia Belloso, fundadora y directora de Positiva Imagen afirma: “La manipulación de las imágenes existe desde el momento que el fotógrafo encuadra, pues ya nos está mostrando su manera objetiva de ver el mundo... Y es el espectador el que decide si la toma de referencia o no. En la historia muchos de los grandes maestros ya manipulaban con sus imágenes, o más bien ya interpretaban la realidad con sus fotografías, desde Rober Capa, Irving Penn, Eugene Smith, Robert Doisneau, hasta Steve McCurry que en 2016 se descubrió el retoque en sus imágenes. Hay que tomar la fotografía como una forma de interpretar el mundo observado y no tomarla como una realidad absoluta”¹⁷. En el límite, la elección de una entre diversas posibilidades representa una pequeña dosis de ‘manipulación’: encuadrar es una manipulación, enfocar es una manipulación, seleccionar el momento del disparo es una manipulación... “La suma de todos estos pasos se concreta en la imagen resultante, una ‘manipulación’ sin paliativos. Crear equivale a manipular y el mismo término de ‘fotografía manipulada’ constituye una flagrante tautología.”¹⁸

Antes estas afirmaciones, no es difícil caer en la tentación de mirar hacia el lado opuesto y, ante la amenaza de recibir una informaciones y verdades manipuladas constantemente, se intente alcanzar un estado de abarcamiento total. Lo que vulgarmente podría llamarse un 360° de la imagen; intentar absorber todos y cada uno de los detalles pertenecientes a la imagen incluida en todas las informaciones que recibe un individuo diariamente.

Intentar retener el cien por cien de la información en el cien por cien de todos los ámbitos de nuestra vida supondría que el ser humano es un ser capaz de retener todo lo que cruza su mente; algo que, por evidencias históricas y científicas, entre muchas, queda demostrado que es falso. Norberto Bobbio concluye en su ensayo *De senectute* (1996): “Eres lo que recuerdas.” Tanto nuestra noción de lo real como la esencia de nuestra identidad individual dependen de la memoria. No somos sino memoria. La fotografía pues, es una actividad fundamental para definirnos que abre una doble vía de ascesis hacia la autoafirmación y el conocimiento. De igual forma, Robert Silverberg, en su novela *The man who never forgot* (1957)¹⁹, insinuaba

¹⁶ Ídem, p. 154.

¹⁷ Entrevista a Silvia Belloso el 28 de marzo de 2021. Licenciada en Comunicación Audiovisual y Diseño Multimedia, especializada en fotoperiodismo. Fundadora y directora de PositivaImagen.

¹⁸ Fontcuberta, J., *El beso de Judas: fotografía y verdad*, 2ªed, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1998, p. 125-126.

¹⁹ Wikipedia contributors. (2021, 25 abril). *The Man Who Never Forgot*. Wikipedia.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Man_Who_Never_Forgot

que, de hecho, es la discriminación del recuerdo y, a la postre, el olvido lo que nos permite aspirar a ser felices y no caer en la más absoluta locura.

Pero, a pesar de la concienciación en torno la inexistencia de la objetividad más absoluta y la obtención de un pensamiento crítico que permita al individuo no caer en el pesimismo de verse rodeado por una manipulación constante, tampoco es posible caer en el buenismo de pensar que la subjetividad, al ser inherente al hombre y aparecer inconscientemente a modo de “manipulación”, no puede ser utilizada de forma intencionada - sea por el mismo individuo o por los medios de comunicación -. Una de las instancias de la manipulación afecta al contexto, a la plataforma institucional en la que la imagen adquiere su sentido. Según afirmó el filósofo canadiense, Marshall McLuhan: el medio es el mensaje. “Hace falta que el espectador llegue a comprender que fotografías, sonidos y textos son mensajes ambiguos el sentido final de los cuales sólo depende de la plataforma cultural, social, institucional o política en la que se encuentren insertos. Esta ambigüedad, esta indefinición del sentido, es justamente lo que permite el juego de la manipulación”²⁰.

La aparición de la fotografía en el siglo XIX propició el fortalecimiento y, en cierto sentido, la imposición de una cultura audiovisual que se había estado desarrollando paralelamente a la evolución del hombre. A la postre la historia ha terminado por convertir esta cultura fotográfica en un marco en el que el medio fotográfico original no ocupa más que una pequeña parcela. “Podríamos convenir por tanto que todos los productos de esta cultura fotográfica son ‘fotográficos’, son facetas, a veces complementarias y a veces contradictorias, de lo que antaño llamábamos tranquilamente ‘fotografía’, es decir, un dispositivo encargado de poner orden y dar sentido a nuestra experiencia visual”. Con la aparición de los medios de comunicación y los nuevos formatos de información audiovisual, los ordenadores, tanto como las cámaras, se han revelado también como dispositivos tecnológicos productores de sentido en la vida del ser humano²¹. Es más: se han convertido en prótesis de nuestras capacidades de mirar y pensar el mundo que nos rodea en un agigantado paso hacia delante que continúa la brillante y diversa tradición visual propia del hombre.

2.1.4 FOTOGRAFÍA Y PERIODISMO: LA IMPORTANCIA DEL DISEÑO

El acto central de la fotografía, el acto de elegir y eliminar, obliga a concentrarse en el borde de la imagen -la línea que separa lo que está dentro de lo que está fuera- y en las formas que

²⁰ Fontcuberta, J., *El beso de Judas: fotografía y verdad*, 2ªed, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1998, p. 137-138.

²¹ Ídem, p. 147.

crea. Todas las fotografías son exposiciones temporales, de mayor o menor duración, y cada una describe una parcela de tiempo discreta²². Este tiempo es siempre el presente. Excepcionalmente en la historia de las imágenes, una fotografía describe únicamente el periodo de tiempo en el que se hizo. La fotografía alude al pasado y al futuro sólo en la medida en que existen en el presente; el pasado a través de sus reliquias supervivientes, el futuro a través de la profecía visible en el presente.

Asimismo, todo mensaje tiene triple lectura: nos habla del objeto, nos habla del sujeto y nos habla del propio medio. Para la fotografía, estas tres facetas fueron denominadas gráficamente por Joan Costa - comunicador e investigador español - como ojo, objeto y objetivo²³. La existencia de estas tres facetas no implica necesariamente un equilibrio entre ellas, sino que, como si de tres coordenadas se tratara, todo mensaje se posicionaría en un punto determinado por proximidad o alejamiento de esas tres referencias.

A partir de 1970, como ya ha quedado expuesto en el epígrafe anterior, las imágenes cobran un protagonismo diferente en el conjunto total del diseño lejos de la lejos de suponer una acumulación decorativa y sobrecargada para el espectador. Según Richard Curtis, subdirector de fotografía, gráficos y diseño del periódico USA Today, en una cita publicada por Robert Lockwood: “Ahora los lectores esperan una información visual. Les hemos condicionado a que la esperen, mediante periódicos, revistas, televisión, y publicidad. La información visual ayuda a los lectores en su vida diaria. Organiza la información con rapidez. Y hace fácil su consumo, incluso los bocados menos apetecibles. Además es divertido y hace que lo que pones en el plato sea más fácil de tragar”²⁴. A diferencia de lo que pueda suceder con el texto - que va manifestando su contenido a lo largo del periodo de tiempo en el que transcurre su lectura -, como ya se ha hablado antes, las imágenes resultan icónicas, es decir, son captadas de forma inmediata por el individuo cuando las ve. “Una única imagen se convierte, por el sólo hecho de su unicidad, en un potente centro óptico de atención sea cual sea su tamaño. A veces, en el punto de arranque que el lector necesita para recorrer la página. Asimismo, muchas imágenes al mismo tamaño no nos ayudarán a valorar y jerarquizar la información, por lo que deberemos atender a crear siempre un evidente contraste entre los elementos, sean imágenes o no”²⁵.

²² Szarkowski, J., *The Photographer's Eye*, Museo de Arte Contemporáneo, Nueva York, 2007, p. 9.

²³ Fontcuberta, J., *El beso de Judas: fotografía y verdad*, 2ªed, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1998, p. 21.

²⁴ González Díez, L., Pérez Cuadrado, P., *Principios Básicos sobre Diseño Periodístico*, Editorial Universitas S.A., Madrid, 2001, p. 124.

²⁵ Ídem, p. 130.

Es por ello que la disposición y distribución de las imágenes ha sido una preocupación editorial a la vez que estética desde los orígenes de los medios, sobretodo para los diseños periodísticos de boletines y diarios - primero impresos y después digitales -, donde la imagen y el texto se combinan para contar el argumento. Como afirma Fernando Lallana: “no sólo las tomas del fotógrafo, sino también las aportaciones del diseñador, configuran el resultado final de una publicación”²⁶. Debido a su rápido desarrollo hace poco más de cuatro décadas, la escasez de estudios rigurosos y sistematizados en la formulación de teorías consistentes para la comunicación visual y el diseño gráfico a fecha de hoy dificulta una evaluación científica, más objetivable de los mensajes visuales en muchas de sus disciplinas.

La naturaleza de estos estudios e investigaciones, fundamentalmente analíticos y cuantitativos ha ido cogiendo fuerza de nuevo estos últimos años, coincidiendo con la explosión de las tecnologías de la información aplicadas al medio impreso y con la mayor conciencia de la trascendencia del diseño periodístico en la configuración del mensaje²⁷.

En lo relacionado con el planteamiento visual, el diario es estudiado “como una serie de superficies de papel impreso en el que se ordenan unas masas y unas unidades comunicacionales a partir de la descomposición morfológica de las superficies del diario y de la disección de los elementos de estructura que lo componen”²⁸. Pero, a pesar de ello, y más concretamente en el ámbito de la fotografía, no existen reglas fijas con respecto a su tamaño y uso dentro de la portada. “Es una valoración del día a día informativo que no afecta exclusivamente a uno de los elementos de la composición, sino a todos los que en la página o en la pantalla compiten para ofrecer una mejor comunicación del mensaje”²⁹. Para muchos de los estudiosos, el tamaño de una fotografía se debe asignar en función de su potencial para comunicar, y la elección de la misma depende, a su vez, del contexto del contenido a comunicar. “La fotografía supone - o debe suponer - comunicación. Lo que interesa sobremanera al diseño de cualquier medio. Por encima incluso de la función estética que pueda aportar”. Tal y como expone Concha Casajús, historiadora y docente de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, “la fotografía, como forma de expresión artística, tiene su propio

²⁶ Fernando Lallana, *Tipografía y Diseño*. Editorial Síntesis. Madrid 2000, p. 117.

²⁷ Suárez Carballo, F., *Fundamentos del Diseño: Claves para interpretar el lenguaje visual del periódico*, EUNSA Colección Comunicación, Navarra, 2008, p. 18.

²⁸ Ídem, p. 18.

²⁹ González Díez, L., Pérez Cuadrado, P., *Principios Básicos sobre Diseño Periodístico*, Editorial Universitas S.A., Madrid, 2001, p. 147.

lenguaje y una creciente utilidad - dentro de una sociedad de consumo de masas - porque posee una poderosa fuerza de comunicación”³⁰.

En base a esto, muchos teóricos de la comunicación defienden que la principal característica del diseño periodístico es la primacía del criterio informativo: seleccionar la fotografía que mayor información le aporte al lector. Pero dentro del diseño periodístico, de acuerdo con Laura González y Pedro Pérez, la fotografía también puede cumplir diferentes funciones según el criterio por el cual haya sido elegida³¹:

- Función documental: cuando la fotografía describe los hechos acontecidos.
- Función simbólica: cuando la fotografía representa, sin mostrarlo expresamente, alude al problema que se aborda en la información. Según Carlos Tejero, director de arte del Grupo Zeta: “Ciertas imágenes, funcionan solas en el inconsciente colectivo de la sociedad que las recibe”.
- Función ilustrativa: cuando la fotografía únicamente rompe la monotonía del texto.
- Función estética: cuando a la fotografía se le otorga un uso por el simple hecho de ser artísticamente buena o estar tomada desde un punto de vista poco habitual.
- Función de entretenimiento: cuando la fotografía sencillamente pretende la sonrisa del lector.

Con todo ello, resulta posible afirmar que la magnitud y la relevancia que ha adquirido la vertiente visual en la comunicación de masas inciden directamente en la propia definición de diseño periodístico, que pasa a convertirse en una disciplina polifacética con múltiples implicaciones y objetivos³². En palabras de Martín Aguado, teórico español de la comunicación, “ el diseño es la clave del poder de atracción que ejerce la prensa y, al mismo tiempo, su secreto económico”³³.

El diseño gráfico (entendido, en este sentido como la formalización de la información o como parte de su vertiente “expresiva”³⁴) es parte sustancial e indisoluble del hecho informativo, y de él (y de su vínculo con el contenido mismo) depende la coherencia del medio impreso y su credibilidad. Y es debido a la incorporación de la fotografía como elemento informativo fundamental que la forma se erige como un instrumento de utilidad en la estimulación de la atención del lector; tanto en lo que se refiere a la propia elección del producto (entre la oferta

³⁰ Ídem, p. 144.

³¹ Ídem, p. 146.

³² Suárez Carballo, F., *Fundamentos del Diseño: Claves para interpretar el lenguaje visual del periódico*, EUNSA Colección Comunicación, Navarra, 2008, p. 31.

³³ Ídem, p. 36.

³⁴ Ídem, p. 24.

que se le presenta) como en la selección de los elementos gráficos individuales dentro de la publicación o a la continuidad de la lectura, y que influye en sus motivaciones y en sus expectativas en el consumo de información.

En palabras de Enric Satué, uno de los principales investigadores y diseñadores gráficos de España, “el diseño periodístico en publicaciones impresas estaría así a medio camino entre el arte y la operatividad, entre la vanguardia y artesanía, entre compromiso y testimonio”³⁵.

³⁵ Ídem, p. 27.

2.2 OPINIÓN PÚBLICA

2.2.1 EXTRACTO

El fenómeno de la opinión pública es un concepto cuya definición y características se han encontrado en un proceso de cambio constante desde que la comunicación comenzó a desarrollarse en las antiguas civilizaciones hasta la actualidad. Bien es cierto que, a pesar de no haber logrado cerrar una descripción concreta y precisa sobre qué es exactamente aquello que llamamos opinión pública, sí ha sido posible establecer una variedad de marcos teóricos que permitan aproximarse a ella desde diferentes ámbitos y perspectivas - individualistas, populistas, elitistas, políticas, financieras, etc. -. Pero de todos los períodos de mayor importancia en la historia de la opinión pública en la actualidad, no ha existido uno igual que el boom acontecido tras la aparición de los medios de comunicación y la prensa de masas a finales del siglo XX. Estos no sólo se han vuelto mediadores indispensables para la creación y difusión de la información, sino también la principal vía de conocimiento y entendimiento de muchas de las realidades que acontecen al conjunto de la sociedad; con especial hincapié en la política. La política y la opinión pública han sido inseparables desde que las ciudades existen y los líderes buscan la aprobación del pueblo para, primero, ascender al poder, y segundo, para conservarlo. El apoyo del pueblo siempre ha sido un elemento imprescindible para cualquier gobernante; por lo que no es de extrañar que con la llegada de los medios de comunicación y la proliferación de ideas y opiniones, esta relación se haya vuelto todavía más importante. Con la diferencia de que ahora el gobernante no sólo deba trabajar para persuadir a la opinión pública, sino también a los medios de los que precisa para poder transmitir su mensaje.

2.2.2 DEFINICIÓN E INTRODUCCIÓN A LA OPINIÓN PÚBLICA

El término “opinión pública” ha sido un punto de debate controvertido e inagotable desde los orígenes de los medios de comunicación, pasando por el desarrollo de la prensa de masas y llegando hasta la actualidad digital. Su debate y ambigüedad siempre han radicado en la naturaleza del sentido de lo “público”, de los conceptos y valores que pueden constituir la “opinión” y del proceso por el que finalmente se termina conformando ese fenómeno que tan popularmente es denominado “opinión pública”³⁶.

A lo largo de los años, los teóricos no han cesado de intentar alcanzar una definición de la opinión pública que sea agradable y englobe la mayoría de las creencias establecidas alrededor

³⁶ Bartels, L. M. (2001). *Public Opinion: Political Aspects - an overview* | *ScienceDirect Topics*. ScienceDirect. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/public-opinion>

de este concepto. Ante esta cuestión, hay investigadores que tratan el agregado como una síntesis de los diferentes puntos de vista de toda una sociedad³⁷ y otros que la consideran como el conjunto de muchos puntos de vista heterogéneos que confluyen entre sí. Por ejemplo, en 1918, el sociólogo estadounidense Charles Horton Cooley destacó que la opinión pública “es un proceso de interacción e influencia mutua más que un estado de amplio acuerdo”³⁸; mientras que en 1961, V.O. Key, politólogo norteamericano especializado en comportamiento electoral, definió el fenómeno como “las opiniones sostenidas por personas privadas a las que los gobiernos consideran prudente prestar atención”³⁹. Asimismo, los avances posteriores que se generaron en el ámbito del análisis estadístico y demográfico poblacional en la década de 1990 llevaron a entender la opinión pública como la opinión colectiva de una población definida, como un grupo demográfico y/o étnico concreto⁴⁰.

De manera más reciente, el investigador y profesor canadiense Shawn W. Rosenberg, de la *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*⁴¹, argumenta que el público estaría compuesto de ciudadanos individuales y, la opinión, consistiría en un conjunto de creencias asociadas de manera subjetiva hacia una misma actitud. Ante estos hechos, el proceso de formación de opinión pública giraría en torno a los individuos y al papel que juega la percepción, el razonamiento y la memoria de cada uno de ellos en la conformación de sus actitudes.

Asimismo, el propio Rosenberg también describe otras tres perspectivas aplicables a la formación de la opinión pública. Primero, bajo un enfoque psicoanalítico de la recepción que los individuos hacen de la información que se les presenta; segundo, centrándose en el mensaje recibido por el público y la construcción y difusión de los conceptos y valores que se transmiten; y, tercero, concibiendo la opinión pública como un fenómeno masivo, conformado por lo que denomina “fuerzas sociales a gran escala”⁴².

Por su parte, Edward P. Freeland, director ejecutivo de la iniciativa *Data Driven Social Science (DDSS)* de la universidad de Princeton, define la opinión pública como “la expresión de las

³⁷ Ídem.

³⁸ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2021b, mayo 4). *Charles Horton Cooley* | *American sociologist*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Horton-Cooley>

³⁹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2021a). *V. O. Key, Jr.* | *American political scientist*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/V-O-Key-Jr>

⁴⁰ Davison, P. W. (2020). *public opinion* | *Study, Influence, Examples, & Polling*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-opinion>

⁴¹ Bartels, L. M. (2001). *Public Opinion: Political Aspects - an overview* | *ScienceDirect Topics*. ScienceDirect. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/public-opinion>

⁴² Ídem.

creencias, la ideología y los sentimientos de una ciudadanía con respecto a la conducta de los asuntos humanos”⁴³ y defendiendo su vinculación con el auge de la democracia y la idea de que “el gobierno debe gobernar con el consentimiento de los gobernados”⁴⁴ principalmente en los países de Estados Unidos y Europa. Esta línea de investigación y pensamiento ha permitido a su vez generar teorías propias en torno a la actividad democrática del pueblo, sobre todo a partir de 1960, descubriendo diversos factores de inestabilidad e influencias en la formación de opinión de los ciudadanos individuales⁴⁵ - como, por ejemplo, la socialización familiar y la educación de cada individuo vinculada a la percepción de diversos grupos sociales minoritarios o mayormente discriminados -.

En su Tratado Homónimo sobre la Opinión Pública, publicado en 1922, el editorialista y teórico estadounidense Walter Lippmann entonces matizó que las democracias tienden a convertir la opinión pública en un misterio con su declaración de que “ha habido hábiles organizadores de la opinión que entendieron el misterio lo suficientemente bien como para crear mayorías el día de las elecciones”⁴⁶.

A pesar de que la “realidad” de la opinión pública es algo que actualmente se encuentra universalmente aceptado, continúa habiendo muchas variedades en la forma de definir su esencia y las características que la componen. Y es que a lo largo de los siglos ha ido surgido todo un espectro de interpretaciones y aproximaciones teóricas al fenómeno de la opinión pública⁴⁷ - desde las más similares hasta aquellas radicalmente opuestas -, especialmente a medida que se han aplicado nuevos métodos de medición en ámbitos como la política, la economía, la religión y los temas sociales.

Pero a pesar de las diferentes aproximaciones y las discrepancias entre la comunidad de investigadores sociólogos y politólogos, casi todos los estudiosos de la opinión pública, independientemente de la forma en que la definan, coinciden en cuatro condiciones que deben cumplirse para que una reacción sea calificada de opinión pública⁴⁸: 1) debe haber un problema, 2) debe haber un número significativo de individuos que expresen opiniones sobre ese problema, 3) al menos algunas de estas opiniones deben reflejar algún tipo de consenso entre

⁴³ Ídem.

⁴⁴ Ídem.

⁴⁵ Ídem.

⁴⁶ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2020b). *Walter Lippmann | American journalist*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Walter-Lippmann>

⁴⁷ Davison, P. W. (2020). *public opinion | Study, Influence, Examples, & Polling*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-opinion>

⁴⁸ Ídem.

ellas, y 4) este consenso debe ejercer influencia directa o indirectamente sobre el resto de actores sociales.

En contraposición a los académicos, también se encuentran aquellos cuyo objetivo no es tanto comprender el fenómeno de la opinión pública, sino influir en ella. Es por ello que se preocupan menos por las cuestiones teóricas y más por los problemas prácticos y específicos de cada grupo social sobre el que desean influir.

2.2.3 DESARROLLO HISTÓRICO DE LA OPINIÓN PÚBLICA: CONCEPTOS CLAVE

Pero ¿a partir de qué momento se comenzó a hablar de “opinión pública”? Bien es cierto que, aunque el término utilizado actualmente no se instauró hasta mediados del siglo XVIII, a lo largo de la historia se han producido multitud de fenómenos semejantes a lo que hoy se calificaría como “opinión pública”.

En épocas como la antigua Babilonia y Asiria las actitudes populares quedaban reflejadas en las historias y leyendas; entre ellas la leyenda de un califa que se disfrazaba y caminaba entre sus súbditos para escuchar lo que el pueblo opinaba sobre su gobierno⁴⁹. Asimismo, los profetas del antiguo Israel hacían un doble juego de cara al gobierno - justificando sus políticas ante el pueblo, o apelando a los ciudadanos para que se opusieran a las medidas de los gobernantes -. Tampoco puede pasarse por alto la democracia clásica de la Antigua Grecia, donde toda decisión dependía de la voluntad del pueblo, y el pueblo a su vez dependía de la palabra - por aquel entonces, la figura de los sofistas sería lo más identificable con un político o publicista de hoy en día, ya que su función principal consistía en hablarle a los ciudadanos en las asambleas y plazas hasta convencerles de su ideas y ganar su apoyo -.

De igual manera, a lo largo de toda la evolución social y política dentro de las sociedades tradicionales europeas de la Edad Media, a pesar de que las actividades y actitudes de la mayoría de las personas estaban dictadas por su posición social, dentro de las élites sociales podían observarse fenómenos muy similares a los de la opinión pública⁵⁰. Crear seguidores y alinear las opiniones del pueblo resultó imprescindible para la dinámica política integrada en las disputas religiosas, las luchas con los papas y el Sacro Imperio y las ambiciones dinásticas de la realeza. Lograr persuadir positivamente las opiniones de los súbditos muchas veces suponía una victoria en el campo de batalla, así como en el terreno político y religioso, como

⁴⁹ Ídem.

⁵⁰ Ídem.

sucedió posteriormente con la fragmentación de la religión cristiana en Occidente y la aparición de las corrientes protestante y anglicana.

A partir de finales del siglo XIII, cuando el nivel general de educación dentro de la población laica aumentó gradualmente debido a la aparición de las universidades, cada vez más sectores de la población se veían incluidos en el juego de la persuasión de la opinión popular⁵¹. El auge del humanismo y de la retórica propició la aparición de muchos escritores cuyos servicios eran requeridos por los príncipes y las élites influyentes para la consolidación de sus dominios, mientras que otros comenzaron a actuar como los primeros consejeros y diplomáticos de la historia. El filósofo político italiano, Nicolás Maquiavelo (1469 - 1527), escribió que los príncipes no debían ignorar la opinión popular, sobre todo en asuntos cruciales para el gobierno como era la distribución de los cargos políticos⁵².

Otro momento crucial en la evolución del pensamiento y dinámica popular fue la invención de la imprenta de tipos móviles en el siglo XV, seguida muy de cerca de la Reforma Protestante en el siglo XVI. La rápida difusión de la información en papel permitió que el número de personas capaces de mantener y expresar opiniones informadas en la sociedad aumentase considerablemente⁵³. El sacerdote y teólogo alemán, Martín Lutero (1483 - 1546), autor de la Reforma, fue uno de los primeros en romper con el canon establecido hasta ese momento y abandonó el uso del latín clásico - hasta el momento sólo inteligible para las élites educadas - para dirigirse directamente a las masas a través de la impresión y publicación de sus *Noventa y Cinco Tesis*, que finalmente supusieron la separación de la Iglesia alemana con el Vaticano. La confluencia de estos dos momentos clave - la aparición de la imprenta y la apelación de Lutero a la gente de a pie - contribuyeron a la formación de grupos cada vez más grandes de opinión sobre asuntos importantes del momento.

Paralelamente, y como ya se ha mencionado anteriormente, las guerras que se fueron produciendo durante toda la Edad Media por motivos religiosos, políticos y económicos, entre otros, llevaron a los políticos y sacerdotes a realizar amplios intentos de crear e influir sobre la opinión pública mediante discursos, sermones y diálogos cara a cara⁵⁴. Debido a ello, también comenzaron a aparecer sistemas de regulación y control por parte de las autoridades civiles y

⁵¹ Ídem.

⁵² Maquiavelo, N. (2017). *El Príncipe* (6.ª ed.). Plutón Ediciones, Colección Eterna.

⁵³ Davison, P. W. (2020). *public opinion | Study, Influence, Examples, & Polling*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-opinion>

⁵⁴ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2020a). *Public opinion - The Middle Ages to the early modern period*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-opinion/The-Middle-Ages-to-the-early-modern-period>

religiosas para controlar la difusión de ideas no deseadas - la censura -. Los últimos años del siglo XVIII fueron decisivos para la consolidación de la opinión pública como un fenómeno social imprescindible en la dinámica de cualquier país. Su papel clave en los cambios de paradigma internacional como fueron la conformación de los Estados Unidos de América en 1776 o la Revolución Francesa de 1789, demostró cómo la opinión pública había logrado inspirar tanto a las clases medias como a las masas, unificándolas bajo enormes movimientos sociales.

Estos eventos provocaron que durante todo el siglo XIX, grandes cantidades de filósofos y pensadores tuviesen como punto de estudio y reflexión la dinámica de la opinión pública y su actividad dentro de la sociedad moderna. Por nombrar algunos ejemplos, el filósofo alemán Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770 - 1831) describió la opinión pública como algo que contiene tanto la verdad como la falsedad y añadió que la tarea del gran hombre es distinguir entre ambas⁵⁵. Por su parte el historiador inglés James Bryce (1838 - 1922) sostuvo que un gobierno basado en el consentimiento popular daría a una nación una gran estabilidad y fuerza, pero no creía que la opinión pública pudiera o debiera determinar los detalles de la política, ya que, en su opinión, la mayoría de la gente no tiene el tiempo libre ni la inclinación para llegar a forma una opinión sobre cada cuestión⁵⁶.

Desde principios del siglo XX se han ido formulando varias teorías sobre la opinión pública, aunque ninguna ha sido reconocida como predominante. Según la teórica canadiense de la comunicación, Sherry Devereux Ferguson, la mayoría de las teorías publicadas podrían clasificarse dentro de las tres categorías propuestas en su marco estudio⁵⁷:

1. Un primer acercamiento “populista”, donde la teórica recoge aquellas teorías propuestas que asocian la opinión pública a un afloramiento desde los niveles más inferiores de la sociedad hacia los superiores. Este enfoque reconocería la tendencia de la opinión pública a cambiar conforme los individuos interactúan entre sí o responden a las influencias de los medios de comunicación.
2. Un segundo acercamiento denominado como “elitista”, cuyas teorías se basan en el reconocimiento de una manipulación comunicativa por parte de los medios y el

⁵⁵ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2017). *Public opinion - Components of public opinion: attitudes and values*. Encyclopaedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-opinion/Components-of-public-opinion-attitudes-and-values>

⁵⁶ Ídem.

⁵⁷ Ídem.

reconocimiento de la multiplicidad de perspectivas que son capaces de formarse alrededor de cualquier tema.

3. Y, por último, un tercer acercamiento de carácter “pesimista”, en el cual la teórica expone las teorías que sostienen que la opinión pública se encuentra en gran medida controlada por los gobernantes, y no por el público genérico.

Gracias a los grandes acontecimientos sociales, muchos de ellos hitos históricos, que se han ido produciendo desde el inicio de la comunicación humana hasta nuestro días - y también al desarrollo tecnológico, político y cultural que los ha acompañado -, el estudio científico de la opinión pública ha logrado desarrollarse y enriquecerse hasta puntos insospechados; siendo capaz de recabar y analizar cada vez más y más información y abarcar un espectro amplísimo de aproximación y formulaciones teóricas que permiten, hasta cierto punto, comprender algunos de los comportamientos sociales que el hombre puede adoptar tanto como individuo como en comunidad.

No ha sido hasta la aparición de los medios de comunicación y la prensa de masas, así como el surgimiento de internet, a finales del siglo XXI, que la opinión pública se ha visto sumida en un torbellino revolucionario que ha cambiado por completo el paradigma social y político tal y como había sido entendida desde hace centenares de siglos.

2.2.4 LA OPINIÓN PÚBLICA Y LA PRENSA DE MASAS

En las últimas décadas, los estudiosos de la comunicación de masas han descubierto que los juicios diarios de los periodistas sobre la selección y presentación de las noticias influyen en la percepción del público sobre cuáles son los temas importantes del momento. La influencia de los medios de comunicación en la percepción de la importancia de las cuestiones políticas clave se denomina función de "fijación de la agenda" de la comunicación de masas⁵⁸. El primero en articular este nuevo factor de análisis dentro de la opinión pública fueron los profesores e investigadores americanos Maxwell McCombs y Donald Shaw en 1968; aunque mencionar que el editorialista Walter Lippmann aludió a una idea similar de la fijación de la agenda pública en su ensayo *The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads*, perteneciente a su famoso libro, *Public Opinion*.

La fijación de la agenda es un concepto relacional que especifica una conexión positiva entre los énfasis de los medios de comunicación y la importancia percibida de estos temas para la

⁵⁸ Protess, D. L.; McCombs, M., *Agenda Setting: readings on media, public opinion and policymaking*, Lawrence Erlbaum, New Jersey, 1991, p.2.

audiencia de las noticias⁵⁹. Su papel se jugaría en el primer punto de desarrollo de la opinión pública, es decir, cuando surge un tema o problema. El concepto de agenda-setting afirma que la audiencia aprende qué temas son importantes a partir de la información priorizada por los medios de comunicación y que con ello, incorpora un conjunto de temáticas similares en sus propias agendas personales. Según los analistas David L. Protess y Maxwell McCombs, lo que los periodistas consideran "digno de ser noticia" proporciona indicios eficaces sobre la importancia relativa del cúmulo de temas de nuestro tiempo. Los periódicos comunican claramente la importancia de los temas a través de la ubicación de las páginas, el tamaño de los titulares y la cantidad de espacio asignado a un tema⁶⁰.

Esta noción afirmativa de que los medios de comunicación sesgan constantemente la información que es recibida por los ciudadanos cada día, nace de la aceptación de que los periódicos no son capaces de "vigilar" a toda la humanidad. En palabras de Lippmann, los periódicos "vigilan, o mejor dicho, en la mayoría de los casos pertenecen a asociaciones que emplean a hombres para vigilar un número comparativamente pequeño de lugares en los que se da a conocer cuando la vida de alguien... se aparta de los caminos ordinarios, o cuando ocurren acontecimientos dignos de ser contados"⁶¹. Y es entonces cuando, centrando su atención en un entorno o hecho concreto, los medios son capaces de definir los acontecimientos que tienen lugar y tienen el potencial de convertirse en un hecho consumado y, por tanto en algo noticioso. "Es absolutamente correcto decir que hay acontecimientos que ocurren objetivamente", afirmó Cole Campbell, difunto periodista del *Virginian-Pilot*. "Se pronuncian discursos, los volcanes entran en erupción, los árboles caen. Pero las noticias no son un acontecimiento científicamente observable. Las noticias son una elección, un proceso de extracción, que dice que un acontecimiento es más significativo que otro. El propio acto de decir eso significa hacer juicios que se basan en valores y en marcos"⁶².

Con el auge de la prensa de masas, y la agenda-setting como un nuevo actor en la dinámica, el vínculo entre 'periodismo - opinión pública - política' se hace cada vez más estrecho a finales del siglo XX y principios del XXI. En nuestros días, más que nunca, los candidatos se presentan ante el pueblo a través de los medios de comunicación y no en persona. La información de los medios de comunicación se convierte en el único contacto que muchos tienen con la política.

⁵⁹ Ídem, p.2.

⁶⁰ Ídem, p.2.

⁶¹ Ídem, p. 12.

⁶² Fallows, J. (1997). *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy*. Vintage books, Random House, p. 256.

“Los compromisos, las promesas y la retórica que se recogen en las noticias, las columnas y los editoriales constituyen gran parte de la información sobre la que hay que tomar una decisión de voto. La mayoría de lo que la gente sabe le llega de ‘segunda’ o ‘tercera’ mano de los medios de comunicación o de otras personas”⁶³. A pesar de que a día de hoy no es posible afirmar que los medios de comunicación cambien profundamente las actitudes de los ciudadanos de cara al juego político, sí es posible argumentar que los votantes aprendan de la inmensa cantidad de información disponible durante cada campaña⁶⁴.

Según afirma el politólogo estadounidense, Bernard C. Cohen, es posible que la prensa “pueda no tener éxito la mayor parte del tiempo en decirle a la gente lo que tiene que pensar, pero tiene un éxito asombroso en decirle a los lectores sobre qué tienen que pensar”⁶⁵.

Ante estos nuevos ámbitos teóricos acerca de la opinión pública, donde mayoritariamente destaca la irrupción de los medios de comunicación como nuevas herramientas imprescindibles para la transmisión de información, muchos argumentan que este nuevo escenario se debe únicamente a una respuesta colectiva de la sociedad ante el desarrollo de los acontecimientos, y no tanto a un nuevo factor de influencia a tener en cuenta. Maxwell McCombs y Donald Shaw afirman que tales suposiciones no son plausibles, especialmente en el ámbito político: dado que son pocos los que participan directamente en las campañas electorales presidenciales, y menos aún los que ven a los candidatos presidenciales en persona, la información que fluye en los canales de comunicación interpersonal se transmite principalmente a partir de la cobertura informativa de los medios de comunicación de masas y se basa en ella. “Los medios de comunicación son las principales fuentes de información de política nacional; para la mayoría de los ciudadanos, los medios de comunicación proporcionan la mejor -y única- aproximación fácilmente disponible de las realidades políticas en constante cambio”⁶⁶.

⁶³ Protess, D. L.; McCombs, M., *Agenda Setting: readings on media, public opinion and policymaking*, Lawrence Erlbaum, New Jersey, 1991, p. 17.

⁶⁴ Bernard C. Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 120.

⁶⁵ Ídem, p. 13.

⁶⁶ Protess, D. L.; McCombs, M., *Agenda Setting: readings on media, public opinion and policymaking*, Lawrence Erlbaum, New Jersey, 1991, p. 25-26.

2.3 COMUNICACIÓN POLÍTICA

2.3.1 EXTRACTO

La comunicación política, al igual que el resto de ámbitos teóricos y de investigación, es un fenómeno que ha ido siendo desarrollado por el hombre conforme evolucionaban su ámbito político, social y cultural. Ciertamente es que su complejidad y transversalidad han ido en aumento a la par que el resto de disciplinas científicas, aunque su objetivo principal se mantiene: la compraventa de ideas a través de imágenes. Unas imágenes no necesariamente fotográficas, pero sí imágenes ideadas para cobrar forma en la mente del ciudadano mediante mensajes, historias y percepciones muy concretas cuyo fin último no es otro que el de persuadir y ganar su apoyo en la esfera pública.

Comenzando con la aparición de la prensa de masas después de la II Guerra Mundial, pasando por la comunicación televisiva hasta alcanzar una nueva forma en las redes sociales del siglo XXI, la comunicación política se ha visto arrastrada, sometida y transformada por los medios de comunicación - que, tal y como se vió en el capítulo anterior con la opinión pública, son dos caras de una misma moneda -, que se han vuelto indispensables para su correcto funcionamiento. Pero, contrario a la opinión pública, donde los medios y la opinión se encuentran en un tira y afloja constante, la efectividad y esencia de la comunicación política dependen de la normativa de los medios; es decir, de la normativa de la imagen. A más visibilidad, más comunicación, más impacto y más persuasión. La radicalización de este ámbito de comunicación política hacia una completa personalización de la misma no responde sino a la realidad cultural más básica que está viviendo el hombre actualmente: la instantaneidad y el enfoque visual que las redes sociales y nuevas plataformas han creado es lo que en definitiva ha llevado a la clase política a sumarse a una ola de persuasión y opinión constante; donde esperan que una imagen pueda, verdaderamente, valerles más que mil palabras.

2.3.2 LA COMUNICACIÓN POLÍTICA: DE LA II GUERRA MUNDIAL HASTA HOY

La comunicación política, al igual que la creación de imágenes y los intentos de persuasión de la opinión pública, siempre ha estado presentes en la historia evolutiva del hombre. “Desde la antigüedad”, como señala R.G. Schwartzenberg en su obra *El show político. Ensayo sobre y contra el star-system en política*, “los gobernantes han buscado el reconocimiento a su labor mediante el culto a su propia imagen, ya fuera mediante esculturas, acuñación de monedas,

etcétera”⁶⁷. Su disciplina de estudio comenzó con los primeros estudios del discurso democrático de Aristóteles y Platón y, conforme fue evolucionando hasta llegar a la modernidad, la comunicación política moderna se apoya en una base interdisciplinar, que se nutre de conceptos de la comunicación, la ciencia política, el periodismo, la sociología, la psicología, la historia y la retórica, entre otros.

Definida como “el área de la ciencia política, que se ocupa de la producción, la difusión, la diseminación y de los efectos de la información, tanto a través de los medios de comunicación masiva, cuanto de los interpersonales, en un contexto político”⁶⁸, la comunicación política, en mayor o menor intensidad, la manera en que los gobernantes, sacerdotes y demás políticos o diplomáticos buscaban variedad de estrategias para comunicarse efectivamente con sus súbditos siempre ha formado parte de la dinámica social de cualquier país. Pero bien es cierto que su uso sistemático y masivo no se desarrolló plenamente hasta mediados del siglo XX, cuando el mundo se vio sumido en el período más violento de su historia: con dos Guerras Mundiales, una Guerra Fría, y todos los efectos derivados que estas conllevaron. Fue a partir de entonces que la comunicación política se convirtió en herramienta fundamental para la gestión de las políticas tanto nacionales como internacionales. De su evolución en este período pueden destacarse tres fases:

Según Tasente Tanase, Profesor adjunto doctor de la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Administrativas (Universidad "Ovidius" de Constanza) y director general de Plus Communication, “el sistema de comunicación política mediática comenzó a desarrollarse, en una primera fase, en las dos primeras décadas posteriores a la Segunda Guerra Mundial”⁶⁹, siendo este periodo denominado por Blumler y Kavanagh (1999) como "la edad de oro de los partidos" o como "la edad de los periódicos". Seguida rápidamente por una nueva etapa en la evolución de los sistemas de comunicación política debido al auge de los medios de comunicación, las televisiones nacionales se hicieron con el monopolio del mercado mediático, y terminaron por convertirse en el medio dominante en el que se desarrollaba la comunicación política. Esta etapa se denominó "la era de la televisión" o "el período moderno de las campañas electorales". A diferencia de la primera fase derivada de la posguerra, en esta segunda etapa la

⁶⁷ Pedreira, E., Berrocal, S. (coord.) y otros, *Comunicación Política en Televisión y Nuevos Medios*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2003, p. 56.

⁶⁸ Crespo Ismael, Garrido Antonio, Carletta Iliana, Riorda Mario. *Manual de Comunicación Política y Estrategias de Campaña*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Biblos, 2001.

⁶⁹ Tasente, T. (2020). The 4 phases of evolution of political communication systems: from the golden age of the parties to the golden age of the users. *Technium Social Sciences Journal*, 2, 76–83.

<https://doi.org/10.47577/tssj.v2i1.50>

crisis de desconfianza social que azotó a los medios también fue dirigida a los políticos, quienes vieron una grave disminución en la lealtad y confianza de sus votantes. Asimismo, en este momento se produjo el paso de la comunicación directa a la comunicación en horarios de máxima audiencia.

La tercera fase de la evolución de los sistemas de comunicación política comenzó a gestarse a finales del siglo XX y principios del XXI y se denominó "período postmoderno" o "era digital". En este último periodo de desarrollo de la comunicación política se han producido importantes cambios tanto en la tecnología como en el comportamiento de los votantes y en las estrategias de comunicación. En concreto, uno de los fenómenos más destacables es el paso de los *spin doctors* a las redes sociales⁷⁰. En el contexto político, tradicionalmente el fenómeno de *spin* -entendido en español como "giro" -, ha estado asociado con estereotípicas imágenes de conferencias de prensa del gobierno en las que se daba por hecho que el secretario de prensa en cuestión o el funcionario del gobierno tenía un interés en comunicar un mensaje político para obtener un resultado deseado, a menudo en detrimento de la transmisión de toda la verdad de una situación. En tales situaciones, la sala de conferencias de prensa se denomina a veces "sala de giro" y el calendario de sesiones informativas "ciclo de giro"⁷¹. Con la introducción de los medios sociales a principios de la década de 2000, la hegemonía de los medios de comunicación de masas quedó en entredicho y la comunicación política cambió radicalmente. La prevalencia de los medios sociales en la política ha hecho que los partidos y los funcionarios sean más accesibles y responsables ante los ciudadanos. "Ahora, los ciudadanos pueden reaccionar inmediatamente ante un acontecimiento e incluso pueden influir en lo que se dice utilizando los medios sociales para unirse y formar una masa", explica el Dr. Darren Lilleker, Director del *Centre for Politics and Media Research* de la universidad de Bournemouth en Reino Unido⁷².

⁷⁰ *From spin doctors to social media: The evolution of political communication* | Bournemouth University. (2018, 10 agosto). Bournemouth University UK. <https://www.bournemouth.ac.uk/news/2018-08-10/spin-doctors-social-media-evolution-political-communication>

⁷¹ Braun, S. (2016). *Political spin* | *politics*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/political-spin>

⁷² *From spin doctors to social media: The evolution of political communication* | Bournemouth University. (2018, 10 agosto). Bournemouth University UK. <https://www.bournemouth.ac.uk/news/2018-08-10/spin-doctors-social-media-evolution-political-communication>

Después de 1990, para muchos otros países democráticos y después de 2000, para otros países totalitarios, la comunicación política ha sufrido una fuerte transformación en los que se consideran sus tres pilares fundamentales⁷³:

1. El cambio del canal de comunicación y sus características muy diferentes de los medios clásicos. A través de las redes sociales, el líder político se ha convertido además en un “líder electrónico”⁷⁴, cuya estrategia de actuación no radica en su conocimiento de los temas objeto de discusión, sino en generar gestos simbólicos y espectaculares que centren la atención del público sobre su persona. El líder electrónico no tiene pueblo; tiene público, tiene espectadores.
2. Lo relacionado con el contenido del mensaje y el discurso político y, quizás, el aspecto más importante. Como afirma D.H. Weaver, “de la misma forma que se puede concebir un elenco de temas de atención posible ante unos comicios, es posible pensar también en términos de catálogo de candidatos clasificados conforme a la cantidad de cobertura periodística que reciben”⁷⁵. La recepción de la imagen y su interpretación por parte del público se convierte en un mecanismo clave en la comunicación política.
3. La capacidad del público de participar activamente en los actos de gobierno o en las acciones de protesta que cuestionan los actos de gobierno. De acuerdo con Salomé Berrocal: “El problema estriba en que, cada vez más, nuestro conocimiento del entorno se produce a través del medio audiovisual, mientras que disminuye la experiencia directa”⁷⁶.

Unificando todos estos factores podría decirse que en las últimas décadas los medios de comunicación masivos y la rapidez de las redes sociales han hecho de la comunicación política un mecanismo de *personalización*, donde es el individuo político, el candidato, quien, a través de su propia imagen, se comunica directamente con la masa en un ciclo de persuasión infinito. La democracia, que hasta ahora defendía una nueva forma de comunicación política basada en la discusión racional de las ideas y el análisis de los hechos, se ha transformado en la exhibición de unos líderes que realizan llamadas a lo emocional, olvidando la necesaria pedagogía y argumentación de la política⁷⁷.

⁷³ Tasente, T. (2020). The 4 phases of evolution of political communication systems: from the golden age of the parties to the golden age of the users. *Technium Social Sciences Journal*, 2, 76–83.
<https://doi.org/10.47577/tssj.v2i1.50>

⁷⁴ Pedreira, E., Berrocal, S. (coord.) y otros, *Comunicación Política en Televisión y Nuevos Medios*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2003, p. 65.

⁷⁵ Ídem, p. 63.

⁷⁶ Ídem, p. 63.

⁷⁷ Ídem, p. 57.

2.3.3 LA PERSONALIZACIÓN DE LA POLÍTICA

Estados Unidos siempre ha estado a la vanguardia del mundo. Más recientemente es posible que su liderazgo internacional, e incluso nacional, se haya visto puesto en jaque por otros actores y poderes políticos, pero en esencia, el continente americano ha tendido a ser el predecesor de muchas de las ideas y actuaciones implementadas posteriormente en Europa y el resto del mundo. Por ello no es de extrañar, que fuese allí donde la personalización política comenzó a ganar más y más fuerza, primero de la mano de la televisión y la fotografía, y seguidamente de la mano de las redes sociales y nuevos formatos audiovisuales de comunicación fugaz.

Pero ¿qué es la personalización política? ¿De dónde viene? ¿Resulta de un fenómeno reciente y por tanto sin precedentes a lo largo de la historia o sin embargo, al igual que la evolución de la imagen y de la opinión pública, ha ido desarrollándose levemente hasta alcanzar su máximo exponencial con el veloz desarrollo tecnológico y mediático iniciado en el siglo XX?

James Fallows, periodista y escritor estadounidense, destaca la existencia histórica de innumerables celebridades políticas y periodísticas que ya fueron anticipando y propiciando la tendencia mediática de este acentuado individualismo político. “Pero había una diferencia entre ellos y la mayoría de los corresponsales famosos de la televisión actual: llevaban consigo una sensación de autoridad, basada principalmente en sus reportajes de guerra en el lugar de los hechos, más que en la mera celebridad o en la importancia que adquirieron al ser asignados a una fuente importante como la Casa Blanca. Su audiencia podía asumir que cualquier cosa a la que estas figuras dedicaran su atención era importante y digna de atención por parte del público en general”⁷⁸. Salomé Berrocal también defiende esta aproximación histórica a la personalización política señalando, a su vez, el papel indispensable que juegan en ella los ciudadanos: “Los ciudadanos son también colaboradores en el fenómeno de la personalización en política. [...] La Historia nos demuestra una y otra vez cómo quienes han ejercido el poder han tenido siempre presente el juicio y las reacciones que sus medidas de gobierno merecían por parte de sus súbditos. Ni el más autoritario de los gobernantes se ha permitido gobernar de espaldas a la población”⁷⁹.

Hay quienes lo consideran un fenómeno que ha ido en aumento conforme evolucionaban los sistemas comunicativos de la sociedad y que, además, pueden incluso llegar a tener un

⁷⁸ Fallows, J. (1997). *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy*. Vintage books, Random House, p. 54.

⁷⁹ Pedreira, E., Berrocal, S. (coord.) y otros, *Comunicación Política en Televisión y Nuevos Medios*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2003, p. 59.

componente antropológico similar al de la representación artística. Para Régis Debray, “La personalización, lo mismo en estética que en política, está en razón creciente de la desimbolización. Un artista cuya obra queda bloqueada tiene tanto más interés en dramatizar su vida. En sentido inverso, cuanto más simboliza una obra tanto mayores son para el artista las posibilidades de ausentarse de la escena. En cambio, cuanto menos nos cautiva la obra tanto más debe hacernos estremecer la persona del artista; y meter en nuestra existencia el esoterismo teatral que ya no emana de su trabajo”⁸⁰.

En cambio, hay quienes opinan que este fenómeno es una consecuencia directa de la cultura visual generada por los medios de comunicación y una imposición por parte de estos que se extiende a todos los ámbitos, pero afecta principalmente al juego político: “La política ha tenido que adaptarse a un nuevo paisaje; ya no tiene espacio propio, es el régimen mediático el que impone el escenario. La nueva lógica de la práctica política debe bastar a lo que se podría denominar ‘política de visibilidad’, potenciada y administrada por el sistema de comunicación...La política es hoy inviable sin la visibilidad que proporciona aquél, razón por la que los políticos han de aparecer en este si quieren dotarse de las imágenes y la notoriedad adecuadas con las que hacer frente a la competencia electoral”⁸¹. Existe una nueva relación tóxica en la que los candidatos contemporáneos necesitan a los medios de comunicación porque el electorado observa en los *mass-media* las informaciones y propuestas de sus dirigentes. La influencia de los medios es importante en la adquisición de conocimientos del electorado y en su decisión sobre quién debe gobernar.

La fotógrafa norteamericana, Dorothea Lange, afirma que todo lo que un individuo es capaz de creer llega a convertirse en propaganda. “Todo es propaganda de lo que uno cree. Cuanto más intensa y profundamente crees en algo, más propagandista te vuelves”⁸². El escritor Brendan Bruce, en su libro *Images of Power*, refleja a través de anécdotas con distintos líderes políticos la importancia adquirida por la estética e imagen que presentan en televisión. Señala que Kennedy, Nixon y Reagan utilizaban gafas, aunque nunca en televisión ya que mantenían que la mirada y expresión de los ojos era fundamental; de la misma manera, Reagan, para aparentar menos edad en su primer encuentro en Génova con Gorbachev, bajó las escalerillas del avión

⁸⁰ Debray, R., *Vida y Muerte de la Imagen: historia de la mirada en Occidente*, Paidós Comunicación, Barcelona, 1994, p. 56.

⁸¹ Pedreira, E., Berrocal, S. (coord.) y otros, *Comunicación Política en Televisión y Nuevos Medios*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2003, p. 57.

⁸² Fontcuberta, J., *El beso de Judas: fotografía y verdad*, 2ªed, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1998, p. 155.

con una camisa como única prenda de abrigo, mientras que Gorbachev le esperaba con ropa pasada de moda, un abrigo y una bufanda⁸³.

Otro ejemplo de posible percepción propagandística de la personalización política serían los debates electorales en 1960 entre Richard Nixon y John Kennedy, los cuales supusieron, no sólo un cambio a la hora de estudiar los efectos provocados por los medios en la audiencia, sino también la apertura a un nuevo tipo de influencia provocada por la imagen. El mismo Nixon, en su libro *Seis crisis*, afirma que la derrota electoral se debió en gran medida a que no supo estar en este nuevo medio: “Dediqué demasiado esfuerzo a la sustancia del mensaje, y demasiado poco al aspecto”⁸⁴. Joe McGinnis en *Cómo se vende un presidente*, indica que “para el candidato en la televisión importa mucho menos que carezca de ideas. Es su personalidad la que los televidentes desean captar. El estilo se transforma en el quid de la sustancia”⁸⁵.

Por su parte el fotógrafo español, Joan Fontcuberta, considera que en el contexto de la cultura de los medios, los conceptos de verdad y falsedad han perdido cualquier validez; sino que todo es verdadero y falso a la vez. “El mundo se deviene en un gran teatro, ya no hay divorcio entre realidad y representación. Las conferencias de prensa, las convenciones políticas, los eventos deportivos, las grandes conmemoraciones, incluso algunas guerras, se han convertido en elaboradísimas dramaturgias con actores y figurantes, a los que se ha asignado un punto de vista fijo ante la cámara”⁸⁶. En “Du mensonge en politique”, su autora Hanna Arendt denuncia que “la política está hecha, por un lado, de la fabricación de cierta ‘imagen’; y por el otro, del arte de hacer creer en la realidad de esta imagen”⁸⁷.

El cuidado de la imagen en los políticos, y el nacimiento de una profesión dirigida a salvaguardar esa estética, destaca como un efecto más de la incursión televisiva en la vida política. Esta afirmación tiene suma importancia en la organización de las campañas electorales, ya que la televisión se convierte en el ‘objeto de deseo’ de la publicidad política para llegar a sus electores⁸⁸. En su tesis doctoral sobre la construcción de imágenes en los anuncios televisivos, Allan Loudon argumenta que la imagen es “más que el mensaje proyectado por el candidato o que la película creada para el votante. La imagen es una

⁸³ Pedreira, E., Berrocal, S. (coord.) y otros, *Comunicación Política en Televisión y Nuevos Medios*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2003, p. 68.

⁸⁴ Ídem, p. 69.

⁸⁵ Ídem, p. 68.

⁸⁶ Fontcuberta, J., *El beso de Judas: fotografía y verdad*, 2ªed, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1998, p. 157.

⁸⁷ Pedreira, E., Berrocal, S. (coord.) y otros, *Comunicación Política en Televisión y Nuevos Medios*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2003, p. 67.

⁸⁸ Ídem, p. 71.

evaluación negociada y construida por los candidatos y votantes en una aventura compartida. En otras palabras, las creencias que los votantes tienen acerca de los candidatos están basadas en una interacción o interdependencia entre lo que los candidatos hacen y la respuesta evaluada que los votantes emiten sobre ellas”⁸⁹.

⁸⁹ Louden, A.D., *Image Construction in Political Spot Advertising: the Hunt/Helms Senate Campaign*, 1984, Universidad de Carolina del Sur.

2.4 LOS PERIÓDICOS

2.4.1 WALL STREET JOURNAL

El Wall Street Journal, fundado a finales de 1880, es un periódico principalmente centrado en la cobertura de noticias económicas y financieras. Su fundador fue Charles H. Dow, de Dow Jones & Company, periodista y economista estadounidense nacido en Connecticut en 1851 quien, después de varios años como reportero de noticias financieras, decidió crear junto con su compañero, Edward Jones, la compañía Dow Jones & Company. Fue a través de ella donde comenzaron a publicar periódicamente noticias financieras y análisis de la bolsa estadounidense en un formato entendible para la mayoría de los ciudadanos (su llamado Customer's Afternoon Letter). En un período en el que no existía ningún medio de comunicación que proporcionase a la gente este tipo de accesibilidad al funcionamiento del mercado financiero, y donde los periodistas aceptaban sobornos a cambio de priorizar unos mercados frente a otros en los artículos, Charles Dow se ganó una reputación de imparcialidad analítica y objetividad informativa que ha acompañado a su legado hasta la actualidad.

La popularidad del Customer's Afternoon Letter, que ya circulaba en cerca de miles de ejemplares por todo el país, fue lo que llevó a Dow y Jones a fundar The Wall Street Journal. Su primer número llegó a los quioscos el 8 de julio de 1889. el dúo decidió utilizar el formato más amplio y caro del periódico hasta el momento, para transmitir cada vez más información financiera y facilitar que el público estuviera informado. The Wall Street Journal pronto se convirtió en el periódico más leído de Estados Unidos y en la fuente más fiable y consistente de información bursátil. Ante la estrategia de las empresas de ocultar sus beneficios con un exceso de información, dificultando así la comprensión del mercado por parte de los ciudadanos, Dow y Jones decidieron apostar por ofrecer a la gente la misma calidad de información que hasta ese momento sólo estaba disponible para los entendidos en economía o finanzas.

Asimismo cabe destacar que Charles H. Dow no sólo supuso un antes y un después en la distribución y entendimiento de la información bursátil, sino que también revolucionó en el mercado financiero con su famosa teoría Dow, estableciendo un marco técnico que predice que el mercado se encuentra en una tendencia alcista si uno de sus promedios avanza por encima de un máximo importe anterior, acompañado o seguido de un avance similar en el otro promedio⁹⁰. Sus índices de mercado se han convertido en puntos de referencia para medir la

⁹⁰ Beattie, A. (2020). *Giants of Finance: Charles Dow*. Investopedia.
<https://www.investopedia.com/articles/financial-theory/08/charles-dow.asp>

actuación del mercado y sus profesionales frente a una imagen de la economía general, así como también en una fuente de datos para alimentar todo tipo de teorías, estrategias y análisis financieros⁹¹.

En el año 1901 el periódico Wall Street cambió de dueño al periodista económico Clarence Walter Barron, considerado como el padre del periodismo financiero moderno. Bajo su mandato, The Wall Street Journal comenzó a incluir noticias importantes y boletines en sus publicaciones, además de las estadísticas y un análisis detallado de las tendencias financieras del mercado. Tras su fallecimiento en 1928, un año antes del famoso Jueves Negro que sacudió el mundo financiero para el resto del siglo XX, sus descendientes fueron ocupando su cargo de manera sucesiva hasta el año 2007. Otro cambio sustancial en la trayectoria del periódico ocurrió en 1941 con la llegada de Bernard Kilgore. Como director de edición del periódico fue el primero en ampliar los temas incluidos en el medio hacia “preguntas más profundas”⁹² e informar no sólo las noticias espontáneas sino también acerca de las tendencias y situaciones globales. Fue durante su mandato que The Wall Street Journal consiguió su primer Pulitzer (de un total de 23 en toda su historia) por el editorial de William Henry Grimes.

En el año 2007, el periódico fue comprado por Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. El magnate a su vez también se convirtió en el principal inversor de la empresa Dow Jones & Company, obteniendo casi todos los derechos relacionados con The Wall Street Journal⁹³. Desde entonces, el periódico financiero ha cambiado su enfoque y cobertura incluyendo cada vez más temas políticos, noticias y asuntos internacionales entre sus informaciones. Es importante destacar que la familia Murdoch es de los principales accionistas y propietarios de News Corp y Fox Corp - dentro de la que se incluyen Fox News, Fox Sports y Fox Network - . News Corp también es dueña de The New York Post, Times of London y The Sun UK, así como varios periódicos en Australia.

La empresa Fox News ha sido descrito en varias ocasiones por practicar un periodismo sesgado a favor del Partido Republicano de los Estados Unidos, sus políticos y las causas más conservadoras, retratando de forma negativa o con menor cobertura al Partido Demócrata y sus

⁹¹ Ídem.

⁹² Ciberperiodista1516, V. T. L. E. (2015, 15 diciembre). *Historia y tipología del cibermedio The Wall Street Journal*. Periodismo en construcción. <https://uvaciberperiodismo.wordpress.com/2015/12/11/historia-y-tipologia-del-cibermedio-the-wall-street-journal/>

⁹³ Alpert, L. I. (2020, 1 agosto). *James Murdoch Resigns From News Corp Board*. WSJ. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/james-murdoch-resigns-from-news-corp-board-11596232364>

derivados⁹⁴. Durante la presidencia de Donald Trump (2016-2020), algunos observadores han criticado la tendencia de Fox News Channel de servir como medio “propagandístico” de la administración, mientras que otros académicos han llegado a hablar de la similitud de la compañía con una forma de “medio de comunicación estatal”⁹⁵.

La página editorial del Wall Street Journal resume la filosofía de este como partidaria de “mercados libres y personas libres”⁹⁶. Normalmente está considerado más adherido al conservadurismo americano y al liberalismo económico. La página adopta un punto de vista de libre mercado en cuestiones económicas y una visión a menudo neoconservadora de la política exterior estadounidense⁹⁷. Cabe destacar que tanto en las elecciones presidenciales de 2016, entre Hillary Clinton y Donald Trump, y la campaña electoral de 2020, entre Joe Biden y Donald Trump, la página editorial del Wall Street Journal se ha posicionado en contra del voto favorable al candidato del partido republicano. En sus primeras elecciones, el candidato Donald Trump fue calificado como “inestable” y “psicológicamente deficiente para ocupar la presidencia de EEUU”⁹⁸ por parte de la columnista Dorothy Rabinowitz, mientras que en su segunda campaña electoral, el equipo editorial advirtió públicamente al partido republicano que el Donald Trump no iba a ser reelegido presidente de los Estados Unidos para un segundo mandato⁹⁹.

El Wall Street Journal fue el periódico de mayor difusión de Estados Unidos hasta su sorpase por el USA Today en noviembre de 2003.

⁹⁴ Skocpol, Theda; Williamson, Vanessa (September 1, 2016). *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 5, 8, 86, 123, 125, 130–140. “The challenge of spreading and germinating the Tea Party idea was surmounted with impressive ease because a major sector of the U.S. media today is openly partisan—including Fox News Channel, the right-wing “blogosphere,” and a nationwide network of right-wing talk radio programs. This aptly named conservative media “echo chamber” reaches into the homes of many Americans ... Towering above all others is the Fox News empire, the loudest voice in conservative media. Despite its claim to be “fair and balanced,” multiple studies have documented FNC’s conservative stance ... Fox News’s conservative slant encourages a particular worldview”.

⁹⁵ Boot, Max (August 8, 2017). “Fox News Has Completed Its Transformation Into Trump TV”. *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved October 17, 2019.

⁹⁶ New World Encyclopedia Writers. (s. f.). *The Wall Street Journal - New World Encyclopedia*. New World Encyclopedia. Recuperado 27 de junio de 2021, de https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/The_Wall_Street_Journal#cite_note-4

⁹⁷ Ídem

⁹⁸ Expansión. (2016, 1 octubre). *Columnista de Wall Street Journal pide votar por Clinton para evitar un desastre*. <https://expansion.mx/mundo/2016/09/30/columnista-del-wall-street-journal-pide-a-los-votantes-elegir-a-clinton-y-no-a-trump>

⁹⁹ The Editorial Board. (2021, 15 febrero). *Trump’s Non-Vindication*. WSJ. https://www.wsj.com/articles/trumps-non-vindication-11613342554?mod=opinion_lead_pos1

2.4.2 USA TODAY

Fundado el 15 de septiembre de 1982, USA Today es el periódico generalista de mayor tirada en Estados Unidos con aproximadamente 2,25 millones de copias diarias (salvo fines de semana, días en los que no publica)¹⁰⁰. Su fundador y propietario, Allen Neuharth, resultó ampliamente rompedor al diferenciar al periódico de aquellos más tradicionales ofreciendo noticias resumidas y breves a través de llamativas impresiones a color en una época donde todavía se estilaban piezas informativas largas e impresión en blanco y negro.

Neuharth fue el fundador y presidente asesor del Freedom Forum, una fundación no partidista que defiende la Primera Enmienda como piedra angular de la democracia americana. Posteriormente fue presidente del Foro de la Libertad (de 1991 a 1997) y fue administrador de su predecesora, la Fundación Gannett (de 1965 a 1991) siendo además presidente de la misma entre 1986 y 1991.

Sirvió como soldado de infantería de combate en la Segunda Guerra Mundial después de finalizar sus estudios en el instituto y, posteriormente, en 1950, se graduó en periodismo por la Universidad de Dakota del Sur. Comenzó su carrera editorial en 1952 fundando un periódico deportivo de ámbito estatal en su Dakota del Sur natal, y se incorporó a Gannett en la década de 1960 creando un diario de ámbito estatal en Florida¹⁰¹. Ayudó a llevar a Gannett desde sus participaciones iniciales en pequeños periódicos del norte del estado de Nueva York a una base más nacional. Tras su nombramiento como presidente de Gannett en 1978, Neuharth comenzó a desarrollar la idea de un diario nacional poniendo en marcha un sistema de información por satélite que permitiese a las plantas editoras de las costas este y oeste publicar simultáneamente la misma información desde un satélite. Asimismo, a principios de la década de 1980 Neuharth insistió en el creciente mercado que estaba empezando a tomar forma para un periódico de carácter nacional: con el aumento exponencial de los viajes de negocios, los periódicos

¹⁰⁰ R. (2012, 17 septiembre). *USA Today rediseña su masterbrand*. Brandemia. <https://brandemia.org/usa-today-redisena-su-masterbrand>

¹⁰¹ *Al Neuharth*. (s. f.). Freedom Forum. Recuperado 30 de junio de 2021, de https://www.freedomforum.org/about/al-neuharth/?_cf_chl_jschl_tk_=67316f6e9974a6b753c2dde4b5456ac88459487f-1623769332-0-AV3oDLrE3G3SB2UtxvT6Nr1qj-X_U1enX_664fbT6gBkRna4AL620H6e8VK0p8z07HJzYoqo_UoZCwXt1rwTBSph_TiPOqxdq-U6O61kMRMZfnG5vEZ5c4ztfsoYgEgD4jmC0kVHelogbYSDEdhjFBupBCu_ePCZCirO-IjELSojwwelkxusB1IN0arWpq-bDQGee4mF150hYSW_aPMruUnJTeMy54xCQu39_XEA09TtVvw3pov3N8t270d0fOeGqnuMNPc9DF0yHF_RupuDSHeUrkpFAxVc7N0MnC_piOXNAcxqSD2E3Vg5ItGrXx3E0FEtA-9aYKDBjd9PfnjqTE_kkVPwitV4KQmePCffOr2jwq9xfQvxRoBRvywnMUA4fiS_LIb7iOqtFPknJBoaO5JOkU_QYmFxxrHAgO0sWu25YRzelzXXLuxr_ZWa8zn0xwVy6_z4Ks6UANiZ_p57b8SSa2CK6ITg3F6TQBe4YK_OX2

estatales y locales perderían peso frente a la difusión de noticias estándares de una ciudad a otra que permitiesen a los viajeros encontrar la misma información en cualquier lugar del país. "Cuando (un viajero) se levanta por la mañana su primer pensamiento es: '¿En qué ciudad estoy?'... El periódico local no significa nada para él"¹⁰².

Como parte de la misión editorial del medio incluida en el primer número del USA Today, Neuharth publicó que su principal objetivo era que su periódico "sirviera como foro para un mejor entendimiento y unidad para ayudar a hacer de los EE.UU. una verdadera nación"¹⁰³. Cada sección de su periódico - Noticias, Dinero, Deportes y Vida - era un intento deliberado de cumplir esta creencia de Neuharth: por ejemplo, la sección de noticias presentaba un desglose por estados de las noticias más importantes, ofreciendo a los lectores una muestra de los acontecimientos de todo el país. A día de hoy, la sección de deportes constituye la piedra angular del periódico.

Las críticas al USA Today comenzaron al poco de sus primeras publicaciones, principalmente centradas en el propio aspecto del periódico. Este se vendía en máquinas expendedoras que estaban diseñadas para parecerse a los televisores, algo que llevó a los críticos a acusar al periódico de una cobertura informativa tan superficial como la de la televisión. El periódico también publicaba fotografías a color en las primeras páginas de cada una de sus secciones, en una época en la que la fotografía en color tenía un coste prohibitivo para muchos periódicos ya circulantes y era considerada demasiado llamativa. El New York Times, por ejemplo, era conocido como "La Dama Gris"¹⁰⁴ por sus permanentes publicaciones en blanco y negro. Neuharth también tomó la decisión de sustituir las largas historias de los periódicos por piezas informativas más cortas acompañadas de barras laterales, y un mayor uso de gráficos y tablas. El lema del periódico pronto se convirtió en "Una economía de palabras. Una riqueza de información"¹⁰⁵.

A pesar del cinismo que se desarrolló hacia la prensa durante las décadas de 1980 y 1990 debido a los escándalos políticos, el aumento de prejuicios ideológicos y culturales y las tácticas informativas de los paparazzi (especialmente a partir de la muerte de la princesa Diana de Gales en 1997), Neuharth decidió salir a pie de calle y luchar contra el rechazo popular entrevistando a personas de todos los estados y dedicándole a cada uno de los 50 estados una columna regular

¹⁰² St. James Encyclopedia of Popular Culture. (2021). *USA Today*. Encyclopedia.Com.

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/media/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/usa-today>

¹⁰³ Ídem

¹⁰⁴ Ídem

¹⁰⁵ Ídem

en el USA Today que conmemorase el bicentenario de la Constitución¹⁰⁶. Para finales de 1990, el USA Today - que había comenzado en 1982 con tan solo dos oficinas nacionales - contaba con cuatro oficinas nacionales y varias en el extranjero, así como también una circulación nacional de 1.62 millones de lectores en marzo de 1997. Thomas Frank, conocido crítico del periódico *The Baffler*, publicó en su momento que “USA Today es posiblemente el periódico más cuidadosamente editado y altamente pulido de la nación. Ha trazado el camino que casi todos los periódicos del país están siguiendo actualmente”¹⁰⁷. A finales de 1997, “La Dama Gris”, el *New York Times*, comenzó a publicar sus fotografías en color en todas las secciones de sus ediciones diarias (seguido por *The Washington Post* dos años después).

Actualmente, Allen Neuharth es considerado un reinventor de la prensa de masas al hacer del USA Today un periódico impreso fácil de leer, tanto por su contenido como por su presentación gráfica¹⁰⁸. Su modelo visual y la compaginación de densos temas político-económicos con otros más culturales y ociosos (salud, alimentación, etc.) hicieron de su modelo comunicativo todo un éxito entre los ciudadanos de a pie y provocaron la transformación de la amplia mayoría de la prensa norteamericana. La preponderancia del color, la estructuración en cuadernillos temáticos en los que se otorga una importancia especial a los temas no políticos (salud, ecología, alimentación, etc.), la importancia de la infografía... son aspectos que están presentes en la confección de un buen número de periódicos hoy en día¹⁰⁹.

Dentro del espectro político, el USA Today siempre se ha caracterizado por mantener una notable imparcialidad y neutralidad hacia las noticias de actualidad política, especialmente cuando la sección deportiva es aquella de mayor peso dentro del periódico. Según lo publicado por AllSides Media Bias Rating Center en su análisis de Abril/Mayo 2021¹¹⁰ los lectores del USA Today tienden hacia una postura más de centroizquierda, favorable al partido demócrata. En las últimas dos elecciones presidenciales, en 2016 y 2020, el diario ha roto con su longeva

¹⁰⁶ Ídem

¹⁰⁷ Prichard, Peter S. *The Making of McPaper: The Inside Story of USA Today*. New York, Andrews, McMeel & Parker, 1987.

¹⁰⁸ *USA Today*. (s. f.). Newsroom History. Recuperado 30 de junio de 2021, de <https://newsroomhistory.com/newspaper/usa-today/>

¹⁰⁹ Ídem

¹¹⁰ *USA TODAY Media Bias Rating*. (2021, 14 junio). AllSides. <https://www.allsides.com/news-source/usa-today-media-bias>

tradición de imparcialidad política al posicionarse públicamente en contra del candidato republicano, Donald Trump, en ambas ocasiones¹¹¹¹¹².

Actualmente el USA Today es el periódico de mayor difusión de Estados Unidos seguido muy de cerca por el Wall Street Journal.

¹¹¹ The Editorial Board, USA TODAY. (2016, 30 septiembre). *USA TODAY's Editorial Board: Trump is «unfit for the presidency»*. USA Today. <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/09/29/dont-vote-for-donald-trump-editorial-board-editorials-debates/91295020/>

¹¹² Pascual, J. (2016, 2 octubre). *El editorial de USA Today rompe su tradición y se posiciona en contra de Trump*. El Plural. https://www.elplural.com/politica/el-editorial-de-usa-today-rompe-su-tradicion-y-se-posiciona-en-contra-de-trump_94176102

3. TRABAJO DE CAMPO

3.1 METODOLOGÍA

En este apartado procederemos al análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo de las imágenes ubicadas en las portadas de los periódicos USA Today y Wall Street Journal entre el 1 de enero de 2020 y el 31 de marzo de 2020. Para ello se ha realizado una plantilla de análisis en las que se analizarán los siguientes aspectos de cada fotografía:

- Nombre del periódico: en este apartado quedará plasmado si la fotografía analizada pertenece a periódico USA Today o al Wall Street Journal, de manera que quede registrado qué tipo de fotografías pertenecen a cada periódico y se pueda llevar a cabo el recuento cualitativo final.
- Fecha de publicación: este punto recogerá la fecha de publicación de la portada impresa del periódico en cuestión. De esta forma podremos ubicar en una línea temporal el tipo de imágenes que se publicaron en un periódico y en otro: primero en el mes de enero cuando todavía estaban presentándose diversos candidatos dentro de un mismo partido, seguidamente el mes de febrero en donde se realiza el famoso Iowa Caucus y comenzaron a perfilarse las figuras más representativas de los partidos y hay candidatos que comienzan a retirarse, y por último el mes de marzo, donde la campaña electoral ya comenzó a encaminarse hacia dos candidatos claros, uno por partido.
- Candidato que aparece en la imagen: este punto señalará qué candidato está retratado en la imagen, o qué partido político o rival en caso de aparecer candidatos activos en los primeros meses de campaña pero que decidieron retirarse posteriormente. De esta manera podrá cuantificarse la cantidad de veces que cada periódico publicó una fotografía relacionada con un candidato u otro y su partido político correspondiente en el período de tres meses.
- Tamaño de la imagen: este apartado clasificará las imágenes analizadas siguiendo medidas señaladas por el diseño periodístico como grandes, medianas o pequeñas. Este aspecto será determinante para analizar la importancia que recibe la imagen dentro de una portada periodística.
- Posición en portada: este punto indicará la ubicación que la fotografía analizada tiene dentro de la portada. Este dato, junto con el tamaño de la imagen, permitirá analizar la relevancia y el impacto de la imagen tanto en la portada en sí como en la noticia a la que acompañe.

- Plano y encuadre de la imagen: este apartado hará hincapié en las características más técnicas de la imagen, aludiendo a la posición del candidato dentro de la propia fotografía, el entorno en el que se encuentre y si está acompañado de más personas. Para ello se utilizarán términos propios del análisis fotográfico para referirse a los tipos de plano (general, medio, americano, primer plano, etc.).
- Descripción general: este punto recogerá los detalles más característicos de la imagen, como la gesticulación o la expresión facial de la(s) persona(s) representada(s), así como el entorno y la situación en la que se encuentren.
- Valoración: en este último apartado se realizará una valoración general de la imagen teniendo en cuenta todos los factores previamente analizados en la plantilla. La valoración podrá ser positiva, en caso de que el candidato aparezca con una gesticulación amigable o en un ambiente favorable; neutra, en caso de que el personaje no transmita ninguna expresión en particular o la noticia no haga referencia a su candidatura en la campaña; o negativa, si el candidato aparece cortado a mitad de frase, con mala gesticulación o mal encuadrado.

Como ya se ha mencionado al inicio de este trabajo de investigación debido a problemas de hemeroteca, no todas las portadas comprendidas entre las dos fechas mencionadas podrán ser analizadas al no poder acceder a ellas mediante internet u otros recursos bibliotecarios/de investigación académica. Asimismo, por motivo de las fechas seleccionadas para el análisis, en las cuales Donald Trump ejercía tanto de candidato del partido republicano como de presidente activo de Estados Unidos, se hará una distinción entre las fotografías oficiales en las que aparezca en calidad de presidente y aquellas que estén relacionadas con sus apariciones en campaña. De igual manera se tendrán en cuenta las fotografías relacionadas con el proceso de *impeachment* - o proceso de destitución - de Donald Trump y su administración, cuyo juicio político comenzó el 9 de febrero de 2020.

Para concluir el análisis se recopilarán las valoraciones generales de cada imagen, junto con los detalles más destacables de las mismas, y se procederá a la extracción de las ideas principales transmitidas por los cuadros descriptivos para así poder concluir si es posible, o no, que las fotografías visualizadas entre el período de tiempo seleccionado de la campaña presidencial estadounidense del año 2020, puedan haber sesgado o, en cierto sentido, perfilado, la percepción de alguno de los dos candidatos principales de cada partido político: Joe Biden por parte del partido demócrata, o Donald Trump como representante del partido republicano.

3.2 ANÁLISIS

3.2.1 USA Today

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	2 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	6 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	7 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Donald Trump
Tamaño de la imagen	La imagen del candidato es la más grande de entre todas las que aparecen en la portada del periódico
Posición en portada	Parte superior central
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Primer plano del candidato.
Descripción general de la imagen	El candidato republicano, Donald Trump aparece detrás de un micrófono aparentemente dando un discurso en Washington DC, como indica el titular debajo de la imagen. Trump parece estar a

	mitad de frase, con gesto de guasón y aire de superioridad y confianza en sí mismo.
Valoración	Negativa. El candidato no aparece favorecido en la imagen y las sensaciones que transmite son de chulería, superioridad y exceso de confianza.

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	8 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	10-12 Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	13 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Bernie Sanders (candidato demócrata)
Tamaño de la imagen	Pequeño
Posición en portada	Esquina superior derecha
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Primer plano del candidato.
Descripción general de la imagen	El candidato parece estar dando un discurso en un mitin del partido, micrófono en mano,

	delante de una bandera de los Estados Unidos.
Valoración	Neutra.

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	15 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	16 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada, aunque se hace mención del proceso de “impeachment” que se estaba llevando a cabo en el momento contra el entonces presidente republicano, Donald Trump, y su equipo.
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	Negativa

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	17-19 Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-

Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	21 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada, aunque se hace mención del proceso de “impeachment” que se estaba llevando a cabo en el momento contra el entonces presidente republicano, Donald Trump, y su equipo.
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	Negativa

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	24-26 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	27 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-

Valoración	-
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Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	28 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada, aunque se hace mención del proceso de “impeachment” que se estaba llevando a cabo en el momento contra el entonces presidente republicano, Donald Trump, y su equipo.
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	Negativa

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	29 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada, aunque se hace mención del proceso de “impeachment” que se estaba llevando a cabo en el momento contra el entonces presidente republicano, Donald Trump, y su equipo.
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	Negativa

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	31 de Enero – 2 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada,
Tamaño de la imagen	-

Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	Neutra

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	3 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Joe Biden junto con los otros seis candidatos demócratas que se presentaron al Iowa Caucus.
Tamaño de la imagen	Grande
Posición en portada	Parte central de la portada, abarcando toda la anchura del periódico
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Imágenes en primer plano de los siete candidatos demócratas.
Descripción general de la imagen	La imagen engloba una imagen diferente por cada candidato demócrata en primer plano: bien sonriendo o en un mitin propio. Todos ellos sonríen o se muestran en una postura de liderazgo y empoderamiento.
Valoración	Positiva.

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	6 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Donald Trump
Tamaño de la imagen	La imagen del candidato es la más grande de entre todas las que aparecen en la portada.
Posición en portada	Parte central de la portada, abarcando toda la anchura del periódico
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano americano de candidato
Descripción general de la imagen	La imagen muestra al candidato republicano, Donald Trump, caminando en exteriores, con gesto sombrío y de cansancio. Además también aparece con un puño medio levantado, como muestra de victoria y resiliencia. La imagen está acompañada de un enorme titular que dice “Absuelto” en referencia al proceso de “impeachment” que

	se estaba llevando a cabo entonces contra él y su equipo.
Valoración	Neutral

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	11 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Joe Biden
Tamaño de la imagen	La imagen del candidato es la más grande de entre todas las que aparecen en la portada.
Posición en portada	Parte central de la portada, lado derecho
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Primero plano del candidato y otra mujer de espaldas perteneciente al público.
Descripción general de la imagen	La imagen muestra al candidato demócrata, Joe Biden, en el mitin político de New Hampshire, sonriente y haciéndole un gesto de fuerza y valentía con los dos puños medio levantados a una mujer del público.
Valoración	Positiva

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	12 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	13 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Amy Klobuchar (candidata demócrata)
Tamaño de la imagen	Mediana
Posición en portada	Esquina inferior derecha
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano americano

Descripción general de la imagen	La candidata demócrata aparece detrás de un micrófono en lo que parece ser un mitin político, con gesto sonriente y optimista lleno de energía.
Valoración	Positiva

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	17 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	20 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	21-23 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Joe Biden, Donald Trump y otros candidatos de ambos partidos
Tamaño de la imagen	La imagen de los candidatos es la más grande de entre todas las que aparecen en la portada
Posición en portada	Centro
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Primer plano de cada uno de los seis candidatos
Descripción general de la imagen	La imagen constituye un mapa del país representando el porcentaje de votantes por

	<p>candidato en cada estado. Cada candidato está representado en un círculo de color diferente, intuyendo que por el partido al que pertenece. De entre todos ellos, Joe Biden es quien más sonriente aparece dentro de un círculo de color azul (claramente demócrata), mientras que Donald Trump sonría con el ceño fruncido, denotando un aire chulesco y no tan “simpático” como Biden. Su círculo es de un claro color rojo, representativo del partido republicano.</p>
Valoración	Positivo para Joen Biden, negativo para Donald Trump

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	25 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Donald Trump
Tamaño de la imagen	Pequeño
Posición en portada	Lateral izquierdo
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano americano
Descripción general de la imagen	El candidato Donald Trump aparece en calidad de presidente de los Estados Unidos, saludando al presidente de la India, Narendra Modi, en su visita oficial.
Valoración	Neutra

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	28 de Febrero – 1 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	2 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Joe Biden
Tamaño de la imagen	Grande
Posición en portada	Central
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano americano
Descripción general de la imagen	La imagen muestra a Joe Biden enfrentado a su contrincante de partido, Bernie Sanders, con cara seria; ambos metidos en profunda conversación.
Valoración	Neutra

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	3 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	6-8 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	10 de Marzo 2020

Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	17 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	19 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Donald Trump
Tamaño de la imagen	Pequeño
Posición en portada	Sección inferior
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Primer plano
Descripción general de la imagen	El candidato republicano, Donald Trump, aparece con gesto serio en calidad de presidente de los Estados Unidos, haciendo unas declaraciones en relación con el Acta de Producción para la Defensa para acelerar la producción de mascarillas, respiradores y otros materiales necesarios para los médicos tratando a pacientes con coronavirus.
Valoración	Neutra.

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	24 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	25 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	30 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	USA Today
Fecha	31 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-

Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

3.2.2 Wall Street Journal

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	2 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	3 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	4-5 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	6 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada

Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	7 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	9 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	10 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-

Valoración	-
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Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	13 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	15 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Joe Biden
Tamaño de la imagen	Mediano
Posición en portada	Mitad inferior
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano general
Descripción general de la imagen	La imagen representa al candidato demócrata Joe Biden, junto con dos de sus competidores de partido, Elizabeth Warren y Bernie Sanders, cada uno detrás de un micrófono en lo que parece ser el último debate antes de la votación de Iowa. Los tres parecen estar enzarzados en un rifirrafe, sin ningún gesto especialmente llamativo.
Valoración	Neutra

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	16 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Donald Trump
Tamaño de la imagen	Grande
Posición en portada	Mitad superior
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano americano

Descripción general de la imagen	El candidato republicano, Donald Trump, aparece en calidad de presidente de los Estados Unidos, sellando con un apretón de manos el nuevo acuerdo comercial entre China y EE. UU. con su homólogo, el vice premier Liu He.
Valoración	Neutra

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	18-19 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	21 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	24 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-

Valoración	-
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Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	25-26 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	27 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	28 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	29 de Enero 2020

Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	31 de Enero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	5 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Donald Trump
Tamaño de la imagen	Grande
Posición en portada	Central
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano medio
Descripción general de la imagen	El candidato republicano, Donald Trump, aparece sonriendo con gesto de satisfacción en el estrado de la Cámara de Representantes dando su discurso del “State of the Union”. Detrás de él se encuentra un sonriente vicepresidente, Mike Pence, y una sombría líder de la Cámara, Nancy Pelosi.
Valoración	Positiva

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	6 de Febrero 2020

Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Donald Trump
Tamaño de la imagen	Mediano
Posición en portada	Mitad superior
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano americano
Descripción general de la imagen	El candidato republicano, Donald Trump, aparece con su característico gesto victorioso con el pulgar hacia arriba mirando a cámara. Por la expresión de su cara, con la boca medio abierta, podríamos decir que se encontraba a mitad de frase cuando se le tomó la fotografía.
Valoración	Neutra

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	8-9 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	11 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Joe Biden junto con otros cuatro candidatos demócratas en New Hampshire
Tamaño de la imagen	Cada candidato está representado en una imagen individual de tamaño medio
Posición en portada	Mitad superior
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Primer plano
Descripción general de la imagen	Los cinco candidatos demócratas aparecen en primer plano, micrófono en mano, cada uno en su respectivo mitin político, apelando al público. Cabe destacar que, de los cinco, Joe Biden es el único que no está siendo fotografiado a mitad de frase, sino que

	aparece con gesto sereno y sonriente, mirando intensamente hacia delante.
Valoración	Positiva

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	13 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	18 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	19 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	20 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Joe Biden junto con otros tres candidatos demócratas en Las Vegas
Tamaño de la imagen	Grande
Posición en portada	Mitad superior
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano general
Descripción general de la imagen	Los cuatro candidatos aparecen en una misma imagen tomada del debate presidencial de Las Vegas. El momento enmarca a los candidatos en pleno debate, cada uno gesticulando hacia sus contrincantes en lo que parece ser un momento de alta tensión. En concreto Joe Biden se encuentra con ambas manos apoyadas en el atril y con gesto aparentemente sonriente mirando hacia el techo, sin establecer contacto visual con nadie; contrario que Bernie Sanders, quien se encuentra de cara a la audiencia, o Elizabeth Warren, que mira directamente a cámara.
Valoración	Positiva

Valoración	Wall Street Journal
Nombre del periódico	21 de Febrero 2020
Fecha	No aparece candidato en la portadas
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	-
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	22-23 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Donald Trump

Tamaño de la imagen	Grande
Posición en portada	Mitad superior
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Planos americanos
Descripción general de la imagen	El candidato republicano, Donald Trump, aparece representado en varios carteles dentro de una imagen que retrata la ciudad de Nueva Delhi, India, por la que atraviesan varios camellos. En los carteles, Trump aparece en calidad de presidente de los Estados Unidos, no como candidato republicano, junto con su homólogo indio, Narendra Modi. Ambos aparecen saludando y sonriendo al lado de titulares que auguran su buena relación y amistad.
Valoración	Positiva

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	25 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	28 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	29 de Febrero 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	2 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	3 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Joe Biden
Tamaño de la imagen	Grande
Posición en portada	Mitad superior
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano americano
Descripción general de la imagen	El candidato demócrata, Joe Biden, aparece sonriente junto a su ex rival, Peter Buttigieg, quien acaba de respaldarle públicamente como candidato a la presidencia de Estados Unidos. Biden es retratado con ambas manos en los hombros de su nuevo benefactor en el partido como gesto de agradecimiento. En el fondo se puede percibir el gesto sonriente de varios asistentes al mitin, mientras otros toman fotografías con sus teléfonos móviles.

Valoración	Positiva
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Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	6 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Elizabeth Warren
Tamaño de la imagen	Pequeño
Posición en portada	Esquina inferior derecha
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano general
Descripción general de la imagen	La candidata del partido demócrata y rival de Joe Biden dentro del partido, Elizabeth Warren, se encuentra rodeada de micrófonos y periodistas mientras anuncia pública su retirada de la carrera presidencial tras los malos resultados en las primarias.
Valoración	Neutra

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	10 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	Bernie Sanders
Tamaño de la imagen	Pequeño
Posición en portada	Mitad inferior
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	Plano medio
Descripción general de la imagen	El candidato del partido demócrata y rival de Joe Biden dentro del partido, Bernie Sanders, aparece sentado en una mesa de diálogo junto con dos de sus asesores de campaña. Sanders parece estar escuchando con atención a uno de los participantes de la mesa, con gesto serio y meditativo. El pie de foto que acompaña informa de los grandes esfuerzos que quiere hacer el candidato de cara a ganar el estado de Michigan frente a su rival, Joe Biden.
Valoración	Neutra

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	13 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	19 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	21-22 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	26 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-

Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	27 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

Nombre del periódico	Wall Street Journal
Fecha	31 de Marzo 2020
Candidato que aparece en la imagen	No aparece candidato en la portada
Tamaño de la imagen	-
Posición en portada	-
Plano y encuadre de la imagen	-
Descripción general de la imagen	-
Valoración	-

3.2.3 Resumen Analítico

Después de realizar el análisis cuantitativo, así como cualitativo, de las portadas encontradas de los periódicos norteamericanos USA Today y Wall Street Journal durante el período de tiempo señalado - 1 de enero de 2020 y 31 de marzo de 2020 -, es posible concluir que, de un total de 76 portadas, la cantidad de imágenes publicadas sobre el partido demócrata y el partido republicano apenas varía en número: contando un total de 12 portadas “dedicadas” al partido demócrata y 13 portadas “dedicadas” al partido republicano.

Por un lado, de las 12 portadas en las que figura el partido demócrata, 6 de ellas pertenecen al periódico USA Today, y 6 al Wall Street Journal. De la misma forma, de las 6 fotografías en ambos periódicos, en 4 de ellas aparecen fotografías en las que aparece exclusiva o principalmente el candidato demócrata finalista, Joe Biden, y 2 de ellas incluyen imágenes en las que figuran otros candidatos del partido demócrata - que posteriormente se retiraron de la campaña presidencial o se sumaron a la candidatura de Biden -.

Por otro lado, de las 13 portadas en las que figura el partido republicano, 9 de ellas pertenecen al USA Today, y 4 de ellas al Wall Street Journal. De las 9 fotografías publicadas por el USA Today, todas ellas incluyen al candidato republicano principal, Donald Trump: 4 de ellas le retratan en eventos o mítines políticos de campaña, 4 hacen referencia al proceso de *impeachment* que se llevó a cabo en su contra a inicios del año 2020 - mostrando imágenes en los tribunales de varios trabajadores de la Administración Trump así como el propio presidente/candidato en los tribunales -, y 1 fotografía retrata a Donald Trump en calidad de presidente de los Estados Unidos, no como candidato del partido republicano a las elecciones presidenciales, en su viaje oficial a la India durante el primer trimestre de 2020. Asimismo de las 4 fotografías publicadas por el periódico Wall Street Journal, 2 de ellas retratan a Donald Trump en momentos de la campaña electoral, y otras 2 muestran al candidato republicano en calidad de presidente, 1 de ellas durante la proclamación de su discurso del State of the Union, y otra fotografía, al igual que en periódico USA Today, informa sobre su viaje a la India mostrando al presidente estadounidense junto a su homólogo indio, Narendra Modi. Ni en el periódico USA Today ni en el Wall Street Journal aparece alguna imagen que muestre a otros candidatos republicanos durante la campaña presidencial de 2020.

También cabe destacar que, con esto, únicamente 25 de las 76 portadas analizadas contienen imágenes políticas de uno u otro partido; a excepción de 2 portadas del periódico USA Today el cual, a pesar de no incluir fotografías, sí publicó dos titulares en dos días distintos

relacionados con el proceso de *impeachment* del entonces presidente del gobierno, Donald Trump.

Por otra parte, es importante mencionar las valoraciones recogidas a partir de las imágenes analizadas de ambos periódicos. Las imágenes del USA Today resultan más llamativas frente a aquellas publicadas en el Wall Street Journal, y denotan un mayor sesgo entre los candidatos por los retratos tomados de cada uno. Joe Biden y sus compañeros - o rivales - del partido demócrata aparecen siempre retratados de manera sonriente, cercana, rodeados de público o en debates o mítines políticos de manera seria y pertinente; mostrando así un abanico diverso de candidatos demócratas a la presidencia del gobierno y un grupo de políticos carismáticos, bien recibidos por su electorado y que, a pesar de su rivalidad inicial, comparten una misma línea ideológica compatible con cada uno de ellos. Por el contrario Donald Trump no comparte escena - ni dentro en una misma imagen ni en fotografías separadas - con ningún otro candidato del partido republicano durante la campaña electoral, por lo que es posicionado como un candidato en solitario, austero, con gesticulación bastante grotesca y carente de seguidores. Asimismo, hay un gran porcentaje de sus imágenes dedicadas al proceso de *impeachment* contra él, y no tanto a su candidatura en las elecciones. Es por ello que el USA Today no sólo llevó a cabo una diferenciación entre ambos candidatos presidenciales en la cantidad de veces que cada uno aparecía en su portada, sino también en la forma en que aparecían: sonrientes, grotescos, solo, acompañados, con apoyo del público o sin él. El Wall Street Journal, en cambio, publica un repertorio de imágenes principalmente neutrales y equidistantes hacia ambos candidatos, diferenciándose únicamente por el número objetivo de veces que uno u otro candidato aparece representado en portada.

4. CONCLUSIONES

La fotografía, la opinión pública y la comunicación política como disciplinas indispensables de la comunicación han estado presentes en la vida social del hombre desde el inicio de las primeras comunidades. Su evolución y complejidad, tanto individual como de manera conjunta, surgen de una necesidad intrínseca a la naturaleza humana de comunicarse consigo mismo y con otros. Ya sea mediante el deseo de infinitud, persuasión o convicción, las sociedades a lo largo de la Historia han sido capaces de desarrollar, acorde a su tiempo y herramientas, los métodos necesarios para dar con el sentido último de la dinámica social y ser capaz de manejarla y orientarla a sus intereses. Dentro de que resultaría inocente pensar que el desarrollo de estas tres disciplinas no han tenido otro fin que el de mejorar la comunicación los unos con nosotros y caminar hacia la mejoría y la belleza de la civilización, también sería incoherente dejar a un lado la cara oscura del hombre y no razonar ante el control absoluto que estas disciplinas podrían ejercer sobre el individuo. Pero la riqueza de todo lo creado por el hombre reside en su ambivalencia y en su equilibrio, y el ámbito de la comunicación no es excepción. De ahí que todas las aproximaciones realizadas a lo largo de décadas no hayan podido más que fijar marcos de acción flexibles que permitan varias interpretaciones y perspectivas sobre los temas en cuestión, al ser imposible su limitación a una única teoría; a un único origen. Incluso podría decirse que la comunicación es el ámbito más difícil de todos, ya que no sólo está abierto a miles de interpretaciones, idiomas y plataformas, entre muchos otros factores, sino que también está sujeto al entendimiento de cada persona individual, única e irremplazable.

Es por ello, que hasta este momento no sea posible entender y analizar los factores y actores que a ciencia cierta hayan podido sesgar la opinión de un grupo de personas en torno a un tema concreto, bajo unas circunstancias específicas; pero sí es posible aproximarse a los hechos que puedan interpretarse como acciones dirigidas a esa intención.

La campaña electoral estadounidense del pasado 2020, no es sino un ejemplo más de las situaciones en las que la fotografía, opinión pública y la comunicación política se unen en una dinámica riquísima donde se ponen en juego las habilidades más clásicas y modernas del ámbito de la comunicación.

Con todo ello, y remitiéndose a las pruebas empíricas obtenidas del análisis fotográfico, es posible afirmar que la cantidad de información publicada en los dos periódicos sobre ambos partidos políticos es equitativa y equilibrada en cantidad, pero difiere en contenido y en forma. Mientras que la cobertura del partido demócrata se ciñó exclusivamente a un retrato de la

campana electoral centrada en Joe Biden y sus oponentes dentro del partido, retratados en sus propios mítines o en debates de campana, la cobertura del partido republicano estuvo eclipsada por el proceso de impeachment político hacia Donald Trump como presidente de los Estados Unidos, y no contó representación de más figuras dentro del partido republicano que la del propio Trump, quien, también es ocasiones apareció mencionado como presidente y no como candidato en campana.

Durante este período de tiempo a inicios de la campana electoral, donde las candidaturas de los partidos todavía se estaban posicionando en el tablero de juego, queda claro que los periódicos no aluden directamente a ninguno de los temas políticos de importancia para los candidatos, aunque bien es cierto que los inicios de la campana electoral republicana se ven eclipsados por la cobertura mediática del proceso de *impeachment* de Donald Trump.

A pesar de que no haya grandes diferencias en el encuadre, calidad, tamaño o número de fotos publicadas por ambos periódicos sobre un candidato u otro, como ya ha quedado expuesto a lo largo de esta investigación; en un mundo cargado de opinión, mediatización y personalización pública, muchas veces el impacto mediático no se encuentra tanto en la visibilización con en la *no*-visibilización. Por el contenido visual descrito en este trabajo es plausible afirmar que la cobertura de Joe Biden como candidato demócrata a la presidencia estadounidense y sus compañeros de partido resultó mayoritariamente positiva e informativa en cuanto a una campana electoral se refiere , frente a la atención recibida por el partido republicano, el cual aparece representado exclusivamente bajo la figura de Donald Trump y la crisis del *impeachment*, sin ningún otro tipo de representación política adicional del partido en los medios. Recogiendo una de las citas de Bernard Cohen, no consiste tanto en darle al ciudadano lo que tiene que pensar sino *sobre qué* tiene que pensar.

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ANEXO I

Imágenes de portada del periódico USA Today, ordenadas por fecha desde el 1 de enero de 2020 hasta el 31 de marzo de 2020.

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THURSDAY

USA TODAY

01.02.20

David Stern remembered as NBA visionary

Former commissioner turned pro basketball into multibillion-dollar business. **In Sports.** USA TODAY SPORTS

Golden Globes: Who will, should win?

The road to the Oscars begins Sunday with Hollywood's first big party of the year. **In Life.**

USA TODAY NETWORK INVESTIGATION DEADLY PURSUITS

POLICE CHASES CAN CROSS LETHAL LINE

Bystanders, minorities and officers themselves fall victim

Taylor Bromberg, 26, visits the grave of her fiancé, Eric Larson, with her two daughters, Adriana Nicole, 5, and Mikayla Grace, 2. Larson was killed in New Jersey in 2018 by a suspect fleeing police. ANDREW FORD/USA TODAY NETWORK

Andrew Ford
Asbury Park Press
USA TODAY NETWORK - NEW JERSEY

Twelve seconds. One police chase. Two deaths.

A police car and a motorcycle raced toward Eric Larson as he drove home from his pizza delivery job on a summer evening in 2018.

The 24-year-old father planned to marry in the spring. Half a mile away, a police officer chased the motorcyclist after the driver turned right at a red light without coming to a stop.

The cop hit 82 mph, his patrol car video showed, more than twice the posted speed limit. The motorcycle flew even faster down the dark and winding suburban road.

Twelve seconds after the chase started, the motorcyclist smashed into the driver's side of the Hyundai Elantra Larson drove.

The motorcyclist died at the scene. Larson suffered for weeks in a hospital before succumbing to his injuries.

The pursuit started over a \$109 traffic ticket.

New Jersey police pursuits killed

See **POLICE CHASES**, Page 6A

Protesters back off embassy after siege

Militia declares victory in fight to drive US from Iraq

Grace Hauck and John Bacon
USA TODAY

Demonstrators laying siege to the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad began to disperse as security personnel fired tear gas Wednesday on the second day of unrest after U.S. airstrikes killed at least two dozen Iran-backed fighters in Iraq.

Militia leaders with the umbrella group Popular Mobilization Forces ordered protesters to leave, calling the demonstration a win for the group's fight to expel U.S. troops from Iraq.

The protest broke out Tuesday as demonstrators shouting "Death to America!" smashed their way into the embassy compound and set fire to a reception area. The Pentagon said it rushed reinforcements to the embassy, and attack helicopters swooped over the complex.

The mob retreated from the compound Tuesday evening and camped out in tents overnight, setting up a makeshift clinic and serving meals out of pots. Dozens of yellow flags belonging to Iran-backed Shiite militias fluttered atop the reception area and were plastered along the embassy's concrete wall along with anti-U.S. graffiti.

U.S. guards had fired tear gas to drive back the crowd, and soldiers manned the roof of the main building, their guns pointed at the protesters. Iraqi forces who guard the usually safe Green Zone where the embassy is

See **EMBASSY**, Page 3A

Pro-Iranian militia members and their supporters set a fire Wednesday in front of the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad. U.S. troops fired tear gas to disperse the protesters. SHALEK MOHAMMED/UP

Eric Larson, 24, lingered in the hospital for weeks until he died. He had planned to be married.

USA TODAY EXPLAINS

An impeached president is no common defendant

Kristine Phillips
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — In a six-page investigative to House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, President Donald Trump contended he has been more wronged in the impeachment proceedings than even the 17th-century women who were hanged based on dreams, visions and confessions elicited by torture.

"More due process was afforded to those accused in the Salem Witch Trials," the president wrote last month.

His allies have made similar arguments, though not quite so hyperbolic. They said the president has been railroaded based on hearsay evidence. They argued he has been deprived of the right to face his accusers. They claimed the House's impeachment proceedings would not have been allowed in a court of law.

But legal experts say this criticism, peppered with terms borrowed from criminal proceedings, is based on a misinterpretation of what the Constitution says about impeachment and how much protection it gives the president.

The answer: not much.

Like Bill Clinton in the 1990s and Andrew Johnson more than a century earlier, Trump does not have the same constitutional protection afforded to a criminal defendant, they say.

"The president of the United States takes the presidency conditioned on the fact that he may be subject to impeachment," said Michael Gerhardt, a law professor at the University of North Carolina. "He has no entitlement to demand due process."

To compare the president — any president — to a common criminal defendant is misleading, experts say.

Differences in trials

In addition to differences in due process, there are other key variations in impeachment and criminal trials:

- **Accusation:** A president is not accused of a crime defined by statute as other defendants are. The Constitution describes an impeachable offense as "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors," but that standard is broad by design.
- **Burden of proof:** In criminal trials, the standard for conviction is "beyond a reasonable doubt." In an impeachment trial, there is no formal definition of what it takes to remove a president.
- **Rules of evidence:** The Senate determines how many witnesses, if any, will testify and what, if any, evidence is presented. In criminal trials, procedures are well-established.

— Kristine Phillips, USA TODAY

FULL STORY ON 3A

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USA TODAY Snapshots
Top financial New Year's resolutions for 2020

Save more	Pay down debt	Spend less
53%	51%	35%

SOURCE: Fidelity Investments study
AMY BARNETT, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY



GOLDEN GLOBE AWARDS
Oohs, ahhs and 'I can't believe it!' moments

Visit us online for the best zingers from host Ricky Gervais, the biggest stars and most eye-popping fashions. Full coverage at usatoday.com/entertainment

Iraq votes to expel U.S. troops

Iran, meanwhile, says it will abandon nuke deal limits

Kim Hjelmgard USA TODAY

In a sign of Iraq's mounting anger over a U.S. drone attack that killed Iran's top general, Qasem Soleimani, as well as an Iraqi leader of Tehran-backed militias, Iraq's Parliament on Sunday voted to expel U.S. military forces from the country.

The development came as Iran said it was all but abandoning the nuclear deal between Tehran and world powers that

the Trump administration exited in May 2018. Since the United States' withdrawal from the accord, tensions with Iran have steadily increased.

Iraq's Prime Minister Adel Abdul Mahdi told lawmakers that a timetable for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, including U.S. forces, was required "for the sake of our national sovereignty." About 5,000 American troops are in various parts of Iraq.

See MIDEAST, Page 3A



An Iraqi soldier stands guard at the U.S. Embassy compound in Baghdad last week. NASSER NASSER/AP

INSIDE

Obama policy blamed: Secretary of State Mike Pompeo cites Iran "appeasement." 2A

"War crimes": Critics call out Trump's threats; administration vows to "behave lawfully." 2A

Soleimani tracked: U.S. kept watch for years. 3A

IN SPORTS



CHUCK COOK/USA TODAY SPORTS

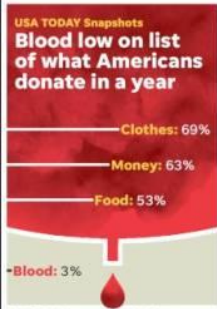
Some wild finishes on wild-card weekend

Vikings stun Saints 26-20 in overtime in another gut punch for New Orleans

IN MONEY

Tech extravaganza CES kicks off in Las Vegas

Expect the cars and rumors to be flying at annual pilgrimage to the desert



SOURCE: 2019 survey for the Red Cross. AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY



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Ilion, NY, birthplace of Remington, finds itself in a fight for survival



Loren Horender of Bare Arms Gun Shop in Little Falls, N.Y., shows customer Caleb Ambrose how to operate an AR-15. GEORGIE SILVAROLE/USA TODAY NETWORK

Gun debate strikes at tiny town's heart

Georgie Silvarole Anderson Independent Mail USA TODAY NETWORK - SOUTH CAROLINA

A small upstate New York village that relies on manufacturing firearms is caught between a storied past and a fickle future.

Ilion, a Herkimer County village of about 8,000 people, is the birthplace of America's oldest gunmaker, Remington Arms.

The company's future is clouded amid a rise in mass shootings across the country and a Supreme Court decision allowing families of those killed in the Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting in 2012 to sue the gunmaker.

People in Ilion (pronounced ill-lee-

on) will tell you the village and the company are synonymous - that one doesn't thrive without the other.

The Remington Arms factory at the heart of the village employs about 820 people.

Remington is the reason Ilion can afford its own police department, its own school district and its own water authority.

Mayor Brian Lamica said Ilion was built around Remington - not the other way around. Without it, the village's way of life is unfeasible.

As the national conversation about what gun control should look like drives a wedge between Americans,

See REMINGTON, Page 6A

A respite but no end to Aussie wildfires

John Bacon USA TODAY

The prime minister of Australia, feeling the political pressure from devastating bushfires that have swept across his nation for months, unveiled a two-year plan Sunday aimed at recovering from the historic blazes.

"The scale of the disaster is enormous," Prime Minister Scott Morrison said in unveiling plans for the National Bushfire Recovery Agency. "It is a reminder of the terrible threat that nature provides in this country."

Fire season typically begins in December in Australia, but some of the fires have been burning since September. The toll has been high: At least 24 people killed and 2,000 homes destroyed. Authorities in New South Wales, a focal point for the carnage, estimated that 500 million birds, reptiles and other animals have died.

Sunday did bring a brief respite with calmer winds and a break in the heat. But authorities warn the fires will continue for months.

New South Wales, where Sydney is located, declared a seven-day state of emergency that started Friday. Firefighters were combating 136 fires Sunday, about half of them uncontained.

It's summer in Australia, and 2019 was the hottest year on record for the nation of 25 million people. The latest blast of heat and strong winds further fueled blazes already well fed by drought-stricken vegetation.

Navy ships have rescued hundreds of people from beaches, and tens of thousands were urged to flee. The U.S. Embassy warned tourists to leave.

Morrison has drawn criticism for being slow to react to the crisis, even vacationing while his country burned. He has ordered 3,000 reservists to help battle the fires and committed millions of dollars to lease firefighting aircraft from overseas.

Contributing: The Associated Press

Advertisement for Ameritrade 401k fee analyzer tool. Text: 'If you don't like unnecessary fees, it might be time to check on your old 401k. Use the 401k fee analyzer tool, powered by FeeX, to help ensure your retirement savings stay in your pocket. Start now at tdameritrade.com/401kfees'

USA TODAY 01.07.20

Golden Globes scene stealers to remember

The tears, jokes, bleeps, tributes, wisecracks, shoutouts and callouts that had people talking. **Recap & review in Life**

In McCarthy, Cowboys have roped a winner

Picking the former pillar of the Packers as coach is sensible, not sexy – and quite unlike Jerry Jones. **Column in Sports**



JEFF HANSH/USA TODAY SPORTS



Harvey Weinstein leaves court after the opening of his trial in Manhattan. KENA BETANCUR/GETTY IMAGES

Weinstein indicted in LA as NYC trial starts

On the first day of Harvey Weinstein's sex crimes trial in New York, the disgraced movie mogul was indicted in California on similar charges.

The Los Angeles County district attorney announced Monday that Weinstein is charged with raping one woman and sexually assaulting another in separate incidents in 2013. He is due in court in California after the New York trial is over.

Weinstein was indicted in Manhattan in 2018 and charged with five sex crimes, including rape and predatory assault, involving two women in 2006 and 2013. He has denied the allegations.

Read more at usatoday.com.



President Trump called on Democrats to wrap up their impeachment effort. EVAN VUCCI/AP

Back in DC, Trump comes out swinging

He protests Iran and Democrats, threatens Iraq sanctions

David Jackson USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – President Donald Trump returned to work at the White House on Monday with protests against the two major issues pressing him and his administration: Iran and impeachment.

"IRAN WILL NEVER HAVE A NUCLEAR WEAPON!" Trump tweeted Monday, a day after Tehran announced it would no longer abide by the 2015 agreement limiting its nuclear activity – and as Iran vowed revenge for last week's deadly drone attack on its top general.

Trump's comments came the day

hundreds of thousands of mourners gathered for the funeral of military leader Qasem Soleimani, who was killed in a U.S. airstrike Thursday. Iran's supreme leader prayed over Soleimani's remains Monday.

As the Trump administration braced for possible retaliation from Iran, the president also called on congressional Democrats to wrap up their impeachment push against him.

"Congress & the President should not be wasting their time and energy on a continuation of the totally partisan Impeachment Hoax when we have so

See TRUMP, Page 3A

"Congress & the President should not be wasting their time ... (on the) Impeachment Hoax when we have so many ... important matters pending."

President Trump

Pelosi wants to rein in war powers

Nicholas Wu USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – House Speaker Nancy Pelosi said the House of Representatives will vote this week on legislation to limit President Donald Trump's military actions on Iran in the wake of increased tensions between the two countries after the president ordered an airstrike that killed Iran's top general last week.

In a letter to Democratic members of the House on Sunday, Pelosi said the "provocative and disproportionate" airstrike on Gen. Qasem Soleimani "endangered our servicemembers, diplomats and others by risking a serious escalation of tensions with Iran."

Pelosi thanked House lawmakers for their "patriotic leadership" during the tense period.

The resolution, which the speaker

said would be introduced and voted on this week, would require that military hostilities with Iran cease within 30 days unless further congressional authorization, such as a declaration of war, is taken.

Sen. Tim Kaine, D-Va., has introduced a similar resolution in the Senate.

Pelosi's promise to deliberate and vote on the war powers legislation comes as Congress returned from its holiday recess on Monday and could alter the politics around Trump's impeachment. The House voted to impeach Trump on Dec. 18 over his dealings with Ukraine but has declined to send the articles of impeachment to the Senate. Senate Democrats and Republicans have been deadlocked in negotiations over the format of a trial.

Pelosi said freshman Michigan Rep. Elissa Slotkin, a former Defense Department analyst, will lead the resolution.



House Speaker Nancy Pelosi said U.S. troops have been put at risk. AP

INSIDE John Bolton says he would testify in a Senate trial. 3A

USA TODAY EXPLAINS

Escalating tension with Iran

U.S.-Iranian hostilities have mounted since President Donald Trump took office and began a "maximum pressure" campaign on the regime in Tehran.

Dec. 27

Rockets killed an American contractor and wounded four American service members on a base in northeastern Iraq. The U.S. blamed the attack on an Iran-backed militia tied to the Quds Force led by Gen. Qasem Soleimani.

Dec. 29

The U.S. responded with strikes on five targets in Iraq and Syria that killed at least two dozen militia fighters.

Dec. 31

Angry protesters led by a larger umbrella group of Shiite militias stormed the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad. They forced their way into the compound and set fire to a reception area before being driven off by security forces. There were no casualties in the embassy breach, which Secretary of State Mike Pompeo called an "Iran-backed terrorist attack."

Thursday

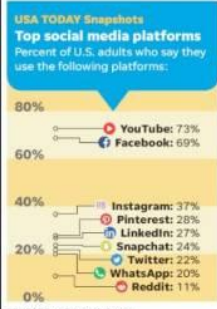
Soleimani was killed in a drone strike.

What did Trump say?

In a series of tweets, Trump warned that any further action against the U.S. would lead to strikes on "Iran itself."

He said the U.S. has identified 52 targets "representing the 52 American hostages taken by Iran many years ago." (Iran took over the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in 1979 and held Americans captive until 1981.) Trump said cultural sites were among the targets, which critics said would constitute a war crime.

Contributing: Kim Hjelmgard, Courtney Subramanian, John Fritze, David Jackson, Nicholas Wu and Savannah Behrmann, USA TODAY; The Associated Press



SOURCE: Pew Research Center. AMY BARNETT, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY



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Panthers, Giants move to rebuild

Patriots' Joe Judge, Baylor's Matt Rhule are set to take reins of two teams that fell hard in 2019. In Sports

Today's Debate exclusive: Joe Biden

The Democratic 2020 front-runner, drawn into the Ukraine question, says he can take the heat. In Opinion

'I didn't think we'd get out'

6.4 magnitude quake leaves 1 dead, power out across Puerto Rico

John Bacon and Adrianna Rodriguez USA TODAY

A 6.4 magnitude earthquake rumbled across Puerto Rico on Tuesday, killing at least one person and knocking out power to virtually the entire island of more than 3 million.

An aftershock three hours later registered at magnitude 6.0. The tremors came one day after the island was shaken by a 5.8 magnitude quake that crumbled homes and triggered states of emergency across the island.

Tuesday's quake was the largest in a series that have struck the U.S. territory in recent days and caused heavy damage in some areas, forcing hundreds of Puerto Ricans to leave their homes and seek refuge.

Puerto Rican Gov. Wanda Vázquez declared a state of emergency, activating the National Guard but ordering government employees, except for first responders, to stay home.

Vázquez said residents should make emergency preparations for more quakes in the next few days. The island is equipped with more than 70 days of regular gas, 70 days of premium gas and 130 days of diesel, she said.

The government has set aside \$130 million to deal with the crisis, Vázquez said. "We're all worried, we're all nervous, anxious. It's natural," she said. "We don't gain anything by creating hysteria. We've responded to many difficult situations. We have the resources."

Sen. Rick Scott, R-Fla., said he had discussed the situation with President Donald Trump. Scott said the Federal Emergency Management Agency had

See PUERTO RICO, Page 3A



Puerto Rico Gov. Wanda Vázquez inspects damaged homes in Guanica on the south side of the island. CARLOS GIUSTI/AP

Iran fires missiles at US bases in Iraq

Damage unclear; Pentagon weighs response

Tom Vanden Brook and John Fritze USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Iran fired more than a dozen missiles at U.S. troops and coalition forces in Iraq on Tuesday, an apparent retaliation for a U.S. drone strike days earlier that killed one of Tehran's most powerful generals, Qasem Soleimani.

Iran launched more than a dozen ballistic missiles, Pentagon spokesman Jonathan Hoffman confirmed late Tuesday. Though the extent of the damage was not clear, the move appeared likely to further escalate already boiling tensions between Iran and Washington.

"It is clear that these missiles were launched from Iran and targeted at least two Iraqi military bases hosting U.S. military and coalition personnel at Al-Assad and Irbil," Hoffman said. "We are working on initial battle damage assessments."

"As we evaluate the situation and our response, we will take all necessary measures to protect and defend U.S. personnel, partners, and allies in the region," Hoffman added.

Pentagon officials were reviewing reports from Iraq and weighing a response, a senior U.S. defense official

See IRAN, Page 3A



An Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting video shot late Tuesday appears to show missiles launched from Iran against the Ain Assad air base in Iraq where U.S. troops are housed. #IRB/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

SCORES DIE IN CRUSH AT GENERAL'S FUNERAL



At least 56 people were killed and hundreds injured in a stampede at a funeral procession for Iran's Gen. Qasem Soleimani in his hometown, Kerman, as tens of thousands jammed the streets. Story, 3A EPA-EFE

Dow futures plunge after attack

Asian markets are also down; oil prices jump

Jessica Menton USA TODAY

Asian markets tumbled and U.S. stock futures were sharply lower Tuesday evening after Iran fired a series of missiles at bases housing U.S. troops in Iraq. The attack was an apparent retaliation after the U.S. killed a top Iranian general in Iraq last week.

Japan's Nikkei 225 slid 2.5%. Dow futures dropped 400 points while Standard & Poor's 500 futures slid 1.6%.

Oil prices jumped as tensions in the oil-rich Middle East could disrupt crude supplies in the region. U.S. crude jumped 4.3% to \$65.47 per barrel. Brent crude, the international benchmark, edged up 0.4% to \$68.51 a barrel.

Global stocks have come under pressure in recent days as tensions have escalated between Iran and the U.S., threatening conflict in the oil-rich Mid-

dle East. Investors have dumped stocks in favor of safe-haven assets like gold and government bonds.

On Tuesday evening, gold prices jumped 2.3% at \$1,611.10 per ounce, after touching their highest price in nearly seven years Monday.

U.S. stocks slumped Friday in the wake of the conflict while crude prices surged, raising concerns that a rise in fuel prices could weigh on consumer spending. Stocks stabilized at the start of the week while oil gave back some of its earlier gains.

CES 2020: Tabletlike laptops and highly personal tech

A new generation of laptops aims to do what previous ones couldn't — rival the battery life, quick availability and rapid response of iPads and other tablets. Elsewhere at the electronics supershow, personal tech lives up to its name. Products include web-connected undies and a robot that delivers toilet paper. Tuesday's keynote address was presented by Ivanka Trump. Money, 3B



Ivanka Trump ROBERT HANASHIRO/USA TODAY

Barcode and copyright information for USA TODAY

USA TODAY Snapshot: 58% of Americans say they haven't talked with anyone about their end-of-life care preferences should they become terminally ill.

SOURCE: Harris Poll for Moment Life Health System. AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY



USA TODAY WEEKEND



Oscar season is here: Let the debate begin

"Judy," "Joker" and more in the nominations mix. **Preview in Life**

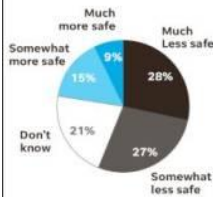
RENEE ZELLWEGER BY DAVID HINDLEY

Carjacking by cybercriminals a real threat

Automakers are working to protect your computer on wheels. **In Money**

USA TODAY/IPSOS POLL

Has the killing of Soleimani and its immediate aftermath made the United States more safe or less safe?



SOURCE USA TODAY/IPSOS Poll of 1,005 adults taken Tuesday and Wednesday; credibility interval +/- 3 percentage points. JIM SERGENT/USA TODAY

Majority: Killing made US less safe

Susan Page
USA TODAY

Americans by more than 2-1 said the killing of Iranian Gen. Qasem Soleimani has made the United States less safe, a nationwide USA TODAY/IPSOS Poll finds, amid broad concerns about the potential consequences ahead.

A majority of those surveyed, 52%-34%, said President Donald Trump's behavior toward Iran was "reckless."

The Iranian rocket attack on U.S. bases in Iraq that came in response to Soleimani's killing took place near the end of the time the poll was in the field. And the survey was completed before Trump addressed the nation Wednesday from the White House.

Americans were divided on the wisdom of last week's drone strike that killed Soleimani and others at the Baghdad airport: 42% supported it, 33% opposed it, and 25% said they didn't know what to think. Republicans were much more supportive than Democrats, and independents were almost evenly split.

But there was overwhelming agree-

See POLL, Page 3A



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USA TODAY Snapshots
Women more polite with smart speakers

Device owners in the U.S. who report saying "please" to their smart speaker:



NOTE: Some respondents did not answer. SOURCE: Pew Research Center. AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY

Iranian missile may have downed plane

Credible evidence suggests accidental strike doomed flight



No one survived when a Ukrainian Boeing 737-800 carrying 176 people crashed outside Tehran's Imam Khomeini Airport early Wednesday. In a preliminary report, Iran had suggested the jet suffered engine failure. ABEJIN TAHERKENAREH/EPA-EFE

Jet crashed hours after Iran struck US bases in Iraq



Dems target war powers
House passes resolution; President Trump calls effort "harassment." 3A

The Backstory: US and Iran
Never a more critical time for truth, Editor-in-Chief Nicole Carroll says. 4A

Tom Vanden Brook, Chris Woodyard and John Bacon
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — The Ukrainian jet that crashed this week after taking off from Tehran appears to have been downed by an Iranian surface-to-air missile.

Intelligence indicates the Iranian military accidentally shot down the Ukrainian airliner with a Russian-supplied anti-aircraft missile, according to a U.S. official who was not authorized to speak publicly. All 176 aboard the Boeing 737 were killed.

Ukraine International Airlines Flight 752 crashed early Wednesday, shortly after Iran launched 16 ballistic missiles on Iraqi bases housing U.S. soldiers. Iran's attack was retaliation after the killing of one of its top officials, Gen. Qasem Soleimani, in a U.S. drone strike ordered by President Donald Trump that has drawn a mixed reaction from U.S. and world leaders.

U.S. intelligence sensors showed that Iranian air-defense radar locked onto the passenger plane, the official said. Iran's military then launched two SA-15 surface-to-air missiles and brought the plane down in a fiery crash.

Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said he, too, believed a missile was the cause of the plane crash, citing intelligence reports. Some 63 Canadians

See JET CRASH, Page 4A



It has been 100 years since the women's suffrage movement forever changed elections in the U.S. ANGELA PETERSON/USA TODAY NETWORK

WOMEN OF THE CENTURY

Who inspires you?

When women won the right to vote in 1920, the world changed. As part of the USA TODAY Network's commemoration of this milestone, we are celebrating women who have made a significant impact on our world.

Through January, readers can nominate outstanding American women who inspire women and men. Categories include the arts, business, entertainment, science and sports.

Nominate someone at usatoday.com/womenofthecentury

Read more about it. 6A

USA TODAY
01.13.20



Unbeaten vs. unbeaten: One has to give

Drama, pride, excitement, heartbreak are all in play in New Orleans. **In Sports**

TREVOR LAWRENCE AND JOE BURROW BY USA TODAY SPORTS

A holy mess of intrigue in 'The New Pope'

HBO's series features two pontiffs in a spiritual power struggle. **In Life**

'Why them?' Canada mourns its Iran dead

Strikes in Iraq; protests in Iran

After initially denying responsibility, Iran has acknowledged it accidentally shot down a Ukrainian commercial jet last week. The plane crashed in Tehran, killing all 176 aboard, hours after Iran launched strikes on Iraqi air bases housing U.S. troops. The base attacks were in retaliation for a U.S. drone strike that killed Iranian Gen. Qasem Soleimani. Here are the latest developments:

Rockets strike Iraq base: Four Iraqi soldiers were wounded Sunday when at least six rockets slammed into the Balad air base hosting U.S. troops 50 miles north of Baghdad, the Iraqi military said.

There was no immediate word of U.S. casualties, and officials said most U.S. troops had left the area in recent days. No group or nation immediately took responsibility for the attack.

"I wished I was on that plane": The Iranian military promised to deal with the plane strike in military court. "I swear to almighty God that I wished I was on that plane and had crashed with them and burned but had not witnessed this tragic incident," Gen. Hossein Salami, head of Iran's Revolutionary Guard, said Sunday. "I have never been this embarrassed in my entire life. Never."

Iranians protest: Protesters have taken to the streets in Iran, shouting slogans and demanding that leaders be held accountable.

— John Bacon

Contributing: The Associated Press



At Northgate Centre Medical Clinic in Edmonton, Alberta, colleagues honored Dr. Shekoufeh Choupannejad and her daughters, Sara and Saba. PHOTOS BY PERRY NELSON FOR USA TODAY

At least 63 citizens on flight: 'I don't think anybody really believes it yet'

Lindsay Schnell
USA TODAY

EDMONTON, Alberta — Meghan Riddell covered her mouth to stifle a sob, dropped her head to hide the tears that had come and reached for a fistful of tissues. "She would have moved mountains," Riddell said, her voice cracking. "She would have been amazing at anything she did — she would have been an amazing mother, an amazing doctor or whatever she became."

Riddell, an assistant professor of obstetrics and gynecology at the University of Alberta, struggled Friday to talk about one of her students, Saba Saadat, a fourth-year undergrad who died when her plane, Ukraine International Airlines Flight 752, was mistakenly shot down by the Iranian government shortly after taking off Wednesday.

See CANADA, Page 4A



A memorial sprang up on the stairs of the Alberta Legislative Building in Edmonton. Nearly half of the Canadian victims were from the province's capital.

US Navy on front lines Aboard the USS Farragut in the Persian Gulf, sailors stay sharp. **3A**



STEPHEN MATUREN/GETTY IMAGES

Sanders takes lead heading into Iowa

3 weeks before caucus, field still tightly grouped

Brianne Pfannenstiel
Des Moines Register
USA TODAY NETWORK

DES MOINES, Iowa — Sen. Bernie Sanders leads the Democratic field three weeks ahead of Caucus Day in Iowa — narrowly overtaking his closest competitors, who remain locked in a tight contest just behind him.

A new Des Moines Register/CNN/Mediacom Iowa Poll shows 20% of likely Democratic caucusgoers name Sanders as their first choice for president.

After a surge of enthusiasm that pushed Pete Buttigieg to the top of the field in November, the former South Bend, Indiana, mayor has faded, falling 9 percentage points to land behind both Sanders and Sen. Elizabeth Warren. Warren is at 17%; Buttigieg, 16%; and former Vice President Joe Biden, 15%.

"There's no denying that this is a good poll for Bernie Sanders. He leads, but it's not an uncontested lead," said pollster J. Ann Selzer, president of Selzer & Co., which conducted the poll. "He's got a firmer grip on his supporters than the rest of his compatriots."

The poll of 701 likely Democratic caucusgoers was done Jan. 2-8 and has a margin of error of plus or minus 3.7 percentage points.

Biden, Buttigieg, Sanders and Warren have remained clustered atop the Register's Iowa Poll throughout the 2020 campaign cycle, though no one has definitively pulled away from the pack. Instead, each of the top four has now led the Iowa Poll at some point this cycle as the field continues to shift.

The percentage of those who say their mind is made up about which candidate to support on caucus night

See SANDERS, Page 2A

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USA TODAY Snapshots
U.S. school cafeterias waste an estimated 530,000 tons of food per year, which translates to:

- GREENHOUSE GASES**
1.9 million metric tons
- WATER**
20.9 billion gallons
- MONEY**
\$1.7 billion

SOURCE: World Wildlife Fund; AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANESTA/USA TODAY

Pelosi warns GOP about dismissing Senate trial

Tactic would amount to a 'cover-up,' she says

William Cummings
USA TODAY

As House Speaker Nancy Pelosi prepares to consult with fellow Democrats about sending the two articles of impeachment against President Donald Trump to the Senate, she warned Majority Leader Mitch McConnell that an attempt to dismiss the case without a trial or to bar witnesses would be perceived as a "cover-up."

Last month, the House impeached Trump on charges of abuse of power and obstruction of Congress. Trump has denied any wrongdoing, and Republicans in the House have called the impeachment effort a partisan hit job.

Pelosi has delayed sending the articles of impeachment to the Senate in

an attempt to get McConnell — who has said he is not impartial and wants Trump to be acquitted as quickly as possible — to agree to what she considers a "fair" format for the trial.

McConnell has rejected Pelosi's efforts to negotiate with him, declaring on the Senate floor last week that there "will be no haggling with the House over Senate procedure." On Thursday, McConnell signed on to a resolution introduced by Sen. Josh Hawley, R-Mo., to dismiss the articles for "failure to prosecute" if they were not sent to the Senate within 25 days of their adoption by the House, which took place Dec. 18.

"Dismissing is a cover-up," Pelosi warned McConnell on ABC News' "This Week."

The biggest concession Pelosi wanted from McConnell was to allow witnesses to testify and for additional doc-

See PELOSI, Page 2A



WIN MCNAMEE/GETTY IMAGES

COMING THIS WEEK

Articles of impeachment

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi said the House Democratic Caucus will vote in its weekly meeting Tuesday morning whether to forward two articles of impeachment against President Donald Trump.



USA TODAY 01.15.20

'Bullitt' car's amazing journey



CASEY MAXON/HISTORIC VEHICLE ASSOCIATION

Revered '68 Ford Mustang, hidden away in a garage for 40 years, has a mystery buyer for \$3 million-plus. In Money

Joe Burrow's season in a word: 'Perfect'

You can pencil in the LSU quarterback's season as one for the ages, Dan Wolken writes. In Sports



Dems jockey in Iowa

Six Democratic presidential candidates took the stage in Des Moines on Tuesday in the party's last debate before next month's Iowa caucuses.

It was a critical opportunity for candidates to get their messages out. A majority of likely Democratic Iowa caucusgoers say they're undecided about their choice for the nomination and are open to changing their minds, according to polling and dozens of interviews along the campaign trail.

Iowans have ranked health care, climate change and education as key issues.

Visit usatoday.com for analysis, highlights and more.

GETTY IMAGES

IN NEWS



Mitch McConnell has been waiting for the House to make its move. EPA-EFE

Senate sets Tuesday for impeachment trial

House is expected to vote today on sending long-delayed articles



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USA TODAY Snapshots Americans divided on nonbinary gender options

Asked if forms and online profiles should offer more than two gender options, U.S. adults say ...

Age	Yes	No
18-29	53%	46%
30-49	43%	56%
50-64	37%	61%
65+	35%	63%
All	42%	58%

Gender? Male Female

SOURCE: NOTE: Some respondents didn't answer SOURCE: Pew Research Center, 2018 survey. AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY

Trump team: President was in the right to order strike

Justifications shift after threat called 'imminent'

William Cummings USA TODAY

WASHINGTON - After asserting for more than a week that Gen. Qasem Soleimani posed an imminent threat to Americans when he was killed in a drone strike, President Donald Trump and Attorney General William Barr said that whether the threat was immediate or not, the president had the right to act.

When Trump announced Jan. 3 that he had ordered the drone strike that killed Soleimani, who ran the Revolutionary Guard's elite Quds Force, he said the general was "plotting imminent and sinister attacks on American diplomats and military personnel."

Top administration officials stood by the assertion that the threat was immediate and defended the intelligence that led them to that conclusion. But Trump said in a tweet Monday that the question of whether the strike was im-

See THREAT, Page 2A

"I believe there was intelligence of imminent attack, but I do believe that this concept of imminence is something of a red herring."

Attorney General William Barr



Astros scandal crosses the line

It took a sign-stealing scheme to sicken even the most jaded of us; now Houston's 2017 World Series title will forever have that asterisk



Gabe Lacques Columnist USA TODAY

Consider, for a moment, what has been asked of the sports fan over time.

He or she is expected to pledge loyalty to a franchise and its players, even though the former unilaterally controls your ability to access and enjoy the game, and the latter can be shipped off or eventually skip town

despite your love.

And increasingly, they are told to put their faith not in a player or owner or even executives themselves, but rather processes that often involve roster immolation and intentional losing with no guarantee of future glory.

Little wonder, then, that the modern fan is just a wee bit jaded. Imminence to even the most craven means to a competitive end.

Yet along come the Houston Astros, who have dominated a sport meant to be indom-

See ASTROS, Page 3A

Manager

A.J. Hinch,

with catcher

Martin

Maldonado

and pitcher

Gerrit Cole,

returned to

the Series

last year.

BRAD MILLS/

USA TODAY

SPORTS

Apple fears opening 'backdoor' to government

FBI wants aid unlocking phones in Florida terror act

Edward C. Baig USA TODAY

Why won't Apple give law enforcement the virtual keys to unlock two iPhones used in last month's terrorist act in Florida? That question is at the center of a debate between the company and the FBI.

Attorney General William Barr declared Monday that the shooting at a Navy base in Pensacola was an act of terrorism and that Apple hasn't pro-

vided federal investigators "substantive assistance" in offering a way into the phones past encryption and security features, or a so-called backdoor.

Apple pushed back with a strongly worded rebuttal, saying it helped investigators within hours of the FBI's first request Dec. 6 and in subsequent requests, resulting "in many gigabytes of information that we turned over" to them. Such information was found in backups of the phone stored in iCloud rather than directly on the device and included account and transactional data for multiple accounts. "In every instance, we responded with all of the information that we had," Apple wrote

in its statement.

The conflict lies in the push and pull of protecting individual privacy versus allowing law enforcement easy access to devices that hold so many of our secrets.

This is the same battle the FBI fought with Apple in 2015, again related to an iPhone used in terrorist acts.

After a mass shooting that killed 14 people in San Bernardino, California, the FBI took Apple to court to get the company to unlock an iPhone recovered from one of the shooters. Eventually, the FBI used a third-party contractor to hack into the device.

See PHONES, Page 3A



US, China sign deal in break in trade war

Some analysts question 'Phase One' backbone

Michael Collins, David Jackson and John Fritze
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — The United States and China signed a limited trade deal Wednesday, signaling a pause in the nearly two-year trade war between the world's two largest economies and setting the stage for talks for a broader agreement down the road.

The "Phase One" agreement, the product of months of negotiations between officials in Washington and Beijing, calls for China to purchase an additional \$200 billion worth of U.S. goods and services over the next two years, including another \$32 billion in agriculture products.

China also pledged not to pressure foreign companies to turn over intellectual property for the right to do business there and to refrain from devaluing its currency to give its companies an advantage over foreign competitors.

"Today we take a momentous step — one that has never been taken before with China — toward a future of fair and reciprocal trade," President Donald Trump said in a White House signing ceremony with Chinese Vice Premier Liu He. Speaking through a translator, Liu read a message from Chinese President Xi Jinping, who said the deal "is good for China, for the U.S. and for the world."

Trump said he would travel to China soon as the two sides try to negotiate a broader agreement to deal with unresolved issues, such as complaints that China subsidizes its companies to give them an unfair advantage over foreign businesses. A broader deal is not expected to be finalized until after the November election.

The U.S. will keep in place most of the tariffs it imposed on \$360 billion in Chinese products as trade tensions between the two countries escalated over the past 18 months. But Trump

See TRADE, Page 3A

IN SPORTS



BOB DONNAN/USA TODAY SPORTS

Kuechly's early NFL exit part of a trend

At 28, Panthers player joins others who retired for sake of health

IN NEWS

Questions linger over Delta fuel dump on LA

FAA investigates as pilots "had to get rid of it fast" for an emergency landing

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Impeachment goes to Senate for trial

Pelosi releases articles; 'Let's take care of it,' Trump says



House impeachment managers, led by the House clerk and the House sergeant at arms, make their way through National Statuary Hall and the Capitol Rotunda to the Senate to present the articles of impeachment. JASPER COLTY/USA TODAY

Barl Jansen, Christal Hayes and Nicholas Wu
USA TODAY

IMPEACHMENT MANAGERS

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi selected seven lawmakers Wednesday to act as impeachment managers. USA TODAY explains what that role means on Page 2A.



Rep. Adam Schiff, D-Calif.: As chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, Schiff played a key role during the House's impeachment inquiry into President Donald Trump's actions on Ukraine. He is the lead manager of the impeachment trial. He was a prosecutor in the U.S. Attorney's Office in Los Angeles.



Rep. Jerry Nadler, D-N.Y.: As chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Nadler ushered the articles of impeachment through his committee and onto the House floor for the historic vote. Nadler said there was a "mountain of evidence" that Trump "betrayed his country by trying to extort Ukraine."



Rep. Jason Crow, D-Colo.: An Army veteran and lawyer, Crow sits on the House Armed Services Committee. He was part of a group of House Democrats who said in a Washington Post op-ed in September that they'd support an impeachment inquiry if allegations about Trump's conduct on Ukraine were true.



Rep. Sylvia Garcia, D-Texas: A member of the House Judiciary Committee, Garcia played a public role during the impeachment hearings. She represents a Houston-area district and became one of the first Latinas to represent a Texas district when she was elected in 2018. Garcia was a judge in the Houston Municipal System.



Rep. Val Demings, D-Fla.: A member of the Judiciary and Intelligence committees, Demings played a public role during the impeachment hearings. She was the first female Orlando chief of police and could bring her police experience to the proceedings. As a Floridian, she could help counter GOP criticism of impeachment as being led by lawmakers from only blue areas.



Rep. Hakeem Jeffries, D-N.Y.: A litigator in private practice before he ran for office, Jeffries sits on the Judiciary Committee and chairs the House Democratic Caucus, which has helped shape Democrats' messaging on impeachment. His position makes him the highest-ranking lawmaker in the group. He said his role was to "present the truth to the American people."



Rep. Zoe Lofgren, D-Calif.: A member of the House Judiciary Committee, Lofgren offers a unique perspective as a member who served in Congress during President Bill Clinton's impeachment and as a staff member of the Judiciary Committee during the impeachment investigation of President Richard Nixon.

— Nicholas Wu

See TRIAL, Page 2A



USA TODAY WEEKEND



On Sunday, these X-factors mark the spot

It's not just the QBs who hold the key for Packers-49ers, Chiefs-Titans. **In Sports**

AARON JONES AND TYRANN MATHEU BY USA TODAY SPORTS

Tech meets the eye with 'smart' contact lenses

They might not be far off, and correcting your vision would be only the beginning. **In Money**

SENATE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL

Historic case opens; lawmakers sworn in

Senators, chief justice prepare for arguments Tuesday



Sens. Lindsey Graham and Roy Blunt, Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts and Sen. Patrick Leahy arrive at the Senate chamber for impeachment proceedings Thursday. DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES

Bart Jansen, Christal Hayes and Nicholas Wu
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — The Senate opened the impeachment trial Thursday of President Donald Trump by swearing in Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts and then having him swear in senators who will hear the case, setting the stage for oral arguments to begin Tuesday.

Trump is accused of abuse of power and obstruction of Congress for pressuring Ukraine to investigate his political rival, former Vice President Joe Biden, while withholding \$391 million in military aid. During the House inquiry, the White House directed aides and agencies to defy subpoenas for testimony and documents.

But Trump, who has said he expects to be exonerated in the trial, has said he was justified in trying to fight corruption in Ukraine.

"It's a hoax," Trump said Thursday of the impeachment. "It's a shame."

A two-thirds majority of the Senate would be required to convict and remove Trump, which is unlikely in the chamber, where Republicans outnumber Democrats 53-47.

Full story on 3A

USA TODAY EXPLAINS

Doesn't the Supreme Court need its leader?

Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts, who presides over the Senate trial, will have a tight but manageable schedule. Oral arguments are scheduled next Tuesday and Wednesday mornings, and then no more are set until late February. And the trial won't start until 1 p.m. daily. Although the Supreme Court is across the street from the Capitol, Roberts will go by car to the trial each day, escorted by a security detail.

Why do they say "Hear ye, hear ye"?

Senate rules are explicit for an impeachment trial. The trial will begin with the proclamation, "Hear ye! Hear ye! All persons are commanded to keep silent, on pain of imprisonment, while the Senate of the United States is sitting for the trial of the articles of impeachment." Translation: Be quiet and pay attention.

John Bacon. Contributing: Richard Wolf

How long will this trial last?

Sen. John Cornyn, R-Texas, estimated the trial will last about three weeks. But the actual length will depend on how many witnesses, if any, are called.

Another Michael Cohen in the cards?

Giuliani associate claims he has goods on Ukraine

Kevin McCoy, Kevin Johnson and Kristine Phillips
USA TODAY

A true believer who claimed he was carrying out Donald Trump's instructions.

A loyal fixer who regularly attacked Trump's enemies.

And a federal defendant, who, after a dramatic and public change of heart, blamed his actions on Trump.

Lev Parnas, meet Michael Cohen.

Parnas, an associate of President Donald Trump's personal lawyer Rudy Giuliani, has a lot in common with Cohen, Trump's former attorney and problem-fixer.

Both have been involved in political cases as they faced separate criminal charges. Both have tried to cooperate with prosecutors to get leniency in



Parnas Cohen

their cases. And both have expressed regret for having trusted Trump.

The Soviet-born businessman helped Giuliani pressure Ukrainian officials to announce investigations into the family of former Vice President Joe Biden, a potential Democratic opponent in this year's presidential race.

Now, facing federal charges that could land him in prison, Parnas has turned over documents that could prove critical in the Senate impeachment trial set to begin Tuesday. Rep. Adam Schiff, D-Calif., lead manager for the House, said Thursday that his team would consider whether to press the Senate to let Parnas testify.

Parnas has said in media interviews that it's time to tell the truth about Trump's involvement in the effort to get the Ukrainian government to announce an investigation into the Bidens. Trump is accused of withholding a White House visit and nearly \$400 million in military funding un-

See PARNAS, Page 2A



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USA TODAY Snapshots

Who fans thought should be inducted in the 2020 rock hall of fame

VOTES	Nominees / Inductees
1M	Dave Matthews Band
882K	Pat Benatar
735K	The Doobie Brothers
725K	Shantae
675K	Judas Priest
553K	Whitney Houston
550K	Depeche Mode
550K	Thin Lizzy
513K	Motörhead
441K	Todd Rundgren
381K	Nine Inch Nails
365K	T. Rex
276K	The Notorious B.I.G.
167K	Rufus feat. Chaka Khan
164K	Kraftwerk
161K	MCS

SOURCE: Rock & Roll Hall of Fame poll
AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY

More US schools teach in Spanish

Dual-language programs face hurdles nationwide

Erin Richards and Kristin Lam
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — Preschool teacher Rosa Ramirez has a special way of asking her students to line up for playtime outside.

"Pueden pararse si llevan puesto algo de color amarillo, como una abeja," she tells them.

In English, Ramirez would say, "You can stand up if you are wearing yellow — like a bee." But this is the half of the school day in which she teaches exclusively in Spanish.

Her students are not confused by her language choice. Most of the 4-year-olds wearing even a smidgen of yellow stand up as instructed.

The preschool dual-language program at Gates Street Early Education

See SPANISH, Page 6A



Elena Perez, a teacher in the UCLA Lab School, says immersing Spanish-speaking children in their native language helps them excel. HARRISON HELL/USA TODAY

26% Percentage of Latino students enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools between 2000 and 2015, up from 16%.

5 Number of states — Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Kentucky — that have seen triple-digit growth in English learners between 2005 and 2015.

Hecho en USA

The USA TODAY Network is launching a series on the Latino community in the USA called Hecho en USA, or Made in America. Roughly 80% of all Latinos living in the USA are American citizens, but media coverage of Hispanics tends to focus on immigration and crime instead of how Latino families live, work and learn in their hometowns. Hecho en USA tells the stories of the nation's 59.9 million Latinos — a growing economic and cultural force, many of whom are born in the USA.



Jack Nicklaus at 80: Still 'go and giddy-up'

Golf's Golden Bear only seems to have slowed down — because it's on his terms. **In Sports**

MICHAEL MADRID/USA TODAY SPORTS



Star moments as actors honor their own

Reliving the speeches, surprises and snubs at the Screen Actors Guild Awards. **In Life**



Gun rights supporters gather Monday at Virginia's Capitol. The rally stayed peaceful. JACK GRUBER/USA TODAY

Thousands in Virginia rally for gun rights

Ryan W. Miller and John Bacon
USA TODAY

RICHMOND, Va. — Thousands of gun owners and gun rights supporters gathered Monday at Virginia's Capitol for a "peaceful day to address our Legislature" that appeared to generate none of the violence feared by some state leaders.

Many demonstrators, opposed to proposed gun restrictions, openly displayed military-style semiautomatic rifles. Other wore orange "Guns save lives" stickers as the crowd chanted "USA" and sang the national anthem. Signs read "Come and take it" and "Second Amendment Sanctuary."

But despite warnings from Gov. Ralph Northam and law enforcement that out-of-state hate groups and militias could have incited violence, the protest did not grow heated. Gene Lepley, spokesman for the rally day information center in Richmond, said there

See VIRGINIA, Page 4A

Barcode and recycling information for USA TODAY.

USA TODAY Snapshots
What we want at work
At the top of U.S. professionals' New Year's work resolution wish lists:

- 5% Get a promotion
- 7% Learn more
- 8% Improve work-life balance
- 8% Get a raise
- Get a new job 31%
- Make a difference 41%

SOURCE: Korn Ferry survey
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPBELL/USA TODAY

IMPEACHMENT TRIAL: ARGUMENTS BEGIN TODAY

Congress' legacy is also on the line

Steps in the impeachment trial of President Trump

The trial will reopen at 1 p.m. on Tuesday. The first order of business will likely be to set the rules of the trial. Key questions will be:

1. How many hours does each side have to state its case?
2. Will additional witnesses be allowed?

House managers present case



Trump is accused of soliciting foreign interference in the 2020 election by asking Ukraine to investigate a political rival during a July 25 phone call.

Trump attorneys present defense



Not pictured: Eric Herschmann, Michael Purpura and Jane Raskin
Trump's team argued in a filing that the articles of impeachment do not "identify any impeachable offense," and there is "no evidence" to back the House claims.

Two key votes

These will likely be the first two consequential votes during the trial:

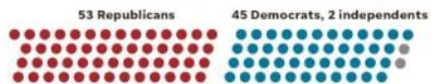


Closing arguments and Senate discussion

After hearing the two sides' closing arguments, senators could call for a closed session to discuss the evidence or discuss other options such as censure.

The final votes

The senators will vote on both articles of impeachment. A two-thirds majority on either article (67 votes) would convict and remove Trump:



SOURCE: USA TODAY research
JIM SERGENT, VERONICA BRAVO, RAMON PADILLA/USA TODAY

Institution's 'vitality' tested at a time of deep public mistrust

Ledyard King
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — It's not just President Donald Trump's political future at stake as the Senate impeachment trial begins Tuesday.

The fortunes and reputations of party leaders, the House prosecutors and Congress as an institution also are on the line. Though almost no one expects Trump to be found guilty and removed from office, how the third impeachment trial of a president in U.S. history is conducted over the next few weeks could shape legacies for years to come.

"In some ways, the Senate is on trial as well as President Trump," said Ross Baker, a political science professor at Rutgers University in New Jersey. "And the ability of the United States Senate to function in a reasonably systematic and sensible way in this impeachment is really a test of (its) institutional vitality at a time when many people quite rightly have called its effectiveness into question."

The House impeached the president last month on two articles: abuse of power and obstruction of Congress. The allegations stem from the administration's withholding of nearly \$400 million in U.S. military aid last year from Ukraine to pressure the foreign ally to investigate one of Trump's political rivals, 2020 Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden.

Those articles, or charges, were delivered to the Senate last week. All 100 senators, serving as jurors, took an oath to carry out "impartial justice" Thursday after they were sworn in by Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts, who will preside over the trial.

Republicans hold a majority in the Senate with 53 seats, so the trial is likely to end in Trump's acquittal. It would take 67 votes to find him guilty and remove him from office.

Steven Smith, a political science professor at Washington University in St. Louis, said the proceedings are unlikely to boost public faith in the Senate.

"There's going to be a sense of drama. We'll see a very solemn institution, and

See LEGACY, Page 2A

'Rigged process'

President Trump's lawyers have urged Senate Republicans simply to dismiss House Democrats' "flawed" case. **2A**

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Day 8 Visit Manuel Antonio National Park. Hike the rainforest and along beach coves.

Day 9 Tour ends after breakfast. Airport transfers provided. Hasta la vista!—Caravan

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INSIDE

SPECIAL REPORT SECOND OF A 10-PART SERIES

December: Divisiveness in America [January: Climate Change] February: Health Care March: The economy April: Gun rights/violence

HIDDEN COMMON GROUND CLIMATE CHANGE

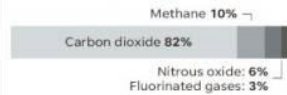


Voters actually agree on climate change fixes. SO, WHY NO ACTION?

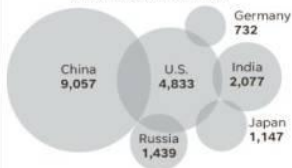
Facts about climate change

- The average global surface temperature has risen more than 2 degrees Fahrenheit since the late 19th century.
- 19 of the hottest 20 years have occurred during the past two decades. The past decade was the hottest on record.

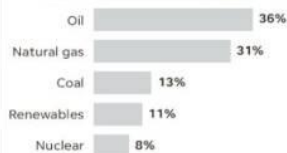
America's main greenhouse gas emissions¹



Countries that produce the most carbon dioxide² from energy use (Metric megatons, annually)



Where America gets its energy



1 — Percentages as of 2017; 2 — Emissions from 2016
SOURCE: NASA, NOAA, International Energy Agency, Union of Concerned Scientists, U.S. Energy Information Administration, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
JIM SERGENT/USA TODAY

Editor's note

For 37 years, USA TODAY has been home to America's conversation. That role is even more important now, with deep divisions standing in the way of thoughtful debate. Leading up to the 2020 election, we'll spotlight areas of agreement and offer solutions to help us come together.

Elizabeth Weise USA TODAY

As Australia burns and the Earth just ended the warmest decade on record, Democrats and Republicans disagree so sharply on climate change ideas that there's no hope of working on the problem, right?

Actually, wrong. Despite all the squabbling, the majority of Americans — of all political parties — say climate change is real and agree on many things we need to do to fix it.

A new Public Agenda/USA TODAY/Ipsos survey finds a preponderance of Americans — Republicans, Democrats and independents — support increasing energy efficiency, modernizing the electric grid, investing in research to remove carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and government help for cities and states to fight climate change.

"The data say — robustly — that Republicans and Democrats agree that climate change is a problem and that we have to do something about it," said Peter Kanerva, director of the Institute for the Environment and Sustainability at the University of California-Los Angeles.

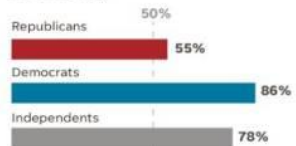
Overall, 86% of Democrats, 55% of Republicans and 78% of independents say they want to reduce the effects of global climate change. That's a total of 72% of Americans who support it.

Ideas for solutions cover substantial ground. Majorities in the poll support:

- Modernizing the power grid to reduce

See ACTION, Page 4

72% of Americans say they want to reduce the effects of climate change, including a majority in each party.



There's wide support on ideas, ...

Modernize the electric grid to reduce waste in energy production and distribution.

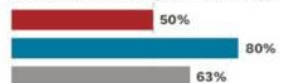


Reforestation, protecting sensitive lands and restoring wetlands



... but financing a plan puts us at odds

Support government spending to help U.S. cities and states fight climate change



SOURCE: USA TODAY/Public Agenda/Hidden Common Ground Survey of 1,006 adults taken online by Ipsos Public Affairs Jan. 10-13. Margin of error +/- 3.5 percentage points.

JIM SERGENT/USA TODAY

Fires have decimated Australia and its wildlife; carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has reached alarming levels; and shrinking icecaps have sounded a planetary distress signal. PHOTOS BY GETTY IMAGES



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ABOUT THIS PROJECT

Hidden Common Ground is a partnership led by Public Agenda and USA TODAY. Other partners include the National Issues Forums Institute,

Ipsos and the America Amplified Public Radio Collaborative. The project challenges the narrative of a hopelessly divided America by reporting on the

areas where Americans agree on solutions. We'll also offer tools for solution-oriented conversations. For more on this project, see Page 4.

Poll: Most independents support Trump's removal

Apart from credit for good economy, positives for president are few in Fox News survey. **In News**

There's no dividing politics from Super Bowl this year

President Trump has made it impossible to just "stick to sports," Dan Wolken writes. **In Sports**



All the sights and sounds from the Grammys

Highs and lows from the red carpet to the stage. usatoday.com/entertainment/music

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | MONDAY, JANUARY 27, 2020

LUZZO BY USA TODAY

ELECTION 2020

Poll shows Biden leads a volatile race in Iowa

Former Vice President Joe Biden leads the field a week before the opening Iowa caucuses, but 45% of those with a preference said it was still possible they might change their minds, a new Suffolk University/USA TODAY Network Poll of the state finds. **In News**

PUBLIC HEALTH

Rush is on to develop vaccine for coronavirus

Ken Alltucker
USA TODAY

Drugmakers are hustling to make a vaccine to counter the rapidly spreading respiratory virus that has sickened at least 1,975 people in China and five in the United States.

The National Institutes of Health has partnered with a Boston-area company, Moderna, on a vaccine targeting the novel coronavirus. A Pennsylvania biotechnology company, Inovio, also secured a \$9 million grant from Norway-based Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations to develop a vaccine. The company already is developing a vaccine for Middle East respiratory syndrome, or MERS, another type of coronavirus.

Officials with the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases say they can quickly develop a vaccine because Chinese scientists rapidly sequenced the virus's genome.

"The agency has the funding and technology," said Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases. "Barring any bureaucratic or regulatory holdups, which I don't think will happen, we can almost certainly get into phase one in three months."

Even if the vaccine is tested rapidly, it might not come in time to slow the outbreak. Public health efforts to limit the spread of the virus and treat those who are infected will have a more immediate benefit.

The virus, which originated in Wuhan, has spread to surrounding regions in China, South Korea, Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, Thailand, Vietnam and the U.S.

Full story on 4A

More inside

Number of cases rises in U.S. 4A



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Kobe Bryant, daughter among 9 killed in crash

Five-time champion, one of the NBA's biggest stars, was 41



Kobe Bryant played for 20 seasons, all of them with the Los Angeles Lakers. He retired in 2016 as a five-time NBA champion. HARRISON HILL/USA TODAY SPORTS

Jeff Zilgitt
USA TODAY

Kobe Bryant, one of basketball's greatest players and most masterful scorers of all time, was among nine people who died Sunday in a helicopter crash in Calabasas, California.

Bryant was 41.

Sheriff Alex Villanueva of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department said at an afternoon news conference that until the coroner identified the bodies he would not confirm any of those who died. But he did say the manifest listed nine people on board.

Early reports had five people killed.

Bryant's 13-year-old daughter, Gianna, also was killed in the crash. In a statement released by the league, NBA commissioner Adam Silver said, "The NBA family is devastated by the tragic passing of Kobe Bryant and his daughter, Gianna."

A person with knowledge of the situation told USA TODAY Gianna and her father were en route to an Amateur Athletic Union basketball game Sunday morning when the helicopter crashed.

Among those also killed was John Altobelli, the 56-year-old head baseball coach at Orange Coast College. School spokesperson Juan Gutierrez confirmed to USA TODAY in an email that Altobelli's wife, Keri, and one of their two daughters, Alyssa, were also aboard the helicopter.

The county Sheriff's Department said all aboard were killed and that the investigation was continuing. Firefighters doused a quarter-acre brush fire at the crash site, fire Capt. Tony Imbrienda said.

The helicopter crashed in Calabasas, a city of about 25,000 people in the Santa Monica Mountains about 30 miles

See BRYANT, Page 3A



Gianna Bryant

Remembering Kobe Bryant

The superstar had moved on to a new, comfortable phase of his basketball life, Dan Wolken writes. **In Sports**



The helicopter, identified as a Sikorsky S-76, slammed into a hillside Sunday in Calabasas, Calif. JAYNE KAMIN-ONCEA/USA TODAY SPORTS

USA TODAY NETWORK INVESTIGATION

State 'purges' of voters raise alarms

Thousands of names can be erroneously removed

Rick Rouan and Doug Caruso
The Columbus Dispatch

ASHLAND, Ohio — A week before Election Day 2016, Bill Gedraitis drove into town to cast an early vote that helped propel Donald Trump to the presidency.

A little more than two years later, Gedraitis' name disappeared from the rolls, a victim of Ohio's 2019 voter

purges that removed more than 460,000 registrations, many for inactivity.

But Gedraitis wasn't an inactive voter. His name was among thousands erroneously targeted for removal last year under a fractured system in which each of Ohio's 88 county boards of elections handles its own voter-registration records. It's a system the state's elections chief called "antiquated and inefficient."

It's time to reform that system, Secretary of State Frank LaRose said in a recent interview in which reporters for the

See VOTER PURGES, Page 3A



Bill Gedraitis voted in 2016 but saw his name vanish from the rolls last year. TOM E. PUSKAR/ASHLAND TIMES-GAZETTE

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Where Smart Investors Get Smarter™

CDC warns Americans to avoid all China travel

In the USA, more than 100 people in 26 states are monitored for coronavirus. **In News**

Barbie and Ken beginning to look a lot more like you

For 2020, Mattel's new Fashionistas line shows diversity is more beautiful than ever. **In Money**



Grammy stage's thrills and thuds

Lil Nas X's joyful "Old Town Road," Demi Lovato's stirring "Anyone" rise above the rest. We review every note. **In Life**

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | TUESDAY, JANUARY 28, 2020



Hundreds gathered Monday across from the Staples Center in Los Angeles. ROBERT HANASHIRO/USA TODAY

How a city full of stars took a shine to Kobe

Bryant stayed in LA, endured, overcame and won it over



Gabe Lacques
Columnist
USA TODAY

In the end, Kobe Bryant stood alone atop Los Angeles. He may remain there in perpetuity.

Over his 41 years, Bryant's stubbornness, his smarts, his people's willingness to forgive and mostly forget, his ability to torch bridges and build them anew and his athletic brilliance netted him five NBA championships, global recognition and, perhaps above all, the elusive and undying love of his adopted hometown.

In death — and it remains jarring to even consider this concept, even as each hour moves us further away from Sunday's helicopter crash that killed Bryant, his daughter Gianna and seven others — that status will only be amplified as Bryant's unreal set of accomplishments are frozen in time.

See LOS ANGELES, Page 4A



HARRISON HILL/USA TODAY

NBA star's copter was flying low in foggy weather

Kevin McCoy, Chris Woodyard and Jorge L. Ortiz
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — The pilot of the helicopter that crashed, killing all nine aboard, including Kobe Bryant, radioed that he was climbing to 2,300 feet to avoid a cloud layer before making a descending left turn and crashing into a mountainside, federal investigators said Monday.

The copter smashed into rugged terrain in Calabasas, California, with such force that it left a crater and hurled the fuselage down the other side of the hill, the National Transportation Safety Board said in giving a preliminary look at the inquiry into Sunday's accident in foggy conditions.

Visibility was so poor Sunday morning that the Los Angeles County Sheriff's and Los Angeles Police departments had grounded their choppers. Asked whether fog might be the cause, NTSB Board Member Jennifer Homendy said only that "that's part of our investigation."

An air traffic controller told the pilot of the helicopter with Bryant aboard shortly before the crash that he was flying below the level needed to be able to lend assistance with tracking, the NTSB said. The pilot was flying under

See CRASH, Page 4A

Lives lost

- Kobe Bryant
- Gianna Bryant
- John Altobelli
- Keri Altobelli
- Alyssa Altobelli
- Sarah Chester
- Payton Chester
- Christina Mauser
- Ara Zobayan (pilot)

In Money

Bryant brought his stardom to the entertainment and business worlds.

In Sports

A window into Kobe Bryant through his final interview.

SENATE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL

Bolton book adds to call for witnesses

Dems say claims that aid hinged on Biden inquiry contradict defense

Christal Hayes, Bart Jansen and John D'Anna
USA TODAY

As President Donald Trump's defense team continued to attack the Democrats' case for impeachment Monday, one question was whether revelations in a forthcoming book by Trump's former national security adviser John Bolton would convince enough Republicans to agree to call witnesses in the trial, a move that could prolong the proceedings into next week or beyond.

Republicans began the second of their allotted three days of arguments Monday in the hopes of ending the historic trial by Friday.

Leaked details from a draft of Bolton's book, first reported by The New York Times on Sunday, threatened to derail those plans and put Republicans on the defensive. In the book, Bolton says Trump personally told him he hoped to withhold nearly \$400 million in military aid for Ukraine until the country announced investigations into political rival Joe Biden and his son Hunter.

The House impeachment managers and Senate Minority Leader Charles Schumer, D-N.Y., said that Bolton's reported claims directly contradict elements of Trump's defense and that a fair trial requires his testimony.

Trump denied Bolton's account in a tweet Monday and in front of reporters at the White House.

Bolton was not a part of the House impeachment inquiry. Democrats from the House Intelligence and Judiciary committees considered subpoenaing him but decided against it. Bolton followed a presidential directive not to testify voluntarily.

At least two GOP senators, Susan Collins of Maine and Mitt Romney of Utah, said they may be open to calling witnesses in the trial so they can hear from Bolton.

At least two more Republicans would need to agree to reach the 51 votes necessary to include testimony from witnesses in the trial.



Bolton

Full story on 3A



Mitt Romney draws special attention in the Senate. AP

Making a case to 5 audiences

The trial's prosecution and defense are directing their arguments to the senator jurors, but they're not speaking only to them. **Analysis, 3A**

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Costa Rica
Arenal Volcano, Hanging Bridges, Guanacaste, Pacific Coast, Manuel Antonio, Tarcoles River, Wildlife Rescue, Coffee Tour, Sarchi, Fortuna, Rio Frio Cruise, Tortuga Park.

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Goodbye, 'The Good Place' – you've been wonderful

Thursday's series finale will leave a huge void on television, Hannah Yasharoff writes. **In Life**

Terms and conditions: We 'agree,' but not really

Survey finds that 91% of internet users blindly give away their privacy. **In Money**

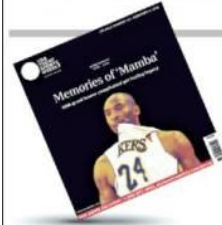


Americans will flee coronavirus epicenter

Consulate staffers and other U.S. citizens are to be flown out of stricken city of Wuhan, China will allow global health experts in. **In News**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 2020



SPORTS WEEKLY
Remembering Kobe
The life and career of one of the NBA's biggest stars. On newsstands and at onlinestore.usatoday.com.

Bodies recovered as NTSB seeks clues

Chris Woodyard and Kevin McCoy
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES – Flying aboard a luxury helicopter with a veteran pilot at the controls, Kobe Bryant and his seven fellow passengers should have had few worries.

Their Sikorsky S-76B that would whisk them roughly 90 miles from Orange County to Ventura County was "like the Cadillac Escalade" of choppers, recalled Kurt Deetz, a former pilot for Bryant. That model is a sleek craft with dual engines equipped with "all the bells and whistles," Deetz said.

Yet, despite all the safety measures, the copter crashed Sunday in Calabasas, California. The hillside is short of Bryant's giant sports complex in nearby Thousand Oaks.

Those aboard, including the retired NBA superstar's 13-year-old daughter Gianna, were killed. The remains of all nine have now been recovered from the site being patrolled by sheriff's deputies on horses and ATVs to keep out lookyloos, Los Angeles County authorities said.

Federal investigators continued to collect and examine evidence Tuesday to try to unravel the mystery of what caused the crash. National Transportation Safety Board members have been using drones to document the scene, and FBI agents are sifting through the 600-foot debris field.

More inside

Pilot's audio gave no hint of alarm. **4A**



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USA TODAY Snapshots

The most Super cities

Super Bowl LIV will be played in Miami, marking the city's 11th time hosting. The top hosts in the event's history:

Miami	11
New Orleans	10
Pasadena, Calif.	5
Tampa, Fla.	4
Atlanta	3
Houston	3
San Diego	3
Detroit	2
Glendale, Ariz.	2
Los Angeles	2
Minneapolis	2



SOURCE: Pro Football Hall of Fame
AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY

SENATE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL

Trump's team: Justice demands an acquittal



White House deputy counsel Patrick Philbin speaks in defense of President Donald Trump in the Senate chamber Tuesday as the president's legal team used two hours of arguments to rest its case. SENATE TELEVISION VIA AP

Starting today, senator-jurors query both sides

Bart Jansen, Ledyard King and John D'Anna
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – President Donald Trump's defense team rested its case after two hours Tuesday, arguing that the charges against him do not warrant impeachment, much less his removal from office, and that "lowering the bar" would present a danger to the country.

"These articles must be rejected," said Jay Sekulow, one of Trump's private attorneys. "The Constitution requires it. Justice demands it."

Sekulow argued that the impeachment was based on policy differences between Democrats in Congress and the Republican administration, rather than crimes that required Trump's removal from office.

"If that becomes the new norm, future presidents – Democrats and Republicans – will be paralyzed the moment they are elected," Sekulow said. "The bar for impeachment cannot be set this low."

He repeated a phrase as a warning to senators: "Danger, danger, danger."

Trump's lawyers began the day with 15 hours and 33 minutes of their allotted 24 hours remaining. Chief Justice John Roberts pointed out that they would not be able to use all of it by the end of the day. White House defense lawyer Pat Cipollone assured him that wouldn't be a problem and promised to finish "by dinnertime and well before."

The team wrapped up around 3 p.m., leaving nearly 13 hours on the clock.

The trial moves to its next phase, 16 hours of questions from the senators, beginning at 1 p.m. Wednesday. Under strict procedural rules adopted last week on the trial's first day, senators are prohibited from speaking and will pass their written questions to Roberts.



Former national security adviser John Bolton has a memoir scheduled for release in March about his time in the Trump administration. Democrats seized on allegations that President Trump told Bolton he wanted to withhold aid for Ukraine as leverage for an investigation into Joe Biden. LUIS M. ALVAREZ/AP

Bolton stirs rage from the right, but he's used to fights

David Jackson, John Fritze and Michael Collins
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – John Bolton served in senior roles in the Reagan and Bush administrations, was a Fox News commentator and had a tumultuous tenure as President Donald Trump's national security adviser.

Now, Bolton has a new title: conservative target.

Since The New York Times reported that Bolton's soon-to-be-published book alleges Trump demanded Ukraine investigate Democrats in exchange for foreign aid, the reaction from the president's allies has been fierce. Republicans denounced Bolton as an opportunist, looking to cash in through a book airing unflattering details amid the Senate impeachment trial.

"I've repeatedly called him 'Book Deal Bolton,'" said Jason Miller, a former Trump campaign official and conservative podcast co-host, echoing an accusation from the president that the former White House aide is trying to gin up book sales. "People 'feel betrayed by John Bolton,'" Miller said.

Bolton's memoir, "The Room Where It Happened," says Trump told him he wanted to freeze nearly \$400 million in Ukraine aid until officials in Kiev opened an investigation into former Vice President Joe Biden, according to The New York Times.

A central Trump defense is that the money was withheld over concerns about corruption in Ukraine.

While the White House and Trump's allies sought to marginalize Bolton, those close to him predicted the veteran of Washington knife fights

"These articles must be rejected. The Constitution requires it."

Trump attorney Jay Sekulow

What's happening today

The Senate impeachment trial continues Wednesday at 1 p.m. EST with eight hours of written questions from senators, which can be posed to either the House Democrats prosecuting the case or the president's defense lawyers. Questions will be read by Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts, who is presiding.

Follow live updates from our political team at usatoday.com.

See TRIAL, Page 3A

See BOLTON, Page 3A

Americans to wager \$6.8B on big game

A record 26 million expected to place legal bets. **In Money**



Tag along with Jack to the 'Puppy Bowl'

Could this coffee-colored cutie come out the winner? **In Life**

ANIMAL PLANET



Super Bowl LIV: Chiefs, 49ers ready for battle

San Francisco struck gold with Garoppolo. Win would be ultimate prize for Kansas City's Andy Reid. **Preview, picks in Sports**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | WEEKEND | JAN. 31 - FEB. 2, 2020

USA TODAY SPORTS

SENATE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL

Case winds down with sides dug in

Thursday's conclusion of the two-day question phase of President Donald Trump's impeachment trial set up pivotal votes Friday about whether the Senate would call witnesses and prolong the two-week trial or whether it would move toward wrapping up the proceedings with an expected acquittal. The votes come ahead of Monday's Iowa caucuses and Tuesday's State of the Union address.

More on 5A and at usatoday.com.

Multiple candidates could 'win' the Iowa caucuses

Convoluted results would muddy Democratic race

Brianne Pfannenstiel
Des Moines Register | USA TODAY NETWORK

DES MOINES, Iowa — Presidential candidates have spent millions of dollars and months of their lives chasing a win in Iowa's caucuses, but new rules adopted this year open the possibility — some insiders call it a probability — that multiple candidates could "win."

ELECTION 2020

Is the US ready to elect a woman for president?

Fewer voters think so, according to a new USA TODAY/psos poll. **4A**

staffers have long acknowledged the chaos and confusion that could emerge, fretting over what it could mean for this year's caucus as well as future ones.

For decades, the winner of Iowa's caucuses has been decided by a com-

plicated system of state delegate equivalents, which operates kind of like the Electoral College. Unlike in the November presidential vote, though, Iowa's tally of popular support was never released.

But on Monday night, the Iowa Democratic Party will publish two raw vote totals and the delegate numbers from caucus night.

So one candidate could win one or both of the delegate counts but lose the popular vote. That would open a new

See **IOWA CAUCUSES**, Page **4A**



Locals carry on a Little Havana tradition in historic Domino Park. PHOTOS BY SANDY HOOPER/USA TODAY

Little Havana's big exodus

New demographics, development change the face of Cuban enclave

Alan Gomez USA TODAY

MIAMI — Just past the row of Cuban restaurants, past the park where Cubans spend their days playing dominoes, past the crowing roosters and the Bay of Pigs Memorial, there's a cigar shop in the heart of Little Havana.

Inside Casa del Tabaco, native Cubans spend their days rolling the cigars that have become as synonymous with the Cuban experience as rum, baseball and salsa dancing.

The tobacco leaves used to roll those iconic stogies hold a secret: The seeds are from Cuba, but the plants are grown in Nicaragua, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic. The store itself has another surprise: Its owner, René Díaz, isn't Cuban. He's from Chile.

That same dichotomy plays out on a larger scale throughout Little Havana. The once predominantly Cuban enclave has changed dramatically in recent years, and development threatens to plow over the historic neighborhood as the population has morphed into a hodgepodge of people from Mexico, Central America, South America and the Caribbean. The area will receive a fresh wave of tourists as Miami hosts Super Bowl LIV.

Little Havana isn't even majority-Cuban anymore. Officials estimate that the neighborhood of 60,000 is only about a third Cuban.

See **LITTLE HAVANA**, Page **3A**

Hecho en USA

The USA TODAY Network series Hecho en USA, or Made in America, focuses on the nation's growing Latino community. Roughly 80% of all Latinos living in the USA are American citizens, but media coverage of Hispanics tends to focus on immigration and crime, instead of how Latino families live, work and learn in their hometowns. Hecho en USA tells the stories of the nation's 59.9 million Latinos — a growing economic and cultural force, many of whom are born in the USA.



Rodolfo Amaro Beltrán, a native of Cuba, inspects handmade cigars at Casa del Tabaco.

See **LITTLE HAVANA**, Page **3A**

Barcode and publication information for USA TODAY.

USA TODAY Snapshots
Wings could reach new heights this year

Americans are projected to eat 1.4 billion chicken wings over the upcoming Super Bowl weekend — a record. That's enough to circle the Earth's circumference three times.



SOURCE: National Chicken Council Chicken Wing Report. AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPUNG/USA TODAY

Coronavirus is declared a worldwide emergency

About the virus
Health officials believe the new virus spreads mainly from droplets when an infected person coughs or sneezes.

In Money
Outbreak could delay items getting to stores.

US reports first case of person-to-person spread
Doug Stanglin, Ken Alltucker and Grace Hauck
USA TODAY

As the death toll from the coronavirus climbed to 70, the World Health Organization declared a global health emergency on Thursday and health officials in the United States reported the nation's first case of person-to-person spread of the virus.

The U.N. health agency defines an international emergency as an "extraordinary event" that constitutes a risk to other countries and requires a coordinated international response.

Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, director-general of WHO, which held its Emergency Committee meeting in Geneva, said there are 98 cases of cor-

onavirus in 117 countries outside China. Tedros praised China for its quick response to the crisis, which broke out in December, and said the emergency declaration "is not a vote of no confidence in China."

The goal of the declaration, he said, was to provide support for countries with weaker health care systems.

Among the committee's seven-point recommendations, he said, were speeding up the development of vaccines and diagnostics and reviewing each country's preparedness plans. There was no need for measures that would "unnecessarily interfere" with international trade and travel, he said.

Tedros stressed the need for countries to share data, knowledge and experience. "This is the time for facts, not fear," he said. "This is the time for science, not rumors. This is the time

See **CORONAVIRUS**, Page **3A**



Black History Month special edition

On newsstands now: This year's edition features our 1619 project and tons more features on voting rights, education, business, diversity and more. Purchase your copy at onlinestore.usatoday.com.

Student debt puts weddings on back burner

One-third of young Americans wait until loans paid off. **In Money**



Smart locks may not always be so smart

High tech is still at the mercy of old-school power and may not always work. **In Money**

SUPER BOWL LIV

EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT CHIEFS WIN

Kansas City won its first Super Bowl in 50 years, beating the San Francisco 49ers 31-20. With the Chiefs down by 10 points in the 4th quarter, quarterback Patrick Mahomes led a 21-0 scoring spree to take the NFL title. **In Sports**

Full coverage at nfl.usatoday.com

Catch all the action from the battle of the Chiefs and 49ers.



VINCE LOMBARDI TROPHY BY KIRBY LEE/USA TODAY SPORTS

USA TODAY AD METER

Who won the big game Sunday night? That's right, for the 32nd consecutive year, USA TODAY crowns the best Super Bowl commercials, ranking the ads based on audience votes. See every commercial and the final results at admeter.usatoday.com.

Iowa caucuses test candidates



From left, Democratic presidential candidates Joe Biden, Pete Buttigieg, Amy Klobuchar, Bernie Sanders, Tom Steyer, Elizabeth Warren and Andrew Yang. PHOTOS BY AP

USA TODAY EXPLAINS

This contest isn't your run-of-the-mill primary

Rebecca Morin
USA TODAY

DES MOINES – The day you've been hearing about for months is finally upon us: the Iowa caucuses.

Iowa's first-in-the-nation caucuses on Monday kick off the start of the primary election season, and many Democratic presidential candidates have been zigzagging across the state in the week leading up to the big night.

But the Iowa caucuses are different than other primaries, and there is some

specific terminology you might hear Monday that seems sort of ... odd. Well, we're here to help.

Here are some common questions about the Iowa caucuses, and what you need to know while waiting for the results:

What is a caucus?

First things first. A caucus is a party-organized

See **PRIMER**, Page 3A

Validity concern halts poll release

A release of the Iowa Poll was canceled over the weekend after Pete Buttigieg's campaign complained his name had been omitted by a poll interviewer. **3A**

NH voters watch how Iowa goes

As the Feb. 11 primary nears, New Hampshire Democrats say the race is in greater flux than usual. Iowa's outcome could have a bigger impact. **4A**

What happens now: 5 questions tonight's caucuses will answer

Brianne Pfannenstiel
The Des Moines Register
USA TODAY NETWORK

DES MOINES – For more than a year, the 2020 Democratic presidential campaign has played out like a long, complicated novel with characters developing, conflicts arising and questions building about how the climax will finally play out.

Although Iowa's caucuses are likely to raise as many questions as they answer, there will finally be a sense of resolution as the last chapter of the 2020 Iowa caucus cycle comes to a close Monday night.

Here's a look at what we'll learn once the results

See **5 THINGS**, Page 3A

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USA TODAY Snapshots

Past winners of Iowa's Democratic presidential caucuses

EVENTUAL NOMINEE	CAUCUS SUPPORT
Edmund Muskie (1972)	35.5%
Jimmy Carter (1976)	27.2%
Walter Mondale (1984)	48.9%
Richard Gephardt (1988)	31.3%
Tom Harkin (1992)	76.5%
Al Gore (2000)	53.4%
John Kerry (2004)	37.1%
Barack Obama (2008)	37.6%
Hillary Clinton (2016)	49.9%

SOURCE: Des Moines Register
AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY

15th Amendment paved way for black voting rights

Some caution its spirit violated 150 years later

Rick Jervis
USA TODAY

The 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals struck down an Arizona law last week that would have criminalized the delivery of other people's early ballots. In its decision, the 11-judge panel mentioned the 15th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution 19 times, reaching back 150 years to halt what's perceived as modern-day voter suppression.

The lasting power of the 15th Amendment, which awarded African Americans the right to vote, resonates today in courtrooms across America. But Civil War scholars and voting rights advocates warn that the amendment should serve as a cautionary

See **AMENDMENT**, Page 6A



Jared Mollenkopf, who had waited overnight outside the Minneapolis Early Voting Center, was among the first voters in the 2020 election when the center opened at 8 a.m. Friday. AP

SENATE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL

Case moves toward vote Wednesday

The Senate impeachment trial of President Donald Trump will conclude this week, capping a monthlong saga over Trump's dealings with Ukraine.

Democrats accuse Trump of withholding aid from the ally nation in exchange for investigations into his political rival.

Lawmakers scheduled the final vote on whether to acquit or convict and remove Trump from office for Wednesday.

Closing arguments begin Monday.

More on **4A** and at usatoday.com

Buttigieg's narrow lead is holding up in Iowa

Sanders remains close behind in latest count, followed by Warren, Biden, Klobuchar. **In News**

Coronavirus infections of infants are reported

If cases are confirmed, they could be a troubling new twist in battle to contain outbreak. **In News**

Kirk Douglas, Hollywood's statesman, dies at 103

The rugged "Spartacus" star, who survived a stroke in 1996, was the embodiment of the old-fashioned movie star. **In News**



GABRIEL BOUYS/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 2020

ACQUITTED

Article I: Abuse of power. 52 Not guilty 48 Guilty | Article II: Obstruction of Congress. 53 Not guilty 47 Guilty



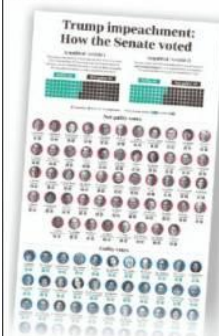
President Donald Trump, photographed leaving the White House on Jan. 30, was cleared Wednesday of the two articles of impeachment against him. ALEX BRANDON/AP

WHAT'S NEXT?

Key figures will see impact in 2020 races

The trial may be over, but its results will be felt by politicians long after. **5A**

VOTE TALLY



Full-page breakdown of Senate trial vote

See where each senator lined up on the two impeachment counts. **4A**

Tougher than Teflon? Trump shows resilience

Susan Page
Washington Bureau Chief
USA TODAY

Loved, hated and feared, Donald Trump has proved once again that he is the most resilient politician in modern American history. Neither the ridicule of the political establishment toward the idea that he could win the White House nor the two-year investigation by a special counsel nor impeachment by the House of Representatives has bowed Trump or even prompted him to temper the brash, blunderbuss style that has brought him this far.

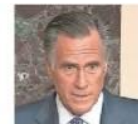
The Senate acquitted the president

ANALYSIS

Wednesday of two articles of impeachment that charged he abused power by pressuring Ukraine to investigate a political rival, then obstructed Congress in an effort to cover it up. Trump cheered the unsurprising verdict as vindication. Rep. Adam Schiff, D-Calif., the lead House impeachment manager, warned that the president may feel more empowered and emboldened as a result, having rebuffed the Constitution's most severe penalty.

The vote didn't even come close to the two-thirds majority needed to remove the president from office: 52-48 to reject the first article of impeachment and 53-47 to reject the

See **TEFLON**, Page 5A



"The president's purpose was personal and political. ... The president is guilty of an appalling abuse of the public trust."

Mitt Romney
The sole Republican senator to vote guilty, on one article. Page 5A

Hours of ritual yielded moments to remember

John D'Anna USA TODAY

The historic impeachment trial of President Donald Trump formally began on a Thursday in January, when Chief Justice John Roberts was sworn in to preside over the affair.

Over the course of three tumultuous weeks, senators – and the country – listened to hours of arguments from House impeachment managers and lawyers for the president. Senators got to pose questions. They rejected motions to call witnesses.

And then they moved to a vote on the two articles of impeachment – abuse of power and obstruction of Congress – that had been approved in December by the House of Repre-

sentatives. Here's a look at some of the memorable moments of the trial:

First-day fracas

As the marathon first-day rule-setting session dragged into the wee hours, tempers began to flare, which required the constitutionally anointed adult in the room, Roberts, to step in.

As the clock ticked toward 1:30 a.m., House impeachment manager Jerry Nadler, D-N.Y., argued passionately in favor of a Democratic

See **MOMENTS**, Page 6A



"This was a thoroughly political exercise from the beginning to the end."

Majority Leader Mitch McConnell

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Chinese military is accused in massive Equifax hack

Personal info of 145 million Americans exposed in 2017; how the FBI says it was done. **In Money**

Philip Rivers, Chargers part ways after 16 years

Six places the Los Angeles leader could end up as the NFL QB carousel begins to spin. **In Sports**



Rub elbows with the A-list at the Oscars

USA TODAY's primo spot steps from the stage at Sunday's big show gives you an inside look at what happens behind the scenes. **In Life**

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 2020

Trump plan: Eliminate \$4.6T deficit in 15 years

Michael Collins and David Jackson
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Donald Trump promised during his presidential campaign in 2016 that he would wipe out the federal deficit in eight years.

When Trump submitted his fourth proposed budget to Congress on Monday, he abandoned that pledge, as he did in his three previous budget proposals.

The new proposal sets a 15-year target for eliminating the deficit.

Deficit hawks questioned whether the target Trump spelled out is attainable. They argued that the administration's budget relies on optimistic projections for economic growth and unlikely budget cuts to claim \$4.6 trillion in deficit reduction.

"Frankly, budgeting has become pretty much a joke in this country, where budgets are used as messaging documents and an excuse to trade insults," said Moya MacGuineas, president of the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget.

This year's trillion-dollar deficit "should cause us to rethink this dynamic," MacGuineas said. "The president and Congress should work to agree on national priorities and sound plans to pay for them. Sure, it sounds like a pipe dream, but in the world's largest economy, it should be a given."

While Democrats control the House of Representatives, Trump's \$4.89 trillion spending plan stands no chance of winning approval in Congress.

Full story on 2A



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USA TODAY Snapshots
Democratic or Democratic-leaning voters who say Iowa and New Hampshire going first is ...



SOURCE: Pew Research Center, Jan. 2020 survey
AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANESTA/USA TODAY

ELECTION 2020

New Hampshire vote today could be pivotal



Former Vice President Joe Biden greets a voter at a campaign event Monday in Gilford, N.H., as Democratic presidential candidates rallied support on the eve of today's primary. JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES

Elections process improving despite meltdown in Iowa

Richard Wolf and Kristine Phillips
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — The technological meltdown Feb. 3 that turned Iowa's Democratic caucuses into fodder for comedians and conspiracy theorists has cast an untimely pall over the improving methods by which Americans vote.

For nearly 20 years, since Florida's hanging chads delayed the 2000 presidential election results for 35 days, federal, state and local officials have invested billions of dollars in voting machines, registration databases, training programs and more.

Ironically, the end result has been a return to paper ballots, along with a trend toward early voting that has siphoned some of the stress from Election Day. Polls show voters have faith in how their ballots are counted, though they fear hackers and foreign actors.

Since the Russian attempts to interfere in the 2016 presidential election, more states have switched to paper ballots, says David Becker, executive director of the Center for Election Innovation and Research. Congress has also appropriated \$800 million to help states strengthen their election infrastructure.

"Elections are mostly better run than ever be-

See ELECTIONS, Page 3A

"If you've (wondered) why we don't have online voting or what's wrong with paperless voting machines, you have your answer. Relying solely on software to tally votes is not a good idea."

Larry Norden
 Brennan Center for Justice

Paper ballots are still king

■ In 2016, 75% of voters used paper; since then, Georgia, South Carolina and most of Pennsylvania have come on board.

■ By November, more than 90% of ballots will be cast on paper.

NH coverage

Visit usatoday.com for live updates on today's New Hampshire primary.

Biden's fighting, but his fortunes are fading

Ledyard King and Joey Garrison
USA TODAY

GILFORD, N.H. — Joe Biden has frequently cited his electability over President Donald Trump as a chief selling point of his campaign. But on the eve of the New Hampshire primary, the former vice president is battling for his political future in a state that has a history of determining who the nominee will be.

Suddenly scrambling to stay out of fifth place in Tuesday's New Hampshire primary, Biden told a couple of hundred of voters Monday. "Excuse my language, but I'll be damned if I stand by and watch us lose this country to Donald Trump a second time.

"Let's get up and take back this country and take it back now," he said, striking a fighting tone inside a basement church to a group of mostly senior voters and retirees in a rural part of the state near Lake Winnepesaukee, north of Concord.

Biden came to the Granite State after a disappointing fourth-place finish in the Iowa Democratic caucuses last week. Even he conceded he wouldn't be in the winner's circle when the Granite State finishes counting ballots in its first-in-the-nation primary.

See BIDEN, Page 3A

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China reports coronavirus killed 103 in a single day

Total deaths climb past 1,000; health experts unveil new formal name, COVID-19. **In News**

Oscars 2021 buzz already? It's never too early to start

Some movies don't even have release dates yet, but we won't let that stop us. **In Life**

Ex-Astros player 'remorseful' for scandal

Now with the Twins, Marwin Gonzalez starts camp with an apology for stealing signs during 2017 Series. **In Sports**



USA TODAY

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ERIK WILLIAMS/USA TODAY SPORTS



Steven Moran runs the steel-encased High Technology Analysis Unit. KEVIN JOHNSON/USA TODAY

An iPhone code war rages in NYC vault

Investigators hack away in \$10 million cyberlab

Kevin Johnson USA TODAY

NEW YORK — Inside a steel-encased vault in lower Manhattan, investigators bombard an Apple iPhone 7 with a jumble of numerical codes generated by nearby computers.

The grinding exercise has continued for the past 21 months with a singular aim: Crack the phone's passcode, so police can extract potential evidence in an aging attempted murder investigation.

Despite the formidable resources of a \$10 million cyberlab operated by the Manhattan District Attorney's Office — including costly assistance provided by private sleuths — the phone has won.

Last month, Attorney General William Barr revived the titanic struggle between law enforcement and Big Tech when he disclosed that the FBI couldn't unlock two iPhones used by a Saudi officer who opened fire at a Navy base in Florida in December.

The breadth of the ground war waged against encrypted phones, tablets and other devices seized in criminal inquiries is perhaps best appreciated

See VAULT, Page 4A

ELECTION 2020 NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY

Democrats struggle to fire up their voters

Crowd size matters as party feels weight of Trump rallies



Voters cast their ballots Tuesday in Concord, N.H. JOSEPH PREZIOSO/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

John Fritze and Courtney Subramanian USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — As the Democratic presidential candidates begin a sprint to determine who will take on President Donald Trump this fall, party insiders are wrestling with another consequential uncertainty: whether voters are already tuning out.

Lower-than-expected participation in the Feb. 3 Iowa caucuses and massive audiences at Trump's rallies that have eclipsed those of his rivals — including one on the eve of the New Hampshire primary — have undermined an early narrative that Democrats are so energized after losing in 2016 that they're ready to show up in droves in 2020.

As the nation parses the results of the New Hampshire primary Tuesday for signs of who might emerge from the crowded field to be the Democratic nominee, party leaders will also scrutinize turnout figures to assess whether

they're facing the same enthusiasm headwinds that worked against Hillary Clinton four years ago.

"Democrats can't just take it for granted that we'll have an enthusiasm advantage in November," said Josh Schwerin of Priorities USA Action, a political action committee that supports Democratic candidates. "Just having Trump on the ballot isn't enough."

Democrats are increasingly worried about Trump's advantages, from the strong economy to the volatility in their own field. Two-thirds of voters expect Trump to be reelected in November even as most Americans believe he doesn't deserve a second term, according to a Monmouth University Poll released Tuesday. Just 11% of Democrats said their party's nominee will "definitely beat" Trump, while 38% of Democrats said it's more likely than not that Trump will win a second term.

See ENTHUSIASM, Page 4A

Next contests

- Feb. 22:** Nevada Democratic caucus
- Feb. 29:** South Carolina Democratic primary
- March 3, Super Tuesday:** Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont and Virginia primaries; American Samoa Democratic caucuses

Paper ballots

The Nevada State Democratic Party will use scannable paper ballots for its Feb. 22 caucus.

A memo confirms early voters will fill out paper ballots that will later be sent to party-run "processing hubs" for scanning and storage. Organizers of Nevada's contest last week ditched the smartphone app widely blamed for Iowa's results-reporting fiasco.

— James DeHaven, Reno Gazette Journal

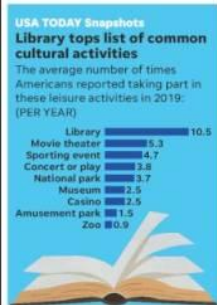
One-stop guide to Election 2020

New Hampshire primary: For results, photos, videos and real-time campaign analysis, visit usatoday.com.

Learn more about where candidates stand: Visit 2020issues.usatoday.com.

Viewer guide: Don't have a lot of time? Find FAQs on the key issues and more. Visit voterguide.usatoday.com.

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LGBTQ RIGHTS Progress toward equality uneven

Over decade, major strides are countered by setbacks

USA TODAY

A new report on the status of LGBTQ rights over the past decade shows significant leaps forward as well as stymied progression toward equality in half the country.

The Movement Advancement Project report, out Tuesday, tracks nearly 40 LGBTQ-related policies and laws in all 50 states, the District of Columbia and the five U.S. territories. It touts strides such as the 2015 Supreme Court ruling on same-sex marriage and notes that from 2010 to 2020, the number of states that have banned health care discrimination against LGBTQ people more than doubled. In the same period, however, backlash was seen in the form of religious exemption laws and bills targeting transgender people's rights.

Full story on 3A

Prosecutors drop out of Roger Stone case



Roger Stone, a former campaign adviser for President Donald Trump, is scheduled to be sentenced to prison on Feb. 20. JOSE LUIS MAGANA/AP

Uproar comes after feds backtrack on stiff sentence

Kristine Phillips and Kevin Johnson USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department backed away from a stiff prison sentence recommended for Roger Stone, a longtime ally of President Donald Trump — an unusual move that comes after Trump's public criticism of the recommendation and overrules the department's career prosecutors.

The backtracking was met with swift backlash Tuesday. In a matter of hours, four attorneys who worked on Stone's case and prepared the sentencing recommendation abruptly quit the prosecution team. Democrats called for an investigation, accusing the Justice Department of political meddling in a criminal prosecution.

See STONE, Page 6A

Americans' credit card debt hits record-high \$1.1 trillion

And the No. 1 reason people carry a balance? Groceries, new survey shows. **In Money**

Cruising is in a quandary amid coronavirus scare

Outbreaks of illness have hit industry before, but these waters are uncharted. **In Life**

Pass-happy philosophy could boost LeBron

James' highlight reel moves have lifted him to No. 8 on NBA's all-time assists list, and he's likely to climb higher. **In Sports**

USA TODAY

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BILL STREICHER/USA TODAY SPORTS

USA TODAY EXCLUSIVE



Colin Kaepernick plans a memoir this year. He says he still wants to play in the NFL. AMARI KENOLY/RA VISION MEDIA

Why speak up now? Kaepernick tells us

NFL outcast ready to share story of activism, admonition



Jarrett Bell
Columnist
USA TODAY

Colin Kaepernick's voice is getting stronger.

That much is clear as the former NFL quarterback plans to announce Thursday he is writing a memoir to be released this year through his newly formed company, Kaepernick Publishing.

"I learned early on that in fighting against systematic oppression, dehumanization and colonization, who controls the narrative shapes the reality of how the world views society," Kaepernick said Wednesday in an exclusive interview with USA TODAY Sports. "It controls who's loved, who's hated,

who's degraded and who's celebrated."

Kaepernick, 32, has been unsigned by NFL teams since 2017 after he protested police brutality against African Americans and other social injustices by kneeling during the national anthem the previous season as a member of the San Francisco 49ers.

His yet-to-be-named memoir should fill in the gaps of the past few years, as well as provide more insight on the motivation and methods behind his activism. Though Kaepernick has been engaged in self-empowerment efforts for black and brown people through his Know Your Rights Camps, he has rarely conducted news media interviews or been available in other public forums.

See **KAEPERNICK**, Page 6A



Kaepernick played six seasons for the 49ers. He has been unsigned by NFL teams since 2017. CARY EDMONDSON/USA TODAY SPORTS

Barr stands by Trump — at all costs

Attorney general steps into line of fire again

Kevin Johnson, Kristine Phillips and Dennis Wagner
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — With the end of the Russia investigation looming, William Barr went to Capitol Hill soon after taking office to assure anxious lawmakers he was fully engaged in "landing the plane" for the public rollout of Robert Mueller's explosive 22-month inquiry.

Barr's intervention unleashed a political firestorm: He concluded there was insufficient evidence to charge President Donald Trump with obstruction of justice.

It was only the beginning. A year after his confirmation Feb. 14, 2019, Barr and his Justice Department have embraced the mantle of Trump's defender-in-chief even if it risks sacrificing the department's long-prized independence, former Justice officials and legal analysts said.

His agency's decision to back away from a stiff prison sentence recommended for Trump confidant Roger Stone has brought fresh recriminations. Democrats have called for an investigation, and Barr has been summoned back to Capitol Hill to explain himself.

From the White House, however, there was the requisite, warm acknowledgement from an appreciative president.

"Congratulations to Attorney General Bill Barr for taking charge of a case that was totally out of control and perhaps should not have even been brought," Trump tweeted Wednesday, a day after four federal prosecutors assigned to Stone's case withdrew from the case in apparent protest.

Indeed, Barr has stepped into the breach at virtually every opportunity to guide Trump to safe harbor and offer a muscular defense of the president's authority. The attorney general helped shield the president from the most damning of Mueller's findings, and Barr's public summary led the special counsel to complain that his report had been mischaracterized.

Last spring, Barr startled lawmakers by declaring that federal authorities had spied on the president's campaign. Then he announced a new investigation into the origins of Mueller's inquiry.

In August, the Justice Department delayed Congress from receiving a whistleblower's complaint about Trump's dealings with Ukraine. And in a stinging address in November before the Federalist Society, Barr endorsed a sweeping view of presidential authority and cast the myriad investigations that



William Barr

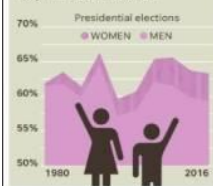
See **BARR**, Page 3A



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USA TODAY Snapshots

The League of Women Voters was founded 100 years ago Friday
A century after they gained the right to vote, American women are more likely than men to exercise it:



Among eligible U.S. adults, self-reported
SOURCE: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers
AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY

ELECTION 2020

NH propels Klobuchar, but how far?

Path ahead in Dem field remains a challenge

Ledyard King and Deirdre Shesgreen
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Sen. Amy Klobuchar's surprisingly strong third-place finish in the New Hampshire primary Tuesday generated an immediate fundraising haul and coveted momentum heading into Nevada.

What's less clear for the Minnesota senator is her path to the Democratic presidential nomination in a still-crowded field where most of her rivals are better known and have built larger field organizations in Nevada, South Carolina and the Super Tuesday states that loom ahead.

Veteran Democratic strategists say Klobuchar's challenge now is to mobilize and be competitive in those final early contests.

Full story on 2A



"What I do is get things done. What I have is your back," Amy Klobuchar told supporters Tuesday. AP

PRIMARY RESULTS

Sanders wins

With 100% reporting:

- Bernie Sanders:** 76,324 votes; 25.7%
- Pete Buttigieg:** 72,457 votes; 24.4%
- Amy Klobuchar:** 58,796 votes; 19.8%
- Elizabeth Warren:** 27,387 votes; 9.2%
- Joe Biden:** 24,921 votes; 8.4%
- Tom Steyer:** 10,721 votes; 3.6%

More inside

Three Democratic candidates drop out within 24 hours. 2A

In Greenville, SC, blacks did integration's heavy lifting

Students recall how their lives changed with the move in schools 50 years ago. **In News**

'Visible' promotes TV's need to include LGBTQ

Apple TV Plus series shows how portrayals of gay characters have changed. **In Life**



MARK J. REBELAS/USA TODAY SPORTS

20 laps in, rain delays Daytona 500 until Monday

Drivers had 180 laps to go when officials threw a red flag, postponing the biggest race of the NASCAR Cup Series season. **In Sports**

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 2020



'The tongue is a fire'
Southern Baptist church fractures over secrets and spiritual abuse

Tricia L. Nadolny
USA TODAY

CAMP HILL, Pa. — On a Sunday morning in late 2017, Oakwood Baptist Church pastor Donald Foose stood before his congregation and preached about the destructive power of gossip.

"The tongue is a fire," Foose declared, reading from the Letter of James. He held up a piece of paper with his own name and the name of the church on it. With his other hand, he struck a match — and lit the paper ablaze.

"Look what that little fire did," he said once the sheet had burned. "It destroyed me. It destroyed the church. It destroyed the unity of the church. And I'm amazed that I didn't catch the place on fire."

Within six months that sermon would seem like an attempt to smother questions leading straight to Foose's disturbing past. The details emerged regardless.

In 2000, Foose was convicted and jailed for molesting an underage relative. He resigned from his role as principal of a Christian school, and Pennsylvania's Department of Education stripped him of his teaching license, deeming him "a danger to the health, safety and welfare of students." Under state law, Foose can't even drive a school bus, and were he convicted after 2012 he would have been required by law to register as a sex offender.

But Foose still became a pastor at

See PASTOR, Page 6A

"Look what that little fire did. It destroyed me. It destroyed the church. It destroyed the unity of the church. And I'm amazed that I didn't catch the place on fire."

Donald Foose
Oakwood Baptist Church pastor, in 2017 sermon



Top: Attendance has fallen at Oakwood Baptist Church, from about 100 people to less than half of that most Sundays. The church recently installed a new pastor after a lengthy search. Above: Donald Foose, left, joined Oakwood Baptist Church as a member in 2001 and became a pastor there in 2006. He is pictured here baptizing Aaron Benninger in July 2016.

TOP BY HANNAH GABER/USA TODAY; ABOVE BY DOMINIQUE BENNINGER

Accredited university seems to have no students

Education Dept. saved body that let it operate

Chris Quintana and Shelly Conlon
USA TODAY

SIOUX FALLS, S.D. — Reagan National University was supposed to be a place of higher learning, but it was unclear how it awarded degrees. By all appearances, at present, it has no students, no faculty and no classrooms.

An agency meant to serve as a gatekeeper for federal money gave the university approval to operate anyway.

That accrediting agency, financially troubled and losing members fast, exists mainly because it was saved by the Education Department in 2018.

Accreditation might be the driest part of higher education, but these independent groups have huge importance: If they approve a college, the government agrees to give federal grants and loans to the students there.

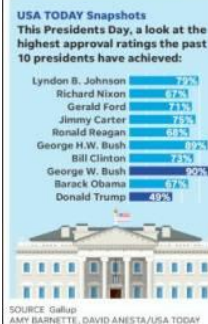
The agency in question, the Accrediting Council for Independent Colleges & Schools, has a history of approving questionable colleges, with devastating consequences. It accredited TTT Tech, Corinthian Colleges and Brightwood College, massive for-profit universities whose sudden closures last decade left thousands of students without degrees and undermined the

See UNIVERSITY, Page 4A



The homepage for Reagan National University in Sioux Falls, S.D., accredited by the Accrediting Council for Independent Colleges & Schools, was taken down in the days before USA TODAY published this report. RNU.EDU

Barcode and publication information for USA TODAY.



CORONAVIRUS

China delayed releasing severity info

Spread widens, includes 40 Americans on ship

John Bacon
USA TODAY

President Xi Jinping on Sunday published a timeline of his actions to combat the coronavirus racing through China as the Communist Party tried to tamp down criticism of the government's handling of the crisis.

The timeline, however, indicates Xi was aware of the outbreak's severity two weeks before revealing the information publicly. The latest revelation comes as a U.S. health official said at least 40 Americans on a cruise ship in Japan are infected with the virus.

The timeline is part of a speech Xi gave to party leaders Feb. 3 that was published over the weekend in state media. Xi outlined the government response to the COVID-19 outbreak that



Americans leave the quarantined Diamond Princess in Japan on Monday to fly to the U.S. CARL COURT/GETTY IMAGES

he warned could jeopardize health as well as economic and social stability. Within days, Xi began ordering entire cities shut down to slow the outbreak. About 60 million people remained essentially under quarantine Sunday.

Xi and the Hubei leadership have come under intense scrutiny in China. Last week, top provincial leaders were ousted for failing to take aggressive actions Xi called for in January. More local officials were disciplined Sunday.

On Sunday, global death toll rose to 1,670 while the total confirmed cases closed in on 70,000. Fifteen cases but no deaths have been reported in the U.S.

In Japan, some of the 390 Americans aboard a quarantined cruise ship were being flown to the U.S. but will face another two-week quarantine, the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo said.

Almost 300 people aboard the Diamond Princess have tested positive for the virus. Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Health's National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, told CBS News that about 40 Americans are among those infected. Those showing symptoms won't be allowed on the plane, he said.

Contributing: The Associated Press

NASCAR's Ryan Newman walks out of hospital

Less than 2 days after horrific crash in Daytona, driver has been treated and released. **In Sports**

Boeing discovers another issue with 737 Max jets

Manufacturer finds debris in fuel tanks of planes built in past year but not yet delivered. **In News**

Hemsworth burrows deep into 'Extraction'

But "the more dirt and blood we put on him, the more handsome he was," filmmakers for the Netflix action thriller say. **In Life**



JASON BOLAND/NETFLIX

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 2020

Does filing bankruptcy go against Scout code?

Sides disagree whether it is an honorable move

Nathan Bomey
USA TODAY

It's the third word in the Boy Scout oath: "Honor."
The Boy Scouts of America, an organization that built its reputation on perpetuating a well-defined moral code, has sought refuge in bankruptcy court, where promises are broken.

Critics of the Boy Scouts' Chapter II bankruptcy filing on Tuesday say it's a dishonorable route for the nonprofit, which has proposed paying victims of sexual abuse less than they would have received outside of bankruptcy. Exactly how much less is up in the air.

Defenders say it's actually an honorable step for the Boy Scouts to face up to its failures, find a path to help compensate victims and stabilize the organization's finances.

What's widely agreed upon is that bankruptcy poses a moral conundrum that's particularly thorny for a group that expects to face about 1,700 claims of sexual abuse dating back several decades.

Any victim whose claim is vetted through the judicial process would be entitled to a share of the settlement funds.

From an ethical perspective, one of the biggest questions of the case is whether the Boy Scouts should be allowed to continue or whether it should be forced to liquidate to pay its creditors the maximum amount possible.

Full story on 4A

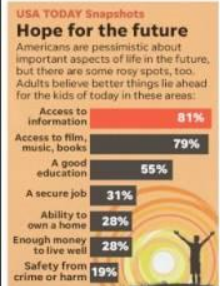


ELECTIONS 2020
Dems look to Nevada caucus after debate

For coverage of the Democratic debate in Las Vegas and to see how candidates fare as they head toward Saturday's caucus, visit usatoday.com.



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SOURCE: WEE/Ipsos survey
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPBELL/USA TODAY

Roger Stone judge Jackson looks to have the last word

Candid former prosecutor at eye of a partisan storm

Kristine Phillips
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — U.S. District Judge Amy Berman Jackson has been in the spotlight for the past two years, often criticized by President Donald Trump's supporters and, last week, by the president himself.

Trump's swipe at Jackson, days before the judge is set to decide whether to send Trump's longtime friend and ally

to prison — and for how long — opened the floodgates to more attacks. Those in the legal community came to Jackson's defense, exalting not only her independence from public and political pressure but also that of the judiciary.

Thursday, when Roger Stone is set to be sentenced, many eyes will be on Jackson, a former federal prosecutor and daughter of an Army doctor. It will be her moment to show that at a time of entrenched partisanship, the third branch of government doesn't succumb to political pressure, said Del. Eleanor

See **JACKSON**, Page 3A



U.S. District Judge Amy Berman Jackson, 65, has been a target of President Trump and his allies. AP



Jennifer White, 50, started as a guard at Parchman State Penitentiary in 2003. In 2016, she was beaten by a prisoner when she responded to an attack on two officers. "I don't trust anyone anymore," she says. BARBARA GAUNT/USA TODAY NETWORK

340
Guards live in fear at Mississippi prisons

Estimated number of times prisoners have attacked guards in Mississippi each year on average since 2016. The state acknowledged that about 115 assaults each year caused serious injuries.

Within the walls where inmates are dying, overwhelmed officers also fight to survive

58%

Percentage of all correction officer jobs in Mississippi state-run prisons that are empty. Only Alabama had a higher vacancy rate. At least 12 states reported vacancies over 20%.



Shanks collected at Wilkinson County Correctional Facility in Woodville, Miss. Deaths of prisoners have rocked the state, and chronic understaffing has created conditions in which no one is safe from violence. KATHLEEN FLYNN/FOR THE MARSHALL PROJECT

Joseph Neff and Alysia Santo
The Marshall Project

PARCHMAN, Miss. — The attack on Jennifer White came as she started a morning shift at the most dangerous unit at the Mississippi State Penitentiary, the sprawling Delta prison farm here.

Just two officers had been guarding dorms housing more than 250 men. A prisoner charged them at shift's end, beating them bloody. White arrived in time to blast him with pepper spray. He knocked her to the floor.

White, now 50, says the next few seconds have replayed thousands of times in her mind: the man on top of her, smashing her in the jaw, his eyes full of rage. The popping feeling in her knee. It took nine long minutes for help to get there, according to an incident report.

After the 2016 attack, White left Parchman and holed up in her house, away from family, friends and church. Using a wheelchair while she recovered from her knee injury, she grew so haunted by suicidal and homicidal thoughts that she checked herself into a mental hospital.

"I don't trust anyone anymore," she says. "Everybody is a threat to me."

Violence against and among people incarcerated in Mississippi has become a national scandal. Since Christmas, at least 18 prisoners have died, prompting the U.S. Justice Department this month to say it will investigate conditions at four of the state's six large prisons.

But violence against guards is also a scourge of the Mississippi system, an investigation by The Marshall Project found. Its analysis of state records and hundreds of pages of court documents, along with interviews with more than 30 prison employees, revealed a pro-

See **PRISONS**, Page 4A

Study linking vaping to heart attacks is retracted

California researcher's federally funded studies on tobacco, e-cigarettes under scrutiny. **In News**

'Hunters': A Nazi story with a grotesque hook

Amazon's new **★★★★** series starring Al Pacino is fearless but flawed, Kelly Lawler writes. **In Life**

Houston's P.J. Walker turning heads in XFL

Roughnecks QB is an early leader for the league's MVP award with seven touchdowns – the most by any player so far. **In Sports**



USA TODAY SPORTS



Politics rattles justice system

DOJ's backtrack on Stone unnerves rank and file

Kevin Johnson and Dennis Wagner
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – It started, like many political firestorms before it, with a tweet.

Unhappy with federal prosecutors' stiff sentencing recommendation for longtime Republican political operative Roger Stone, President Donald Trump took aim at his own Justice Department.

Soon after, the DOJ backtracked. More than a week later, and after a cascade of disclosures, virtually every corner of the federal criminal justice system has been shaken.

Nick Ackerman, a former Watergate prosecutor who served under four presidents at the Justice Department, said Trump is undertaking the most concerted effort to politicize the department in at least 50 years.

"It makes Watergate look like child's play," Ackerman said. "I can't think of anything that comes even close."

Attorney General William Barr asserted he changed course on Stone's

See DOJ, Page 6A



NEYDA AND ROGER STONE BY USA TODAY

Roger Stone gets 40 months in prison

Trump's friend, adviser is sentenced for lying to House committee. **6A**



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USA TODAY Snapshots

The dying art of the caucus
Only four states – including Nevada this weekend – and a few U.S. territories are using a presidential caucus model this year, down from 27 states in 1984.

• Democratic Party caucuses

Nevada	North Dakota	Iowa
Feb. 22	March 10	Feb. 3

• Wyoming
April 4

• American Samoa
March 3

• N. Mariana Islands
March 14

• Guam
May 2

• Virgin Islands
June 6

SOURCE: USA TODAY
AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY

ELECTION 2020 NEVADA CAUCUSES

Dem with most donors in Vegas may be a good bet

Jim Sergent
USA TODAY

We already know the votes of hundreds of residents in Nevada.

Nevada's Democratic presidential caucus is Saturday, but throughout 2019, more Las Vegas residents put their money on Sen. Bernie Sanders and former Vice President Joe Biden than other Democratic hopefuls. President Donald Trump had the most donors of all candidates in Las Vegas.

Las Vegas will likely have a big say in Nevada's results Saturday. Nearly a third of the state's residents – and much of Clark County's population –

live there. In 2016, Hillary Clinton won Clark County by 10 percentage points in the general election, helping her to a 2 percentage point win in Nevada.

USA TODAY teamed with RentHop, an algorithm-driven apartment search service, to drill down to the neighborhood level in 20 geographically diverse, large cities to see which candidates had the most donors. The results mirror much of the red state/blue state divide and represent the contributions of a combined population of nearly 30 million people.

Will Vegas follow Des Moines? **4A**

Caucus questions answered

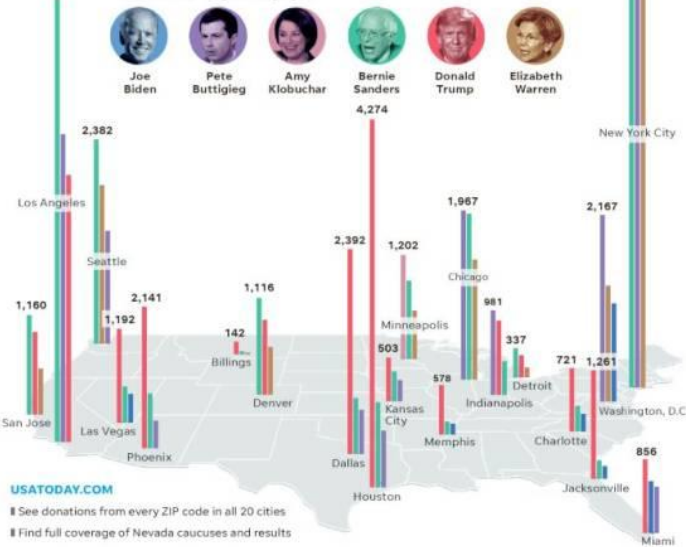
A look at early voting, same-day registration and how Nevada is handling its caucus differently than Iowa's. **4A**

Debate analysis

Candidates got combative ahead of Saturday's contest. **4A**

Candidates with the most individual donors in each city

Data from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 2019. Chart does not include Mike Bloomberg, who is self-funding his campaign.



USATODAY.COM
See donations from every ZIP code in all 20 cities
Find full coverage of Nevada caucuses and results

SOURCE: For unique donors, RentHop removed duplicate names, ZIP codes and committee names from Federal Election Commission data from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 2019. The dataset only includes individual electronic reports and had not been categorized and coded by the FEC as of Feb. 10. RentHop grouped the ZIP codes by their respective cities and further analyzed the data by each candidate. People who have changed their names or moved in between donations could artificially inflate the results.

Like 'locusts,' a new wave of meth hits

Opioid epidemic feeds resurgence in the streets

Terry DeMio
Cincinnati Enquirer
USA TODAY NETWORK

CINCINNATI – The floor seemed filthy, and she could not get rid of the grime.

Amie Detzel frantically scrubbed that nursing home floor with cleaning supplies she'd found. On hands and knees, dragging her IV pole with her, the gravely sick woman scrubbed.

Meth had found its way into the nursing home.

The psychotic episode happened after Detzel spent days and nights pushing the drug into the intravenous catheter her caregivers used to infuse antibiotics into her heart, which had become infected by a tainted needle.

Methamphetamine, the main drug flooding the streets of Cincinnati and communities across the USA, is a psy-



An invasion of a more pure form of crystal meth is forcing government officials, police and parents of users to shift their focus from opioid abuse. LIZ DUFOUR/USA TODAY NETWORK

"I never knew the proper way, you know, to get help. All I knew was to use."

Amie Detzel, 35, of Cincinnati, who has been in recovery for a year

chostimulant. It can induce psychosis.

That explains the scrubbing.

A new wave of meth is causing government officials, police and parents of users to shift their focus from opioids to the stimulant, which is resurging in a much purer form coming directly from Mexico, not backyard cookeries or houses or sheds.

The 23 drug task forces funded through the Ohio High-Intensity Drug Trafficking Area agency saw a 1,600% jump in meth seized from 2015 to 2019. And the 2019 numbers are incomplete.

"We just simply move like a herd of locusts from one drug to another," said Mina "Mike" Kalfas, a certified addiction expert in northern Kentucky. "Meth is the replacement for the crack of old. We go from opioid (pain pills) to opioid (heroin) to opioid (fentanyl) to stimulant (meth)."

"We try to get them off of the drug they're on. What we need to do is treat the addiction. They're using (a) drug as

See METH, Page 8A

Dow plunges 1,032 points on coronavirus anxiety

Parts of Italy on lockdown; spread outside China rattles markets worldwide. **In Money and News**

CIAA tourney celebrates hoops and community

Action starts today: "It's a party where they just happen to play some basketball." **In Sports**



Al Pacino's search-and-destroy mission

Oscar winner explores new territory in "Hunters," his first regular TV series role, as a death camp survivor in pursuit of Nazis. **Interview in Life**

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2020



JORDAN STRAUSS/INVISION/AP

Katherine Johnson, NASA pioneer, dies

The brilliant mathematical mind of "Hidden Figures" fame who helped America win the space race was 101.

Full story on 4A



Tears flow as Vanessa Bryant eulogizes her husband, "my everything," and her daughter, "Daddy's girl," Monday at the Staples Center in Los Angeles. ROBERT HANASHIRO/USA TODAY

Remembering Kobe

Fans, athletes and musicians gathered in Los Angeles to say goodbye to basketball legend Kobe Bryant on Monday in a memorial service also honoring his daughter Gianna. "God knew they couldn't be on this Earth without each other," widow Vanessa Bryant said in her first public comments. "He had to bring them home together."

Complete memorial coverage and photo page. **IN SPORTS**
Vanessa Bryant files wrongful death lawsuit. **IN NEWS**

Weinstein convicted of two sex crimes

Movie mogul exonerated of most severe charges

Patrick Ryan and Maria Puente
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — Harvey Weinstein, the movie mogul whose sexual misconduct jump-started the #MeToo movement, was convicted of two sex crimes after a historic weeks-long trial featuring graphic testimony from six tearful accusers. Weinstein was found guilty of criminal sexual act in the first degree related to accuser Miriam "Mimi" Haley and rape in the third degree related to accuser Jessica Mann.

Weinstein was immediately handcuffed and taken into custody; he is to be taken to a medical facility at the request of his lawyers. He is scheduled to be sentenced March 11.

Two of his lawyers, Donna Rotunno and Arthur Aidala, told reporters outside the courthouse they would appeal. "As sure as I am bald," Aidala declared.

The split verdict was rendered during the fifth day of deliberations by a jury of seven men and five women who deliberated a total of more than 24 hours.

The verdict was a partial win for the prosecution: Weinstein escaped the two most serious charges of predatory sexual assault, plus one charge of rape in the first degree, which spared him the possibility of a sentence that included life in prison.

See WEINSTEIN, Page 6A



Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi greets President Donald Trump at a stadium Monday. ALEX BRANDON/AP

100,000 proclaim 'Namaste Trump'

The president hails India's "stunning" and colorful welcome tour in a show of good diplomatic relations at a time of escalating trade tensions.

Full story on 3A

USA TODAY Snapshots
Mardi Gras beads take a toll on New Orleans
Pounds of beads thrown each year:
25 million
Estimated amount of lead in the beads, in pounds:
4,000
Pounds of beads removed from drains along the main parade route in 2018:
93,000

SOURCE: Wallethub, Smithsonian Magazine
AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANESTA/USA TODAY



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ELECTION 2020

Sanders risks losing Fla. over Castro remarks

Alan Gomez
USA TODAY

MIAMI — By singing the praises of aspects of Cuba's communist regime in a prime-time interview Sunday night, Sen. Bernie Sanders pulled off the unimaginable: uniting Republicans and Democrats in the notoriously divided swing state of Florida.

That unlikely union springs from long-standing fears of socialism in the Sunshine State, home to so many exiled Cubans, Venezuelans and Nicaraguans who fled socialist regimes in their home countries and make up an ever-growing size of the electorate in Florida.

Sanders has long voiced his support for the nationwide health care and

See SANDERS, Page 4A



Sen. Bernie Sanders could face trouble in Florida's March 17 primary. CENGIZ YAR/GETTY IMAGES

Dems debate tonight

■ The debate in Charleston, South Carolina, begins at 8 p.m. EST.

■ Seven Democrats will participate: Joe Biden, Mike Bloomberg, Pete Buttigieg, Amy Klobuchar, Bernie Sanders, Tom Steyer and Elizabeth Warren.

■ Find full coverage at usatoday.com.

Biden bets on SC: 'We're coming back'

Bart Jansen
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — After earning his first top 2 spot in the Democratic race last week in Nevada, former Vice President Joe Biden heads to a crucial test in the South Carolina primary Saturday, where political experts said a win could breathe life into his flagging presidential campaign — or another loss could end it.

He will be fighting clear front-runner Bernie Sanders, who won the popular vote in the first three nominating contests and performed well among black voters in Nevada's caucuses. Black voters make up the majority of South Carolina's Democratic primary electorate, and polls have long showed

See BIDEN, Page 4A

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Day 3 Visit a wildlife rescue center. Stay two nights at Fortuna near Arenal Volcano.
Day 4 Cruise on the Rio Frio. Enjoy a relaxing soak in the volcanic hot springs.
Day 5 Hike on the Hanging Bridges. Enjoy two relaxing nights on the Pacific Coast.
Day 6 Visit Leatherback Turtle National Park. Enjoy your world class beach resort.
Day 7 Cruise on the Turcoles River. Enjoy birdwatching and crocodile spotting. Stay next to Manuel Antonio National Park.

Day 8 Visit Manuel Antonio National Park. Hike the rainforest and along beach coves.
Day 9 Tour ends after breakfast. Airport transfers provided. Hasta la vista!—Caravan

Detailed Tour Itinerary at Caravan.com

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Boy Scouts may be forced to sell Rockwell paintings

Potentially worth millions, artwork could be at risk of liquidation to satisfy creditors. **In Money**

Take a dive in the stream of new TV shows for 2020

Go on a trek with "Picard" or give a "Cheer" for the 10 best new series of the year, so far. **In Life**



In rookie season, Zion matching all the hype

Playing in just 13 games with the New Orleans Pelicans, No. 1 draft pick Williamson is putting on a show with eye-popping stats. **In Sports**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | WEEKEND | FEBRUARY 28-MARCH 1, 2020

Dow has worst 1-day dive over coronavirus



Traders endure another miserable day on Wall Street on Thursday in New York City. SCOTT HEMS/GETTY IMAGES

Worries about epidemic's spread cause 'free fall'

Jessica Menton
USA TODAY

Rising anxiety over the global coronavirus outbreak pushed the stock market into a new zone of fear Thursday.

After falling sharply all week, the Dow Jones industrial average tumbled 1,190.95 points to close at 25,766.64 — its worst one-day point drop in history.

Mounting worries about the virus spreading in the USA rattled investors as the number of worldwide cases topped 82,000. Thursday's losses put the blue-chip average into a correction — a decline of 10% from a recent high — for the first time since December 2018.

The sharp declines wiped out the Dow's gains for the year and trillions of dollars from investors' portfolios in a matter of days.

"We're in a free fall," says Charles

See **STOCKS**, Page 8A

Dow Jones Industrial Avg.



Losses

The declines wiped out the Dow's gains for the year and trillions of dollars from investors' portfolios in a matter of days.

The yield on the 10-year Treasury, a closely watched barometer for the U.S. economy, hit a record low.



Pence

Crisis

Vice President Pence in charge of administration's response, 5A

'Robust and pathological fear' can override facts

Marco della Cava
USA TODAY

SAN FRANCISCO — Coronavirus is in the global spotlight, but a secondary character in this unfolding drama threatens to upstage the grim protagonist: fear.

Chalk that up to what it means to be human. Animals have a fight-or-flight response to real and present danger. We have that maddening ability to go a step beyond and imagine what isn't there.

"Humans often can develop a robust and pathological fear of things that might not happen, to create realities that don't exist," says Elizabeth Phelps, a Harvard professor of human neuroscience. "So yes, of course you can overdo it."

The conditions seem right to turbo-

See **FEAR**, Page 8A



A gunman killed himself after fatally shooting five people Wednesday. MARK HOFFMAN/USA TODAY NETWORK

Milwaukee police ID victims, release details on shooter

Milwaukee police on Thursday released the names of the five Molson-Coors employees slain in a workplace shooting Wednesday along with the identity of the man who killed them.

The 51-year-old shooter, an electrician who had worked with the company for 17 years, had been involved in a long-running dispute with a co-worker that boiled over before he started shooting, authorities said.

Full story on 2A

TO CATFISH A KILLER
PART 2 OF A 2-PART SERIES

Women did tough work of exposing a predator

Christopher Maag, Julia Martin, Tom Nobile, Kedy Ortiz, Chris Pedota and Svetlana Shkolnikova

Bergen Record — USA TODAY NETWORK

This is the second part of a story that chronicles how a group of women fought, tracked and led to the arrest and conviction of a 20-year-old New Jersey man who hunted victims for sex and blood.

Tiffany Taylor rushed in and slammed the door shut on Room 32 of the Ritz Motel in Elizabeth, New Jersey. The deadbolt locked automatically, just like she planned.

On the other side, was Khalil Wheeler-Weaver, who had murdered two other women.

He shouted for her to come outside.

Taylor opened the green curtain on the window next to the bolted door. She raised her right wrist, so he could see the dangling handcuffs he'd used to subdue her while he raped and choked her. Wheeler-Weaver ran away.

Taylor tried to lay a trap. She texted Wheeler-Weaver that he'd taken the keys to a Lincoln that wasn't hers. Bring back the keys, she promised, and she wouldn't call the police.

"Well, I had already called the police," Taylor said. "I tried to set him up. I was hoping he'd come back with the car keys and the police would come at the same time."

Wheeler-Weaver did return. The motel's security cameras recorded it. He dropped the keys on the motel stairs, then ran away.

"He came back," Taylor said. "He knew I'm a sneaky bastard. I had already lied to him like three times! How stupid can he be?"

See **WOMEN**, Page 6A

ELECTION 2020 SOUTH CAROLINA PRIMARY

'Help me get it': Buttigieg courts black voters' support

Rebecca Morin
USA TODAY

Pete Buttigieg knows he has work to do to win black voters' support.

Last month during a visit to Claflin University in South Carolina, the former mayor of South Bend, Indiana, conceded he was concerned that mostly white people attend his rallies.

"In order not just to win, in order to be deserving to win, I've got to be speaking to everybody," he said during an interview with political commentator Angela Rye.

So when the event ended, one of Buttigieg's most prominent black supporters canvassed the room.

Rep. Anthony Brown of Maryland, the only member of the Congressional Black Caucus to endorse Buttigieg, told USA TODAY that some in the audience said they liked that Buttigieg leaned



Pete Buttigieg greets South Carolina voters after a rally in Charleston. WIN MCNAMEE/GETTY IMAGES

USATODAY.COM

Everything you need to know about SC primary

Find live coverage of Saturday's primary election, along with results and analysis.

See **BUTTIGIEG**, Page 4A

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USA TODAY Snapshots
Happy Leap Year!
The U.S. birthrate is on average 7% lower on a leap day than on the same day a week before or after.

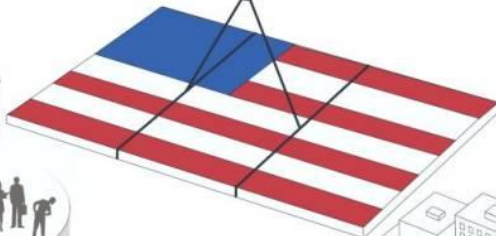
FEB. 29
CESAREAN BIRTHS:
▼15%
One reason is that some expectant mothers schedule C-sections to avoid a Feb. 29 delivery.

SOURCE: FiveThirtyEight
AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY

SPECIAL REPORT FOURTH OF A 10-PART SERIES
February: Health care [March: The economy] April: Gun rights/violence May: Immigration June: National security
HIDDEN COMMON GROUND THE ECONOMY

49% of small business owners reported in January "few or no" qualified applicants applied for positions they were trying to fill.

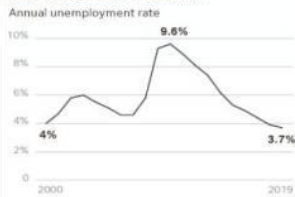
January 2020 survey by the National Federation of Independent Business Research Foundation



Bridging the gap

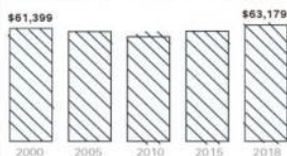
Republicans, Democrats agree on ways to turbocharge economy

Unemployment is at historic lows since the Great Recession



But even with fewer looking for jobs, pay has nudged up only slightly

Median annual household income (2018 dollars):



These are expected to be the fastest growing jobs in the next 10 years

Median annual pay:

- Solar photovoltaic installers: \$42,680
- Wind turbine service technicians: \$54,370
- Home health aides: \$24,200
- Personal care aides: \$24,020
- Occupational therapy assistants: \$60,220
- Information security analysts: \$98,350
- Physician assistants: \$108,610

SOURCE: Bureau of Economic Analysis, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Census Bureau

Editor's note: For 37 years, USA TODAY has been home to America's conversation. That role is even more important now, with deep divisions standing in the way of thoughtful debate. Leading up to the 2020 election, we'll spotlight areas of agreement and offer solutions to help us come together.

Paul Davidson
USA TODAY

Most Democratic and Republican voters agree on a wide range of proposals to boost the economy, from upgrading infrastructure to reducing college costs, casting doubt on the conventional belief that pocketbook issues are hopelessly dividing voters in the 2020 election.

A Public Agenda/USA TODAY/Ipsos survey reveals that Americans agree far more than they disagree on ways to make it easier for low- and middle-income people to get good jobs and for corporations to provide them. The poll of Democrats, Republicans and independents is part of the three organizations' "Hidden Common Ground 2020 Initiative," which seeks to explore areas of agreement on major issues.

Most Americans, regardless of party affiliation, support proposals to upgrade infrastructure; provide tax breaks to job-creating businesses; decrease college costs; and retrain adults for better-paying positions. The survey of about 1,000 adults was conducted on February 20-21.

"There is near unanimity in support for multiple policies promoting job creation, ranging from training and education programs to investing in infrastructure and research," says Ipsos Vice President Chris Jackson.

Voters express partisan differences on issues like raising the minimum wage, promoting labor unions and easing regulations on businesses. But even those gaps aren't as stark as political rhetoric would suggest.

Democrats and Republicans also disagree over whether government should bear the burden of job creation. Sixty percent of Democrats say the gov-

See **ECONOMY**, Page 4

Americans overwhelmingly agree governments should take steps to improve the economy and job market

1 Create retraining programs through community colleges and trade schools that give adults the skills to compete for good-quality jobs in emerging industries.



2 Decrease costs of colleges and universities so more Americans can get an education and a good-quality job.

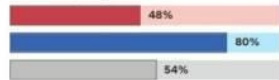


3 Upgrade public infrastructure, such as roads and bridges, to create good jobs and make the economy more productive.

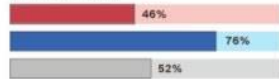


We differ on just how far governments should go to help workers.

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2 Make it easier for workers to unionize to negotiate for better wages, benefits and working conditions.



SOURCE: Ipsos poll conducted Feb. 20-21 of 1,007 adults. Credibility interval of 1.35 percentage points. JIM SERGENT/USA TODAY



ABOUT THIS PROJECT

Hidden Common Ground is a partnership led by Public Agenda and USA TODAY. Other partners include the National Issues Forums Institute, Ipsos and the America Affiliated - Election 2020 public media initiative. The project chal-

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Soon, our online world will be 'passwordless'

Biometrics, speech patterns, even how we type promise more foolproof verification. **In Money**

Everything looks all right for 'Not Okay With This'

Netflix's zippy new teen supernatural series has loads of charisma, Kelly Lawler writes. **In Life**



DAYTON'S OBI TOPPIN
BY USA TODAY SPORTS

Game on: Get a jump on March Madness

As conference tourneys begin, see our players to watch, giant-killers, Final Four sleepers and sure-to-shock upsets. **Primer in Sports**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | MONDAY, MARCH 2, 2020

US boom 'should be expected'

Experts assess new coronavirus cases

John Bacon
USA TODAY

A "boom" of confirmed cases of the coronavirus that has killed almost 3,000 people around the world could already be racing across the U.S. despite ramped-up efforts to contain the outbreak, experts say.

The spread of the virus by "community transmissions is an indication that

we could indeed be looking at the tip of the iceberg," Ogbonnaya Omenka, an assistant professor and public health specialist at Butler University's College of Pharmacy and Health Sciences, told USA TODAY on Sunday.

Though fewer than 80 U.S. cases have been confirmed thus far, including a handful in Washington state, a re-

See CORONAVIRUS, Page 6A



Travelers wearing protective masks make their way through O'Hare International Airport in Chicago on Sunday. The U.S. surgeon general and the CDC say healthy people should not wear masks to protect themselves from respiratory diseases.

NAM Y. HUH/AFP



Secretary of State Mike Pompeo attends the signing ceremony in Qatar. KARIM JAAFAR/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

US hopeful after signing Taliban pact

USA TODAY

The United States and the Taliban signed a historic agreement over the weekend that could bring an end to America's longest war and allow the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan within 14 months.

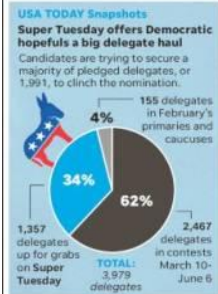
The pact, signed Saturday, also sets the stage for further negotiations between Afghanistan's government and the Taliban, a militant Islamist group that once ruled the country and provided safe haven to Osama bin Laden. U.S. officials hope those talks will lead to a power-sharing agreement.

But a permanent peace rests on a commitment by the Taliban, to end its deadly attacks on U.S. forces and to renounce its ties to al-Qaida.

"This is a hopeful moment, but it's only the beginning," Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said. "There's a great deal of hard work ahead."

Full story on 3A

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ELECTION 2020 SUPER TUESDAY PREVIEW

Biden and Sanders on collision course



Bernie Sanders is eight delegates ahead of Joe Biden. JIM WATSON/AFP VIA GETTY

After big win in SC, former VP gets boost; Buttigieg, Steyer drop out

Bart Jansen
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Fresh off a blow-out victory in South Carolina, former Vice President Joe Biden has momentum at his back.

But with Super Tuesday a day away, Sen. Bernie Sanders is looking to extend his lead in national pledged delegates while political watchers wonder: Does Biden have the fuel to catch up?

Biden's victory Saturday shook up what has already been a roller coaster of a February, with at times two leaders in national delegates, six candidates who have earned a top 3 finish in at least one state, and an unprecedented recount in the Iowa caucuses. Former South Bend, Indiana, Mayor Pete Buttigieg ended his presidential bid Sunday, a day after a disappointing finish in South Carolina. And there's still one more X-factor.

Voters on Super Tuesday will find former New York Mayor Mike Bloomberg on ballots nationwide for the first time. The results could reveal whether

See DELEGATES, Page 4A

Vermont senator's lead in California has him in prime position, poll says

Susan Page
USA TODAY

Bernie Sanders holds a commanding double-digit lead on the cusp of California's Democratic primary, a new Suffolk University/USA TODAY statewide poll finds, giving the Vermont senator the prospect of capturing the lion's share of the largest trove of convention delegations in the

Democratic delegates

After four contests, Sen. Bernie Sanders leads in delegates needed to secure the Democratic nomination.



NOTE: Data as of 7 p.m. March 1
SOURCE: AP Elections Group

country on Super Tuesday. Sanders was at 35% among likely Democratic primary voters, well ahead of former New York Mayor Mike Bloomberg at 16%, former vice president Joe Biden at 14% and Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren at 12%. The survey, taken Wednesday through Saturday by landline and cell-

See CALIFORNIA, Page 4A

USA TODAY INVESTIGATION

"There is too many ghosts behind me. We need to make justice."

George Godoy, former cartel security guard

Witnesses: 'Narcos' agent was betrayed

Feds reexamine infamous 1985 drug cartel slaying

Brad Heath
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — The gunmen were waiting for Enrique Camarena. They positioned themselves on the streets surrounding his office at the U.S. Consulate in Guadalajara, Mexico, ready to block the young federal agent if he tried to escape.

The men, who worked for one of Mexico's most powerful drug cartels, forced Camarena into their car and drove him to a cramped guest house nearby, where he was beaten, burned and eventually killed.



Camarena

The highly publicized abduction and murder in 1985 was one of the darkest moments in U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration history and provided the plot for the Netflix series "Narcos: Mexico." More than three decades later, U.S. authorities are investigating potentially explosive new evidence in the case: allegations that Camarena was betrayed.

U.S. Justice Department agents and prosecutors obtained statements from witnesses implicating a Central Intelligence Agency operative and a DEA official in the plot to torture and murder Camarena, according to the witnesses, Camarena's widow and others familiar with the case who were interviewed by USA TODAY.

The inquiry inserts the Justice Department into a chapter of the 1980s drug war that the government had long dismissed as a myth — claims that the U.S. government entangled itself with drug traffickers as officials in the Reagan administration illegally armed rebels fighting the socialist government in Nicaragua.

Whether anything comes of the investigation remains uncertain, but the allegations were too alarming to ignore, officials said.

Prosecutors and agents confirmed to Camarena's widow, Mika, that witnesses provided the accounts allegedly connecting the CIA operative and DEA official to the plot, she said in an interview. They told her they were investigating the claim, but she said they did not provide details.

"I want the truth to be out," Mika

See BETRAYED, Page 6A

LeBron-Zion NBA playoff matchup would be a dream

Lakers-Pelicans series pitting veteran vs. rookie could give league a TV ratings spike. **In Sports**

Carrie Underwood expands her healthy-living empire

The first-time author shares her philosophy. "The Fit52 Life," in a new book and app. **In Life**



Jack Welch, GE giant and corporate guru, dies

The CEO, whose brash management style and willingness to slash jobs earned him the nickname "Neutron Jack," was 84. **In Money**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | TUESDAY, MARCH 3, 2020

ELECTION 2020

Klobuchar, Buttigieg give Biden a boost

Twin endorsements put target on Sanders

Jason Lalljee, Deirdre Shesgreen and Bart Jansen
USA TODAY

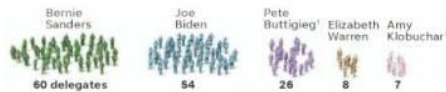
Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden got a boost ahead of the Super Tuesday nomination contests when Sen. Amy Klobuchar and Pete Buttigieg gave him their endorsements Monday after ending their own White House bids.

Fresh off a huge win in South Carolina, Biden seeks to position himself as the most viable alternative to Sen. Bernie Sanders, the Democratic front-runner who is running on a progressive agenda that includes a "Medicare for All" proposal and a plan to erase student debt.

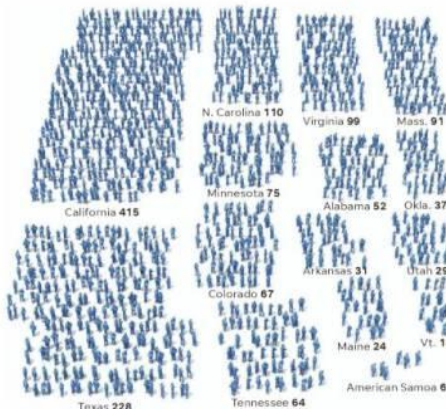
Buttigieg and Klobuchar each flew to Dallas on Monday to support Biden at a rally planned for the eve of Super Tuesday. At stake in Texas are 228 delegates — the third-most delegates available in the Democratic nominating contest. On Tuesday, 14 states will determine one-third of the pledged delegates — 1,344 out of the 1,991 needed to win the nomination to challenge President Donald Trump in November.

See BIDEN, Page 3A

This is 4 weeks of voting



This is Super Tuesday



1 — No longer seeking Democratic nomination
JIM SERGENT AND JAVIER ZARRACINA/USA TODAY

Trove of delegates at stake as voters in 14 states, 1 territory go to the polls

Jeanine Santucci, Jim Sergent and Karl Gelles
USA TODAY

So far, 2020 Democratic presidential hopefuls have been battling it out for delegates in four early voting states — Iowa, New Hampshire, Nevada and South Carolina — each with its own dedicated debate night, and each getting individualized attention from the candidates.

But they'll be competing in multiple states that have their primaries on the same day, Super Tuesday.

The day that's talked about throughout primary season is an important one for Democratic candidates, as it could significantly shape the direction of the remainder of the race and has the potential to establish a breakout front-runner. Or it could bring multiple campaigns within striking

Super Tuesday

Online: Follow our live coverage and find endorsement results at usatoday.com.

Endorsements: Cast your vote for... See 7A

ing distance of one another.

So what is Super Tuesday and why does it matter? And what's all this talk about a "brokered convention?" We break it down:

What's so 'super' about Super Tuesday?

On March 3, 2020, also known as Super Tuesday, the largest number of states have their primaries on the same day. The largest number of vot-

See BIG DAY, Page 3A

Virus cases, deaths rise in US

Communities advised to watch for symptoms

John Bacon
USA TODAY

Coronavirus cases — and fears — are escalating throughout the U.S. as infections are on the rise, with totals likely to keep increasing significantly as testing becomes more pervasive in communities from Florida to California.

Johns Hopkins University's coronavirus dashboard tallied 100 cases in the USA on Monday. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has expanded criteria for coronavirus testing and is set to allow every state and local health departments begin testing this week.

Health organizations, while warning against panic, say communities need to be on the lookout for telltale signs of the infection, which include fever, cough, shortness of breath and breathing difficulties. If the infection worsens, it can cause pneumonia, severe acute respiratory syndrome, kidney failure and death.

In a White House briefing Monday, Vice President Mike Pence said the risk to Americans "remains low, according to all the experts we are working with." Pence also said CEOs from the pharmaceutical industry who were invited to the White House Monday by President Donald Trump have agreed to form a "consortium" to develop a vaccine.

Health authorities said Monday that four more people in the U.S. have

See CORONAVIRUS, Page 4A



Pedestrians go about their day Monday in Queens, New York.

JOHANNES EISELE/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

More inside

In News: Petition seeks to cancel SXSW conference in Austin, Texas.

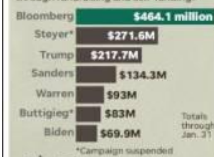
In Money: Experts say there's no need to hoard supplies.

In Life: What travel insurance doesn't cover if trips are canceled.

USA TODAY Snapshots

2020 campaigns' war chests show big money behind bids

Which candidates have amassed the most through fundraising and self-funding?



SOURCE: Federal Election Commission
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPBELL/USA TODAY



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Day 7 Cruise on the Tarcoles River. Enjoy birdwatching and crocodile spotting. Stay next to Manuel Antonio National Park.

Day 8 Visit Manuel Antonio National Park. Hike the rainforest and along beach coves.
Day 9 Tour ends after breakfast. Airport transfers provided. Hasta la vista!—Caravan

Detailed Tour Itinerary at Caravan.com



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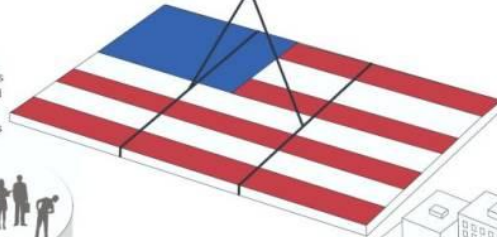
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HIDDEN COMMON GROUND THE ECONOMY

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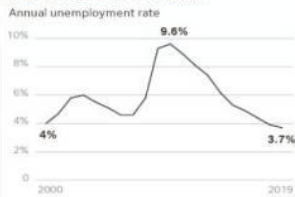
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Bridging the gap

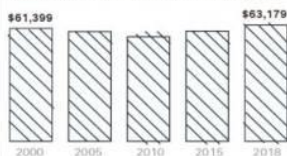
Republicans, Democrats agree on ways to turbocharge economy

Unemployment is at historic lows since the Great Recession



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SOURCE: Bureau of Economic Analysis, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Census Bureau

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USA TODAY

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See **ECONOMY**, Page 4

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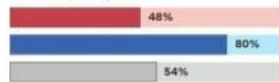


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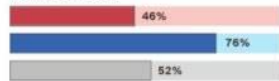


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SOURCE: Ipsos poll conducted Feb. 20-21 of 1,007 adults. Credibility interval of ± 1.5 percentage points. JIM SERGENT/USA TODAY



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You might be missing out on legit tax deductions

Commonly overlooked credits could add up to thousands of lost dollars. **In Money**

Mark your movie calendar for these March must-sees

USA TODAY's Brian Truitt recommends five films sure to offer a welcome diversion. **In Life**



Can Rendon help Angels make the playoffs?

L.A. aims for a brighter future with \$245 million acquisition of former Nationals' standout third baseman. **In Sports**

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 2020

Daily closes of the Dow Jones Industrial Average



Virus, oil fears shatter markets

Saudi-Russia rift feeds 2,000-plus-point rout

Jessica Menton USA TODAY

U.S. stocks endured their worst drop since 2008 on Monday as a free fall in oil prices and mounting coronavirus cases frightened investors and pushed major indexes to the edge of a bear market.

The heavy selling began in Asian markets late Sunday, spread throughout Europe on Monday and sent prices plunging on everything from bank stocks and oil futures to U.S. Treasuries.

Monday's rout added to recent losses and left the broader stock market down nearly 20% — almost bear territory — from its high in mid-February.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average dropped 2,033.76 points, or 7.8%, to close at 23,851.02 on Monday — its worst one-day percentage drop since October 2008. That left the blue-chip average down 19% from its all-

See **MARKETS**, Page 3A

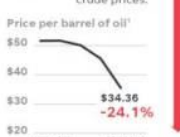
"We're seeing borderline panic. ... Uncertainty is what's causing all of this. We know there's going to be an economic impact, but we just don't know how big."

R.J. Grant
Investment bank KBW

Traders work the floor of the New York Stock Exchange on Monday as stocks spiral. SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES



Investors worry outbreak will further damage an already slowing global economy.



Bear market
23,641: 20% below Feb. 12 close

1 — Brent Crude oil; SOURCE: Yahoo! Finance; JIM SERGENT/USA TODAY



The Grand Princess and its 2,421 passengers and 1,113 crew members had been waiting to dock for days. SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE VIA AP

Stricken ship docks in Calif.

A second cruise liner is in limbo off Florida

David Oliver and Jorge L. Ortiz
USA TODAY

OAKLAND, Calif. — Two Princess Cruises ships on opposite sides of the U.S. remain in medical limbo as thousands of passengers and crew were being examined for coronavirus infection and health officials worldwide struggled to contain the fast-growing outbreak.

The virus has now claimed nearly 4,000 lives across the globe and infected more than 113,000 people, and the World Health Organization said Monday that it was close to declaring a pandemic. There are more than 600 cases in the U.S.; 26 people have died.

A large media presence greeted the Grand Princess as it arrived at the Port of Oakland around noon Monday, but passengers and crew were expected to face a battery of testing in the days ahead. The vessel had been floating off the California coast since Thursday, when 21 of those aboard, including 19 crew members, tested positive for coronavirus.

Officials, including Gov. Gavin Newsom, had questioned where the ship should dock until finally settling on Oakland, across the bay from its initial destination of San Francisco.

The other ship, the Caribbean Princess, had been scheduled to dock in Grand Cayman on Monday, but California-based owner Princess Cruises said it notified the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention that two crew

See **CRUISE SHIP**, Page 3A

USA TODAY Snapshots
More infections, but they're less lethal
The new coronavirus, COVID-19, is hitting more people than other recent global outbreaks, but its death rate is far lower.

COVID-19	110,029	3,817 (3.5% lethality)
SARS (2002)	8,098	774 (9.6% lethality)
MERS (2012)	2,494	858 (34.4% lethality)
Ebola (2014)	28,638	11,316 (39.5% lethality)

SOURCE: World Health Organization, AP; AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPBUNG/USA TODAY

ELECTION 2020

6 states vote amid virus concerns

William Cummings
USA TODAY

Voters in six states will weigh in Tuesday on the race for the Democratic presidential nomination amid mounting concerns about how the outbreak of the new coronavirus could affect those elections.

According to the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, COVID-19 can be spread when people are in "close contact," which it defines as within 6 feet of one another, or through contact with the droplets produced when a sick person coughs or sneezes. The CDC says it's possible to get the illness from a surface that has the virus on it, though the agency says that "this is not thought to be the main way the virus spreads."

Voters may be apprehensive about a method that involves entering a confined, possibly crowded, space where they will use voting equipment that has



On Super Tuesday, some poll workers stayed away because of COVID-19 fears. ROBYN BECK/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

been touched by many strangers. On Super Tuesday, officials in California and Texas reported that some election workers did not show up for duty, citing coronavirus concerns. Only two of the six states scheduled

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES

What you need to know: Issues and states to watch Tuesday. **2A**

Vote Early Day: MTV is launching what it hopes will be a new holiday. **2A**

Visit us online: Find live coverage and results at usatoday.com.

to vote Tuesday have confirmed coronavirus cases. But Washington, which is one of them, has recorded more than 100 cases and at least 19 deaths from the illness, according to a database from Johns Hopkins University's Center for Systems Science and Engineering. Four of the six states, including Washington, offer some form of early voting.

See how the six states — Idaho, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, North Dakota and Washington — are handling the vote.

FULL REPORT ON 3A

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Almost 7 million in Bay Area locked down

People in six counties around San Francisco are ordered to "shelter in place" in their homes. "These measures will be disruptive," San Francisco Mayor London Breed said. But she urged people to stay calm. **Inside in Nation's Health**



JEFF CHURUP

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 2020

B3 B3

CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC LONGER-TERM CONSIDERATIONS

Ohio's bid to suspend primary is rejected

Three other states plan to head to polls today

Rebecca Morin
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — A judge late Monday denied Ohio Gov. Mike DeWine's request to delay Tuesday's primary until June because of the coronavirus outbreak.

Three other states — Arizona, Florida, and Illinois — still plan to head to the polls Tuesday. Former Vice President Joe Biden and Sen. Bernie Sanders lead the Democratic race, Rep. Tulsi Gabbard is still in the race, but she trails Biden and Sanders by hundreds of delegates.

Arizona Secretary of State Kathy Hobbs, Florida Secretary of State Laurel Lee, Illinois Elections Board Chairman Charles Scholz and Ohio Secretary of State Frank LaRose said in a joint statement last week that they were working closely "with our state health officials to ensure that our poll workers and voters can be confident that voting is safe."

"Americans have participated in elections during challenging times in the past, and based on the best information we have from public health officials, we are confident that voters in our states can safely and securely cast their ballots in this election, and that otherwise healthy poll workers can and should carry out their patriotic duties on Tuesday," the four said in the statement at the time.

A look at how the four states are dealing with the coronavirus outbreak:

Ohio

Ohio has 50 confirmed cases of the coronavirus, also known as COVID-19.

DeWine, the governor, had wanted to reschedule in-person voting in the primary for June 2. But the judge did not have the authority to do that.

So former Ohio Department of Aging Director Judith Brachman filed a lawsuit in the Franklin County Court of Common Pleas. Brachman, 81, told the Columbus Dispatch that she wanted to

See **PRIMARIES**, Page 3A

Plan to stay in longer

Americans could be social distancing through August; officials tell people to avoid gatherings of 10 or more



Alexus Bervenuto, a cook at Columbus South High School in Columbus, Ohio, hands lunch — pepperoni pizza, salad, an apple and milk — to fifth grader Amata Combs-Fuller in a meal pickup for children. School districts across Ohio and at least 29 other states have been ordered closed. **JOSHUA A. BECKLAW/USA TODAY NETWORK**



A medical team prepares to test people for COVID-19 at a drive-through station set up in the parking lot of FoundCare, a health center in West Palm Beach, Fla. **IGOR LOVETZ/THE PALM BEACH POST**

US officials 'toughen' guidelines for next 15 days to curb infection

Michael Collins, David Jackson, John Fritze and Courtney Subramanian
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — President Donald Trump said Monday that Americans could be hunkered down and practicing social distancing at least until July or August to confront the coronavirus pandemic.

During a White House briefing, Trump was asked whether the administration had any estimate of how quickly the country would "turn this corner." Many Americans have been working from home, and states are increasingly closing schools, businesses

and prohibiting large gatherings of people.

"People are talking about July, August — or something like that," Trump told reporters, who were spaced in every other seat in the White House briefing room to practice distancing.

The president did not discuss specific practices that would have to be implemented for that long, but the question was posed in terms of the steps that the country is currently taking.

Trump's remarks came as his administration issued new guidelines for Americans to follow over the next 15

See **GUIDELINES**, Page 6A

IN OPINION

Social distancing myths

A Harvard epidemiologist explains seven things people get wrong.

IN LIFE

Boredom busters

Find 100 things to do inside while you're self-distancing.

IN MONEY

Stocks plunge again

Dow spirals 2,999 points even after a new round of emergency steps by the Federal Reserve.

IN SPORTS

Living with uncertainty

It's comforting to imagine when sports will return, Dan Wolken says, but we just don't know.

ONLINE

All the latest updates on COVID-19 at coronavirus.usatoday.com.

Schools, communities, businesses nationwide scrambling to adjust

Mike James
USA TODAY

The coronavirus strengthened its grip on U.S. schools, businesses and everyday life on Monday as the Dow plunged another 3,000 points, airlines announced up to a \$10 billion shortfall, the Supreme Court delayed oral arguments for cases, communities ordered widespread lockdowns and states shuttered bars, restaurants and gyms.

Six counties across the Bay Area in California issued a "shelter in place" order for all residents, requiring roughly 6.7 million people to stay in their homes.

San Francisco Mayor London Breed urged the public to remain diligent. The measures will disrupt people's lives, she said, "but there is no need to panic." Breed also said counties could amend the order depending on what happens in the coming weeks.

The nation's death toll rose to 69, although global health officials acknowl-

edge that the crisis is moving so fast that it has taxed their ability to keep accurate accounts. There were more than 3,800 known cases in the U.S. as of Monday morning. Deaths worldwide are believed to have surged past 6,500.

New York City closed its 1,900 public schools on Monday, a difficult decision made by dozens of states and cities. Mayor Bill de Blasio had balked at the move affecting more than 1 million students, in part because of meal plans that keep hundreds of thousands of low-income children fed. The city was providing "grab and go" breakfast and lunch at all schools.

If there is a bright spot, it is where the virus began. China relaxed travel restrictions in and around the city of Wuhan on Monday, and thousands of workers returned to factories now ramping up production, the state-run Xinhua News Agency reported. That means quarantines have been effective in curbing the virus.



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USA TODAY Snapshots

Go where the Irish go

1 in 10 Americans claim Irish ancestry — at 32.7 million, that's nearly seven times the population of Ireland. Metro areas reporting the biggest Irish populations:

New York: 538,400	Los Angeles: 131,600
Boston: 357,300	Washington: 128,300
Philadelphia: 391,000	Atlanta: 127,200
Chicago: 248,500	Phoenix: 102,400
Dallas: 142,700	Houston: 99,800

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau. **AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTASIA/USA TODAY**

There's no way around it: Time to postpone Olympics

No one wants this, but it's for the good of everyone, Nancy Armour writes. **In Sports**

Get a grip on this one: Pro wrestling without fans

My beloved TV spectacle going audience-free hits like a body slam, Brian Truitt writes. **In Life**



LUCA BRUNO/AP

Italy's hospitals paint a bleak picture

Overwhelmed doctors are being forced to make unthinkable choices, a scenario that could arise in the United States. **Nation's Health**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 2020

CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC THE ECONOMIC STIMULUS

Senate approves emergency relief

Bill provides paid leave, free testing, food aid

Ledyard King, Nicholas Wu and Christal Hayes
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — A measure to ensure paid sick leave for workers and increase testing for coronavirus was headed to President Donald Trump's desk Wednesday after it passed the Senate. Now, Congress is crafting its next emergency relief package: one that would provide direct payments to Americans as well as a financial lifeline

Third package would send cash to Americans

to businesses socked by the coronavirus pandemic that is decimating the economy and upending daily life.

Senators overwhelmingly supported a House bill that covers the cost of all coronavirus testing, expands federal food programs serving low-income seniors and needy families, and provides paid sick leave for workers forced to stay at home. The legislation passed 90-8.

See **RELIEF**, Page 4A

How bad could a recession be?

There's little doubt the coronavirus has tipped the U.S. into recession. Most economists predict the downturn will last about six months, with a gradual recovery beginning in the second half of the year. **3A**

Help for big and small businesses also on way

Highlights of the bill

Two weeks of paid sick and family leave to many American workers who are in quarantine, helping a family member with COVID-19 or who have children whose schools have closed. 12 weeks of paid leave to many of those who have children whose schools have closed. Increased unemployment insurance. Free testing for the coronavirus for those who need it.

The global picture: What it tells the US

America's coronavirus case trajectory nears a turning point

Kim Hjelmgard and Jim Sargent
USA TODAY

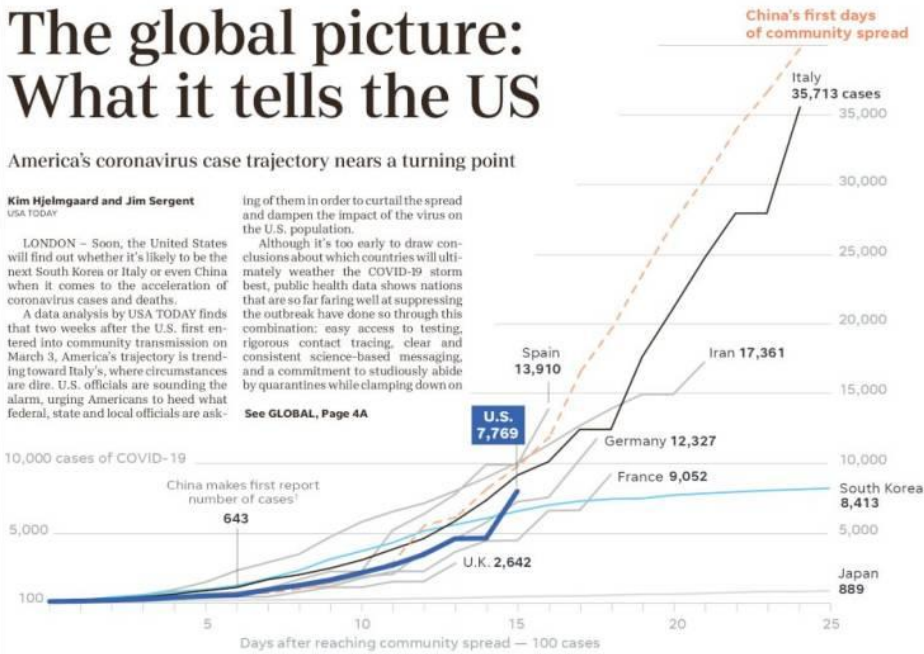
LONDON — Soon, the United States will find out whether it's likely to be the next South Korea or Italy or even China when it comes to the acceleration of coronavirus cases and deaths.

A data analysis by USA TODAY finds that two weeks after the U.S. first entered into community transmission on March 3, America's trajectory is trending toward Italy's, where circumstances are dire. U.S. officials are sounding the alarm, urging Americans to heed what federal, state and local officials are ask-

ing of them in order to curtail the spread and dampen the impact of the virus on the U.S. population.

Although it's too early to draw conclusions about which countries will ultimately weather the COVID-19 storm best, public health data shows nations that are so far faring well at suppressing the outbreak have done so through this combination: easy access to testing, rigorous contact tracing, clear and consistent science-based messaging, and a commitment to studiously abide by quarantines while clamping down on

See **GLOBAL**, Page 4A



1 — Beginning of China's trend line based on average cases of other countries on day 6. SOURCE: Johns Hopkins University of 5 p.m. ET March 18

Barcode and subscription information for USA TODAY.

USA TODAY Snapshots
Vitamin C no panacea for COVID-19
While supplements such as vitamin C and zinc are generally beneficial to the immune system, claims that the former will prevent or cure the new coronavirus aren't backed up by science. Thorough hand-washing and social distancing remain critical.

SOURCE: FactCheck.org
AMY BARNETT, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY

Trump invokes wartime powers in fight

Courtney Subramanian and David Jackson
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — President Donald Trump said Wednesday that he was invoking a 1950 law known as the Defense Production Act to speed the production of masks, ventilators and other equipment vital to helping doctors treat coronavirus patients.

He also said the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development would suspend foreclosures and evictions as families grapple with income losses stemming from shutdowns of workplaces such as department stores, restaurants and bars.

Trump told reporters at a White House news conference he planned to sign the Korean War-era Defense Production Act to allow him to address a shortage of medical supplies by directing private companies to expedite the production of medical equipment.

"There's never been an instance like this where no matter what you have it's not enough," he said. "If we need to use it,



President Donald Trump said he will sign the Korean War-era Defense Production Act to allow him to address a shortage of medical supplies. AP

we will be using it at full speed ahead." The announcement came as the administration scrambles to negotiate a roughly trillion dollar deal with Congress to provide cash relief for Americans and possible bailouts for major industries affected by the outbreak.

See **TRUMP**, Page 4A

What is the Defense Production Act?

The act was established in 1950 during the Korean War following war powers legislation used during World War II to direct private industry to produce weapons, vehicles and other materiel for war.

At that time, automakers in Detroit, for instance, shifted production from automobiles to tanks.

The act gives the president a broad set of authorities to influence private companies for national defense, according to the Congressional Research Service.

In 2009, Congress amended the act to include domestic preparedness and national emergency response efforts.

— Tom Vanden Brook

The self-employed plead: Please don't forget us

Independent workers say stimulus measures are leaving them high and dry. **In Money**

100 flicks to pass the time while you're stuck inside

Our movie list has everything to suit your mood for these coming days and weeks. **In Life**



Kids out of school more at risk of abuse

Teachers, administrators and counselors who are often the first line of defense are not there to spot the warning signs. **Nation's Health**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 2020

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F2

CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

\$2 trillion rescue plan stalls in Senate

100 million Americans sheltering at home

Fed's latest moves again fail to boost markets

Official: Games to be delayed

EXCLUSIVE

Olympics in Tokyo likely to move to '21

Christine Brennan
USA TODAY

Veteran International Olympic Committee member Dick Pound told USA TODAY Sports on Monday afternoon that the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games are going to be postponed amid the coronavirus pandemic.

"On the basis of the information the IOC has, postponement has been decided," Pound said in a phone interview. "The parameters going forward have not been determined, but the games are not going to start on July 24, that much I know."

Pound, a Canadian who has been one of the most influential members of the IOC for decades, said the games will likely be moved to 2021, with the details to be worked out in the next four weeks. He said he expects the IOC to announce its next steps soon.

"It will come in stages," said Pound, 78, the longest-serving IOC member. "We will postpone this and begin to deal with all the ramifications of moving this, which are immense."

Neither the IOC nor the Tokyo 2020 organizing committee had announced a decision to postpone as of Monday afternoon.

When informed of Pound's comments and asked for an IOC response, spokesman Mark Adams said, "It is the right of every IOC member to interpret the decision of the IOC executive board which was announced (Sunday)."

In that announcement Sunday, IOC President Thomas Bach indicated, for the first time, that postponing the Tokyo Games would be a possibility.

In a letter to the athlete community, he wrote that the IOC would begin exploring alternate ways to stage the games, including postponement, and

See TOKYO, Page 3A



Visitors arriving from Greece gather for photos Saturday in front of the Tokyo 2020 Olympic flame outside Sendai Station. PHILIP FONG/JAPP VIA GETTY IMAGES



Nancy Armour
Columnist
USA TODAY

Not just the right choice – it's the only choice

The International Olympic Committee has been forced to acknowledge reality.

The Tokyo Games won't go on as scheduled, longtime IOC member Dick Pound told USA TODAY Sports on Monday. Only the details are left to be worked out.

This was a move everyone could see coming. Everyone but the IOC and Tokyo organizers, that is. For weeks, they fought hard to maintain the charade that everything would be fine. That this summer's games could go ahead as scheduled despite much of the world being at a standstill.

But many athletes, national Olympic committees and sports federations, living in the real world and seeing what conditions around them were like, knew better.

The situation remains grim across much of the globe, with the number of reported COVID-19 cases and death tolls continuing to rise, and there's no way to be sure of when things will improve. Holding a games under those conditions was increasingly unrealistic, and keeping up the pretense that things could magically improve over the next few months had reached the point of being reckless.

Athletes throughout Europe and North America have been unable to train. Those who still can worried they were putting themselves or those in their communities at risk by doing so. The uncertainty and lack of transparency was a source of increasing stress and anxiety for athletes whose lives and routines are built around a fixed point on a four-year calendar.

See ARMOUR, Page 3A

"I would have real moral objections, if the situation was the same as it was today, to competing."

Nathan Adrian
swimmer and five-time Olympic gold medalist

INSIDE

What's at stake: Costs, facts and figures associated with the Tokyo Olympics. **3A**

Olympic undertaking: Postponing the games would tie up organizers, broadcasters, sponsors, sports federations – and big money. **1C**

Trump and social distancing: President signals that he's eager to ease guidelines. **2A**

Illness vs. deportation: Undocumented immigrants are confronted with agonizing decisions. **4A**

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

■ The number of Americans facing lockdowns, quarantines or other restrictions on their everyday lives surpassed 100 million on Monday, even as President Donald Trump appeared to distance himself from social distancing guidelines.

■ "I want America to understand this week, it's going to get bad," Surgeon General Jerome Adams said Monday morning on the "TODAY" show. By day's end, the U.S. death toll passed 570, and the virus had infected more than 41,000 people.

■ The United Kingdom announced a nationwide lockdown as global cases reached 372,000.

■ The Senate's effort to push forward a nearly \$2 trillion stimulus proposal stalled for the second day over party disagreements. The measure is designed to provide direct payments to most Americans and throw a lifeline to businesses. Democrats want to bolster protections for workers, pump more money to states and help students facing debt repayments.

IN MONEY

Gannett's lifeline to small businesses

Gannett, owner of USA TODAY and more than 260 daily local media properties, has launched media supportlocal.usatoday.com to help communities support local businesses nationwide. Visit us online to see how you can help.

■ Trump said he is prohibiting the hoarding of medical equipment and supplies, including hand sanitizers and face masks. "We will not allow anyone to exploit the suffering of American citizens for their own profit," he said.

■ The Department of Defense said cases of the coronavirus had nearly doubled to 243 troops, their family members and civilian employees. Seven troops were hospitalized.

■ At least 13,500 Americans remain stranded abroad, the State Depart-

ment says. The government has brought home about 5,000 Americans from 17 countries so far, and officials are hoping to help another 1,600 U.S. citizens return this week.

■ Maryland and Massachusetts ordered closures of non-essential businesses. Indiana and Michigan are telling people to stay home, except for limited reasons. Meanwhile, police departments across the U.S. are grappling with difficult questions about how to keep a functioning force if illness spreads among personnel.

■ The market's losses Monday – the Dow Jones industrial average dropped nearly 600 points, its first close below 19,000 since November 2016 – were despite the Fed's move to expand lending programs. The stock market has lost more than a third of its value since its record high last month. "Like everything about this crisis, it's not the bad news that hurts the most," said Jim Paulsen of the Leuthold Group. "It is the total uncertainty."

— Matt Leclercq



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USA TODAY Snapshots

Using bleach to keep clean

Disinfecting household surfaces is important. Alcohol-based cleaning solutions should be at least 70% alcohol, or you can dilute basic household bleach – making sure never to mix it with ammonia or any other cleanser.

To make a bleach solution, mix:

- 5 tablespoons (1/3 cup) bleach per gallon of water
- OR
- 4 teaspoons bleach per quart of water

SOURCE: CDC
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPBELL/USA TODAY

Creativity now Job One for businesses, housing market

Companies scramble to stay above water, and real estate tours go virtual. **In Money**

You can still tour museums – from your living room

We offer a list of national treasures online where you can shop for gifts, too. **In Life**



America's biodefense: Decades of warnings

A national strategy was supposed to unwind a labyrinth of directives, action plans and laws, but that never happened. **Nation's Health**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25, 2020

CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

Is it up to Trump to ease guidance?

States have put own restrictions in place

John Fritze, Courtney Subramanian and Rebecca Morin
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – President Donald Trump has said he wants to curtail the strict social distancing guidelines his administration put in place to slow the spread of the coronavirus pandemic because of the potential impact on the U.S. economy.

But Trump is not the only executive to take action in the hope of "flattening the curve," the term medical experts use to describe a slow and steady rise in the number of cases of COVID-19 rather than a sharp spike that could overwhelm the nation's health care system.

As the president weighs loosening the federal guidance, he does so against a backdrop of governors who have implemented their own, state-wide – and independent – restrictions, from curfews to lockdowns to sweeping school and business closures.

"We're going to be opening relatively soon," Trump said during a Fox News town hall Tuesday. "I'd love to have it open by Easter... It's such an important day for other reasons but I'll make an important date for this too. I would love to have the country, opened up and just raring to go by Easter."

But does Trump have the authority to revoke or alter that guidance? And what impact would the move have on work-from-home orders signed by state governors?

What is Trump's guidance?

Trump announced guidelines March 16 aimed at slowing the spread of coronavirus. Officials describe the effort as "15 days to bend the curve" of new cases. The guidelines called on Americans to avoid gatherings of 10 or more people and suggested that states with "community transmission" close their schools, bars, restaurants and other businesses.

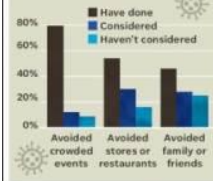
See **GUIDELINES**, Page 2A



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USA TODAY Snapshots What we're doing to keep virus at bay

Precautions U.S. adults say they've taken because of concern about the new coronavirus:



Numbers may not add to 100% due to rounding
SOURCE: Gallup panels, March 16-19
AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY

Postponed Olympics will be worth the wait



The Olympic rings cast a shadow in Tokyo on Tuesday, the day the International Olympic Committee and Japanese government announced that the 2020 Olympics will be postponed to a date beyond 2020 but not later than summer 2021. CARL COURT/GETTY IMAGES

Spirit of the games will shine even brighter when nations emerge from this darkness

MORE INSIDE

Spring breaker says he regrets those "party" remarks. **2A**

Patients tell their survival stories: "I was sleeping 19 hours a day." **1D**

A visual look at how the virus spreads. Full-page graphic. **6D**



Christine Brennan
Columnist
USA TODAY

Someday relatively soon, a Summer Olympics will take place in Tokyo. It won't begin on July 24, as we know after officials postponed the games on Tuesday, but it will happen. In the midst of sadness, uncertainty and fear over the worldwide outbreak of the novel coronavirus, this is where an Olympic conversation should start today: with the hope and relief the largest regularly scheduled gathering of the world will bring, when it comes.

Can you imagine the scene when the Olympic flame is brought into the stadium in Tokyo next spring or next summer to signal the beginning of the 2020 Olympic Games – in 2021? How strange, and yet how exhilarating.

The athletes of the world forced this change upon the International Olympic Committee and the various national Olympic committees and sports federations, and they will be the

ones to revel in it when the moment arrives. They were the ones who were concerned that they were endangering not only their own health but the health of those around them by continuing to try to train in the midst of a pandemic. They were the ones who didn't want to defy shelter-in-place orders to keep their Olympic dream alive. They were the ones who wanted to be good global citizens.

It's now our fervent hope that when the Olympics comes, it will have been worth the wait.

Clearly, any Olympics, much less any sporting event, will not – or should not – go on if there still is a danger that the virus is among us. But presuming the world is back to some semblance of normalcy in 2021, the Tokyo Games will be there to formally announce it.

Ironically enough, these were being called "The Recovery Games" in Japan, referring to the country's tsunami and earthquake in March 2011 and the subsequent meltdown of three nuclear reactors. Recovery, indeed.

See **OLYMPICS**, Page 3A

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

Markets rally

U.S. stocks skyrocketed Tuesday on hopes that Congress would pass the stimulus bill. The Dow Jones Industrial Average surged 11%, the highest percentage leap since 1933. The Standard & Poor's 500 jumped more than 9%. Overall, markets have lost nearly one-third of their value since the coronavirus crisis began battering global economies.

Tracking the curve

U.S. deaths leaped by more than 100 people in a 24-hour period to reach 674 by Tuesday afternoon. The U.S. had more than 51,000 cases of the virus, with roughly half in New York state. Globally, more than 18,000 have died and more than 400,000 are infected.

The World Health Organization said it took 67 days from the first reported coronavirus cases to reach 100,000. The next 100,000 took 11 days, the next 100,000 just four days. India's 1.3 billion people are now under a lockdown, similar to the U.K.

The search for a cure

Doctors and scientists are pushing back against President Donald Trump's claims of a potential treatment for COVID-19, noting that the two malaria drugs he has touted are unproven against coronavirus and carry risks of side effects. WHO's director said untested drugs can provide false hope and cause shortages of treatments for other diseases.

Learning more of virus

Scientists say the virus can live on surfaces for up to 17 days. Medical groups also are seeing a loss of the sense of smell or taste in a significant number of cases, another key identifier of infection. In some cases, the losses can be permanent.

– Matt Leiercq

\$2 trillion emergency aid plan is close

Ledyard King
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON – Congress is close to striking a deal on a sweeping federal response to the coronavirus pandemic that includes direct payments to Americans, far-reaching financial help for small businesses and a lifeline to airlines considered crucial to the nation's recovery.

The centerpiece would be one-time checks of \$1,200 or more to individuals, a jolt of household capital that lawmakers

hope will boost consumer confidence and give the tumbling stock market a reason for optimism.

It also would help states grappling with the pandemic and compensate restaurants, mom-and-pop stores and other Main Street retailers that have had to close their doors or have seen their customers disappear.

The anticipation of a breakthrough followed days of rancorous negotiations between Republicans eager to help businesses survive the free-falling

economy and Democrats pushing for provisions to ensure that help for companies goes to keeping workers on the payroll rather than executive compensation or stock buybacks.

Congress is expected to pass the bill by the end of this week and President Donald Trump has indicated he will sign it. At roughly \$2 trillion, it would be, by far, the largest economic package ever approved by Washington. It's more than half the \$3.5 trillion the government expects to collect in taxes this year.

LA Rams all too familiar with crisis management

The franchise has soldiered on through wildfires, a shooting, now a pandemic. **Column in Sports**

We still have TV, and luckily there's more of it than ever

USA TODAY's Kelly Lawler offers 100 shows worth your 'I'm stuck at home' time. **In Life**



Nurses in hot zones find strength to carry on

One New Jersey caregiver, tending to the sickest of the sick, says: "If you think too much, you cry." **Nation's Health**

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | MONDAY, MARCH 30, 2020

CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC



New York City is now the epicenter for the coronavirus in the United States, leaving popular destinations such as Times Square eerily empty. **JAMIE NEWMAN/USA TODAY NETWORK**

NYC hit hard. Next up: 'Every city in America'

'Big city, small city ... everybody is at risk,' experts warn

Joel Shannon, David Robinson and Lorenzo Reyes
USA TODAY NETWORK

NEW YORK — New York City has rapidly become the epicenter of the U.S. coronavirus outbreak, paralyzing a city famous for never standing still as its leaders liken the crisis to war.

The city's bustling streets, thriving public transit and dense population made it uniquely vulnerable to the rapid spread of COVID-19. But other cities, suburbs and rural regions across the nation could see a similarly deadly situation unfold in the near future if swift action is not taken, multiple experts tell USA TODAY.

"New York is getting hit hard, and they're getting hit first," said Ashish Jha, director of the Harvard Global Health Institute. Jha listed city after city and state after state that are showing early signs of a similarly devastating outbreak taking hold.

"New York is not an outlier," Jha said. The virus is on track to hit "every city in America."

White House coronavirus response coordinator Dr. Deborah Birx agreed.

"No state, no metro area will be spared," Birx said on NBC's "Meet the Press" on Sunday.

What is unfolding in New York City offers a case study in how the virus attacks all aspects of life, as well as what public health experts say needs to be done to beat it back.

The New York City outbreak keeps growing, topping 30,000 cases and more than 675 deaths as of Sunday afternoon, according to the Johns Hopkins University data dashboard.

In addition to the cluster of cases in New York City, Gov. Andrew Cuomo has noted the state's figures are higher than other states' in part because New York state is testing many more people.

See **NEW YORK, Page 3A**

Trump's poll ratings rise

A USA TODAY analysis looks at what the jump in the president's numbers could mean come November. **2A**

Grocers try to lessen risks

Stores limit number of customers and implement social distancing in lines as they try to keep risk to a minimum. **Money, 1B**

"No state, no metro area will be spared."

Dr. Deborah Birx
White House coronavirus response coordinator

USA TODAY INVESTIGATION

Rollout of tests had fatal flaws

Missteps, then untruths shackled state scientists

Brett Murphy and Letitia Stein
USA TODAY

The coronavirus epidemic reached Beadle County, South Dakota, last week. A single case tied to travel has exploded into 20 infections and counting, with no way to know how many were exposed while supply shortages forced the entire state to briefly suspend testing.

Confirmed cases in New York City, where hospitals have fallen into chaos as resources run thin, on Thursday surpassed Beadle's entire population of 18,500. With too few tests for too many cases, doctors there already had been told it no longer made sense to test most ill patients.

From its biggest cities to its smallest towns, America's chance to contain the coronavirus outbreak came and went in the seven weeks since U.S. health officials botched the testing rollout and then misled scientists in state laboratories about this crucial early failure. Federal regulators failed to recognize the spiraling disaster and were slow to relax the rules that prevented labs and major hospitals from advancing a backup.

Scientists around the country found themselves shackled as the disease spread.

"We were watching a tsunami and standing there frozen," said Dr. Debra Wadford, director of the public viral disease laboratory in California, where some of the country's earliest patients were identified.

The nation's public health pillars — the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the Food and Drug Administration — shirked their responsibility to protect Americans in an emergency like this new coronavirus, USA TODAY found in interviews with dozens of scientists, public health experts and community leaders, as well as email communications between laboratories and hospitals across the country.

The result was a cascading series of failures now costing lives.

CDC leaders not only bungled their role in developing the first coronavirus test permitted in the country, they also misrepresented the efficacy of

"We were watching a tsunami and standing there frozen."

Dr. Debra Wadford
Director, California viral disease laboratory

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

Trump extends guidelines

President Donald Trump said Sunday the administration is extending guidelines for social distancing and other measures until April 30.

The original 15-day period, implemented on March 16, would have ended this week.

Trump said the White House task force would be sharing further data and finalized plans Tuesday, and that he expects by June 1, "we will be well on our way to recovery."

A grim warning of deaths to come

U.S. deaths from the coronavirus doubled over the weekend, and the nation should be prepared for the possibility of 100,000 to 200,000 total deaths before the crisis is over. That was the warning Sunday from Dr. Anthony Fauci, the federal infectious disease expert who is a leading voice in the fight against the outbreak.

The nation had at least 137,000 cases of the virus as of Sunday afternoon



The U.S. could see up to 200,000 total deaths from COVID-19, Dr. Anthony Fauci warned Sunday. ALEX BRANDON/AP

with more than 2,400 deaths, including country music singer Joe Diffie and three New York City police officers. Globally, more than 716,000 have been infected and at least 33,600 have died. About 149,000 have recovered.

Fauci said on CNN that computer models generally overestimate numbers, but "we are going to have millions of cases." The government's earlier worst-case scenario projected 200,000 to 1.7 million American deaths by December.

Decoding the virus

Scientists are tracking the genetic footprints of at least eight strains of the coronavirus around the globe. While much is unknown, hidden in unique microscopic fragments are clues to the origins of the original strain, how it mutates and which strains are turning into conflagrations while others are dying out.

Supplies headed to U.S.

The administration has begun airlifting medical supplies from Asia and elsewhere to hard-hit states. More than 10 million gloves and 130,000 N-95 masks landed Sunday in New York City, the first of what is expected to be about 20 flights over several weeks.

Airline passengers down 90%

Airline passenger numbers have been below 200,000 in recent days, 90% fewer than a year ago. Meanwhile, at least 50 TSA screeners and 19 other agency employees have tested positive for the virus.

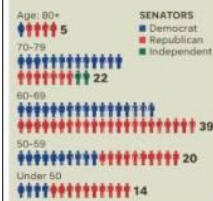
—Matt LeClerc



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USA TODAY Snapshots
Are Senate's seniors at risk?

Nearly two-thirds of U.S. senators are over age 60, a demographic hit hard by the new coronavirus. Sen. Rand Paul, R-Ky., 57, has already tested positive.



SOURCE: AP
AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANASTA/USA TODAY

Plight of some 'Dreamers' is heavy with irony

For thousands working in health care, they're needed now more than ever. **Nation's Health**

Death, lies and uranium: Was it suicide, or murder?

Ohio man's mysterious disappearance in 1984 still haunts family and friends. **In News**

USA TODAY
THE NATION'S NEWS | \$2 | TUESDAY, MARCH 31, 2020



PHILIP FONG/AP/WIA VIA GETTY IMAGES

OLYMPICS' NEW DATE: JULY 23, 2021

The Tokyo Games have a new opening day. But is it good that the decision comes so soon, or was now really the right time? Nancy Armour and Christine Brennan debate. **In Sports**

Hospitals lack staff to run ventilators

Machines to help sick breathe 'very complex'

Kevin McCoy and Katie Wedell
USA TODAY

While the coronavirus threatens the nation's health care system, hospitals seek tens of thousands of ventilators to help patients breathe as the disease attacks their lungs.

Someone needs to operate those breathing machines, and there aren't enough specially trained personnel, health care experts warned.

"They're very complex machines, and you don't have enough respiratory therapists," said Thomas Frieden, a former director of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

"You're going to have to train nurses and others to run them," he said. "This is not a surprise. We've known for more than 15 years that this is one of the biggest chokepoints ... in saving lives in a pandemic."

In a race to stave off the collapse of health care systems nationwide, some state regulators recruit retired respiratory therapists and try to speed students in the field to the front lines of the invisible war. Officials in some states may repurpose ventilators used in other parts of hospitals for COVID-19 patients.

The battle against the coronavirus rages hottest in the New York City metropolitan area. Sixty percent of the nation's COVID-19 cases were there as of late last week, said Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases.

By Monday, New York City accounted for nearly one in four of all confirmed cases in the USA, according to data compiled by Johns Hopkins University.

New York is among the states with the lowest concentration of respiratory therapists compared with the national average, according to Bureau

See VENTILATORS, Page 3A

CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

How this crisis could reshape US history

'Life may change for us all'



Unemployed men line up outside the State Labor Bureau in New York City on Nov. 24, 1933, the depths of the Great Depression. With the news that more than 3 million Americans applied for unemployment in mid-March, historians have been grasping for comparisons to other periods of national upheaval in past decades. AP FILE PHOTO

Marco della Cava
USA TODAY

When historians mark the start of this nation's coronavirus nightmare, they will cite Jan. 21, 2020, the date a Washington state man in his 30s who had visited Wuhan, China, was confirmed as the United States' first COVID-19 case.

Since then, this global crisis has mushroomed into a national defining moment with as yet untold cultural and economic repercussions. No one questions whether we will be talking about this for generations. If there is

MORE INSIDE

- In Appalachia, times are grim. **4A**
- Employees starting to revolt. **1B**
- Giving birth in a pandemic. **3D**

debate, it is over the proper historical comparison.

Is this like the 2008 financial crisis, 9/11, World War II? Or perhaps, as some economists predict and news that 3.3 million people applied for unemployment earlier this month suggests, will this be remembered as a period of deep loss and poverty, something like

the grim 1930s when unemployment hit 25%?

"This will be very economically disruptive, and an analogy to the Great Depression is the closest to what we may face," says Stanford University economics professor Matthew Jackson. "These huge events can have profound changes on the views and beliefs people have."

That we are in for difficult months and perhaps years ahead seems commonly accepted, as virus deaths mount, hospitals are overwhelmed and

See HISTORY, Page 3A

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

Help arrives in New York Harbor

A Navy ship with 1,000 hospital beds and 12 operating rooms arrived in New York City on Monday and could be ready for patients as soon as Tuesday. The USNS Comfort will house non-coronavirus patients to alleviate strain on hospitals in the city where more than 33,000 people have contracted the virus. About 800 people in New York have died.

The U.S. death toll stood at nearly 3,000 people Monday evening with more than 161,000 confirmed cases. The global death count was more than 37,500 people and over 782,000 known infections.

U.S. expands testing

President Donald Trump and his task force said more than 1 million Americans have been tested, and 100,000 tests are now being done each day.

Trump said keeping social distancing and self-isolation measures in place for 30 more days could save 1 million lives. Dr. Anthony Fauci, the leading voice on



The U.S. Navy hospital ship Comfort makes its way across New York Harbor on Monday to help ease the burden on a city that is the U.S. epicenter of the coronavirus pandemic. SETH HARRISON/USA TODAY NETWORK

the nation's fight against the outbreak, said he supported extending the national guidelines to April 30, because infections and deaths have not begun decreasing within the time frame first estimated.

"It would not have been a good idea to pull back at a time when you really needed to be pressing your foot on the pedal as opposed to on the brakes," Fauci said.

More economic fallout

Macy's is furloughing a majority of its 125,000 employees starting this week, the latest major retailer to announce cutbacks. Whole Foods workers were planning a "sick out" over demands for better conditions, including double pay because of pandemic hazards.

U.S. markets started yet another volatile week with gains propelled by health care stocks, but the Dow Jones Industrial Average's 3.2% jump Monday could be tempered by growing infection numbers and the darkening economic outlook. The S&P 500 advanced 3.4%

Energy stocks have tumbled with the nation's economic engines all but idle. The price of oil briefly dipped below \$20 a barrel for the first time since 2002.

And now Wimbledon?

Add Wimbledon to the list of annual institutions that may be derailed by the pandemic. The Grand Slam tournament hasn't been canceled since World War II. At least one tennis official said the event set to begin June 29 will almost certainly be called off this week.

- Matt LeClercq

Barcode and shipping information for USA TODAY.

USA TODAY Snapshots
Medical shipments to US drop at critical juncture
Shipping containers of critical supplies that protect health workers treating coronavirus patients have been arriving at U.S. ports in lower numbers vs. 2019.
Feb. 15-March 15: ■ 2019 ■ 2020

Medical thermometers	10	5	N95 masks	52	23
Hand sanitizer	134	91	Swabs	397	275

SOURCE: AP, ImportGenius, Panjiva Inc. AMY BARNETTE, DAVID ANESTA/USA TODAY

ANEXO II

Imágenes de portada del periódico Wall Street Journal ordenadas por fecha desde el 1 de enero de 2020 hasta el 31 de marzo de 2020.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 2020 • VOL. CCLXXXV NO. 2

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 2020 • VOL. CCLXXXV NO. 2

What's News

Business & Finance

- Japanese and Turkish authorities are probing the circumstances of Ghosn's flight from Tokyo to Lebanon via Turkey, while the former auto executive said he alone arranged for his escape. **A1**
- Pharmaceutical firms started the year by raising the price of hundreds of drugs, though the average increase of 5.8% was lower than a year earlier. **A1**
- Stocks world-wide rallied to start 2020 after China moved to further loosen monetary policy. Major U.S. indexes hit records. **B1, B9**
- Investors are heading into this year still eager for municipal bonds after a 2019 buying binge supercharged returns. **A1**
- Manufacturing in the U.S. and Asia showed signs of stabilization as 2019 drew to a close, while Europe's industrial slump deepened. **A2**
- Fear of a recession topped the list of U.S. CEOs' concerns going into the new year, a survey found. **B1**
- Beijing halted a high-profile project letting Chinese firms bid in London, a move that could signal chillier financial relations. **B8**
- Former HBO boss Fleiter signed an exclusive production deal with Apple's new TV streaming service. **B3**
- Duke Energy agreed to move 80 million tons of coal ash to landfills at six power-plant sites. **A3**
- McClatchy has frozen pension payments to some former executives and enlisted the services of a bankruptcy-administration firm. **B3**

Trump Strike Kills a Top Iranian

Chief of militant force is targeted in attack on Baghdad convoy, Tehran vows revenge

Top Iraqi paramilitary commander Abu Mahdi al-Badr was killed alongside Gen. Soleimani when the convoy they were traveling in together was struck on a road.


Iran's state television said the strike that killed Gen. Soleimani came from U.S. helicopters. The country's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, declared three days of mourning for his death and warned that a "hard revenge awaits criminals."

Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif called the strike an act of international terrorism and said Tehran would "exhaust all its political, legal and

service members in Iraq and throughout the region, the U.S. Department of Defense said Thursday night.

Iran's state television said the strike that killed Gen. Soleimani came from U.S. helicopters. The country's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, declared three days of mourning for his death and warned that a "hard revenge awaits criminals."

Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif called the strike an act of international terrorism and said Tehran would "exhaust all its political, legal and



Attack Fallout

- Party lines are drawn over war-torn Iraq. **A7**
- Oil prices jump in reaction to attack. **A7**
- For the latest, see WSJ.com

Focus Turns to Rescue After Deadly Flooding in Jakarta

Rescuers evacuated a boy from a flooded area in Jakarta on Thursday, intense storms that began New Year's Eve overwhelmed the Indonesian capital's rivers and drainage canals, and the death toll climbed to 43.



PULLED TO SAFETY: Rescuers evacuated a boy from a flooded area in Jakarta on Thursday, intense storms that began New Year's Eve overwhelmed the Indonesian capital's rivers and drainage canals, and the death toll climbed to 43. **A16**

Drug Prices Climb By 5.8%

Pharmaceutical companies started 2020 by raising the prices of hundreds of drugs an average of 5.8%, according to a new analysis, a smaller increase than a year prior as the industry faces growing scrutiny from patients, lawmakers and health plans.

Prior cost led the way, including increasing prices by over 9% on more than 40 products. The drug industry traditionally sets prices for its therapies at the start of the year and again in the middle of the year.

More than 60 drugmakers raised prices in the U.S. on Wednesday, according to an analysis from its Savings Solutions, which sells software to help employers and health plans choose the least expensive medicines. The average increase was 5.8%, according to the analysis, including increases on different doses for

World-Wide

- Trump ordered a U.S. airstrike in Iraq that killed the leader of the foreign wing of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, an attack that is expected to strike heightened tensions between Washington and Tehran and inflame frictions in the volatile Middle East. **A1, A7**
- European authorities could spyware from Israeli firm NSO to track a suspected terrorist, a law-enforcement official said, but the person's phone went dark after Facebook's WhatsApp notified about 1,000 users of a hack. **A6**
- A senior Pentagon official clashed with the White House over its decision to freeze security aid to Ukraine, according to unredacted emails obtained by an outside group. **A4**
- Turkey's Parliament authorized the government to dispatch troops to Libya, highlighting Ankara's increasingly assertive policy. **A6**
- The U.S. began turning around migrants seeking asylum in Arizona and sending them to Nogales, Mexico, to await U.S. court hearings. **A2**
- The FDA said it would bar the sale of fruit- and mint-flavored e-cigarette cartridges. Some public health groups and lawmakers said the move was inadequate. **A2**
- Wildfires in Australia are exposing vulnerabilities in the global freightlifting network as fire seasons around the world overlap. **A16**
- An air force helicopter crash killed Taiwan's top military commander and seven other people. **A16**

Homicides Rise in Several Cities

Murders rose in New York City, Baltimore and Philadelphia last year, while Chicago saw homicides decline by more than a third. Nationally, the murder rate has fallen since 1990.

City	2019	2018	% Change
Chicago	563	492	-13%
Philadelphia	353	348	+1%
Baltimore	309	316	+2%
New York City	295	254	-14%

Note: 2019 vs. 2018. Source: FBI's Bureau of Investigation, the cities.

Officials Probe Ghosn Flight

Japanese and Turkish authorities are probing the circumstances of Carlos Ghosn's flight from jail in Tokyo to Lebanon via Turkey, while the former auto executive said Thursday that he alone arranged for his escape.

Mr. Ghosn also said his family played no part in his fleeing, Japan, where he faced charges for financial crimes. "I alone arranged for my departure. My family had no role whatsoever," the former chief of Renault SA and Nissan Motor Co. said in a statement late Thursday, The Wall Street

Journal and other media had reported associates of Mr. Ghosn had considered a plan to get him out of Japan for months, and that his wife, Carole Ghosn, had played a role. The Journal cited people familiar with the matter.

Japanese prosecutors went through the house where Mr. Ghosn had been living in Tokyo before fleeing the country. The visit, though, was one of the few outward signs that officials there were trying to figure out how he got away.

As of Thursday, no Japanese government official responsible for the Ghosn case had issued any public statement on the matter. Prosecutors didn't answer the phone, a Foreign Ministry official declined to comment and Prime Minister

Shinzo Abe was on vacation. Turkish prosecutors, meanwhile, have launched an investigation into how Mr. Ghosn made a stopover at Istanbul's Ataturk Airport unbeknownst to local authorities, according to Turkish officials. They said prosecutors have detained seven people in connection with the investigation: four pilots, an airline manager and two ground personnel.

The investigations come as authorities in Lebanon received an Interpol arrest notice for the former Nissan Motor chairman, according to a Justice Ministry statement posted on the official Lebanese news agency.

An Interpol Red Notice isn't an international arrest warrant.

Go Ahead, Resist Job Stress With Kitten and Puppy Photos

Scientists test a critical hypothesis: Cute baby animal images increase productivity

By MICHAEL M. PHILLIPS

TULSA, Okla.—On a cute scale of zero to 100, where zero is "not cute at all" and 100 is "the cutest thing I have EVER seen," raters gave the fluffy white puppy with black eyes and button nose a respectable 82.70.

Not as cute as the gray kitten up on her hind legs, seemingly in prayer (84.82). A far sight cuter than the white rabbit with flashbulb-red eyes (64.46).

Still, Prof. Jennifer Ragsdale wasn't convinced she should include the puppy's photo in her research. Its feature was so buried in fur that study subjects who would eventually see it might be forgiven for wondering if it was a baby seal.

Plus, maybe it could trigger "cute aggression," in which something is "so cute that you want to squish it, smash it, bite it," said Prof. Ragsdale, a University of Tulsa industrial-organizational psychologist.

Such are the tricky issues facing her research team, which aims to prove surfing the internet for baby-animal pictures makes you more productive at the office, not less.

Prof. Ragsdale's lab has researched whether muscle relaxation and exercise on a stationary bike speed recovery

Frenzy in Muni Bonds Projected to Continue

Investors are heading into this year still eager for municipal bonds after a 2019 buying binge supercharged returns.

High-income households looking for tax relief drove record inflows into muni-bond mutual funds last year, with the S&P Municipal Bond Index up 7.26% during the 12 months ended Dec. 31.

Some analysts project that muni-bond mutual funds will continue that growth in 2020. "Basically all of that money has driven up prices," said Nicholas Venditti, a portfolio manager at Thornburg Investment Management.

In addition to investor demand, a lack of issuance from cities and states has also driven up prices. Following a decade of tight government budgets and new limitations on borrowing, tax-exempt debt outstanding fell slightly in the roughly \$4 trillion bond market.

Municipal borrowers, barred by the 2017 tax overhaul from accessing the tax exemption for certain early refinancings, instead sold taxable debt, doubling last year's taxable issuance to about \$65 billion and draining tax-exempt bonds from the market.

Expectations of continued low rates around the world have left investors willing to pay handsomely for muni bonds, including those that don't throw off tax-exempt interest.

"The market is shrinking against really strong demand," said David Hammer, head of municipal bond portfolio management at Pacific Investment Management Co.

The state of Illinois, ranked lower by ratings firms than any other state, benefited from the high demand. Illinois sold tax-exempt nine-year bonds in November at a yield of 2.8%. The interest on those

INSIDE

MANSON

Casa Serriyana, a Spanish treasure on the Mediterranean, goes up for sale. **M1**

SPORTS

The NFL's most innovative coaches are also the league's oldest. **A12**

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The Challenges That Working Mothers Still Face



REVIEW

WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND

Award-Worthy Sweaters OFF DUTY



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What's News

World-Wide

Trump's decision to order an airstrike that killed an Iranian military leader on Iraqi soil reverberated through the Middle East...

The U.S. strike marks a pivot toward direct confrontation with Iran, further entangling the U.S. in the Mideast after years of trying to avoid a major conflict.

Ghose, packed into a case typically used for concert audio equipment, was sneaked onto a private jet at an airport in Osaka, Japan...

Leaders of the United Methodist Church agreed in principle on a deal that will divide the denomination after years of discord over the status of gay and transgender people in the church.

The U.S. military has banned its members from using TikTok, signaling concern about possible security risks related to the video app's Chinese ownership.

Taiwan is toughening laws, fostering memes and partnering with Facebook to fight China's attempts to influence its coming election.

Global stocks faltered and oil prices rose amid recharged Mideast tensions. The developments put a brake on a recent winning stretch for U.S. stocks...

The multityear boom in U.S. auto sales showed signs of easing in 2019, with big car firms posting softer results and executives predicting that the slowdown would continue in 2020.

Some investor advocates say direct listings such as those used by Slack and Spotify to go public lack the safeguards of conventional initial public offerings.

BuzzFeed is edging closer to profitability after staff cuts and efforts by the onetime digital-media darling to generate new streams of revenue.

U.S. companies reaped their biggest returns on pension plan assets in 16 years last year, but the decline in interest rates caused their pension debt to grow.

Financial regulators are asking banks to show they have plans in place to manage the risks stemming from the planned demise of the Libor benchmark.

NOONAN Warren Zevon's Wisdom for The 2020s

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01647

Mideast Tensions Rise After Strike



A man held up an image of Gen. Qassem Soleimani during a protest Friday in Tehran against his killing in Baghdad.

Iran threatens 'hard revenge' for death of commander, Pentagon deploys more troops

By ISRAEL COLES

President Trump's decision to order an airstrike that killed a powerful Iranian military leader on Iraqi soil reverberated through the Middle East on Friday...

"We took action last night to stop a war. We did not take action to start a war," Mr. Trump said in his first public comments since the strike.

The U.S. said it would deploy some 3,500 additional troops to the region to boost security, and the U.S. Embassy in Iraq urged all American citizens to leave the country immediately.

Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei warned that a "hard revenge avails criminals" for the death of Gen. Soleimani...

In Iraq, Prime Minister Adel Abdul-Mahdi condemned the strike as a flagrant breach of terms governing the presence of U.S. troops in the country.

Elite Iranian military unit is still a potent force. Soleiman steered Tehran's foreign policy. Gerald F. Solt: More conflict is inevitable, but war isn't.

Targeted Killing of Iranian General Puts U.S. at Crossroads in Region

The U.S. drone strike that killed the Iranian Quds Force commander marks a pivot toward direct confrontation with Iran, further entangling the U.S. in the Middle East after years of trying to avoid a major conflict.

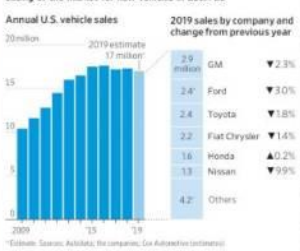
By Michael R. Gordon, Nancy A. Youssef and Vivian Salama

Since taking office, President Trump has made a priority of winding up the fight against Islamic State militants and reducing the American military footprint in the Middle East.

Iraq, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo warned in mid-December that should harm come to any American the U.S. would respond decisively.

Automobile Sales Sputter

After years of improving results, major car makers reported an easing of the market for new vehicles in 2019.



*Estimate. Source: Autodata, IHS Markit, Co. Advertiser (estimates)

Ghose Left Japan in a Crate

Former auto titan Carlos Ghosn, packed into a case typically used for concert audio equipment, was sneaked onto a private jet at an airport in Osaka, Japan.

By David Gauthier, Villars in Istanbul, Mark Movshon in Boston, Sean McLain in Tokyo and Nick Kostov in Beirut

Mr. Ghosn, who is 65 years old, has said he arranged his escape on his own, but he was accompanied on his flight from Osaka to Istanbul, these people said.

His escape from Japan, where he was fighting charges of financial crime stemming from his time at the top of Nissan Motor Co. and Renault SA, was months in the making.

the escape, photos that are part of that probe, and conversations with people familiar with Mr. Ghosn's thinking and the planning and execution of the escape.

As last year neared its end, Mr. Ghosn became increasingly distraught at the prospect of a drawn-out trial.

While he was free to leave his home, he wasn't allowed to leave Japan. Since his arrest in November.

Lebanon could offer Ghosn a more congenial legal venue.

This Is Your Father's Oldsmobile—The 1/25th-Scale Version

Retirement-age adults obsess over the minutiae of tiny homes, vehicles

By JAMES R. HAGERTY

By day, Mark Gustavson is a lawyer in Salt Lake City. In his free time, he makes model cars. His current project is a 1/25th-scale version of a car that exists only in his imagination—a 1964 Mustang with elements of a Mercury Cougar.



Definitely not a toy

The 69-year-old Mr. Gustavson expects to spend about \$5,000 on supplies, including a tiny cylinder head he will pay a machinist to produce. That doesn't count

the 900 or more hours of labor Mr. Gustavson expects to put into a car he will be able to hold in the palm of his hand.

He insists on clarifying one point about his hobby: "I'm not the only whack job." Tens of thousands of other grown men, and some women, build model cars, tanks, rockets and airplanes. They have taken what was once a boy's hobby to levels that might strike the uninitiated as a bit crazy.

EXCHANGE



CLOUD CONTROL Rivals challenge Amazon's dominance in cloud computing.

Tech's New Alternative To IPOs Faces Scrutiny

By ALEXANDER OSPOWICK

Direct listings have been embraced by Silicon Valley venture capitalists and big technology companies. But are they safe for Main Street investors?

That question is being raised by some investor advocates, who say the smooth process used by Slack Technologies Inc. and Spotify Technology SA to go public lacks the safeguards of conventional initial public offerings.

A direct listing is an alternative to a traditional IPO in which a company floats its shares on an exchange without hiring banks to underwrite the offering.

That allows companies to save on fees and bypass some of the restrictions of standard IPOs, such as lockups that prevent insiders from immediately selling their shares.

The year ahead may bring more of the deals. Airbnb Inc. has weighed a direct listing, The Wall Street Journal has reported. The home-sharing company has said it expects to go public in 2020.

While direct listings have been happening quietly for years, they were limited to small deals until Spotify in 2018 became the first big company to go public via a direct listing.

That spurred interest in the process from other unicorns, or private firms valued at more than \$1 billion.

"A traditional IPO involves underwriters and other professionals with deep knowledge of the company—and clear legal obligations—helping to prevent insiders from immediately selling their shares.

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What's News Business & Finance

Fallout Deepens After U.S. Strike

Trump pushes Iraq, threatens sanctions, after vote urges ouster of American troops

By ISRAEL COLES AND CATHERINE LUCY

President Trump threatened Iraq with sanctions and a bill for billions of dollars if the U.S. is forced to withdraw its troops from the nation after the Iraqi parliament, responding to a U.S. airstrike that killed a powerful Iranian general on its soil, voted in favor of expelling American forces.

The nonbinding resolution—passed Sunday with the backing of Shiite politicians—urges Prime Minister Adel Abdul-Mahdi to rescind Iraq's invitation to U.S. forces that helped rescue the country after Islamic State overran about one-third of its territory in 2014.

Mr. Abdul-Mahdi called on lawmakers to back the resolution, but it wasn't clear how he would proceed. He resigned as Prime Minister on Sunday.

Please turn to page A7



Thousands attended Maj. Gen. Qassem Soleimani's funeral ceremony Sunday in Ahvaz, Iran.

Iran says it won't honor nuclear-enrichment limits; large crowds mourn general's death

Iran said Sunday it no longer will comply with limits on uranium enrichment under its 2015 nuclear pact, as hundreds of thousands gathered across the country to mourn the death of a military leader killed Friday in a U.S. airstrike in Iraq.

By Aron Egghli in Tehran, Sune Engel Rasmussen in Beirut and Laurence Norman in London

Sunday's move and Maj. Gen. Qassem Soleimani's death opened a new chapter in Iran's tense relationship with Western nations, pushing the nuclear accord closer to collapse and raising the risk of a military confrontation with the U.S.

In its announcement on Iranian television Sunday, Tehran stopped short of an abrogation of the nuclear pact, which limited the country's nuclear program in return for lifting multination sanctions.

But its decision, the latest step by Iran to scale back com-

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- McDonald's new CEO is seeking to make changes at the top to move the company away from a culture that tolerated partying and fraternizing between some senior managers and rank-and-file employees. A1
Ghosn's flight from Japan was aided by an operative who identified a security lapse at Osaka's Kansai airport months before the escape. A1
U.K. agencies are examining whether a trading outage blamed on a software hiccup at the LSE in August may have been caused by a cyberattack. B1
Aviation regulators are considering mandatory flight-simulator training before U.S. pilots can operate Boeing's 737 MAX again. B1
The Fed has ample tools to fight a potential recession even though its benchmark interest rate remains historically low, Bernanke said. A2
Investors expect a tough year for European bonds as the likelihood of more monetary stimulus wanes. B1
U.S. stock funds posted a 28.3% average gain in 2019, even as wary investors continued to send money to bond funds. B2

World-Wide

- Iran said it would no longer comply with limits on uranium enrichment under the 2015 nuclear deal, as hundreds of thousands gathered to mourn the death of Maj. Gen. Qassem Soleimani, killed in a U.S. airstrike in Iraq. A1
Trump threatened Iraq with sanctions after its parliament voted in favor of expelling U.S. troops. A1
Three Americans were killed in an attack by al-Shabaab militants on a shared military base in Kenya, the U.S. military said. A6
Maduro's allies replaced the opposition head of Venezuela's National Assembly with their own lawmaker, cementing the president's grip on power. A8
Beijing replaced its top representative in protest-racked Hong Kong, marking a tougher approach to resolving tensions. A9
Congress begins its new session with unresolved questions about when and under what rules Trump's impeachment trial will take place. A4
Mississippi prisons remained on lockdown as officials sought to reassert control in the system after a recent spate of violence. A3

JOURNAL REPORT Investing in Funds: 2019's Top Stock Managers R1-B

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Ghosn Taps Airport-Security Hole to Escape

About three months before former auto titan Carlos Ghosn's escape last week from Japan to Lebanon, an operative helping plan his extraction

By Nick Kostov, Mark Marvorn and Rory Jones

visited Kansai International Airport in Osaka, Japan, and realized there was a huge security hole, according to a person familiar with the matter.

The terminal for private jets was essentially empty, unless there was a flight coming in, this person said.

What's more, oversize luggage was too big to fit in the airport scanners.

The security hole proved crucial in Mr. Ghosn's cinematic escape from Japan, where he was out on bail facing charges and had previously said he would fight them in court.

The escape involved a 300-

mile sprint across Japan, from Mr. Ghosn's court-monitored home in Tokyo to the Osaka airport. He was then smuggled inside a large black box, generally used for concert equipment, with breathing holes drilled in the bottom, into a waiting private jet, as previously reported by The Wall Street Journal.

The plan brought Mr. Ghosn through Turkey, where he changed planes in a pre-dawn rainstorm, and on to Lebanon, where he holds citizenship.

Lebanon doesn't extradite its citizens.

On board the plane in Osaka were two U.S. security operatives. One, Michael L. Taylor, is an ex-Green Beret with a history of rescuing hostages.

People familiar with Mr. Ghosn's thinking said he made his own, final decision to go through with the plan only late last month, after signs his trial might drag on for years, and amid the court's refusal for him to have contact with his wife during the holidays.

But work on a detailed plan to extract Mr. Ghosn started months beforehand, according to people familiar with the matter. The planning involved a team of between 10 and 15 people of different nationalities, one of these people said.

In all, the team took more than 30 trips to Japan and visited at least 10 Japanese airports before selecting the plane.

Please turn to page A8

Japanese officials slam Ghosn's move. A8

McDonald's Aspires To Shed Party Culture

By HEATHER HADSON AND SOHANE VANDIA

McDonald's Corp.'s new CEO is determined to make changes at the top to move the company away from a culture that tolerated partying and fraternizing between some senior managers and rank-and-file employees.

Chris Kempczinski, the new chief executive, is seeking to restore a more professional culture at McDonald's after what some current and former employees described as an environment influenced by his predecessor's late-night socializing with some executives and staffers at bars and fraternities with female employees.

Mr. Kempczinski, who is also

focused on improving restaurant performance, has met with employees and franchisees in the U.S., U.K., Germany, France and Switzerland in his first two months as CEO, in part to gather input on the company's culture and values, one of the people said. He is expected to share some of what he has learned with the company this month.

"There is a cultural shift here now," another person familiar with the CEO's plans said. "Some people perceived there was this macho, guys club. That has now progressed to a more open leadership under Chris." This person and some others said Mr. Kempczinski, who was previously president of McDonald's USA, wasn't part of the group that did most of the late-night socializing.

McDonald's board fired its

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INSIDE



JASON GAY Questions about Tom Brady's future will dominate the off-season. A14

LIFE & ARTS Sam Mendes's World War I epic '1917' takes top honor at the Golden Globes. A11

Cocoa Cartel Stirs Up Global Chocolate Market

Two biggest producers join forces to charge a premium; 'COPEX'

By ALEXANDRA WICKLER

KONA, Ghana—An international cartel is coming for your daily chocolate fix.

The West African nations of Ivory Coast and Ghana, which combined produce more than 60% of the world's cocoa, have banded together to form their own chocolate-coated version of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries.

Like OPEC, whose control over crude oil output has largely driven global oil prices since 1960, the decision by the world's top two cocoa producers to join forces is expected to raise the cost of candy bars, ice cream and cake. The two nations chocolate bloc has decided to charge an extra \$400 per metric ton of cocoa, which is currently trading around \$2,500 per metric ton.

"COPEX," as some in government and industry have dubbed the new partnership, is already stirring confusion and unease in the \$107.3 bil-

lion global chocolate market. The new premium, the second attempt to create a cartel in the cocoa market in the last 50 years, is due to take effect in October.

Cocoa traders and brokers call the plan the biggest overhaul of the global cocoa market in decades—from its start with cocoa-bean farmers, to its finish with a consumer grabbing a bar of chocolate.

At least one major cocoa processor plans to raise its prices in anticipation of the new premium. Traders expect others to explore alternate sources of cocoa beans. Several smaller cocoa-producing countries are considering their own premiums, looking to the heavyweights as an example. Officials in Ghana and Ivory Coast must convince local farmers that regulating output will mean a boost in pay to help them survive.

"You're talking about two-thirds of the world's cocoa," said Jonathan Parkman, co-

Please turn to page A10

You Paid \$500 for Dinner, but Blue Eggs Are on Us

Restaurants raise their game with freebies: smoked sea salt

By CHARLES PASSY

At Tocqueville, an upscale French and contemporary American restaurant in Manhattan, diners pay \$22 for squash soup, and \$175 for an eight-course meal. Sometimes, they leave with a half a dozen pale blue eggs from heritage

breed hens favored by the restaurant. For those, they pay nothing.

Marco Moreira, the chef and owner, says the parting gift doesn't cost the restaurant much, and "you just made the experience magical." Or at least given someone a good story to tell about carting

fragile eggs through a night out in New York City).

The free sample—long a staple of Costco's snacking and food courts of America—is becoming de rigueur for restaurants, even those with Michelin stars.

At Harold's in the Arlo

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DOW JONES | *News Corp.* ***** TUESDAY, JANUARY 7, 2020 - VOL. CCLXXV NO. 5 WSJ.com ***** \$4.00
DIA 28703.38 ▲ 85.50 0.2% NASDAQ 9071.46 ▲ 0.6% STOXX600 416.63 ▼ 0.4% 10-YR. TREAS. ▼ 7/32, yield 1.809% OIL \$63.27 ▲ \$0.22 GOLD \$1,566.20 ▲ \$17.00 EURO \$1.1197 YEN 103.77

What's News

Business & Finance

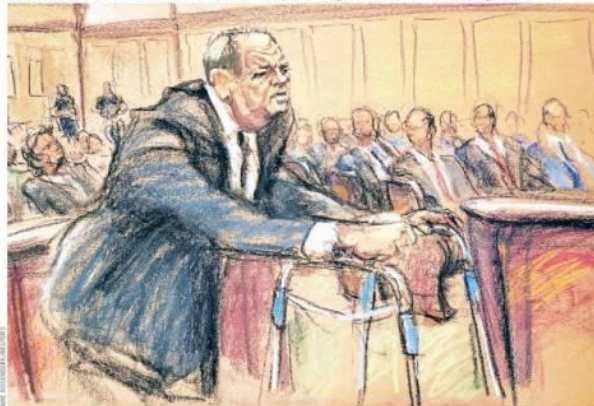
- ◆ **Boeing is examining** plans to raise more debt to bolster finances strained by the fallout from the grounding and halted production of its 737 MAX. **A1**
- ◆ **Ford's U.S. sales fell** 3.2% in 2019, reflecting a broader cooling of demand in the U.S. auto market after a record period of elevated results. **B1**
- ◆ **U.S. stocks reversed** early losses and oil prices ended higher after giving up much of their early gains, as investors eyed the Mideast. **B11**
- ◆ **The price of gold rose** to the highest level in almost seven years, gaining for a ninth consecutive session. **B1**
- ◆ **Xerox said it has secured** financing for its unsolicited \$33 billion takeover offer for HP, which has resisted the bid. **B3**
- ◆ **Uber said the Justice Department** closed an inquiry into whether the firm broke a U.S. law prohibiting bribes to foreign officials. **B3**
- ◆ **Borden Dairy, the 163-year-old** milk producer known for its "spokescow" mascot, has filed for bankruptcy protection. **B3**
- ◆ **Audits of personal income-tax returns** by the IRS declined in fiscal 2019 to the lowest level in at least four decades. **A2**
- ◆ **Julia appointed an interim** finance chief and is putting his predecessor in charge of the e-cigarette maker's restructuring effort. **B3**
- ◆ **Yum struck a deal** to buy fast-casual burger chain Habit for about \$375 million as it seeks to broaden its range of restaurants. **B2**

World-Wide

- ◆ **The Pentagon said it plans** to send B-52 bombers and more troops to the Mideast as anger simmered in Tehran and Baghdad over the U.S.'s targeted killing of prominent Iranian military leader Soleimani. **A1, A5-6**
- ◆ **Top Senate Democrats** called on Trump to immediately declassify the White House notification to Congress of the drone strike against Soleimani. **A6**
- ◆ **Bolton said that he is prepared** to testify in a Senate impeachment trial of the president if subpoenaed by lawmakers. **A1**
- ◆ **Weinstein was charged** with sex crimes in Los Angeles on the day that his criminal trial on similar accusations opened in New York. **A3**
- ◆ **Pompeo met with McConnell** to definitively say he wouldn't run for a U.S. Senate seat in Kansas this year. **A4**
- ◆ **The administration plans** to unveil new rules that will roll back Obama-era efforts to prod local governments into building more low-income housing in affluent areas. **A8**
- ◆ **A mob attack on students** at a prominent university in India sparked widespread condemnation and demonstrations. **A16**
- ◆ **Japan's justice minister** said the country would tighten security to make it harder for defendants like Choon to escape. **A7**
- ◆ **A group of men who allege** they were sexually abused when they belonged to the Boy Scouts sued the organization in Washington, D.C. **A3**

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Weinstein's Sex-Assault Trial Begins, New Charges Filed



IN COURT: Former Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein was charged with rape and other sex crimes in Los Angeles on the first day of his trial in New York City. Mr. Weinstein, who entered the courtroom with a walker, has denied the accusations. **A3**

Boeing Looks to Raise More Cash As Costs Climb From MAX Crisis

Boeing Co. is examining plans to raise more debt to bolster finances strained by the grounding and halted production of its 737 MAX, according to people familiar with the matter.

The aerospace giant isn't running out of cash, but costs associated with the MAX crisis are rising, leading to the prospect of borrowing more money.

Boeing plans to halt production of the plane this month, lowering some costs but pushing back the likely date at which payments for finished planes would resume. The company said Monday it would reassign up to 3,000 workers, while its biggest supplier Spirit AeroSystems Holdings Inc. outlined plans for voluntary layoffs ahead of its own planned production halt.

Meanwhile, Boeing faces

compensation claims from airlines and families of the 346 victims of two MAX crashes over the past 15 months. On Monday, American Airlines Group Inc. and Grupo Aeroespacial SAB de CV both separately said they had reached agreements with Boeing, without disclosing terms.

Boeing had about \$20 billion in available funds at the end of the September quarter, according to the company's financial statements.

Analysts expect Boeing to raise as much as \$5 billion in additional debt to help cover expenses that could top \$15 billion in the first half of this year. The company has long held about \$10 billion in spare liquidity. In addition to spending on maintenance for the grounded MAX fleet and finished planes, the company plans to close its \$4 billion acquisition of an 80% stake in the Brazilian plane maker Embraer.

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U.S. Adds Troops As Iran Vows Revenge

The Pentagon said it plans to send B-52 bombers and more troops to the Mideast as anger simmered Monday in Baghdad and Tehran over the U.S.'s targeted killing of Iranian Maj. Gen. Qassem Soleimani in Iraq. Hundreds of thousands of people marched through Iraq's capital Monday in a funeral

procession for Gen. Soleimani, the architect of deadly Iranian shadow wars throughout the Middle East. Many of the mourners called for revenge against the U.S.

The drone strike last week ordered by President Trump set off a chain of events that saw Iraq's parliament call for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the country and a letter surface in which a U.S. general said American forces were preparing to pull out. That was quickly followed by a statement from top Pentagon officials that there were no plans to leave.

World leaders, facing the prospect of a cycle of reprisals, pleaded for restraint. "Geopolit-

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Tensions Grow

- ◆ **Gerald F. Soib: U.S. at turning point** ... **A4**
- ◆ **Clinton critics warn** Shinzo Abe's political group ... **A5**
- ◆ **Democrats want notice of airstrikes declassified** ... **A6**

INSIDE

BUSINESS & FINANCE
Plant-based food makers put imitation ground pork on the menu. **B1**



SPORTS
The next generation of NFL quarterbacks are throwers who can run. **A12**

Roundup's Weakness Opens The Field to a Challenger

Clash of agribusiness rivals will determine who dominates farmland

By JACOB BENNETT

REGATUR, Ill.—Before it was targeted by tens of thousands of plaintiffs in lawsuits, Roundup was the king of the field—the world's most heavily used weedkiller. Now it's mired in court over claims it caused cancer and viewed as a major liability for its parent company, Bayer AG. On top of that, some weeds have evolved to survive Roundup.

That has left an opening for a new contender to cover for Roundup's failings, kicking off a clash of agribusiness rivals as fierce as Pepsi's showdown with Coca-Cola on store shelves.

At stake are billions of dollars in herbicide and seed sales, and influence over how farmers manage crops for decades.

Bayer was already a leading supplier of

pesticides when it took control of Roundup as part of its acquisition of Monsanto Co. in 2018. The merged company is the largest seller of seeds and crop chemicals.

Bayer's big rival, seed and pesticide maker Corteva Inc., is making moves to woo farmers away from the giant. On a chilly August morning, Corteva field specialist Dan Puck stood before dozens of farmers in an air-conditioned tent with screens flashing a green thumbs-up logo of a new weed spray named Enlist.

Corteva erected the tent to help promote the weedkiller at the late-summer Farm Progress Show. Following a magician performing Enlist-themed tricks, farmers recounted losing battles against Roundup-tolerant weeds like marestail, waterhemp and Palmer amaranth.

The Enlist spray, Mr. Puck told them, was

Please turn to page A8

Tasting Menus Inspire DIYers To BYOB

Diners cart their own Dom; 'We expect decorum'

By ALINA DEZIK

As Linda and Jamie Garard dined on black caviar to begin an 11-course tasting meal at Chicago's El Estable restaurant, they marveled at the right crispness to cut through the briny fish eggs, they thought.

Of course, the bottle had come as no surprise—the Garards had brought it from their own cellar. The \$400 bubbly was the first in a procession of wines the couple had planned out the week before.

In an effort to woo deep-

Please turn to page A9

Bolton Offers to Testify At Trial if Subpoenaed

By NATHAN ANDREWS

WASHINGTON—Former national security adviser John Bolton, described by witnesses who testified at President Trump's impeachment hearings as alarmed at the pressure put on him to testify, said he would testify in a Senate trial if subpoenaed by lawmakers.

Mr. Bolton's statement Monday spurred partisan wrangling over how the Senate impeachment trial would be conducted and added pressure on Republicans to call the former official. Mr. Bolton has previously conveyed that he has no information about the White House's Ukraine policy.

The Democratic-led House approved abuse-of-power and obstruction-of-Congress impeachment articles in December to enlist a foreign power to help him in this year's election. The chamber had sought Mr. Bolton's testimony but moved forward with articles of impeachment when he declined to testify.

"Since my testimony is once again at issue, I have had to resolve the serious competing issues as best I could, based on careful consideration and study. I have concluded that, if the Senate issues a subpoena for my testimony, I am prepared to testify," Mr. Bolton said in a statement. He noted that he had weighed Mr. Trump's attempt to block aides and former advisers from testifying to Congress against lawmakers' request that he testify about the White House's Ukraine policy.

The White House didn't respond to a question about Mr. Bolton's statement.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D, Calif.) has held off on sending the approved articles of impeachment to the Senate, saying she wanted to see more details on rules for a Senate

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For the fourth straight quarter, Dell Technologies is #1 in Scale-Out NAS. We're proud to provide industry-leading storage options such as Isilon that always measure up.

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Source: IDC Quarterly Enterprise Storage Systems Tracker Q4 2019. Numbers represent Dell Technologies revenue for the fourth quarter only. Revenue includes all storage sales from 2016 Q3B against revenue from 2017 Q3B. Storage includes all sales (direct and indirect) as reported by IDC Technology.

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DIA 28745.09 ▲ 161.41 0.6% NASDAQ 1929.24 ▲ 0.7% STOX 600 418.36 ▲ 0.2% 10-YR. TREAS. 14/32, yield 1.874% OIL \$59.61 ▲ \$3.09 GOLD \$1,557.48 ▲ \$14.40 EURO \$1.1107 YEN 109.13

What's News

Business & Finance

- **Grubhub** is considering strategic options including a possible sale amid increased competition and a recent decline in the food-delivery provider's shares. **B1**
- **Macy's** plans to shut nearly 30 stores and said sales fell during the holiday months, but the drop wasn't as sharp as investors had feared. **B1**
- **U.S. stocks gained**, with the Dow and S&P 500 adding 0.6% and 0.5%, respectively, and the Nasdaq rising 0.7% to a record. **B1**
- **The SEC is taking steps** to loosen the control that big U.S. exchanges exert over the flow of real-time stock prices to the public. **B10**
- **A Fed official** unveiled an alternative approach to that of other U.S. regulators for overhauling rules on lending in lower-income areas. **A4**
- **Morningstar**, known for its mutual-fund ratings, has had a rough path in its quest to become a big player in the bond-rating business. **B1**
- **Farmers are hoping** that 2020 will be the year that China finds its appetite for U.S. pork after a disappointing 2019 for exports. **B1**
- **Walgreens** said quarterly earnings fell 25% even as overall revenue rose and the firm worked to cut costs. **B3**
- **Tech giants** are deploying artificial intelligence to ferret out fraud on their platforms, but some cybercriminals are outsmarting Silicon Valley. **B5**
- **Video app TikTok** has overhauled its guidelines to clarify what kind of content is off-limits. **B5**

World-Wide

- **Trump moved** to de-escalate hostilities with Iran, signaling no new U.S. military strikes following an Iranian missile barrage on Iraqi bases housing American and allied military forces that resulted in no casualties. **A1, A7**
- **The inquiry** into what caused a Ukraine-bound Boeing 737-800 to crash shortly after takeoff from Tehran faces complications amid U.S.-Iran tensions. **A1, A8**
- **Ghosh made** his first public appearance since skipping bail, berating Japan and accusing prosecutors and co-defendants of orchestrating his downfall. **A1**
- **A growing number** of Senate Democrats are calling for Pelosi to speed over the articles of impeachment, saying the party had little to gain from further delay. **A6**
- **Prince Harry** and Meghan Markle said in a surprise announcement that they intended to step back as senior members of Britain's royal family. **A18**
- **The presidents** of Turkey and Russia called for a truce in Libya's civil war to begin Sunday, as both countries deepen their involvement in the North African nation. **A8**
- **Power was restored** to parts of Puerto Rico after a series of earthquakes caused widespread blackouts, toppled homes and schools and killed one person. **A3**
- **Chinese scientists** investigating a mystery illness that has sickened dozens in central China have discovered a new strain of coronavirus. **A9**

Market	Change
S&P 500	+0.5%
Dow Jones	+0.6%
Nasdaq	+0.7%
10-Yr Treasury	-0.01%
Oil	+5.1%
Gold	+9.4%
EUR	+0.0%
YEN	+0.0%



Ghosh Unleashes Tirade On Japan

By Sean McLean and Nick Kostov

BEIRUT—Carlos Ghosn—gesticulating wildly, snapping his fingers and occasionally swearing during his first public appearance since skipping bail in Japan—defended himself against charges of financial crimes and accused prosecutors and former colleagues of orchestrating his downfall.

During a two-hour-plus news conference Wednesday, he also criticized the recent performance of Nissan Motor Co. and Renault SA, the two companies he had linked in an auto-making alliance.

"Frankly, there is no more alliance," Mr. Ghosn said.

What the former auto executive didn't say was anything about how he escaped Japan, where he was awaiting trial following his arrest in November 2018. Mr. Ghosn has denied the charges against him and had said he would defend himself in Japanese court. Instead, he fled.

He has said he arranged his exit from Japan by himself. The Wall Street Journal detailed an operation that drew on a cast of characters and months of planning.

On Wednesday, he said he made the decision to run when he realized he could be tied up in the Japanese legal system for years to come.

"Every day, I didn't know whether I would see the people I love again. It was as if I'd died," he said, referring to his time in jail. After posting bail, he was still severely restricted as to whom he could see.

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At a news conference in Beirut, Carlos Ghosn lashed out at Japanese prosecutors and former colleagues at Nissan Motor in his first public appearance since jumping bail in Japan.

U.S. and Iran Step Back From Conflict

President Trump moved to de-escalate hostilities with Iran, signaling on Wednesday no new U.S. military strikes following an Iranian missile barrage on Iraqi bases housing American and allied military forces that resulted in no casualties.

By Alex Leary, Nancy A. Yousef, Aresu Eghball and Sune Engel Rasmussen

"Iran appears to be standing down," Mr. Trump said in a televised address, his first public reaction beyond a tweet Tuesday evening after missiles were fired from Iran.

Hours after Mr. Trump spoke, Iraqi security officials said two rockets landed in Baghdad's Green Zone, where the U.S. Embassy and other diplomatic missions are located. They said the rockets caused no casualties, and it wasn't clear who had fired them.

While the president signaled an ease in tensions that had been building toward military confrontation, he nonetheless maintained a stern tone in his nearly 10-minute speech. He vowed to maintain efforts to prevent Iran from

selling MAX fleet following two other fatal jet crashes. Boeing said it was in contact with Ukraine International Airlines and was ready to assist in any way. CFM International, a joint venture of General Electric Co. and France's Safran SA that makes the engine for the 737-800, said it was saddened by the incident and "any speculation regarding the cause is premature."

In a typical crash probe, Boeing, GE and the U.S. transportation department investigation agency would gain access to the site. Based on international convention, investigators usually sell

investigation into what caused a Ukraine International Airlines jetliner to crash shortly after takeoff on Wednesday, killing all 176 passengers and crew members on board, faces complications amid tensions between the U.S. and Iran.

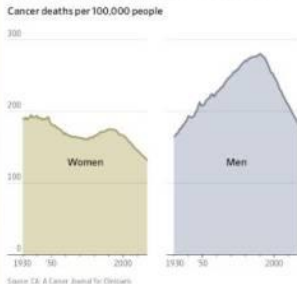
Determining what went wrong is critical to the maker of the 737-800 single-aisle jet, Boeing Co., which already is dealing with the grounding of its best-

selling MAX fleet following two other fatal jet crashes. Boeing said it was in contact with Ukraine International Airlines and was ready to assist in any way. CFM International, a joint venture of General Electric Co. and France's Safran SA that makes the engine for the 737-800, said it was saddened by the incident and "any speculation regarding the cause is premature."

In a typical crash probe, Boeing, GE and the U.S. transportation department investigation agency would gain access to the site. Based on international convention, investigators usually sell

Cancer Death Rate Declines in U.S.

The death rate from cancer in the U.S. dropped 2.2% from 2016 to 2017, the largest single-year decline ever recorded. The decrease was driven by progress against lung cancer and melanoma. **A3**



Source: CDC, A Cancer Journal for Clinicians

Hong Kong's Protests Reverberate in Taiwan

A fresh challenge to Beijing's drive for a unified China emerges ahead of presidential election. Taiwan cannot become like Hong Kong.

By CHIU HAN WONG AND WILLIAM KATZ

TAIPEI—Fallout from Hong Kong's unrest is galvanizing resistance against China on another front: Taiwan.

Protests in Hong Kong against Beijing's encroachment have inspired widespread sympathy across the self-ruling island of Taiwan, a longstanding subject of tension in the region that is both claimed by Beijing and supported by the U.S. with arms sales and unofficial political ties.

Sympathies in Taiwan for Hong Kong have transformed the political fortunes of the island's leader, President Tsai Ing-wen, whose ruling party advocates a Taiwanese identity separate from China and is seen as traditionally pro-independence. She has vocally supported the Hong Kong protesters in her cam-

paign for re-election this Saturday, contrasting herself with her main rival—who is seen as friendly with Beijing—by casting her administration as a bulwark against China's authoritarian influence.

Ms. Tsai has portrayed the election as a choice between defending democracy and caving to Beijing's will in return for economic benefits. Her message has resonated with voters, who opinion polls indicate are likely to re-elect her just a year after handing her party humiliating losses in local elections.

The Hong Kong protests are helping to intensify a deep vein of Taiwanese opposition to mainland China, which presents a fresh challenge to Chinese President Xi Jinping's vision of delivering a strong and unified nation. Beijing has spent decades trying to convince Tai-

Please turn to page A10

When Parents Cook, Kids Send for Delivery

Children use apps to subvert family meals: "Don't they know mom's food is better?"

By HEATHER HADSON and James R. Hagarty

Shelley Jones Davis was preparing a meal for a family gathering at her home in Tacoma, Wash., on a recent Sunday evening when the doorbell rang.

Ms. Davis was surprised—and annoyed—to find that her 15-year-old daughter, Maggie, had made her own dinner plans, featuring Thai food delivered by DoorDash Inc.

"But your cousins are coming over, and I'm making chili!" Ms. Davis told her teenager.

Ms. Davis, a sales manager for a mobile-phone maker, thought Maggie's delivery habit had been curbed after frequent orders had drained Maggie's debit-card account. But cash gifts during the holidays had restored her fi-

nances. Her mom imposed a new rule: No delivery orders without advance parental approval.

Companies such as DoorDash, GrubHub Inc. and Uber Technologies Inc.'s Uber Eats have opened up a smorgasbord of new cuisines for delivery, giving young people new ways to subvert parental efforts to organize family meals.

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INSIDE



WORLD NEWS It's Brexit for Harry and Meghan as couple decides to step back from royal role. **A18**



TECHNOLOGY A look at some of the new consumer tech products unveiled at CES. **B4**

Per IDC's latest annual market share results, Oracle is the #1 Enterprise Applications vendor in North America based on market share and revenue.

ORACLE

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DOW JONES | *Market Cap* | FRIDAY, JANUARY 10, 2020 • VOL. CCLXXV NO. 8 | WSJ.com | ★★★★★ \$4.00
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What's New

Business & Finance

Being released internal communications that show employees displaying a cavalier attitude toward safety in connection with the 737 MAX airliner. A1

- Facebook said it wouldn't limit how political advertising targets potential voters, but would instead give users tools to see fewer of those ads on its platforms. A1
- A ransomware attack on foreign-currency exchange firm Trixex has disrupted cash deliveries from its global network of vaults to major international banks. B1
- A strong economy and robust consumer spending weren't enough to boost holiday sales at J.C. Penney, Kohl's and I. Brands. B1
- Antitrust enforcers detailed instances in which they said Live Nation strong-armed venues into using its Ticketmaster subsidiary. B1
- Major U.S. stock indexes closed at records, with the Dow industrials gaining 0.7% to end the trading session just below 29,000. B1
- Car sales in China fell for a second consecutive year in 2019 but likely bottomed out, an industry group said. B3
- Verizon is eliminating traditional cable bundles, making it easier for households to switch video packages. B4
- Wille Walsh will step down as head of British Airways parent IAG after 15 years at the helm. B3
- A California court ruled that the state's new gig economy law doesn't apply to trucking companies. B2

World-Wide

- U.S., Canadian and U.K. officials believe that a Ukrainian jetliner that crashed shortly after takeoff from Tehran on Wednesday was downed by a missile system fired by Iran. A1, A8, A9
- The House passed a largely symbolic measure opposing further military force against Iran without congressional authorization. A10
- Trump called for NATO to boost its role in the Midwest, in what would be a shift in the alliance's mission. A10
- Iraq militia groups alleged with Iran remains a wild card in the standoff between Washington and Tehran. A10
- The president proposed a comprehensive overhaul of federal environmental permit rules, saying changes are needed to streamline infrastructure approvals. A1
- Poloni said the House will keep holding the articles of impeachment for now, but signaled a resolution to the deadlock could come soon. A6
- British lawmakers voted overwhelmingly to back the Brexit deal Johnson negotiated with the European Union last year. A7
- China's chief trade negotiator will travel to Washington next week to sign a phase-one trade deal with the U.S., Beijing said. A4
- A key power-generation plant in Puerto Rico has been substantially damaged after a series of earthquakes. A4
- The U.S. Border Patrol arrested 32,858 people in December, marking a seventh straight month of declines. A1

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Protests Take Over Paris Streets as Strike Hits Sixth Week



HEATING UP: Protesters waved flames in a demonstration Thursday in Paris in support of a rail workers strike over a pensions overhaul. The union action entered its sixth week, making it the longest transport strike in French history. A7

Environmental-Rule Proposal Aims to Speed Major Projects

By THOMAS POLO

WASHINGTON—President Trump proposed the first comprehensive overhaul of National Environmental Policy Act rules in more than 40 years, saying changes are needed to streamline approval of highways, energy pipelines and other infrastructure projects, as part of his administration's broader efforts to pare environmental regulations.

The proposal was hailed by business groups, energy companies and construction unions but criticized by environmentalists, who said it comes as mounting threats posed by climate change make thorough review of infrastructure projects more critical than ever.

Among the more than a dozen proposed changes to NEPA's environmental-permit rules, the government for the first time would set limits for completion of environmental

reviews, which can sometimes take a decade or longer. Full environmental impact statements would need to be completed within two years, while less comprehensive environmental assessments would have to be concluded within one year.

"We want to build new roads, bridges, tunnels, highways bigger, better, faster," Mr. Trump said from the White House, joined by business and union leaders. "These

Facebook Allows Campaigns To Target Voters

By EMILY GRADER

In a break with other tech companies, Facebook Inc. said it wouldn't limit how political advertising targets potential voters, but would instead give users tools to see fewer of those ads on its platforms.



INSIDE

Facebook's stance—that companies shouldn't decide how campaigns are able to reach voters—is at odds with other tech firms' approach to handling political advertising ahead of the 2020 election.

Operators of online platforms are under increasing pressure to curb the spread of misleading or false information in the wake of the 2016 presidential campaign, which U.S. intelligence agencies have said was subject to foreign meddling online.

Trump's New Team Made Fast Work Of Iran Strike

Advisers were less inclined to push back against the president's wishes

WASHINGTON—President Trump and his senior national-security advisers wasted no time in the White House Situation Room Tuesday night after intelligence warnings that Iranian missiles would hit two bases the U.S. military uses in Iraq.

The group, including new Secretary of Defense Mark Esper, new chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Mark Milley and new national security adviser Robert O'Brien, along with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, backed the president's decision to kill the top Iranian military commander and moved swiftly to carry it out.

The new team was cohesive and less inclined than its predecessors to push back against the president's wishes, according to administration officials and others consulted by the White House. They also were less

inclined to push back against the president's wishes, according to administration officials and others consulted by the White House. They also were less

Boeing Workers Made Light of MAX Safety

By ANNY PASZTOR AND ALISON SZOKE

Boeing Co. released internal communications that show employees displaying a cavalier attitude toward safety, referring disrespectfully to regulators and describing how they persuaded and in some cases tried to trick airline and government officials into concluding that flight-simulator training wasn't necessary for the 737 MAX airliner.

Many of the 150 pages of documents date from 2017 and 2018, when Boeing was working on 737 MAX flight simulators and before two deadly crashes led to the grounding of the MAX fleet. Some go back as far as 2013, when the plane was in development, and show pilots emphasizing to each other that helping airlines avoid costly and time-consuming simulator sessions for crews trumped safety improvements. The messages were intended to be confidential.

A feature designed to provide pilots with reliable airspeed in the event certain sensors malfunctioned shouldn't be made standard, one of the messages noted, because "it would likely jeopardize the Program directive" to avoid extra simulator training for the MAX.

In 2018, as the company was contending with problems in its MAX flight simulators, some employees were concerned about whether regulators would be able to detect the

Admit It, You Have a Box of Cords You'll Never Ever Use Again

What's this one for? Who knows! Gadgets pass, but their cables live forever

By KARENNA BOULBY

part of our life," says Ms. Loveless, 38. "It wasn't useful to us. We weren't doing anything with it except for moving it."

Four years ago, they sorted through the box, paired a handful of cords with the respective devices and got rid of the rest. It was like having a weight lifted, she says and remembers thinking: "This box was just always a

U.S., Allies Say Iran Shot Down Jet In Tehran

Crash aftermath mourns its loss

Investigation complicated by missile concerns

U.S., Canadian and U.K. officials believe that a Ukrainian commercial aircraft that crashed shortly after takeoff from Tehran on Wednesday, killing all 176 people on board, was downed by a missile system fired by Iran.

"We have a high level of confidence that this was shot down by Iran," one U.S. official said Thursday. The official said the plane was being tracked moments before it went down by Iranian radar used to aim missiles. A second official said the U.S. believes Iran may have downed the aircraft by mistake. The first official identified the weapon as a Russian-made SA-15 surface-to-air missile system, also referred to as the Gazelle.

Iran disputed the accusation, which a government spokesman called a "big lie."

One factor contributing to the U.S. assessment was the large field of debris at the crash site, a second official said. Planes that crash as a result of mechanical failure leave

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What's News

Business & Finance

- ◆ **Much of the U.S. economy** is largely unscathed by two turbulent years of trade war with China, economic indicators show. Yet growth is trending near 2% in 2019, well short of the Trump administration's goal of 3%. **A1**
- ◆ **Manufacturers are paying** relocation costs and bonuses to new hires at a time of record-low unemployment and intense competition for skilled workers. **A1**
- ◆ **Investors are optimistic** the world economy will pick up steam in 2020, as companies prepare to report fourth-quarter earnings. **B1**
- ◆ **Aramco said it netted an** additional \$3.8 billion from its record initial public offering, as it sold more shares to meet investor demand. **B1**
- ◆ **Woodward and Hecoff net** plans to merge in what executives said was a response to the rising tide of climate-change pressures facing the aerospace industry. **B1**
- ◆ **Auto makers are planning** to add electric SUVs and pickup trucks to tap into consumers' desire for larger vehicles. **B1**
- ◆ **Bristol is counting on its** \$74 billion acquisition of Celgene to pay off quickly with new treatments and ease investors' concerns. **B3**
- ◆ **Ford's China sales fell** for the third year in a row in 2019, dropping to less than half of what it sold at its zenith in 2016. **B2**
- ◆ **Exxon is in talks to sell** its oil assets in Equatorial Guinea, the country's oil minister said, and might be replaced there by a Russian firm. **B3**

World-Wide

- ◆ **Iran's leaders grappled** with a second day of protests that spread beyond Tehran as they tried to contain international criticism and domestic anger a day after they admitted the armed forces accidentally shot down a Ukrainian airliner. **A1**
- ◆ **The Trump administration** warned Iraq last week that it risks losing access to a critical government bank account if Baghdad kicks out American forces. **A6**
- ◆ **Feloni defended her** delay in sending articles of impeachment to the Senate, which is expected this week and will pave the way for Trump's trial. **A4**
- ◆ **The U.S. and China have** agreed to semiannual talks to push for economic reform and resolve disputes, borrowing from a format of previous administrations. **A4**
- ◆ **A leading medical society** called on Myriad and other companies to share proprietary genetic-testing data to help better assess the disease-causing risk of mutations. **A3**
- ◆ **A fragile cease-fire** began in Libya after months in which foreign military intervention intensified the civil war there. **A7**
- ◆ **Malta is getting a new** prime minister amid a probe into whether the government mishandled an investigation into the 2017 murder of a journalist. **A7**
- ◆ **Putin said a major Russian** gas pipeline to Europe would be delayed due to U.S. sanctions on the project. **A8**

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Iran Faces Fury at Home, Abroad

Protests move beyond capital after Tehran, in a reversal, admits it downed Ukrainian jet

Iran's leaders grappled with a second day of protests that spread beyond Tehran as they tried to contain international criticism and domestic anger a day after they admitted the armed forces accidentally shot down a Ukrainian

passenger airliner, following prior denials.

Protesters gathered in Tehran and other cities on Sunday to denounce what they called lying and incompetence by the country's leadership, as additional security forces were deployed outside a university where hundreds of protesters had assembled. All 176 people on board the Boeing Co. 727-800 airliner were killed, including dozens of Iranians.

Tehran's admission came after its denial of Western claims that the plane had been hit by an Iranian missile. The military shot down the plane on Wednesday as its air de-

pression were on high alert for a potential U.S. response, hours after launching missiles against American forces in Iraq. The missile strike was in retaliation for the U.S. killing of Iran's most prominent military commander, Maj. Gen. Qassem Soleimani.

Protests over the air disaster spread on Sunday to cities including Kermanshah, Ahvaz,

Rasht, Yazd, Semnan and Mashhad, according to IRNA, a state news agency, and Iranian rights activists who circulated unverified videos on social media.

While the protests have remained relatively small, with participants seemingly numbering in the hundreds, the public rebuke reflects the challenges Tehran faces in trying to keep a lid on months of unrest fomented by various social classes and ethnic backgrounds as the economy reels and foreign pressure mounts.

"The state's legitimacy is severely challenged by people, regardless of their back-

ground," said Alam Saleh, an Iran expert and lecturer in Middle East politics at Lancaster University in England. He said Tehran would need to enact reforms to show it is listening. "If not, [Iran] will have prolonged protests."

President Trump weighed in on the Iranian protests over the weekend. A tweet in Persian from his account on Saturday offered his support for the protests. He appealed to Iran's leadership on Sunday: "DO NOT KILL YOUR PROTESTERS," he tweeted, "Thousands have already been killed or imprisoned by you, and the

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A fire crew on Friday prepared to battle a blaze as it emerged from a pine forest outside Tumberumba, in New South Wales.

Australia Fires Devour Farms and Forests

'We've never seen the length of fires that have been occurring, the scale and intensity'

TUMBARUMBA, Australia—Neil Hamilton spent New Year's Eve shooting his sheep in the bush.

He had begun the morning sipping coffee and eating smoked salmon with guests, when flames erupted from a far-

By Jon Emont, James Glynn and David Whitting

rested ridge outside his farmhouse in this rainy highlands town midway between Sydney and Melbourne.

Within half an hour, a gale was raging outside. As flames approached, Mr. Hamilton, 59, grabbed a hose attached to a pump on his tractor and sprayed water

at the approaching flames.

"It got to the stage that if we stayed outside we would have died," he said.

The fire blew past Mr. Hamilton's home, leaving it undamaged, but he emerged to a charred farm, his orchard, with its quince, nectarine and apricot trees, was a smoldering ruin. Most of his 200 sheep had been reduced to charred lumps.

Around 50 stood around silently, their legs blackened and injured from the fire. Mr. Hamilton took his .22-caliber rifle, and went from one to the next, putting them out of their misery.

Fires have ravaged Australia in recent weeks, burning an area roughly 10 times the size burned in California's historic

2018 wildfire season. The flames have spread with stunning speed, cutting off roads in and out of towns and flushing coastal residents to beaches where they were rescued by sea.

Thousands of homes have burned and more than 25 people have died, with blazes expected to keep burning through Australia's summer into February, if not longer.

Beach towns, ski resorts, and dairy farms have fallen to fires that have eaten more than 26,000 square miles of land—an area larger than West Virginia. Some experts have said the fires could shave as much as 0.4% off economic growth, mainly in the current quarter, and insur-

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Trade War Takes a Muted Toll On U.S. Economy

By JOHN ZIMMERMAN AND ANTHONY DEBARROS

WASHINGTON—Farmers took a big hit. Importers of auto parts, furniture and machinery choked down punishing tariffs. Investment between the world's two largest economies dropped.

Much of the U.S. economy is largely unscathed by two turbulent years of trade war with China, economic indicators show. Yet economic growth is trending near 2% in 2019, well short of the Trump administration's goal of 3%.

The U.S. and China are preparing to sign a first-stage trade accord on Wednesday, easing trade tensions and making the tariffs worth it, in the administration's view. The deal "protects American innovation and creates a level playing field for our great farmers, ranchers, manufacturers, and entrepreneurs," said Judith Deere, a White House spokesman, adding, "President Trump protected the American worker and fundamentally changed our relationship with China."

At the same time, most Chinese imports are still subject to U.S. tariffs, and many trade issues remain the subject of sharp disagreement.

"China is set to do little more than restore agricultural purchases and offer some nice words on financial services and intellectual property," said Brent Stiel, the director of international economics at the Council on Foreign Relations. "Trump could have had that."

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LSU: No. 1 In Football—and Beer

They crush your team. Their fans crush your booze.

By BEN COVENS AND ANDREW BEATON

Louisiana State University fans weren't sure what to expect from this football season. They couldn't have anticipated that quarterback Joe Burrow would win the Heisman Trophy. Ed Orgeron would outcoach Nick Saban or the Tigers would be a heavy favorite in the national championship.

But there was one thing they did know: They were going to drink a phenomenal amount of beer.

No nobody was surprised when LSU fans managed to consume nearly 55,000 beers in one October game. They were

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Skilled Workers Score Sweeter Perks to Move

By ANDREW HOFFMAN

Manufacturers are paying relocation costs and bonuses to move new hires across the country at a time of record-low unemployment and intense competition for skilled workers.

Half a million U.S. factory jobs are unfilled, and the unemployment rate is hovering at a 50-year low, the Labor Department said Friday. At the same time, people are moving around the country at the lowest rate in at least 70 years.

To entice workers to move, manufacturers are raising wages, offering signing bonuses and covering relocation costs, including for some hourly positions. They are betting that spending on higher wages and moving incentives will help them find workers to fill their backlogs of orders.

Rather than just extending these benefits as part of job offers, factories are also advertis-

ing them in postings to encourage further away candidates to apply. On ZipRecruiter Inc.'s job-listing site, 1.6% of manufacturing positions include a pledge to pay moving costs, up from 1% in 2017.

Manufacturers said they are particularly eager to add moving reimbursements and payments for specialists such as welders, engineers and machine programmers. More manufacturing jobs require such skills as production becomes more automated.

At Caterpillar Inc.'s engine plant in Lafayette, Ind., the company said electricians and machine maintenance staff are eligible for \$5,000 in moving expenses if they lived at least 75 miles from the plant before being hired.

Lockheed Martin Corp. has moved skilled workers such as engineers to plants in Texas and California and highlights jobs that offer relocation bene-

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What's News

Business & Finance

- ▶ **JPMorgan and Citigroup** posted double-digit earnings growth for the final three months of 2019. Wells Fargo's fourth-quarter profit plunged. **A1, A2**
- ▶ **Boeing** said deliveries and new orders for its jetliners hit their lowest point in over a decade as the 737 MAX grounding hit its business. **B1**
- ▶ **NBCUniversal executive Cheeks** is headed to a senior role at CBS, where he could ultimately succeed Kumawala as the network's head. **B1**
- ▶ **BlackRock** said it would take a tougher stance against corporations that aren't providing a full accounting of environmental risks. **B1**
- ▶ **Amazon** lifted a ban on third-party merchants' use of FedEx's Ground network for Prime shipments. **B4**
- ▶ **Google** plans to restrict the use of third-party cookies in its Chrome browser, a move it says is aimed at bolstering users' privacy. **B4**
- ▶ **U.S. consumer inflation** wrapped up 2019 on a soft note, complicating the outlook for Fed officials. **A2**
- ▶ **The Dow industrials** edged up 0.3%. The S&P 500 and Nasdaq lost ground, both falling 0.2%. **B3**
- ▶ **Microsoft** released a patch to fix a Windows software vulnerability after the NSA detected the flaw. **A3**

World-Wide

- ▶ **Britain, France and Germany** took a first step toward reimposing international sanctions on Iran, seeking to pressure Tehran into returning to compliance with the 2015 nuclear accord. **A1**
- ▶ **At least four Senate Republicans** will back with the administration to support a resolution that would limit Trump's ability to take military action against Iran. **A6**
- ▶ **The administration** is preparing possible cuts in military aid to Iraq should that country expel U.S. troops. **A9**
- ▶ **McConnell** said he expects to start Trump's impeachment trial next Tuesday, after the House votes on Wednesday to send the case to the Senate. **A4**
- ▶ **New documents** in the probe show Giuliani asked for a meeting with Ukraine's president, citing Trump's "knowledge and consent." **A4**
- ▶ **A continuing battle** over technology is loosed to keep U.S.-China relations on edge, even as the nations declare a pause in their trade conflict. **A1**
- ▶ **The EU's trade chief** is trying to head off a transatlantic trade war as the White House weighs whether to impose new tariffs. **A6**
- ▶ **Lawyers for former national security adviser Flynn** asked a federal judge to let him withdraw his guilty plea to lying to the FBI. **A5**

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Students at Tehran University on Tuesday held photos of victims killed when an Iranian missile downed a Ukrainian airliner.

European Powers Raise Pressure On Iran to Abide by Nuclear Deal

By LAURENCE NORMAN

BRUSSELS—Britain, France and Germany took a first step toward reimposing international sanctions on Iran, seeking to pressure Tehran into returning to compliance with the 2015 pact that has limited the country's nuclear activities.

Tuesday's move by the European powers, which say they remain committed to the 2015 nuclear deal and are seeking to

Big U.S. Banks Report Strong Results

By DAVID BEWIT AND BEN EVANS

A healthy U.S. economy pushed up profits at the country's biggest banks, allowing them to grow even though falling interest rates made lending less profitable.

Consumer borrowing and a rebound in investment-banking revenues propelled JPMorgan Chase & Co. and Citigroup Inc. to double-digit earnings growth in the final three months of 2019. JPMorgan, the biggest U.S. bank by assets, reported its most profitable year on record.

For a while, companies and consumers were telling different stories about the state of the economy. Consumers continued to borrow and spend at a brisk pace, while companies were holding back due to fears that growth was on the wane. A trade deal with China and an improved outlook for the U.S. economy have eased those fears, boosting banks' businesses that serve corporate clients.

"The U.S. consumer remains in very strong shape, both from a credit perspective and spend," JPMorgan CEO Jamie Dimon said.

Heart Disease Roars Back

Colorado sees middle-age death rates soar

By BRYAN MCKAY AND PAUL O'NEILL

COLORADO SPRINGS, Colo.—Colorado is ranked as one of the nation's deadliest states. It often doesn't feel that way to David Rosenbaum.

The Colorado Springs cardiologist regularly sees men and women in their 30s and 40s with heart problems, such as high blood pressure, an irregular heart rhythm, heart attacks. A visit from a young patient was rare when he started practicing there 17 years ago. Not anymore.

"People say, oh, Colorado,

Candidates Spar at Final Debate Before Iowa Vote



SHE SAID, HE SAID: At the Democratic debate in Des Moines, Sen. Elizabeth Warren reiterated that Sen. Bernie Sanders once told her a woman couldn't be elected president. He denied saying that. A5

U.S.-China Tensions Over Tech Persist as Trade Conflict Pauses

By BOB DAVIS AND KATHERINE STICH FRIED

WASHINGTON—The U.S. and China are about to declare a pause in their trade war by signing an initial pact this week, but a continuing battle over technology is bound to keep relations between the two superpowers on edge.

The Trump administration's immediate focus is tightening restrictions on Huawei Technologies Co., the giant Chinese telecommunications company that the White House and Congress view as a national security threat. The Commerce Department recently sent to the Office of Management and

Aging Japanese Flock to Gyms—For Hot Baths and Small Talk

Weightlifters crowded out by socializing senior citizens; the 101-year-old regular

By MERO IDANI

elderly clientele, said Ms. Watabe, 46 years old. She quit the club and now jogs with her husband.

Japan's retired people are taking over establishments traditionally associated with youth and sculpted bodies. The gym of the future, as seen in a country where nearly 30% of the population is over 65, features tai chi classes, lengthy soaks in hot baths and plenty of socializing among folks who have no business meetings to rush back to.

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What's News

Business & Finance

- ◆ **The U.S. and China signed a deal that marks a truce in a two-year trade war but leaves in place tariffs on about \$370 billion in Chinese goods.** U.S. business leaders stressed the need to keep talks going. **A1**
- ◆ **The Dow closed above 29,000 for the first time, just 40 trading sessions since the index's last 1,000-point milestone.** The S&P 500 also hit a record. **B1**
- ◆ **Fallout from a Malaysian corruption scandal darkened otherwise strong results at Goldman,** wiping out 13% of the bank's 2019 profit. **B1**
- ◆ **BoFA said fourth-quarter profit dropped 4% as the company struggled to adjust to falling interest rates.** **B3**
- ◆ **Target's holiday sales were sluggish, raising questions about the health of the U.S. consumer and the retailer's turnaround efforts.** **B3**
- ◆ **Germany's economic growth slipped to a six-year low in 2019, weighing on Europe's outlook.** **A16**
- ◆ **BlackRock's assets topped \$7 trillion for the first time as the firm posted record-setting flows for 2019.** **B10**
- ◆ **Amazon's Bezos pledged to invest an additional \$1 billion in the company's operations in India.** **B3**
- ◆ **The Justice Department's antitrust division is preparing to tackle competition issues in several markets.** **Delaware said.** **A2**
- ◆ **Lawyers delivered their final arguments in the antitrust fight over the merger of T-Mobile US and Sprint.** **B2**

World-Wide

- ◆ **The House delivered two articles of impeachment against Trump to the Senate after voting to approve seven Democratic managers to prosecute the case before the Republican-controlled chamber.** **A1, A4**
- ◆ **Giuliani associate Parmas said he warned a top aide to the newly elected Ukrainian president that the U.S. would halt aid if Kyiv didn't answer probes that could benefit Trump politically.** **A4**
- ◆ **Putin proposed changes to Russia's constitution that could enable him to wield political power after his presidency ends, as his ally Medvedev unexpectedly resigned as premier.** **A4, A6**
- ◆ **Iran's Rouhani said European troops in the Mideast could be in danger, suggesting a collapse of the 2015 nuclear deal would threaten the region's stability and security.** **A6**
- ◆ **Iraq's caretaker prime minister indicated he would leave a decision on whether to expel U.S. forces from the country to his successor.** **A6**
- ◆ **The world experienced near-record global temperatures in 2019, a report said.** The year capped what scientists said was the warmest decade in modern times. **A3**
- ◆ **Virginia became the 38th state to vote to ratify the ERA, tying up an expected legal battle over whether the approval counts.** **A3**
- ◆ **A postdebate exchange between Sanders and Warren revealed continued raw feelings over disputed remarks by the Vermont senator.** **A2**

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U.S., China Sign Trade Agreement

Officials say the deal increases exports and opens market access, but most tariffs remain



Chinese Vice Premier Liu He and President Trump said the agreement Wednesday will be followed by further negotiations.

WASHINGTON—The U.S. and China signed a trade deal that officials say will lead to a sharp increase in sales of U.S. goods and services to China, further open Chinese markets to foreign firms—especially in financial services—and provide strong new protections for trade secrets and intellectual property.

By Bob Davis, Lingling Wei and William Mauldin

The eight-part agreement acts as a cease-fire in a two-year trade war that has roiled markets world-wide and cut into global growth. But it leaves in place U.S. tariffs on about \$370 billion in Chinese goods, or about three-quarters of Chinese imports to the U.S.

He called the deal a "momentous step—one that has never been taken before with China—toward a future of fair and reciprocal trade."

Speaking to a packed audience of business and political leaders in the East Room of the White House, President Trump said the remaining tariffs "will all come off" if the talks produce a second agreement.

environmental protection. While the deal contains wins for the U.S., the fact that most tariffs will remain on Chinese imports clouds prospects for growth in business investment between the two countries, said John Frisbie, a China expert at the trade consulting firm of Hills & Co.

Truce's Impact
◆ **Dow industrials post first close above 29,000**—B1
◆ **Businesses press for more talks to end tariffs**—A7
◆ **U.S. banks, credit-card firms get a boost**—A7
◆ **Headed on the Street: These won't fix everything**—B12
Please turn to page A7



House Speaker Nancy Pelosi on Wednesday signed the articles of impeachment before sending them to the Senate.

House Sends Impeachment Charges to Senate for Trial

By NATALIE ANDREWS AND LINDSA WISE

WASHINGTON—The House delivered two articles of impeachment against President Trump to the Senate on Wednesday, after voting to approve seven Democratic managers to prosecute the case before the Republican-controlled chamber.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi said she stressed litigation experience in choosing managers to handle the trial over alleged presidential abuse of power and obstruction of Congress. Senators are expected to be sworn in on Thursday, and the proceedings are scheduled to get under way in earnest on Tuesday.

comprises House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jerrold Nadler of New York, Intelligence Committee Chairman Adam Schiff of California, Democratic Caucus Chairman Hakeem Jeffries of New York and Reps. Zoe Lofgren of California, Val Demings of Florida, Sylvia Garcia of Texas and Jason Crow of Colorado. After a brief debate, the House approved the managers, 228 to 193, almost entirely along party lines. One Democratic manager was removed from the group.

Putin Acts To Cement Power as Ally Exits

By THOMAS GROSE AND GORBA KANTYREV

MOSCOW—President Vladimir Putin of Russia proposed constitutional changes that could enable him to wield political power after his presidency ends, as his longtime ally, Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev, unexpectedly resigned.

Weaker Fed Loses Grip on the Economy

The Federal Reserve and other central banks for years had clout to steer booms and busts

By GREG IP

The Federal Reserve and other central banks have long been the unchallenged drivers of financial markets and the business cycle. "Don't fight the Fed," goes one Wall Street adage.

was ushered in with lower rates as the Fed moved to stimulate growth. Every recession was preceded by higher interest rates as the Fed sought to contain inflation.

largely confined to the sidelines. The U.S. might not be far behind. "We are one recession away from joining Europe and Japan in the monetary black hole of zero rates and no prospect of escape," said Harvard University economist Larry Summers.

Workers, companies, investors and politicians might need to prepare for a recession, he said, yet that is impossible now with rates below 2%.

'Megxit' Causes Global Uproar. Canada Shrugs.

By VIBHA MONA

TORONTO—Canadians are fine with the Queen on their money. They're not sure they want a Duke and Duchess in their backyard.

Prince Harry and Meghan Markle's relocation plans leave Canadians unfazed

spend a lot of time in Canada, according to a new poll released Wednesday by research firm Angus Reid Institute. Another 11% would find the move upsetting, while 39% would be pleased.

A few have greeted the couple's surprise announcement with a very un-Canadian cold shoulder.

"They can come here, but don't take money from people working their butts off," said Carla Sousa, a mother from Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Mr. Medvedev's resignation represents the biggest shake-up in the Russian government in nearly a decade, as Mr. Putin has tried to project an image of stability despite a worsening economy and increasing layers of Western sanctions.

In Canada, the Duke and Duchess of Sussex's decision has been met with what amounts to a shrug.

Ms. Sousa, who moved to Canada from Portugal about a year ago, said she was surprised to find that many Canadians were not as excited as she was.

Ms. Sousa, who moved to Canada from Portugal about a year ago, said she was surprised to find that many Canadians were not as excited as she was.

Per IDC's latest annual market share results,

Oracle is the #1 Enterprise Applications vendor in North America based on market share and revenue.

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND



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What's News

World-Wide

The CDC moved away from a broad recommendation that people consider refraining from vaping altogether during the investigation into an outbreak of lung illnesses. **A1**

Trump finalized his legal team for the impeachment trial, adding Alan Bershtein and Kenneth Starr, among others. **A4**

The Supreme Court will decide whether a state's presidential electors can vote in the Electoral College for a candidate who didn't win the state's popular vote. **A3**

The justices agreed to hear the administration's appeal in a fight over contraception coverage. **A3**

Three suspected white supremacists arrested this week had discussed opening fire at a pro-gun rally in Richmond, Va., law-enforcement officials said. **A3**

The birthrate in China dropped to the lowest level in the country's modern history, hastening the signs of the population. **A7**

People traveling to the U.S. from Wuhan, China, will be screened for signs of a new pneumonia-like virus. **A3**

Business & Finance

Boeing is grappling with still another software problem that has cropped up in its effort to fix its 737 MAX aircraft, adding to issues that have complicated and delayed the fleet's return. **A1**

The trade truce with the U.S. reduced a source of anxiety for Chinese policy makers, but they still face the challenge of boosting consumer and business confidence. **A1**

Airbnb said it would factor in metrics including guest safety when awarding employee bonuses. **B1**

Morgan Stanley's shares still trade at a discount to pre-financial crisis levels, a sign of the scars some bank stocks still carry. **B1**

Best Buy's board is investigating allegations that CEO Barry had an inappropriate romantic relationship with a fellow executive. **B1**

U.S. stocks posted gains on Friday, with the Nasdaq, Dow and S&P 500 all ending the week at records. **B1**

Disney renamed the Twentieth Century Fox movie studio, which it acquired last year, dropping the "Fox" to make it Twentieth Century Studios. **B10**

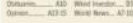
NOONAN

Impeachment Moves Forward To Nowhere **A15**

NOTICE TO READERS

WSJ.com and WSJ mobile apps will publish throughout the weekend. The Wall Street Journal print edition won't appear Monday. Martin Luther King Jr. Day, but a daily edition will be available in WSJ iPad and Android apps.

CONTENTS: **Front**—A16; **U.S.**—A17; **World**—A18; **U.S. News**—A20; **Market**—A21; **Opinion**—A22; **World News**—A23; **Columns**—A24-25; **World News**—A25



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Iran's Supreme Leader Takes Aim at U.S. in Rare Sermon



DEFIANT: Ayatollah Ali Khamenei led Friday prayers in Tehran for the first time in eight years. The cleric, Iran's highest religious and political authority, attempted to rally popular support amid pressure over the downing of a Ukrainian airliner. **A9**

Health Agency Steps Back From Call to Stop All Vaping

By BRIANNA ABBOTT

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has moved away from a broad recommendation that people consider refraining from vaping altogether during the investigation into the outbreak of lung illnesses linked to the practice.

The agency removed from its website guidance that people should stop vaping if they

were concerned about the illnesses. The agency first said people should end the use of vaping products in September, but later narrowed that recommendation, warning that people should stop using vaping products containing THC—the psychoactive ingredient in cannabis—but consider refraining from all vaping.

The new recommendation, posted on Thursday, no longer includes the broad reference to

stopping vaping, though the agency still says youth, pregnant women and non-tobacco users shouldn't vape.

"Recommendations were refined to reflect the best available scientific evidence and to best protect public health," Brian King, the chief science officer for the CDC's vaping-related outbreak response, said in a statement.

Evidence has increasingly linked the sudden explosion of

vaping-related illnesses to a substance called vitamin E acetate, an oil sometimes added to dilute THC products. THC oils and cannabis products are becoming legal in an increasing number of states across the country.

"The available science shows that Vitamin E acetate

is the likely cause of the lung disease. Please turn to page A11.

Altria deal for Aul stake is stuck in antitrust review. **A11**

Boeing Finds Another Software Problem

Glitch adds to string of technical issues delaying return of 737 MAX to service

By ANDY PASZTOR

Boeing Co. is grappling with still another software problem that has cropped up in its effort to fix its 737 MAX aircraft, adding to technical issues that have complicated and delayed the grounded fleet's return to service over many months.

The latest glitch, which Boeing said Friday it was working to correct, prevents the jet's flight-control computers from powering up and verifying they are ready for flight, according to industry and government officials.

"We are making necessary updates and working with the FAA on submission of this change, and keeping our customers and suppliers informed," a Boeing spokesman said.

Before the problem was discovered in the previous week, according to people briefed on the details, the company and the Federal Aviation Administration were slated to conduct a key certification flight by the end of this month. But at this point, those people said, that date increasingly looks like it will slip into at least February.

The length of the delay will largely depend on how long it takes Boeing engineers to address the problem and verify its elimination, though coordin-

ation is ongoing. Please turn to page A2.

'Why Didn't You Trust Me?' The College Scandal Fallout

In their first interviews, families in the scheme lay out regrets, anger

By JENNIFER LAVITZ AND MELISSA KOHN

LOS ANGELES—Matteo Sloane was home on spring break when FBI agents showed up at his family's Spanish-style house in Bel-Air at 6:15 a.m. to take his father to jail.

By the time his father came home at the end of that day after posting \$500,000 in bail, Matteo, then a freshman at the University of Southern California, was ready to confront him.

"Why didn't you believe in me?" Matteo asked. "Why didn't you trust me?"

Devin Sloane, the 53-year-old founder of a water-treatment company, was one of 36 parents who have been criminally charged with paying to help cheat the college admis-

sions system for their children. All but one of the 13 parents sentenced so far have received prison time, from two weeks to six months, for using college admissions consultant William "Rick" Singer to rig SAT and ACT tests or to disguise applicants as athletic recruits.

"I never stopped believing in you, not even for one second," Mr. Sloane replied to his son that evening. "I lost sight of what was right, and I lost belief in myself."

In their first interviews, father and son talked separately about what led to the family becoming embroiled in the scandal and how they are navigating the aftermath. Mr. Sloane is about six weeks into a four-month

Prison term. Please turn to page A12.

EXCHANGE



VANISHING

Executive assistants once ran the office. Increasingly, the office runs without them. **B1**

Carlos Ghosn Isn't the Only Person to Think Inside the Box

Prince hid in one with a seat; Bob Marley's had secret compartments

By ANDY STEELE

Carlos Ghosn's escape from Japan wasn't the first time a celebrity traveled incognito in a large black case designed to transport concert gear.

During Prince's "Lovezsy tour in the 1980s, the late pop star would hide in a custom-built road case that workers rolled past unsuspecting fans to the stage.

The sturdy equipment boxes, also called anvils or flight cases, are about as well known among the music and live theater crowd as the per-

formers they serve, transporting all kinds of musical instruments, audio and lighting equipment, amplifiers and cables—with one proviso.

"They're not usually used for smuggling human cargo," said Joe Calzone, founder of Calzone Ltd., which owns Anvil, the original maker of such cases.

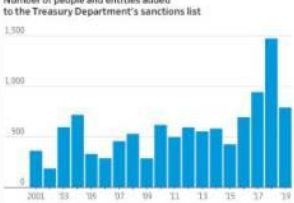
Mr. Ghosn, 5-foot-7, appears to have squeezed into a no-frills "truck pack" trunk, 48 inches by 30 inches by 24 inches by 30 inches by 24 inches. Please turn to page A12.

The former Green Beret behind Ghosn's getaway... **B6**

Trump Asserts Economic Might

The administration has increasingly used sanctions, tariffs and access to the dollar to project power. **A6**

Number of people and entities added to the Treasury Department's sanctions list



Note: 2019 figure includes top 100 additions announced by the Treasury administration. Source: Andrew M. Smith of Global, Dixon & Cook LLP.

China's Growth Slows Amid U.S. Trade Truce

By JAMES T. AREWY AND GAO DENG

SHENZHEN, China—The newly sealed trade truce with the U.S. reduced a key source of anxiety for Chinese policy makers, but another challenge remains: how to boost consumer and business confidence as the country faces more downward pressure on its massive economy.

On Friday, Chinese officials said the country emerged from 2019 with an official economic growth of 6.1%—well within the government's target range of 6% to 6.5% but the lowest level in nearly three decades.

The outlook remains cloudy, and some private-sector economists warn that growth in the world's second-largest economy could slip even fur-

ther this year, to below 6%.

Trade, investment, consumer spending and business confidence are all in retreat, while the economy continues to suffer indignation from debt that had helped fund its remarkable build-up and is proving difficult to slash.

The country also faces long-term stresses like an aging population, which was highlighted by Friday data showing births had fallen to their lowest level since 1961.

Last year's trade offensive from China's chief economic and geopolitical rival, the U.S., presented a headache for Beijing's policy makers. American tariffs and a campaign target-

ing the world's second-largest economy could slip even fur-

ther this year, to below 6%. Please turn to page A7.

Birthrate in China reaches a new low... **A7**

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What's News

Business & Finance

Tesla shares have soared 22% in 2020 alone, catapulting the company's market capitalization to more than \$90 billion and turbocharging a long-running war over the proper value of its stock. **A1**

Hospitals have granted Microsoft, IBM and Amazon the ability to access identifiable patient information under deals to crunch millions of health records. **B1**

Silicon Valley is launching a frenzy of lobbying on regulation of the tech industry, and Europe is set to be one of the first battlegrounds. **B1**

Amazon is creating check-out terminals that will be placed in stores and allow shoppers to link their card information to their hands. **B1**

BAE has agreed to acquire United Technologies' military GPS business for \$1.93 billion. **B3**

U.S. companies are underwriting the EU's ambitious climate goals, fueling the bloc's green-energy transition with power deals that cut emissions and costs. **B3**

The global economy is poised for a modest rebound in 2020, following a year in which it notched the weakest growth since the financial crisis. **B5**

France and the U.S. have struck a truce on the divisive issue of testing digital giants such as Google parent Alphabet, averting a trade war on the topic for now. **A7**

World-Wide

Trump's legal team urged the Senate to swiftly reject the House's two articles of impeachment against him, calling the case frivolous and dangerous while offering a detailed legal defense. **A1, A5**

A Chinese official said that a newly identified virus has spread between humans, heightening concerns that it could be transmitted more quickly as the country's busiest travel season begins. **A1**

Thousands of pro-gun demonstrators gathered peacefully at Virginia's Capitol to protest proposed firearm restrictions. **A3**

The Trump administration plans to release guidance for granting states waivers to convert Medicaid funding to block grants. **A6**

Biden's top rivals for the Democratic nomination might not be able to dent his support among black voters. **A6**

Cash-strapped French transport workers returned to work rather than press the fight against Macron's pension overhaul. **A7**

Pompeo promised more action to help Venezuela's opposition leader Guaidó after the two met in Bogotá. **A7**

The U.S. is seeking to keep pressure on Iran without pushing the region into a volatile new confrontation. **A8**

China is taking steps to cut back on its use of plastic amid booming e-commerce and food deliveries. **A8**

JOURNAL REPORT

World Economic Forum: 'America First' comes into focus. **R1-14**

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Business & Finance... **A1**
News... **A1**
Technology... **B5**
Health... **B1**
Life & Arts... **A13**
World News... **A13**



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Across the Country, Americans Honor King's Legacy



MONUMENTAL: The annual Martin Luther King Jr. Day parade in downtown Las Vegas drew thousands of spectators on Monday. Around the U.S., ceremonies and parades were held to honor the slain civil rights leader.

Virus Outbreak in China Spreads

Authorities confirm human-to-human transmission; South Korea reports first case

By CHAO DING AND JONATHAN CRENSHAW

BEIJING—A leading Chinese health official said that a newly identified virus originating in central China has spread between humans, heightening health officials' concerns that it could be transmitted even more quickly as the number of confirmed cases tripled on Monday.

The prospect of human-to-human transmission of the coronavirus, which causes a potentially deadly pneumonia that already has claimed four lives, comes as tens of millions of Chinese citizens cross the country this week for the annual Lunar New Year holiday. The virus has already spread outside China, and appeared in South Korea for the first time, officials said Monday.

The World Health Organization said that Director General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus plans to convene an emergency committee Wednesday to determine whether to declare the outbreak a public-health emergency of international concern. The declaration helps the WHO mobilize resources to prevent and combat the spread to other countries.

The WHO said Monday the spread of the disease was likely the product of "some limited" human-to-human transmission occurring between close contacts.

The outbreak is believed to have started in the central Chinese city of Wuhan, where a number of infected patients were exposed to a large seafood and livestock wholesale market. Coronaviruses most commonly infect mammals, including pigs and cats, but can jump from animals to humans.

They can also then jump from one human to another. Some patients have said they didn't visit the market and only came into contact with people in Wuhan. The Wuhan market is close to the city's main railway station, an important travel hub in the center of the country.

Zhong Nanshan, one of China's most highly regarded physicians, said he had seen a patient with the virus in his hospital in Wuhan. He said the patient had been exposed to a large seafood and livestock wholesale market.

Travelers cancel plans over fear of outbreak. **A1**

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◆ **Travelers cancel plans over fear of outbreak.** **A1**

Trump's Lawyers Call for A Speedy Acquittal

First formal response to impeachment comes as McConnell lays out Senate rules

By MICHAEL C. BINDER AND NATALIE ANDREWS

WASHINGTON—President Trump's legal team urged the Senate to swiftly reject the House's two articles of impeachment against him, calling the case frivolous and dangerous while offering for the first time a detailed legal defense for why he shouldn't be removed from office.

Mr. Trump's team submitted a 171-page legal filing with the Senate on Monday, a day before the third presidential impeachment trial in U.S. history kicks off in earnest and just hours before the president departed Washington for a global economic conference in Switzerland, where he is to deliver a speech early Tuesday morning.

Back in Washington, a debate over the impeachment trial's rules is expected to consume much of Tuesday, with substantive arguments about the case from each side expected on the Senate floor in the coming days. Late Monday afternoon, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R., Ky.) proposed a timetable for the proceedings that could

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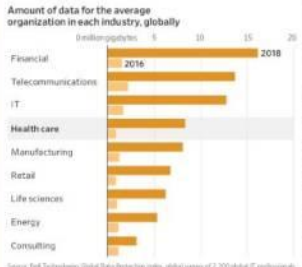
◆ **Travelers cancel plans over fear of outbreak.** **A1**

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Access to Patients' Data Grows

Hospitals are allowing technology firms to gather identifiable patient information, as the data collected has grown after years of installing electronic health services. **B1**



Source: E&T Technologies, Global Data Index. Data from 2016 to 2018. Global average of 2,000 global IT professionals.

Surge in Tesla's Stock Price Fans a Fiery Investor Debate

By GUNJAN BANSAL AND JULIA AMBER VERLAINE

When Tesla Inc. stock fell to a three-year low of around \$178 a share in June, Brian White panicked. The online producer sold holdings in tech stalwarts like Microsoft Corp. and said he put about three-quarters of his retirement account into the electric-car maker's stock.

As Tesla shares soared toward \$500 in January, he tattooed the company's trademark T in a design on his arm. "Nothing goes this right, this often," Mr. White said. "I assumed I was living in a simulation."

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How a Plastic Bag Can Ease Phone Angst

Schools try to calm nerves while removing devices

By SARAH KROUSE

Before class each day, a high-school teacher in Indianapolis grabs a clear plastic bag and fastens it to her waist with a ribbon. The homemade pouch is a repository for phones that are either confiscated or handed over voluntarily by students who don't want to be tempted to tap or swipe during class.

She calls it the "phone pack," and the magic of the makeshift vault isn't that it keeps devices out of reach. It's that it lowers students' anxiety by keeping phones in view.

Smartphones have long been a scourge for teachers

◆ **Travelers cancel plans over fear of outbreak.** **A1**

◆ **Travelers cancel plans over fear of outbreak.** **A1**

Churches Struggle With Mental Health

Christian leaders have lost jobs over such conditions as depression and bipolar disorder

By IAN LOVETT

In most industries, federal laws protect workers with disabilities, including mental illness. Church is an exception. Employees including pastors are still regularly fired after disclosing mental-health problems.

For eight years, Brady Herbert led a booming church in Waco, Texas. The congregation had a couple hundred members when he took over and grew to an average of more than 1,300 people on Sundays.

By early 2018, he told the church's elders he was burning out and needed a break. They gave him a paid leave.

While on leave, he was diagnosed with bipolar disorder, he said. Anxious about

◆ **Travelers cancel plans over fear of outbreak.** **A1**

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What's News

Business & Finance

- The OCC barred former Wells Fargo chief Stumpf from the banking industry and fined him \$17.5 million over the firm's fake-accounts scandal. **A1**
- Changes in how the most widely used credit score in the U.S. is calculated will likely make it harder for many Americans to get loans. **A1**
- Insy founder Kapoor was sentenced to 5½ years for his role in a conspiracy to illegally boost sales of his firm's fantasy drug. **B1**
- U.S. airlines that operate Boeing's 737 MAX face the prospect that the aircraft's grounding could stymie their growth well into the year. **B1**
- The Trump administration is moving to curb the sale of imported counterfeit goods over the internet. **A2**
- JPMorgan paid Dimon \$31.5 million for his work in 2019, a 1.6% increase for the bank's chief executive. **B1**
- The ECB signaled that it would leave negative interest rates in place for a while despite growing misgivings about the policy tool. **A16**
- Intel reported strong fourth-quarter earnings, helped in part by an upswing in PC shipments. **B3**
- The Nasdaq rose 0.2% to a record, while the S&P 500 added 0.1%. The Dow pared losses to end 0.1% lower. **B1**
- P&G posted another quarter of rising sales and profit as consumers paid up for more-expensive products. **B3**
- Concast's quarterly profit rose 26%, fueled by internet subscriber growth. **B2**

World-Wide

- House Democrats argued before the Senate that Trump should be convicted of an abuse-of-power charge, reaffirming the White House's position that the Constitution requires a criminal act to remove a president from office. **AL, A4**
- As China tries to control a coronavirus outbreak that has spread halfway around the world, it faces questions about the pace at which the outbreak was confronted. **A1, A6**
- The DOJ now believes it should have discontinued its secret surveillance of ex-Trump campaign adviser Page far earlier than it did. **A4**
- The State Department is adopting new rules aimed at cracking down on what the Trump administration calls "harm tourism." **A3**
- Trump said he likely would make public a Middle East peace plan before a visit to Washington next week by Israeli Premier Netanyahu and rival Gantz. **A16**
- European powers won't move to reimpose Iran sanctions and kill the 2015 nuclear deal as long as Tehran restrains expansion of its nuclear work, diplomats said. **A16**
- The U.S. is preparing for a longer and broader campaign to banish Huawei from next-generation 5G cellular networks around the world. **B4**
- The EPA released new clean-water regulations that are less restrictive than those adopted under the Obama administration. **A4**
- Died: Jim Lehrer, 85, longtime PBS news anchor. **A2**

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Court Orders Myanmar to Protect Rohingya From Genocide



SHELTER: Rohingya children played in a refugee camp in Bangladesh on Thursday, as a U.N. court ordered Myanmar to take urgent steps to protect the Muslim minority. The decision is part of a broader case accusing Myanmar of genocide. **A6**

Democrats Say Abuse of Power Warrants President's Removal

By ANDREW DEBEN

WASHINGTON—House Democrats argued before the Senate Thursday that President Trump should be convicted of an abuse-of-power charge, reaffirming the White House's position that the Constitution requires a criminal act to remove a president from office.

seeking investigations by Ukraine into former Vice President Joe Biden, a 2020 Democratic presidential candidate, saying Mr. Trump was determined to undercut a rival, not battle corruption, and that he put U.S. national security at risk as a result.

“A president who uses his office to ask for, or even worse, to compel foreign nations to meddle in our elections is a president who attacks the very foundation of our liberty,” Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D, N.Y.), chair-

man of the House Judiciary Committee, said on the Senate floor. He said it is “without doubt a crime against the Constitution warranting, demanding, removal from office.”

Wells Fargo Ex-CEO Is Banned For Life

Stumpf agrees not to work in industry again, is fined \$17.5 million over fake accounts

By RACHEL LORINE ENNSON AND BEN ENNSON

A regulator barred former Wells Fargo & Co. chief executive John Stumpf from the banking industry and fined him \$17.5 million over the firm's fake-accounts scandal, an extraordinary sanction for a top executive at a large bank.

The sanctions against Mr. Stumpf are noteworthy because few top bank executives have faced penalties of this scale in recent years. Banks paid tens of billions of dollars in fines for conduct during the financial crisis, but enforcement efforts drew criticism from some observers because of a lack of charges against individuals.

Credit Scores to Drop for Millions

By ANNA-MARIA ABERNETHY

Changes in how the most widely used credit score in the U.S. is calculated will likely make it harder for many Americans to get loans.

Counterfeit Imports Targeted

Electronic commerce platforms such as Amazon will face new penalties if they don't do more to help ferret out imported counterfeit goods sold over the internet. **A2**

Percentage of all seizures in FY2018, top 10 categories



Response to Virus Stirs Chinese Anger

By LINGLING WU AND CHAO DING

On Sunday, more than 10,000 families gathered in Wuhan for a banquet, sharing dishes including spicy duck necks and braised prawns, in a tradition the government had held for years to mark the Lunar New Year.

As Apple Morphs, A Cost-Cutter Rises

Tony Blevins's procurement role looms larger as iPhone sales slow

To understand Apple Inc.'s evolving place in the tech world, consider that one of its most important executives today is a guy whose job is haggling suppliers to get costs down.

Alaskans Face Cold Reality

After milder winters, state is back in deep freeze

Alaskans are coping with a bitter challenge this winter that they didn't expect: the cold.



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What's News

World-Wide

House Democrats cited witnesses and documents the White House kept from impeachment investigators to press their case that Trump has obstructed Congress. **A1**

The Trump administration told California it is violating federal law by requiring insurers to cover short-term and threatened to withhold federal funding. **A1**

Infections and deaths from the spread of the new coronavirus mounted in China, as the virus appeared in Europe and Australia for the first time. **A1, A6, A7**

Federal prosecutors have evidence indicating Bezos' girlfriend provided text messages to her brother that he then sold to the National Enquirer. **A3**

A report concluding Saudi Arabia likely hacked Bezos' phone has spurred questions and confusion among cybersecurity experts. **A3**

Thousands of Iraqis protested the U.S. military presence in demonstrations involving a Shiite cleric who has capitalized on anger over Soleimani's killing. **A5**

At least 34 U.S. troops suffered concussions or traumatic brain injuries during an Iranian ballistic-missile strike earlier this month. **A8**

Did: Clayton Christensen, 62, management guru. **A10**

Business Finance

Commerce Department officials have withdrawn proposed regulations that would make it harder for U.S. companies to sell to Huawei from their overseas facilities, following objections from the Pentagon and the Treasury Department. **A1**

The mortgage market in 2019 had its best year since the height of the precrisis boom, the latest sign lending is firming up after showing weakness early last year. **A1**

A California couple whose solar company counted Berkshire Hathaway as an investor pleaded guilty to running a \$900 million Ponzi scheme. **B1**

Oil prices suffered their worst week in more than a year, dragged lower by fears that the spreading coronavirus outbreak will weigh on economic growth. **B1**

U.S. stocks fell Friday, with the Dow shedding 0.6% and the S&P 500 and Nasdaq both losing 0.9%. The indexes posted losses for the week. **B1**

Business activity in the U.S. improved in early 2020, contrasting with weaker economic performance in some other major economies. **A2**

The latest trial over Bayer's Roundup weedkiller was postponed indefinitely to allow room for settlement talks to continue. **B3**

NOONAN Impachment Needs Witnesses On Both Sides **A13**

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Blast at Houston Manufacturing Plant Kills at Least Two



DESTRUCTION: An early-morning blast Friday at Watson Grinding & Manufacturing Co. on the northwest side of the Texas city leveled buildings, damaged hundreds of homes and shook the ground for miles. The cause was under investigation. **A2**

Pentagon Blocks Limits on Huawei In a Bid to Protect U.S. Tech Firms

By Ben Davis

The Commerce Department's efforts to lighten the noose on Huawei Technologies Co. is facing a formidable obstacle: the Pentagon. Commerce officials have withdrawn proposed regulations that would make it harder for U.S. companies to sell to Huawei from their overseas facilities following objections from the Defense Department as well as the Treasury

Department, people familiar with the matter said. The Pentagon is concerned that if U.S. firms can't continue to ship to Huawei, they will lose a key source of revenue—depriving them of money for research and development needed to maintain a technological edge, the people said. The chip industry has pressed that argument in talks with government officials. Defense Secretary Mark Esper was asked about the Wall

Street Journal's reporting on the concern during an appearance Friday at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "We have to be conscious of sustaining those [technology] companies' supply chains and those innovators," Mr. Esper said. "That's the balance we want to strike." The Treasury Department wanted to make sure that Secretary Steven Mnuchin had a chance to weigh in, said one of

the people. Cabinet officials are expected to meet on Huawei and other China issues in the coming weeks. The splits within the Trump administration on how to deal with Huawei show the difficulty of confronting China on technology without harming U.S. companies. People in Congress and the administration who are skeptical over China have been pushing to limit sales to Huawei. Please turn to page A7.

Democrats Say Trump Obstructed Congress

By Lindsay Wise

WASHINGTON—House Democrats cited witnesses and documents the White House kept from impeachment investigators to press their case that President Trump has obstructed Congress, seeking to win over enough Republican senators to subpoena additional materials.

Friday marked the last chance for the Democratic managers—House lawmakers acting as prosecutors—to make their opening pitch to GOP senators who may be wavering on whether to subpoena witnesses and documents. Democrats say the material could bolster the allegation that Mr. Trump improperly withheld nearly \$400 million in aid to Ukraine as leverage for the country to open investigations into Vice President Joe Biden, a potential election opponent, then tried to cover it up.

Mr. Trump "invited foreign interference in our elections and sold out our country's security for his personal benefit," House Democrats said.

Please turn to page A5.

Follow live coverage of the trial Saturday at WSJ.com.

President Targets Abortion Coverage

By STEPHAN LEBORON AND CATHARINE LUCY

WASHINGTON—The Trump administration told California it is violating federal law by requiring insurers to cover abortion and threatened to withhold federal funding if the state doesn't end its mandate, the latest move in a broader White House effort to establish religion-based exemptions to reproductive-rights statutes.

Officials in the Republican administration signaled they could also take aim at similar policies in other states, potentially putting hundreds of billions of dollars in federal health funding at risk.

California Gov. Gavin Newsom, a Democrat, pushed back in response to the administration's move against the nation's most populous state.

"California will continue to protect a woman's right to choose, and we won't back down from defending reproductive freedom for every body—full stop," he said in a statement. Please turn to page A4.

Virus Tests China's Scientific Ambitions

Early indications point to a troubled performance, even after Beijing invested billions



Passengers wearing protective masks walked into the Beijing West Railway Station on Friday.

China wants to become a world leader in health and science. It has invested billions in cutting-edge drugs, state-of-the-art laboratories and research at the frontiers of medicine. Its political leaders want Chinese scientists to win Nobel Prizes. All that prowess and ambition is now being put to the test by an elementary health challenge: a deadly infectious disease outbreak.

Early indications are that its performance is troubled. China was the first to begin inflicting people in the city of Wuhan in December has sickened nearly 1,300 people in China, killing at least 41, and has appeared in a handful of other countries, including the U.S. A second case was disclosed in the U.S. on Friday, a woman in Chicago who was infected in Wuhan, and the disease spread into Europe and Australia for the first time. Chinese and international health authorities are racing to learn more about the new virus. Please turn to page A6.

China, death rate disease spreads to more countries...A6

Science Class Ritual, Dissecting Real Frogs, Croaks

Schools try out synthetic ones that can be reused; there is also a cat option

By TAWNELL D. HOBBS

Destiny Castillo hovered over the glistening wet frog in science class. It was dark-colored, with buggy eyes and female anatomy.

She had no qualms about slicing into its pudgy abdomen and pulling out the insides, because it wasn't real.

"It was a lot easier, and didn't smell as bad," said Destiny, a 16-year-old student at J.W. Mitchell High School in Pasco County, Fla. "I didn't really like cutting through a real

frog. I felt bad."

A synthetic frog has leapt into the hearts of some educators and animal-rights activists. The model, complete with man-made internal organs, has become the humane answer to classroom dissections and an antidote for squeamish students.

But some teachers ask: Are we protecting students too much from the messiness of real life and real science? They say students are missing out on the feel and, yes, really like cutting through a real

Please turn to page A10.

Refinancing Frenzy Fuels Mortgage Boom

By OLA MCCAFFREY

The mortgage market in 2019 had its best year since the height of the precrisis boom, the latest sign that housing is firming up after showing weakness early last year.

Lenders extended \$2.4 trillion in home loans last year, the most since 2006, according to industry research group Inside Mortgage Finance. That was also a 46% increase from 2018.

Robust mortgage lending is generally a good sign for housing, which has seen a rebound in price growth and home sales after a period of declining gains. A refinancing frenzy, in-

duced by last year's trio of interest-rate cuts, fueled the mortgage making and helped steady the industry. The refinancing boom also bodes well for the broader economy, since homeowners saving on their monthly mortgage payments are likely to spend more on goods and services.

"When a large and cyclical part of the economy—housing—is starting to improve, it's a good sign for the economy at large," said Sam Khater, chief economist of mortgage-finance giant Freddie Mac.

The Mortgage Bankers Association estimates that refinancing has helped fuel a boom in home sales. Please turn to page A10.

New Evidence In Bezos Leak



Prosecutors have evidence that the girlfriend of Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos gave texts to her brother, who leaked them to the National Enquirer. **A3**

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What's News

Business & Finance

Two years after Trump signed a tax overhaul, its effects are rippling through local economies and housing markets, pushing some people to move from high-tax states where they have long lived. **A1**

- ◆ Kraft Heinz's CEO wants to create the kind of hit new products that have eluded the company for years, leading to a sides drought and multi-billion-dollar markdowns on the value of some top brands. **B1**
- ◆ An initial U.S.-China trade accord and recent actions by central banks to stabilize growth are driving a steady advance in stocks. **B1**
- ◆ Hundreds of regional grocery stores are closing or selling pharmacy counters, which have been struggling. **B1**
- ◆ Europe's main banking regulator is trying to clear the path for mergers among the continent's lenders. **B1**
- ◆ Fiat Chrysler risks falling further behind its rivals while it completes a merger with Peugeot maker PSA. **B3**
- ◆ A California regulator's review threatens to further delay—or even derail—the T-Mobile-Sprint merger. **B3**
- ◆ The expected lifespans on junk bonds are shrinking fast, causing some investors to see a surprising amount of value in the lower-rated debt. **B9**

World-Wide

- ◆ Bolton alleged in the draft of a new book that Trump told him he wanted to keep aid to Ukraine frozen until the country aided investigations into Democrats. **A1**
- ◆ Kobe Bryant, one of the greatest players in NBA history, died in a helicopter crash with his 13-year-old daughter and seven others. **A1, A6, A11**
- ◆ State attorneys general will meet with the Justice Department next week to share information on their respective probes of Google. **A3**
- ◆ The U.S. hopes to complete a new trade agreement with the U.K. by the end of this year, Mnuchin said. **A3**
- ◆ Iowa Democrats will not court caucus voters using a phone app, a move that has stirred security questions. **A4**
- ◆ Chinese officials urged calm even as they warned that the coronavirus is growing more contagious. **A6, A7**
- ◆ Three people in California and Arizona were diagnosed with the virus. **A6**
- ◆ Iraqis backed to join anti-government protests after a cleric withdrew his support and security forces moved to crush the uprising. **A10**
- ◆ Billie Eilish swept the top Grammy Awards, winning album of the year, record of the year, best new artist and song of the year. **A11**

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NBA Star Bryant, Daughter Killed In Crash

By BEN COVAT

Kobe Bryant, the former Los Angeles Lakers superstar and one of the greatest players in National Basketball Association history, died in a helicopter crash on Sunday. He was 41 years old.

Jason Gay

Kobe Bryant personified the modern sports star. An Appreciation. **A14**

Mr. Bryant, who commuted to Lakers games from his Orange County home by helicopter during his playing career, was among the dead after a copter with eight others on the flight manifest caught fire after crashing into the hills of Calabasas, Calif. Gianna "Gigi" Bryant, his 13-year-old daughter, was also killed in the crash. Gianna was a budding basketball star herself, and Mr. Bryant often shared photos and videos of her with millions of followers on social media. He called her "Mambucita"—a nod to the nickname he once gave himself, "Black Mamba."



Kobe Bryant in a 2009 game against the Sacramento Kings.

Virus's Origin Puts Focus On China Wildlife Markets

By JORNEY PAIG

BEIJING—It didn't take long to identify the suspected source of a deadly coronavirus outbreak in the Chinese city of Wuhan, a cluster of vendors in a downtown market offering carcasses and live specimens of dozens of wild animals—from bamboo rats to coatis, baby crocodiles and hedgehogs. The Wuhan food market, a scruffy complex of 1,000 stalls spread over an area the size of nine football fields, is the largest of its kind in central China, mostly supplying seafood to Wuhan's residents and restaurants. It is typical of the wet markets where most people in this country buy their food.

High-Tax States Lose People Over 2017 Law

By BEN EVAN AND LAURA KOSIOTO

Larry Belardi and Robbie LaPorte are longtime San Francisco residents, but they are planning to leave California for Nevada next year. A turning point was the federal tax overhaul that Congress passed in late 2017. The law made it costlier to own a house in many high-price, high-tax areas, reshaping the economics of homeownership in those slices of the U.S. Two years after President Trump signed the tax law, its effects are rippling through local economies and housing markets, pushing some people to move from high-tax states where they have long lived. Parts of Florida, for example, are getting an influx of buyers

from states such as New York, New Jersey and Illinois. Many people saw their overall taxes go down after the 2017 law was passed. But the law had two main changes making it tougher to live in high-cost, high-tax states, especially compared with lower-taxed options. It essentially curbed how much homeowners can subtract from their federal taxes for paying local property and income taxes, by capping the state and local tax deduction at \$10,000. It also lowered the size of mortgages for which new buyers can deduct the interest, to \$750,000 from \$1 million. These changes have the biggest impact on a sliver of taxpayers who have high incomes

On Sunday, authorities imposed a temporary nationwide ban on the trade of wild animals and quarantined all wildlife breeding centers. The central government also said it is taking over the effort to stem the outbreak from officials in Hubei province, of which Wuhan is a part. Beijing urged calm on virus as it spreads. **A6** U.S. takes 3 more cases. **A6** Outlook keeps consumers in China from spending. **A7**

Bolton Claim Ties Trump To Aid Freeze

Allegation threatens to upend trial as defense begins second day of arguments

By REBECCA BALIBANIS

WASHINGTON—A draft of a forthcoming book by former national security adviser John Bolton alleges that President Trump told him in August that he wanted to keep aid to Ukraine frozen until the country aided investigations into Democrats, including former Vice President Joe Biden and his son. The development threatened to throw into turmoil the careful choreography of the Senate impeachment trial of Mr. Trump. Mr. Bolton's claim, which was reported by the New York Times and confirmed by a lawyer for Mr. Bolton, goes to the heart of Democrats' impeachment inquiry and contradicts the White House's argument that the decision to hold up nearly \$400 million in aid to

Ukraine wasn't related to the president's push for investigations there. Democrats have said the president abused his power by leveraging aid approved by Congress in order to get a foreign leader to undertake actions that would benefit him politically.

Mr. Trump late Sunday evening denied Mr. Bolton's allegations. "I NEVER told John Bolton that the aid to Ukraine was tied to investigations into Democrats, including the Bidens," the president tweeted. "In fact, he never complained about this at the time of his very public termination. If John Bolton said this, it was only to sell a book."

Mr. Bolton's lawyer, Charles Cooper, said he sent a copy of his manuscript to the National Security Council in December so

Senators race to return to campaigning. **A4** Pompeo upbraids journalist for asking about Ukraine. **A4** Democratic hopefuls look ahead to Super Tuesday. **A5**

Bezos, Saudi Prince Suffer Bitter Split

Through much of 2018, Amazon.com Inc. founder Jeff Bezos and tech-savvy Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman seemed to be hitting it off.

By Justin Scheck in New York, Bradley Hope in London and Summer Said in Dubai

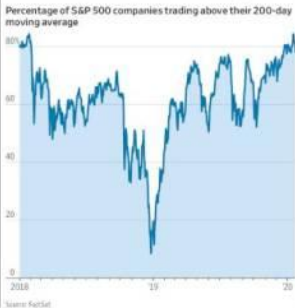
Testing over WhatsApp about a plan for Amazon to build a huge data center in Saudi Arabia, the men forged a cordial and mutually beneficial relationship. "It is very important for me, my friend, that you come to Saudi during the future investment Forum and we announce this \$2.8B Vision 2030 partnership," the prince messaged Mr. Bezos on Sept. 3, 2018, according to a review of texts by The Wall Street Journal and people familiar with the situation. Amazon stood to gain broader access to the Middle

Eastern market. Prince Mohammed could be aided in his efforts to reform the Saudi economy as well as burnish his personal brand.

Now, one of the world's richest men and one of the most powerful princes are arch-enemies, each accusing the other of betrayal. Over the course of 2018, Prince Mohammed grew frustrated as the Bezos-owned Washington Post published critical columns by Saudi dissident Jamal Khashoggi, according to people familiar with the matter. Mr. Bezos was deeply disturbed after men working for the prince murdered Mr. Khashoggi that October, said people familiar with the situation. But the feud didn't erupt into a public spectacle until last week, with the surfacing of a report commissioned by Mr. Bezos that said "with 'measurably high confidence'—that

Stocks Get Fuel to Feed Rally

Many investors are optimistic that stocks will rebound from last week's declines, as a closely watched trend line in the S&P 500 recently neared a peak from two years ago. **B1**



Like Brexit, Its Museum Is No Easy Task

Chaos of the EU divorce delays an edifice in its honor

By MAX GOLDENBERG

On Friday, Brexit will finally happen. There will be a street party outside Britain's parliament. Prime Minister Boris Johnson will address the nation. A commemorative coin will be issued to mark the date of Britain's breakaway from the European Union. One edifice to the historic divorce, however, won't be opening its doors quite yet. The Museum of Brexit was conceived by a group of Brexit

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DIA 28535.80 ▼ 453.93 1.6% NASDAQ 9139.33 ▼ 1.9% STOXX 600 414.07 ▼ 2.3% 10-YR. TREAS. ▲ 22/32, yield 1.605% OIL \$53.14 ▼ \$1.05 GOLD \$1,576.80 ▲ \$5.70 EURO \$1.1021 YEN 109.90

What's News

Business & Finance

- Investors world-wide stepped up their retreat from stocks and many commodities as worries intensified about possible economic fallout from the spreading coronavirus outbreak. The Dow and S&P 500 both dropped 1.6%. **A1, B10**
- Federal antitrust regulators are probing a possible deal between a major dairy cooperative and bankrupt milk processor Dean Foods. **A1**
- High-frequency traders earn nearly \$5 billion on global stock markets a year by exploiting slightly out-of-date stock prices, a study says. **B1**
- Leaders of big tech firms are inviting regulation by global policy makers as the sector faces increasing heat over a range of issues. **B1**
- J&J's chief testified in a court case over the company's signature baby powder, saying the firm had taken steps to ensure it is safe to use. **B1**
- GM said it would build a new autonomous vehicle at a plant in Detroit, solidifying its hometown as a hub of future technology. **B1**
- Renault plans to name former VW executive Luca de Meo as its CEO this week, according to people familiar with the matter. **B2**
- Housing markets across the world, from the U.K. to China to Australia, are losing steam, holding back prospects for the global economy. **A2**
- Skrelli and an associate violated laws by working to block rivals from introducing generic forms of an anti-seizure drug, a lawsuit alleges. **A3**

World-Wide

- Chances of the Senate impeachment trial hearing new testimony appeared to mount in the wake of Bolton allegations about Trump's motivation for freezing aid to Ukraine, as the president's team continued to lay out its defense. **A1, A4**
- The mayor of the city at the center of China's viral outbreak said rules imposed by Beijing limited what he could disclose about the threat posed by the pathogen. **A7**
- Drugmakers are shipping antiviral drugs to China to assess whether the medicines could help contain the infections sweeping the country. **A9**
- People briefed on the contents of Trump's Middle East peace initiative described a plan that heavily tilts toward the Israeli position on key issues. **A18**
- The Supreme Court allowed the administration to begin implementing rules that make it easier to deny immigrants residency or admission over the use of public-assistance programs. **A3**
- Weather forecasters had advised the aviation community of the need for instrument flight rules due to conditions in the region where Kobe Bryant's helicopter crashed. **A1, A6**
- After another flare-up of public protests, the Iranian establishment is working to mend internal rifts that have broken into the open. **A18**
- A U.S. military aircraft with at least two American service members on board crashed in Taliban-controlled Afghan territory. **A18**

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Survivors Mark 75th Anniversary of Auschwitz Liberation



HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE: Survivors of the Nazis' Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp prayed and wept Monday as they marked the 75th anniversary of its liberation. About 200 survivors of the concentration camp attended. **A18**

Virus Fears Rattle Global Markets

Dow drops 454 points and crude oil slumps as spreading disease spooks investors

By Karen Langley

Investors around the globe stepped up their retreat from stocks and many commodities, reflecting intensifying fears that a viral outbreak in China will deliver a setback to the outlook for world economic growth.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average posted its fifth consecutive daily decline, dropping 453.92 points, or 1.6%. The S&P 500 also declined 1.6%, its first drop of more than 1% since October. Meanwhile, the yield on the benchmark 10-year Treasury note fell to 1.605%, its lowest level since October, a signal investors are eschewing risk as they reconsider an outlook that just recently had been brightening.

The Choe Volatility Index, which measures expected moves in the S&P 500 index, also climbed to its highest level since October. "It's probably too early to determine the impact to global growth from the outbreak of this virus," said Allen Bond, portfolio manager at Jensen Investment Management. "The impact on global growth is probably the key uncertainty."

Concern about the coronavirus intensified as the tally of infections jumped over the weekend. The virus has infected more than 4,500 people and killed at least 106, mostly in China's Hubei province. It has spread to other countries including the U.S., Japan and South Korea, and public-health officials have warned that it is growing more contagious.

Pressure Grows for Bolton To Testify At Trial

As Trump's team lays out its defense, a vote for more witnesses could set up court fight

By Rebecca Ballhaus and Shobhan Hughes

WASHINGTON—Chances of the Senate impeachment trial hearing new testimony appeared to mount on Monday in the wake of new allegations about President Trump's motivation for freezing aid to Ukraine, as the president's defense team argued that he was justified in pushing Kyiv to investigate Democrat Joe Biden and his son.

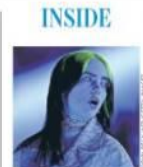
Former national security adviser John Bolton wrote in a draft of his forthcoming book that Mr. Trump told him in August that he wanted to freeze aid to Ukraine until the country aided investigations into Democrats, including the Bidens. The administration's pressure campaign on Ukraine is at the center of the impeachment investigations into the president.

The Last Flight Of Bryant's Life

By Ben Cohen and Eric Adigun

The helicopter that chauffeured Kobe Bryant from his Orange County home to the Los Angeles area departed Santa Ana-John Wayne Airport shortly after 9 a.m. on a foggy Sunday with nine people aboard. Its destination was the Camarillo Airport, northwest of Los Angeles, near Mr. Bryant's sports academy.

casters had advised the aviation community of the need for "instrument flight rules" and that typical visual flight rules probably wouldn't apply. Air-traffic controllers in Burbank told the aircraft to maintain special visual flight rules at or below 2,500 feet, according to recordings of tower communications. A few minutes later, the helicopter crashed in mountainous terrain near Calabasas, Calif., killing Mr. Bryant, his 13-year-old daughter Gianna and seven others.



LIFE & ARTS
The attributes that transformed 18-year-old Billie Eilish into a Grammy star. **A12**

U.S. NEWS
High court allows rules blocking immigrants who might seek public assistance. **A3**

Trump's Venezuela Problem: Russia

Putin's regime helped Maduro keep a grip on power, despite U.S. efforts to oust him

The Trump administration's bid to replace Venezuela's authoritarian leader Nicolás Maduro hit a roadblock after a meeting with Russian officials in Rome last year—and has never recovered.

By Jessica Donati, Andrew Rossocci and Ian Talley

U.S. envoy Elliott Abrams arrived at the Westin Excelsior hotel hoping to persuade Russia to withdraw its support for Mr. Maduro and recognize Juan Guaidó as

Venezuela's legitimate leader. Russian deputy foreign minister Sergei Ryabkov instead demanded the U.S. back down from military threats and lift the economic sanctions intended to force Mr. Maduro's hand. In the months that followed, the U.S. campaign spiraled into a foreign-policy debacle, thwarted by military adversaries, Russia and Cuba, as well as allies, Turkey and India—all countries that one way or another helped Venezuela sidestep

Play at Work, With Return Of Office Band

Amazon, Google have orchestras; #ObnoYouDint

By Chip Carter

SEATTLE—Mirates into a rehearsal of Mozart's overture to "The Magic Flute" one recent evening, Amazon software development engineer Hsing-Hui Hsu waved her arms from the box she stood on. The music inside the fluorescent-lit conference room stopped.

Dairy Producer's Deal Talks Spark U.S. Probe

By Jacob Bueck

Federal antitrust regulators are probing a possible deal between a major U.S. dairy cooperative and Dean Foods Co., the bankrupt milk-processing giant, as the dairy industry realigns after decades of declining milk consumption.

Some farm groups have raised concerns that a tie-up between Dean and DFA might lead to an excessive concentration of milk buyers in parts of the country. As U.S. milk consumption has fallen about 40% over the last four decades, fluid-milk production has shifted to a smaller number of bigger plants.

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DIA 28722.85 ▲ 187.05 0.7% NASDAQ 9269.68 ▲ 1.4% STOXX 600 417.56 ▲ 0.8% 10-YR TREAS. 11/32, yield 1.642% OIL 53.48 ▲ \$0.34 GOLD \$1,569.20 ▼ \$7.60 EURO \$1.1022 YEN 109.14

What's News

Business & Finance

The U.K. gave the green light for Huawei to build noncritical parts of its next-generation 5G cellular network, dismissing boycott calls by the U.S. AI

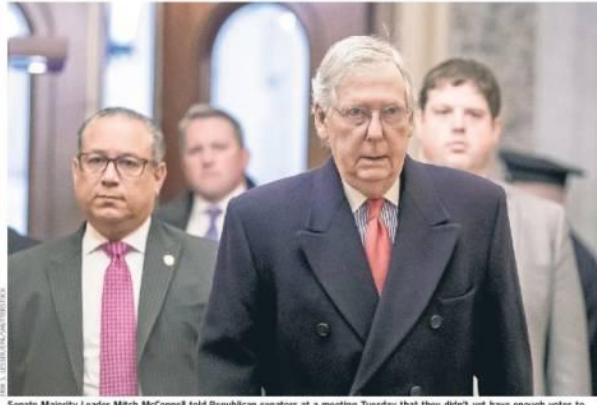
- Apple posted record revenue and a return to profit growth for the latest quarter behind strong iPhone sales and demand for its apps and AirPods. B1
- J.Crew said it hired former Victoria's Secret executive Jan Singer as its next CEO, as it seeks to revitalize its namesake brand. B1
- 3M reported lower revenue in key U.S. markets and set plans for fresh layoffs amid weakness in the industrial economy. B1
- Airbus has agreed to pay \$3.26 billion in penalties to settle corruption probes by U.S., U.K., and French authorities. B3
- Platinum Equity has sought to recruit CBS chief Leslie Moonves to front its bid to acquire Univision. B2
- U.S. stocks climbed, with the Nasdaq adding 1.4% and the S&P 500 and Dow gaining 1% and 0.7%, respectively. B3
- Business investment in the U.S. fell in December, according to a closely watched proxy measure. A2
- Starbucks said strong U.S. demand helped boost quarterly sales, but pointed to challenges from the coronavirus outbreak in China. B3
- United Technologies posted higher profit and sales while warning that Boeing's 737 MAX problems will weigh on its Collins division. B4

World-Wide

- Republican leaders said on Tuesday they didn't yet have enough votes to block witnesses in Trump's Senate impeachment trial, people familiar with the matter said, after the president's legal team concluded its efforts to counter Democrats' charges against him. A1, A4
- The Trump administration unveiled its Mideast peace plan, giving Israelis much of what they have long sought while providing Palestinians a path to nationhood—but under conditions Palestinians quickly rejected. A1, A5
- Israel's Netanyahu dropped a bid for parliamentary immunity from prosecution on corruption charges. A5
- The chairman of Harvard's chemistry department was arrested for allegedly lying about receiving millions in Chinese funding. A1
- The U.S. expanded screenings of passengers to 30 airports and other governments took steps to reduce exposure to travelers from China as the coronavirus toll climbed. A16
- The helicopter in the crash that killed Kobe Bryant and eight others wasn't equipped with a terrain awareness and avoidance system. A3
- The U.S. national debt and sustained federal budget deficits will hit the highest levels since World War II over the next decade, the CBO projected. A3
- An additional 16 U.S. troops suffered concussion- or traumatic brain injuries during Iran's ballistic missile strike this month, raising the total to 50. A3

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Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell told Republican senators at a meeting Tuesday that they didn't yet have enough votes to block witnesses in President Trump's impeachment trial, people familiar with the matter said.

GOP Struggles to Line Up Votes to Block Trial Witnesses

WASHINGTON—Republican leaders said on Tuesday they didn't yet have enough votes to block witnesses in President Trump's Senate impeachment trial, people familiar with the matter said, after his legal team concluded its efforts to counter Democrats' charges that the president abused power and obstructed Congress.

On the third and final day of presentations by the Trump legal team, lawyers tried to cast doubt on the importance and credibility of allegations by former national security adviser John Bolton about the president's motives for freeing aid to Ukraine. Republicans had

By Rebecca Ballhaus, Lindsay Wise and Natalie Andrews

hoped to wrap up the trial with an acquittal of the president by this week, but Democrats have said Mr. Bolton should appear under oath to offer a firsthand account of the president's motivations for freeing aid to Ukraine—a matter at the heart of the impeachment case.

nesses or documents, the people familiar with the matter said. He had a card with "yes," "no," and "maybe" marked on it, apparently a whip count, but he didn't show it to senators.

happens in private meetings. An administration official said the White House was optimistic it would get the necessary votes by Friday. "We are still in the game," the official said.

Senators GOP weighs credibility of ally Bolton... A4
How Democrats, Trump lawyers argued cases... A4

U.K. Backs Huawei, A Setback For U.S.

LONDON—The U.K. government has given the green light for Huawei Technologies Co. to build part of its next-generation 5G cellular network, dismissing calls from the Trump administration to boycott the Chinese telecom-equipment vendor over security fears.

The government said Huawei would be given permission to build noncritical parts of the country's 5G network. Britain's National Security Council concluded that the security risks the Chinese company presented could be managed. Huawei officials have repeatedly denied claims that its equipment could be used by the Chinese state to spy on countries or incapacitate key infrastructure.

"Nothing in this review affects this country's ability to share highly sensitive intelligence data over highly secure networks, both within the U.K. and with our partners," British Foreign Secretary Dominic Raab said.

The decision is a major setback for U.S.-led efforts to clamp down on the use of Huawei products and could embolden other countries to follow the U.K.'s lead. Germany is expected to make a decision on whether to allow Huawei to build sections of its own 5G network this year. Canada has yet to decide whether to block the equipment maker.

U.S. officials visited London Tuesday to reiterate their fears that the use of Huawei would strengthen China's attempt to gain a stranglehold on the global telecom-equipment market. In recent days, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo has warned U.K. offi-

Apple Shakes Off its iPhone Slump

Strong iPhone sales helped Apple return to profit growth in the latest quarter. Revenue increased 9%, boosted by sales of devices and services connected to the flagship smartphone. B1

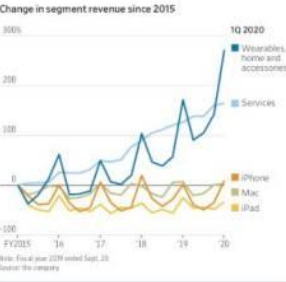
San Jose Pursues Tech Giant, Carefully

Plans for a big new Google campus aim to manage the downsides of development

SAN JOSE, Calif.—Technology giants helped pump the West Coast full of choking traffic and expensive homes. Now they are trying to fix the damage.

The challenge, and all its many complications, is playing out in real time in this city on the edge of Silicon Valley.

Google wants to build a campus of more than 6 million square feet here, with twice as much office space as the Empire State Building. The plans include a revamped downtown area around an old train station with thousands of apartments, shops and community



Harvard Professor Accused of Lying About China Ties

The chairman of Harvard University's chemistry department was arrested on charges of lying about receiving millions of dollars in Chinese funding, in an escalation of U.S. efforts to counter what officials said is a plot by Beijing to mine U.S. universities to catapult China to the forefront of scientific development.

A federal criminal complaint alleges that Charles Lieber, a pioneer in nanotechnology, misled the Defense Department and the National Institutes of Health about his participation in China's Thousand Talents Plan while the U.S. agencies were spending more than \$15 million to fund his research group in the U.S.

Through its government-backed Thousand Talents Plan and hundreds of similar programs, China pays scientists around the world to moonlight at Chinese institutions, often without disclosing the work to their primary employers.



Charles Lieber at an event in Jerusalem in 2012.

Scoop: Avocado Injuries Make Super Bowl Parties the Pits

ERs say guac-related knife wounds rise; 'perfect set-up for stabbing yourself'

Avocado lovers beware: Super Bowl Sunday could be the pits. It all depends on how you slice it.

Just ask Todd Segall, who only wanted to serve up some guac at a friend's Super Bowl party in 2012. Instead, he was left with blood on his hands.

"Super Bowl Sunday pre-

game injury?" Mr. Segall posted to Facebook, along with a photo of himself grimacing from a hospital bed with gauze on his palm. "After a grueling 57 minutes at the ER, they were able to save my hand! Unfortunately my unfinished guac came in last place in the appetizer competition!"

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DIA 28959.44 ▲ 124.99 0.4% NASDAQ 9280.93 ▲ 0.3% S&P 500 415.26 ▲ 1.0% 10-YR. TREAS. ▲ 10/32, yield 1.559% OIL \$52.14 ▼ \$1.19 GOLD \$1,583.50 ▲ \$13.20 EURO \$1.1033 YEN 105.95

What's News

Business & Finance

- **IBM's Ginni Rometty** will step down as CEO after a challenging eight-year run. Arvind Krishna, who heads the company's cloud and cognitive software division, will succeed her. **A1**
- **The U.S. economy** headed into 2020 on a solid footing, with growth settling at the roughly 2% pace that has prevailed during the decade-old economic expansion. **A1**
- **Amazon's fourth-quarter** sales blew past a previous record and profit rose 8%. The company's shares jumped more than 10% after hours. **B1**
- **Southwest Airlines** failed to prioritize safety and the FAA hasn't done enough about it, according to a yet-to-be-released DOT report. **B1**
- **Altria** again slashed the value of its dual investment and stripped down its agreement to provide services to the e-cigarette maker. **B1**
- **Lipton** maker Unilever is exploring the sale of its food business after years of sluggish sales growth. **B1**
- **U.S. stocks** rose, brushing off initial losses tied to coronavirus fears. The Dow gained 0.4%, while the S&P 500 and Nasdaq both added 0.3%. **B3**
- **Shell** said it could ratchet up divestments as a sharp drop in profit for 2019. **B3**
- **A California judge** ordered J&J to pay \$344 million in a lawsuit over the marketing of trial mesh devices. **B3**
- **Coca-Cola** reported higher fourth-quarter sales that exceeded analysts' expectations. **B3**

World-Wide

- **GOP Sen. Alexander**, who party leaders feared might join Democrats in voting in favor of new testimony at Trump's impeachment trial, said he will oppose calling witnesses, bolstering Republicans' chances for bringing the trial to a rapid conclusion. **A1**
- **The WHO** declared the coronavirus outbreak a public-health emergency of international concern. The first person-to-person transmission of the virus was reported in the U.S. **A1, A9**
- **The Trump administration** released details for how states can apply to convert federal Medicaid funding to block grants that would let them impose changes on the program. **A4**
- **A Republican member** of the FTC voiced skepticism that antitrust enforcement against big tech companies will lead to better privacy protections for consumers. **A2**
- **The last three states** to ratify the ERA used the Trump administration, seeking a court order that would write women's equality into the Constitution. **A4**
- **The U.S. announced** the completion of the first transactions under a new program meant to allow humanitarian trade to Iran. **A8**
- **U.S. life expectancy** increased in 2018 for the first time in four years as drug-overdose deaths fell. **A8**
- **The administration** is bringing an Obama-era ban on certain kinds of land mines. **A7**
- **Died: Fred Silverman**, 82, renowned TV executive. **B4**

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A doctor donned protective gear Thursday at a hospital in Wuhan, the Chinese city where the coronavirus first emerged.

Virus Outbreak Is Declared A Global Health Emergency

By BRISANA ARBRY

The World Health Organization declared the coronavirus outbreak a public-health emergency of international concern Thursday as the first person-to-person transmission of the virus was reported in the U.S. The WHO designation, pointing to an increase in the number of cases, indicates that international public-health authorities now consider the respiratory virus a significant threat beyond

China, where it originated last month. The move could further heighten the global response to the outbreak. The agency made the declaration after a meeting of its emergency committee, which declined to do so last week. Since then, China, other governments and multinational businesses have taken emergency steps to limit the virus's spread, including halting some travel to China. In the U.S., a sixth person tested positive for the infection

in the first case of human-to-human transmission. The patient is the husband of a Chicago woman infected with the virus whose case was reported last week. She had recently traveled to Wuhan, the central Chinese city where the coronavirus first emerged last month. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and state officials emphasized that the overall risk for people in the U.S. and in Illinois remains low. "This person-to-person spread was between two very

close contacts, a wife and husband," said Ngai Ezekle, the director of the Illinois Department of Public Health. "It is not spreading in the wider community." The State Department told Americans not to travel to China, raising its travel alert to the highest level Thursday. *Please turn to page A9*

- Face masks sell fast, but value is questioned... **A9**
- China's fears spur emerging markets retreat... **B1**

Key GOP Senator Opposes Witness Request

Alexander's no vote will place hurdle for hearing testimony in impeachment trial

WASHINGTON—A Republican senator who party leaders feared might join Democrats in seeking new testimony said Thursday night he will vote against calling witnesses, bolstering the GOP's chances for bringing the impeachment trial

of President Trump to a rapid conclusion. Sen. Lamar Alexander (R., Tenn.) announced his plan after senators wrapped up their second and final day of questioning Mr. Trump's legal team and House Democratic impeachment managers, during which the two sides sparred over the limits of executive and congressional power while revealing little new information.

Mr. Alexander said he believed that Democrats proved their case allegation that Mr. Trump withheld aid from Ukraine to pressure Kyiv to launch investigations into former Vice President Joe Biden and his son. But he said those

of President Trump to a rapid conclusion. Sen. Lamar Alexander (R., Tenn.) announced his plan after senators wrapped up their second and final day of questioning Mr. Trump's legal team and House Democratic impeachment managers, during which the two sides sparred over the limits of executive and congressional power while revealing little new information.

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Economy Still Solid, But Slowed Last Year

By HARRIET TORRY

WASHINGTON—The U.S. economy headed into 2020 on solid footing, with growth settling back to the roughly 2% pace that has prevailed during the decade-old expansion. Gross domestic product—the value of all goods and services produced across the economy—grew 2.3% last year, after rising at a seasonally and inflation-adjusted annual rate of 2.1% in the fourth quarter, the Commerce Department said Thursday.

The economy was buffeted last year by the U.S.-China trade dispute and a slowing global economy, but was buoyed by a strong domestic labor market that fueled consumer spending and optimism.

Many economists expect the U.S. economy to grow at about the same pace in 2020, given the recent trade truce between the U.S. and China, forecasts for a rebound in global growth, low interest rates and upbeat U.S. consumers.

Despite the hit to business investment from the trade war, "behind the scenes, we actually saw the consumer side looking pretty solid," said Brian Coulton, chief economist at Fitch Ratings.

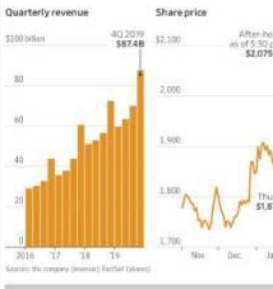
The economy's expansion last quarter reflected a boost from trade as exports increased and imports dropped sharply, amid slower U.S. household spending and higher tariffs on imports from China.

Consumer spending rose at a 1.8% annual rate in the fourth quarter of 2019 from a 3.2% pace the prior quarter. *Please turn to page A2*

● Heard on the Street: 2% growth is here to stay... **B14**

Holiday Sales Boost Amazon

Amazon's fourth-quarter profit rose 8% on robust holiday sales, beating analysts' expectations. The company's stock price jumped more than 10% in after-hours trading. **B1**



IBM Chief Rometty Is Stepping Down

By ASA FITCH

International Business Machines Corp. said Chief Executive Ginni Rometty is stepping down after a challenging eight-year run at the top of the iconic technology company, as she struggled to deliver growth at a time other tech giants' fortunes blossomed.

Ms. Rometty, 62 years old, will formally step down on April 6. She will be succeeded by Arvind Krishna, who heads the company's cloud and cognitive software division, the company said on Thursday. Jim Whitehurst—the chief executive of Red Hat, the open-source software giant that IBM acquired for about \$33 billion last year—was appointed the

company's president. It is the first time IBM will have a leadership structure with a CEO and separate president. They form a dual executive team—one member with deep IBM experience and another new to the company—focused on reviving its fortunes. Ms. Rometty will continue as the company's board chairman through the end of the year, at which time she will retire after almost four decades with Big Blue, the company said. Ms. Rometty has been one of the most high-profile female CEOs in business, where the top ranks are still male dominated. During her time at the helm of one of the U.S.'s most storied last year—was appointed the

SoftBank Funds All Sides in Startup Battle

Cash from tech investor is fueling a price war in Latin America between Uber, Didi and Rappi

By ROBERT WHELAN AND ELYSE BROWN

MEXICO CITY—For two years, the legendary late-night snack spot El Moro relied on Uber Eats to deliver its churros and hot cocoa to takeout customers across the capital. Then, in late 2018, it dumped the Uber Technologies Inc. app for an exclusive deal with rival delivery startup Rappi Inc.

"Rappi pursued us really aggressively," said Santiago Iriarte, El Moro's

chief executive. The Colombian company offered to make deliveries for 10% of the price of an order, compared with Uber's 30%.

Uber is under siege in Latin America amid a bruising price war where its ostensible rivals are Rappi and China's Didi Chuxing Technology Co. But here's the twist: All the combatants have as their biggest owner the same tech investor, Japan's SoftBank Group Corp., which has injected a total of \$20 billion

into the three. Startup investors typically don't back competing companies. SoftBank, which runs the world's largest venture-capital fund, has poured so much money into popular tech categories that it created a sort of circular firing squad in which SoftBank-backed companies use SoftBank cash to attack one another.

Former managers of all three delivery companies say they were frequently befuddled. *Please turn to page A11*

INSIDE



JASON GAY America's most hyped startup event arrives as a welcome distraction. **A14**

What to Do With That Stash of Old Business Cards

Make into origami, toothpicks or cherish as 'a little slice of time'

By THE PINE CHAIR

At a recent party at an industrial lubricant manufacturer in Jacksonville, Fla., Kyle McBride received a box of 500 business cards.

By the end of his three years there, he still had 497 cards left. "I gave out an average of one per year," he says. "One was to a relative, who

was curious." The demise of the humble business card has long been predicted, thanks to the rise of smartphones and LinkedIn. Yet they've had extraordinary staying power—in more ways than one—as workers struggle to Marie Kondo those they've collected from business acquaintances, or representing jobs they've left behind.

Mr. McBride, 34, held on to a couple as souvenirs and threw the rest away. "I did feel bad about it," he says, adding that they went into the recycling bin.

Many others wish they had his aplomb. Reluctant to junk their cards, some workers have tried shredding them into confetti, using them to

Please turn to page A11

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What's News

Business & Finance

- NYSE owner Intercontinental Exchange has made a takeover offer for eBay that could value the online marketplace at more than \$30 billion. **A1**
- Disney said the number of subscribers to the new Disney+ streaming service has more than doubled since its launch in November. **A1**
- Macy's plans to close 125 department stores over the next three years. The company is also cutting roughly 2,000 corporate jobs. **B1**
- The White House is working with U.S. tech firms to create advanced software for 5G networks, seeking to blunt Huawei's dominance. **A8**
- U.S. stocks surged as volatility regained a foothold. The Nasdaq rose 2.1% to a record, the S&P 500 gained 1.5% and the Dow added 1.4%. **B3**
- Rombardier is in talks to sell its business-jet division to Testron as the Canadian firm moves to pare debt. **B1**
- The Justice Department's chief antitrust enforcement official recused himself from a probe of Google. **A2**
- Ford's fourth-quarter operating income sank by two-thirds and the car maker issued a lower-than-expected profit outlook for 2020. **B2**
- A Goldman executive left the firm after the Fed barred him from the banking industry in connection with the IEDB scandal. **B12**
- Best Buy said Barry will remain in her CEO role in the wake of a probe into allegations of an inappropriate romantic relationship. **B3**

World-Wide

- Trump, appearing before Congress on the eve of an expected acquittal in his impeachment trial, used his annual State of the Union address to paint an optimistic picture of the country's future and to tout the strong economy. **A1**
- After a day of confusion over a technical mishap that snarled the vote count, the first wave of delayed results from Iowa's presidential caucuses showed Pete Buttigieg and Sen. Bernie Sanders at the top of the Democratic pack. **A1, A4, A6**
- GOP Sen. Collins said Trump's efforts to press Ukraine to open an investigation into Biden were improper but didn't warrant his removal from office. **A7**
- Chinese authorities have marshaled the country's extensive digital-surveillance capabilities to track potential carriers of the fast-spreading coronavirus. **A10-A11**
- The Pentagon has added a new warhead to its nuclear arsenal, the first in decades, to counter what it says is the threat posed by Russia. **A2**
- Argentina's Buenos Aires province said it would make a \$250 million bond payment after failing to get enough creditors to accept a delay. **A2**
- Iran's top court upheld a death sentence for an Iranian citizen accused of providing the U.S. with details about Tehran's nuclear program. **A2**
- Amazon's Bezos asked a California judge to throw out a defamation lawsuit against him brought by his girlfriend's brother. **A3**

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President Trump, in front of Vice President Mike Pence and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, gave his State of the Union address Tuesday.

Trump Touts Economic Gains In Address Marked by Tension

By ANDREW RESTRECHA

WASHINGTON—With his anticipated acquittal in his impeachment trial a day away, President Trump used his annual State of the Union address Tuesday to paint an optimistic picture of the country's future and tout the strong economy nine months before Election Day.

Mr. Trump entered the House chamber just after 8 p.m. to sustained applause, shaking hands and passing for a moment to speak with Chief Justice John Roberts, who has been presiding over the impeachment trial.

From there, the deep partisanship that has marked Mr. Trump's presidency was on full display. The president handed House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D,

Calif.) a copy of his remarks, but turned away without shaking her hand as she extended it. Mr. Trump and Mrs. Pelosi haven't spoken in months, tension over impeachment has frayed their relationship. Moments later, Republicans began chanting, "Four more years!"

Buttigieg, Sanders Take Lead in Iowa

By JOHN MCCORMACK, JULIE BISHNOVIC AND CHRIS DAY

DES MOINES, Iowa—After a day of confusion and recriminations over a technical mishap that snarled the vote count, the first wave of delayed results from Iowa's presidential caucuses showed Pete Buttigieg and Sen. Bernie Sanders at the top of the Democratic pack.



Pete Buttigieg and Sen. Bernie Sanders led in the partial tally.

Buttigieg, the former mayor of South Bend, Ind., and Mr. Sanders, of Vermont, also would underscore the larger Democratic primary battle between progressives and more moderate candidates in a field still totaling close to a dozen. More broadly, the muddled

results and fallout from the chaotic count stoked tensions among the candidates and concerns among party officials that the process is doing little to find a strong nominee who can unite the party.

Popeyes Joins Beyoncé in Fashion Aisle

By MIKE JOHNSON

The New York fashion shows gearing up to start this week won't be featuring one of the season's most buzzed about offerings: a collection of actual fast-food uniforms.

Disney Doubles Its Streaming-User Base

By R.T. WATSON AND ALLISON PRANG

Wait Disney Co. emerged as a formidable contender in a rapidly escalating battle among online-video platforms, as the number of subscribers to its new streaming service more than doubled in its first three months.

Salesforce. #1 CRM.

Ranked #1 for CRM Applications based on IDC 2019-21 Revenue Market Share Worldwide.

Source: IDC, Worldwide Semiconductors Software Revenue, October 2019

salesforce.com/#number1CRM

Stock Exchange Owner Seeks to Buy eBay

By CARA LOMBARDI AND CORRIE DEBERESCHI

The owner of the New York Stock Exchange has made a takeover offer for eBay Inc. that could value the sprawling online marketplace at more than \$30 billion, according to people familiar with the matter.

Intercontinental Exchange Inc., known as ICE, has approached eBay in the past and did so again recently, the people said. The companies aren't currently in formal talks, and there is no guarantee eBay would agree to a deal.

Should there be one, it would be big, given eBay's market value of more than \$28 billion and the premium ICE would likely have to pay. ICE issued a statement late Tuesday confirming its interest in a deal after The Wall Street Journal reported on it earlier in the day and the shares sank.

Macy's Closing 125 Stores

By CARA LOMBARDI

Macy's plans to close a fifth of its store locations over the next three years. **B1**

Performance since 2015

Source: FactSet



How to Prevent The Next Election Meltdown
REVIEW

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A Guide for Sophisticated Skiers
OFF DUTY

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND

DOJ DOW JONES *Market Cap* SATURDAY/SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 8 - 9, 2020 - VOL. CCLXXV NO. 32 WSI.com \$5.00

What's News

World-Wide

- China's coronavirus outbreak has spurred the most intense volleys of public rage since Xi took power, adding another front to the battle. **A1, A7, A8**
- Sondland and Vidman, two key impeachment probe witnesses, were removed from their posts Friday, two days after Trump was acquitted in his Senate trial. **A5**
- Sanders and Buttigieg faced scrutiny throughout a high-stakes debate between Democratic presidential hopefuls in New Hampshire. **A5**
- The administration has bought access to a database that maps cellphone movements and is using it for immigration enforcement. **A1**
- Ex-Pinco chief Hodge was sentenced to nine months in prison in the sprawling college admissions cheating case. **A3**
- Mexico's president, under pressure from the U.S., has beefed up his strategy to fight drug cartels. **A6**
- A federal appeals court threw out a lawsuit by Democrats that alleged Trump was improperly profiting from his presidency. **A4**
- A creation of the Houston Astros' high-tech front office dubbed "Codebreaker" was at the heart of the sign-stealing scandal. **A14**

Business & Finance

- U.S. hiring strengthened in January as more Americans hopped into the labor market. Employers added 225,000 jobs, while wages climbed 3.1% from a year earlier. **A1, A2**
- Credit Suisse CEO Thiam resigned, succumbing to pressure over a spying scandal that has jarred the staid world of Swiss banking. **A1**
- Tech giant SoftBank will raise far less than anticipated for its next fund, as disillusioned investors have refused to put up new cash. **A1**
- The Justice Department has closed its antitrust probe of four auto makers that had reached an emissions deal with California. **A3**
- The two heads of Goldman's flagship private-equity business quit, departures that threaten to undermine a big fundraising push. **B1**
- Ford elevated strategy chief Jim Farley to the No. 2 job. The auto maker said that manufacturing guru Joe Hinrichs will retire. **B1**
- U.S. stocks posted their biggest weekly gains in months, but the rally paused Friday as all three major indexes lost ground. **B1**
- Airbus is in advanced talks to acquire Bombardier's remaining stake in the two companies' joint A220 commercial-jet program. **B3**

NOONAN

The Democrats' Unserious Week **A13**

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Columns	World	A05



Job Gains Strengthen Outlook

Employers keep hiring, bringing workers off the sidelines despite modest wage gains

By Sarah Chaney

U.S. hiring strengthened in January as more Americans hopped into the labor market, helping rev up the economy at the start of the year. Employers added 225,000 jobs last month and the unemployment rate ticked up to 3.6% from 3.5% in December, an increase that reflected more people looking for work, the Labor Department said Friday.

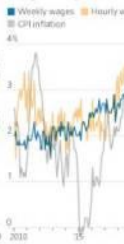
Wages climbed 3.1% from a year earlier, such stronger than December's rise of 3%. "The labor market and the consumer are the strength of the economy and they're in good shape," said Eric Winograd, senior economist at AllianceBernstein. Some of the January job gains came in industries, such as construction and leisure and hospitality, that benefited from mild winter weather. Still, employers across an array of sectors added jobs. That helped lift monthly payroll growth for the past three months to an average of 211,000 jobs, compared with an average of 175,000 for all of last year.

Robert Jones, president of American Sale, an Illinois-based retailer of home-recreation goods such as trampolines and hot tubs, said his 200-person company will add about 20 workers this year. He expects a low unemployment rate and solid economy to help spur purchases of big-ticket items. "When you have more demand, you have more to do, so you just need more people," Mr. Jones said. Companies are drawing from a larger pool of job seekers to fill roles. In January, the

Adults ages 25 to 54



Change from a year earlier



More Americans are drawn into the workforce. **A2**



An empty street in the industrial city of Wuhan, one of the Chinese cities under quarantine because of the coronavirus.

China Battles Illness and Dissent

Xi Jinping faces down the deadly coronavirus and intense public rage over its rapid spread

By Jeremy Page and Lingling Wu

BEIJING—Faced with a coronavirus outbreak that so far has killed 630 people and infected more than 21,000 world-wide, China's President Xi Jinping has mobilized the vast state machinery. China has quarantined entire cities, thrown up hospitals in days, and deployed military doctors and Communist Party members to the front lines, a massive effort Mr. Xi likens to a military campaign.

That effort is intended to beat the coronavirus outbreak, and also win a battle on a second front—against the most intense volleys of public rage since he took power in 2012. Mr. Xi publicly declared a "people's war" against the virus this week, promising punishment for anyone disobeying government orders. He echoed the message in a phone call Friday with President Trump, saying he was confident of victory. The Chinese leader also faces anger and frustration over the government's

response to the outbreak, emotions that swelled Friday with the death from the virus of Li Wenliang, a young doctor punished for trying to raise an early alarm. In the province of Hubei, the center of the outbreak, hospitals are overwhelmed, medical and food supplies depleted, and some 60 million people are held under the largest quarantine in history. The virus first emerged in

More coverage on pages A7 and A8

France Says Au Revoir To the Village Cafe

As the fixture of French civic life disappears, a town strives to revive its own

By Noémie Bouchère

UGNY, France—There was a time when Mayor Robert Bourguignon went to Le Lounge Bar, a cafe nestled in the rolling hills of Lorraine, to sip espresso or soak up village gossip. Today, a coat of dust lines the bar. The chairs and tables haven't moved since January 2019, when Le Lounge Bar filed for bankruptcy. To reopen its doors, the cafe is counting on financial aid from a nongovernmental organization. "Without a cafe," says Mr. Bourguignon, "a village is pretty much dead."



Endangered species

Cup celebrations—have been hollowed out by urbanization and the decline of traditional French industry. Cafes have completely vanished from

SoftBank Tech Fund Falls Far Short of Goal

Technology giant SoftBank Group Corp. will raise far less than anticipated for its next fund after investors, disillusioned by bad bets like WeWork and by the chaotic and unorthodox way the fund operates, refused to put up new cash, people familiar with the matter said.

By Robb Winkler, Liz Hoffman and Bradley Hope

Hailed by SoftBank last summer as a \$108 billion sequel to its \$100 billion Vision Fund, the new pool could end up being less than half that size, with nearly all of its capital coming from SoftBank itself, the people said. A failure by SoftBank to raise a big new fund would reverberate across the tech startup world. Dozens of companies from ride-hailing giant Uber Technologies Inc. to food-

delivery company DoorDash Inc. got big boosts from the fund's nearly \$90 billion two-year spending spree. Less money to invest could mean cuts to SoftBank's 500-person investing staff. Already, several senior executives have left and others are relocating from the fund's headquarters in London to Abu Dhabi. With a big new fund less likely, the firm has discussed doing one-off deals with investors, which would give them a say in how their money would be spent, and it has started a hedge fund, according to people close to the fund.

The possible shift away from a long-term focus on big investment funds has contributed to disagreements between SoftBank CEO Masayoshi Son and Vision Fund head Rajeev Misra. Please turn to page A5

Heard on the Street: Elliott's SoftBank play. **B12**

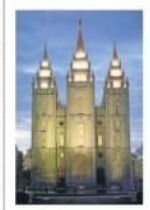
Bank Boss Beset by Spy Probe Resigns

By Masayoshi Patrick

Credit Suisse Group AG Chief Executive Tiziane Thiam has all along denied knowledge of a spying scandal that sparked international headlines and engulfed his bank starting last year. While Mr. Thiam's denial hasn't changed, he succumbed to pressure and resigned over the matter anyway late Thursday at a board meeting in Zurich. With a regulatory investigation brewing, the bank's board was worried about continuing fallout from developments that have jarred the normally staid world of Swiss banking. Directors also were unhappy with efforts by Mr. Thiam and supportive shareholders to bolster his position publicly, including through his personal Instagram account, according to a person familiar with the board.

Hired in 2015 as a banking industry outsider to shake up Credit Suisse, Mr. Thiam will leave this coming week. He will be succeeded by veteran Swiss banker Thomas Gotsdiner, indicating a return to the bank's roots after two decades of American and French CEOs. Mr. Thiam, 57 years old, was born in Ivory Coast and is a French national. The move marks the end of a 4½-year run for Mr. Thiam as head of the bank, Switzerland's second-largest by assets after UBS Group AG, and a competitor to Wall Street in investment banking. After taking over, he carried out a sweeping restructuring, drastically downsizing the investment bank and ramping up its wealth-management business serving the rich. Formerly the CEO of British Please turn to page A10

EXCHANGE



\$100 BILLION Inside the Mormon Church's vast, little-known investment fund **B1**

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DOW JONES | *Market Cap* | ***** | TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 2020 - VOL. CCLXXV NO. 34 | WSJ.com | ***** \$4.00
DIA 29276.82 ▲ 174.31 0.6% | NASDAQ 9420.39 ▲ 1.1% | STOXX 600 424.44 ▲ 0.1% | 30-YR. TREAS. ▲ 9/32, yield 1.547% | OIL 549.57 ▼ 50.7% | GOLD \$1,574.70 ▲ \$6.10 | EURO \$1.0911 | YEN 109.77

What's News

Business & Finance

A federal judge is expected to bless T-Mobile's merger with Sprint, handing the two wireless rivals a victory over state attorneys general who had challenged the deal. **A1**

Amazon asked a judge to allow it to depose Trump in its bid to overturn a Pentagon decision awarding a huge cloud-computing contract to Microsoft. **A6**

The maker of Schick razors said it abandoned plans to buy upstart rival Harry's, a week after the FTC sued to block the deal. **B1**

The Nasdaq and S&P 500 closed at records, gaining 1.1% and 0.7%, respectively. The Dow added 0.6%. **B10**

Experimental drugs from Lilly and Roche failed to help people with a rare, inherited form of Alzheimer's, a study found. **B3**

Chinese billionaire Li Shufu is in talks to fold Volvo into Geely, his latest move to create China's first global auto maker. **B3**

Xerox raised its offer to buy HP to \$24 a share from \$22 and said it would launch a public takeover bid early next month. **B3**

Simon Property is buying rival mall owner Taubman Centers in a \$3.3-billion transaction. **B3**

Amazon has tapped Mike Hopkins, a top Sony executive, to oversee its entertainment operations. **B5**

Fintech startup Varo said it has received regulatory approval to use federal deposit insurance. **B9**

World-Wide

U.S. authorities indicted four members of China's military on charges of hacking into credit-reporting firm Equifax and plundering sensitive data on nearly 150 million Americans in 2017. **A1**

Business was slow to restart in China even after some local governments stopped calling for people to stay away from the workplace amid the country's deadly coronavirus outbreak. **A1, A7**

The administration's proposed budget projects a federal deficit as a share of the economy over time, but budget experts say the forecasts are built on questionable assumptions. **A2**

Democratic presidential hopefuls made a final sprint across New Hampshire ahead of the state's primary. **A4**

Merkel's succession plan was unveiled when the head of her conservative party said she wouldn't run for German chancellor and would resign as party leader. **A9**

The Justice Department sued New Jersey and a Washington county over "sanctuary" laws and policies. **A6**

An IRS podiatrist convicted of sexually abusing Native American boys in his care was sentenced to five lifetime prison terms. **A3**

Prosecutors recommended that longtime Trump adviser Roger Stone receive seven to nine years in prison. **A6**

Five Turkish soldiers were killed during a clash with Syrian government forces in Syria's Idlib province. **A9**

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Polls Put Sanders, Buttigieg Ahead as New Hampshire Votes



OPEN MIC. Clockwise from top left, former South Bend, Ind., Mayor Pete Buttigieg, Sen. Bernie Sanders, former Vice President Joe Biden, Sen. Elizabeth Warren and Sen. Amy Klobuchar made a final appeal to New Hampshire voters. **A4**

Judge Is Expected to Approve T-Mobile and Sprint Merger

By CARA LOMBARDINO AND DAVID FITZGERALD

A federal judge is expected to approve T-Mobile US Inc.'s merger with Sprint Corp., according to people familiar with the matter, clearing the way for the two wireless rivals to combine and overcoming a state antitrust challenge.

The decision, which these people say they already agreed to offer the federal government, a decision by U.S. District Judge Victor Marrero, after a December trial, would clear the way for a merger of the No. 3 and No. 4 wireless carriers by subscribers. The companies agreed to merge nearly two

years ago in an all-stock deal worth \$26 billion. They secured approval from federal antitrust and telecommunications officials last year after T-Mobile and Sprint made concessions. Both companies have a contractual right to renegotiate their deal terms if the court clears their merger and executives have discussed that possibility. T-Mobile's operating chief, Mike Sievert, who is slated to take over as chief executive in May, said last week the company doesn't have an interest in

creating a material delay. The new T-Mobile will have more than 90 million U.S. customers and aims to nab more subscribers from AT&T Inc. and Verizon Communications Inc. The three companies will dominate the U.S. wireless market, though they must also compete with more newcomers, including cable companies that resell service from large carriers. Concerns about the antitrust fight had weighed on Sprint's share price in recent months, pushing it to a deep discount. *Please turn to page A2*

Chinese Nationals Indicted In Equifax Breach

U.S. accuses four members of the military of stealing data from credit firm

WASHINGTON—Four members of China's military have been indicted by the U.S. government on charges of hacking into Equifax Inc. and plundering sensitive data on nearly 150 million Americans as part of a massive heist that officials said also stole trade secrets from the credit-reporting agency.

By Aruna Viswanatha, Dustin Volz and Kate O'Keefe

In an escalation of U.S. efforts to counter China's alleged attempts to use cyber theft and other means of technology acquisition to become the world's dominant economic power, a federal grand jury in Atlanta returned a nine-count indictment made public Monday against the four Chinese nationals working for the People's Liberation Army. They are accused of conspiring to steal reams of data as part of a sophisticated hacking operation that exploited a major vulnerability in the software used by Equifax's online dispute portal. The charges for the 2017 breach came as the U.S. and China remain locked in negotiations over trade after recently hammering out the first phase of an agreement. In brief remarks on Monday, U.S. Attorney General William Barr sought to distinguish the alleged Equifax theft from accepted intelligence gathering that governments conduct. *Please turn to page A6*

Merkel's Planned Successor Quits



German Chancellor Angela Merkel's succession plan was unveiled when the head of her conservative party, Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer, left, said she wouldn't seek the position. **A9**

America's Weirdest Subway Shop

The restaurant is real, but the 'town' isn't

By Elyse Tai

HOGAN'S ALLEY, Va.—America's worst neighborhood is a magnet for killers, thieves and drug smugglers. At lunch, crooks and cops call a truce to line up at Subway, the only place in town to get a meal. The franchise is located at the Federal Bureau of Investigation academy in Quantico, Va., just off the main drag in Hogan's Alley, a town built to train FBI agents and other law-enforcement officers. The Subway is real, serving the foot-long Italian B.M.T., Chicken & Bacon Ranch Melt, sodas and other menu offerings; its employees are bona fide. *Please turn to page A10*

Former Reality-TV Producer Becomes Saudi Rainmaker

Carla DiBello is close to fund's chief and has little formal finance training

RIYADH—Businesses looking for cash from Saudi Arabia's \$300 billion sovereign-wealth fund, one of the world's most influential investors, have found it helps to enlist a former reality-TV producer from Sarasota, Fla.

By Bradley Hope, Justin Schreck, Summer Salt and Rory Jones

Carla DiBello, 35, has become a high-profile figure in Saudi Arabia's investment scene for her connections with the Kingdom's Public Investment Fund, or PIF. She is helping PIF negotiate a \$445 million deal to buy a majority stake in England's Newcastle United soccer team, say

people familiar with her dealings. She has told acquaintances she was involved in talks around a \$15 billion deal with Indian conglomerate Reliance Industries Ltd., say people familiar with the discussions. Ms. DiBello also has a close relationship with the Saudi fund's 40-year-old chief, Yasir al-Rumayyan. Their relationship has raised concerns among some PIF officials, who have grown frustrated with his attention to Ms. DiBello during a time when the fund's major investments are struggling, Saudi officials at the fund say. She has been helping foreign companies gain access to top Saudi officials, sometimes via for- *Please turn to page A10*

Businesses in China Struggle to Reopen

Business was slow to restart in China, even after some local governments stopped calling for people to stay away from the workplace during a coronavirus outbreak that has killed more than 1,000 people in the country and dented economic growth.

By Siu Woo in Beijing and James T. Arredy in Shanghai

Workers remained stranded on Monday, unable to reach their factories. Office towers stayed dark as companies asked employees to work from home. In the few open shops in deserted malls, bored clerks played smartphone games. "None of the workers are able to come back for work," said Lao Xiaojing, who owns a motorcycle-muffler factory in southern China's Guangdong province. "Our production has been suspended for almost a month now, and we don't know how long this will last."

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● Viral cases on cruise ship pressure Japan... **A7**

● Wuhan evacuates brace for weeklong quarantine... **A7**

● Outbreak pressures consumer prices in China... **A7**

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What's News

Business & Finance

- ▶ **Bayer faces an extraordinary challenge** as it tries to settle claims that Roundup causes cancer while continuing to sell the weed-killer, legal experts say. **A1**
- ▶ **Softbank said profit collapsed** in the last three months of 2019, as it floated the possibility of pairing back ambitions for a planned sequel to the Vision Fund. **B1**
- ▶ **WhatsApp now has more than two billion active users**, and its leader is vowing to defend the app's fully private form of messaging. **B1**
- ▶ **Boeing has fired a midlevel executive** in charge of pilots who exchanged internal emails that have embarrassed the aerospace company. **B1**
- ▶ **Major U.S. stock indexes hit records**, with the Dow industrials and Nasdaq both climbing 0.9% and the S&P 500 adding 0.6%. **B11**
- ▶ **OPEC said the impact of the coronavirus outbreak** will depress global oil demand growth this year. **B10**
- ▶ **EP pledged to reduce its net carbon emissions to zero by 2050** but didn't provide details about how it expects to accomplish the goal. **B10**
- ▶ **MGM Resorts CEO Murray** will leave the casino operator after its board picks his successor, the company said. **B3**
- ▶ **The judge overseeing a criminal trial of Theranos' founder** and a former top executive at the firm narrowed the scope of the charges. **B3**
- ▶ **Clisco said revenue fell 35% in its latest quarter** and it offered a muted outlook for the current quarter. **B5**

World-Wide

- ▶ **Democrats in search of a centrist nominee** to challenge Trump are increasingly worried after contests in Iowa and New Hampshire consolidated liberal support behind Sanders and divided the moderate vote among multiple candidates. **A1, A6**
- ▶ **Public-health experts** are questioning whether the WHO has been too deferential to China in its handling of the coronavirus outbreak. **A1**
- ▶ **China replaced its top Communist Party official** in Hubei province, the epicenter of the deadly outbreak, with a protégé of Xi. **A8**
- ▶ **Trump praised Barr** for "taking charge" of the Roger Stone case after the DOJ's decision to reverse itself and recommend less prison time for the president's confidant. **A4**
- ▶ **The Education Department** opened probes of Harvard and Yale as part of a review it says has found U.S. universities failed to report at least \$6.5 billion in foreign funding. **A1**
- ▶ **The U.S. and the Taliban** are expected to announce an agreement to reduce violence in Afghanistan. **A8**
- ▶ **Pope Francis declined** a proposal from bishops that he allow married men to become priests in Latin America's Amazon region. **A18**
- ▶ **Emilio Lozoya**, the fugitive former head of Mexican state oil company Pemex, was arrested in Spain. **A18**
- ▶ **The Census Bureau** is behind in recruiting workers and improving online systems that underpin the 2020 count, the GAO said. **A4**

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A doctor in Shandong province, in eastern China, tested a woman for the coronavirus on Wednesday.

World Health Organization Criticized for Virus Response

By James Pate and Amy Bracy McKay

BEIJING—When the World Health Organization declared a global public-health emergency at the end of last month, it praised China's "extraordinary" efforts to combat the coronavirus epidemic and urged other countries not to restrict travel.

"China is actually setting a new standard for outbreak response," WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said.

Many governments ignored the travel advice. Other public-health experts criticized his unqualified praise for China.

"It's very obvious to me—it must be to most people in the world—that Dr. Tedros and the WHO are caught in an awfully difficult position, between what the science dictates and a very, very powerful country," said Lawrence Gostin, a professor of global health law at Georgetown University who advises the WHO.

Among the complaints directed at Dr. Tedros: He was bending to Beijing by lauding a Chinese response that included quarantining 60 million people—which many health experts see as inconsistent with WHO guidelines—while calling on other countries not to cut off travel and

trade with China.

In an interview Wednesday, Dr. Tedros denied the WHO bowed to Chinese pressure. He said China's actions don't contradict WHO standards and have slowed the virus's spread. "They are reducing the vulnerability of other countries," he said.

The coronavirus is present-

ing the United Nations agency with a conundrum that threatens its ability to lead global responses to such crises.

Over its decades of battling epidemics, the WHO has rarely had to deal with an entity as politically and economically powerful as China today. It can't afford to alienate the country's leadership, whose clout and financial largess it aims to attract to health causes. It needs Beijing's cooperation in preventing a full-blown pandemic—and this may not be the last time. China is the source of many emerging pathogens, which jump from animals to humans.

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Outbreak's Impact

- ▶ China replaces top official in Hubei province... **A9**
- ▶ Flaw seen in test kits rolled out in U.S.... **A9**
- ▶ Global pushes to develop drug for the disease... **A10**

INSIDE



LIFE & ARTS
More people are caring for both children and parents as the aging population swells. **A11**



SPORTS
Rule-breaking permeated the Astros from front office to players. **A14**

U.S. Investigates Harvard, Yale Over Foreign Funding

By Kate O'Keefe

The Education Department opened investigations into Harvard and Yale as part of a continuing review that it says has found U.S. universities failed to report at least \$6.5 billion in foreign funding from countries such as China and Russia and many incoming department materials reviewed by The Wall Street Journal.

The investigations into the Ivy League schools are the latest in a clash between U.S. universities and a coalition of federal officials including law enforcement, research funders

such as the National Institutes of Health, and a bipartisan group in Congress that have raised concerns about higher-education institutions' reliance on foreign money, particularly from China.

Representatives for Harvard and Yale said their universities are working on responses to the Education Department.

The department described higher-education institutions in the U.S., in a document reviewed by the Journal, as "multibillion-dollar, multinational enterprises using opaque foundations, foreign campuses, and other sophis-

ticated legal structures to generate revenue."

U.S. universities have generally defended their international collaborations and said the Education Department's reporting requirements remain unclear, which officials deny.

Universities are required to disclose to the Education Department all contracts and gifts from a foreign source that, alone or combined, are worth \$250,000 or more in a calendar year. Though the statute is decades old, the department only recently began to enforce it vigorously.

Please turn to page A4

But Does The Napoleon Floor Stay?

It's a question when your house costs \$165 million

By Katherine Clarke and Katy McClurg

L.A.'s optimistic home developers spent the last few years constructing over-the-top glass compounds with candy rooms, helipads and bowling alleys on spec—assuming ultrarich buyers would bite. But a recent spate of \$100-million-plus deals shows that buyers at the very top of L.A.'s market are looking for something different: history.

Amazon.com Inc. chief executive Jeff Bezos recently paid \$165 million, a record for the area, to purchase a 94-acre quintessential old Hollywood estate: a Georgian Revival-style

Bayer Seeks to Settle Cases, Keep Roundup

By Lucia Kinstov, Riva Benitez and Jacob Bunge

Bayer AG faces an extraordinary challenge as it tries to settle tens of thousands of claims that its Roundup weed-killer causes cancer. The product remains on shelves, making it almost impossible to put the litigation to rest forever.

Experts have said Bayer is in an unusual position compared with other companies that have faced multibillion-dollar lawsuits over their products. To end mass tort litigation, other companies generally have discontinued or altered their products or adopted warning labels—all of which are problematic for the German pharmaceutical and agricultural company.

"If you're still putting out a product that people claim injures them, I don't know how they can insulate themselves from future liability," said Carl Tobias, a University of Rich-

mond law professor who studies product-liability cases.

Bayer is moving closer to a settlement potentially totaling \$10 billion, people familiar with the matter said, making it one of the most complex and costly corporate litigation cases ever. Investigators are demanding clarity and expect Bayer to deliver at least a partial solution before the company's next annual shareholder meeting in late April.

But Bayer's case is tricky because regulators including the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency have said that glyphosate, the main chemical ingredient in Roundup, doesn't cause cancer. The agency said last year that manufacturers like Bayer can't put cancer warnings on glyphosate-based herbicides like Roundup, and that states can't require such labels. The company also can't alter the product to remove glyphosate—which plaintiffs

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Centrists Fret Over How to Defeat Sanders

Moderate Democrats haven't coalesced around a candidate to challenge the senator

By Ken Thomas and Natalie Andrews

NASHUA, N.H.—Democrats in search of a centrist nominee to challenge President Trump are increasingly worried after contests in Iowa and New Hampshire consolidated liberal support behind Bernie Sanders and divided the larger moderate vote among multiple candidates.

The party's center lane is crowded with the rising former South Bend, Ind., Mayor Pete Buttigieg, Sen. Amy Klobuchar and former Vice President Joe Biden. Looming in the March 3 Super Tuesday states and beyond is former New York Mayor Mike Bloomberg, buoyed by campaign spending that dwarfs all his opponents combined.

With no clear centrist front-runner, vulnerable freshman Democrats in Congress are testing each other anxiously, a Biden-allied fundraiser warns of a "doomsday scenario" and party strategists fret about what mixed early-state turnout means for November.

Predictions about which candidates are the most electable and which will prevail through a long primary season have proven unreliable in the past, particularly at this early stage of the process, before voting in the diverse states of

Please turn to page A6

▶ Democratic hopefuls are set for long haul... **A6**

Per IDC's latest annual market share results,

Oracle is the #1 Enterprise Applications vendor in North America based on market share and revenue.

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oracle.com/applications

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DIA Closed (2938.08) NASDAQ Closed (9731.11) STXX 600 431.98 ▲ 0.7% 10-YR. TREAS. Closed (yield 1.587%) OIL Closed (\$52.05) GOLD Closed (\$1,582.70) EURO \$1.0836 YEN 109.88

What's News

Business & Finance

- Apple became the first major U.S. company to say it won't meet its revenue projections for the current quarter due to the coronavirus outbreak. **A1**
- Japan's economy is facing the risk of a recession because the outbreak is hurting tourism and production. **A7**
- France's *Alstom* agreed to buy Canada-based Bombardier's train unit in a deal valued at \$8.2 billion that would create a rail giant big enough to take on China. **B1**
- Pier 1 filed for chapter 11 with plans to sell the home-furnishings chain, falling victim to changing consumer tastes and an unforgiving retail environment. **B1**
- Dell is nearing a deal to sell its cybersecurity business to a private-equity firm for more than \$2 billion. **B1**
- The biggest U.S. dairy-farming cooperative struck a \$425 million deal to buy dozens of plants from bankrupt milk processor Dean Foods. **B2**
- GM will scale back operations overseas, including dropping its Holden brand in Australia and New Zealand. **B2**
- Boeing said it had enlisted Feinberg to distribute \$50 million to communities affected by two crashes involving the 737 MAX. **B3**
- Renewed demand for speculative-grade corporate loans is allowing businesses to slash billions of dollars in borrowing costs. **B9**

World-Wide

- Hundreds of Americans who had been passengers on a coronavirus-stricken cruise ship in Japan landed in the U.S., including 14 people who tested positive for the virus. **A1**
- China plans to postpone an annual political conference originally scheduled for early March, as officials seek to contain the outbreak. **A6**
- The Boy Scouts of America filed for bankruptcy protection, as it deals with hundreds of lawsuits alleging sexual misconduct by employees or volunteers. **A1**
- The Trump administration is considering new curbs on sales of U.S. technology to China, a month after signing a trade accord with Beijing. **A2**
- Bolton reiterated his criticisms of elements of the administration's foreign policy but declined to divulge details of his conversations with Trump about Ukraine. **A4**
- Amazon's Bezos said he is committing \$10 billion to start a new fund to fight climate change, his biggest philanthropic move to date. **A3**
- A Russian published sexually explicit messages allegedly from a Paris mayoral candidate, breaching a French convention that shields politicians' private lives. **A9**
- A spreadsheet compiled by Chinese authorities responsible for tracking ethnic-minority Muslims catalogs detailed personal information. **A6**

JOURNAL REPORT

Wealth Management: We Don't Save for Emergencies. Let's Change That. **R1-10**

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Flooding Nears Record Levels in Mississippi



DIRE CONDITIONS: Weeks of rain caused flooding from the Pearl River in central Mississippi, including parts of Jackson, affecting hundreds of homes and businesses. **A3**

Boy Scouts Seek Chapter 11 Protection Against Lawsuits

The Boy Scouts of America filed for bankruptcy protection, as one of the country's largest youth organizations tries to endure intensifying legal pressure over accusations of childhood sexual abuse going back decades.

By Andrew Scurlia, Joseph De Avilla, and Peg Brinkley

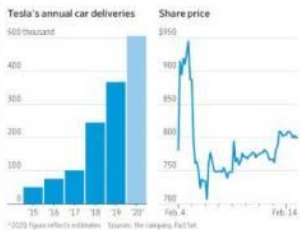
The bankruptcy filing covers the national Boy Scouts organization and automatically halts the hundreds of lawsuits it faces alleging sexual misconduct by employees or volunteers. The Boy Scouts are seeking to compensate claimants through bankruptcy proceedings while protecting 261 local scouting councils across the country and the billions of dollars in assets they hold.

The bankruptcy filing marks a watershed moment in the 100-year history of the Boy Scouts, which for years have been embroiled in lawsuits blaming the organization for failing to screen out sexual predators. Laws passed in California, New York and other states have created temporary windows allowing for sex-abuse lawsuits to be filed regardless of when the alleged abuse occurred, exposing the Boy Scouts to an unprecedented

Please turn to page A2

Tesla Rides on Electric Hopes

Tesla's stock is up 91% this year through Friday, as many investors optimistic about electric cars believe Tesla has a better chance to deliver than bigger auto makers. **B2**



Cheap Solar Power Challenges Coal's Dominance in India

Outgrowing subsidies, clean energy figures big in power-grid plans

By PRADEEP DYOBAK

BHADLA, India—In a dusty northwest India desert dotted with cows and the occasional camel, a solar-power plant is producing some of the world's cheapest energy. Built in 2018 by India's Acme Solar Holdings Ltd., it can generate 200 megawatts of electricity, enough to power all the homes in a middle-size U.S. town. Acme sells the electricity to distributors for 2.44 rupees (3.4 cents) a kilowatt-hour, a record low for solar power in India, a country that data trackers say has the world's cheapest solar energy.

More remarkable, the power costs less to generate in India than the cheapest competing fossil fuel—coal—even with subsidies removed and the cost of construction and financing figured in, according to the Indian government and industry trackers. Solar power has entered a new global era. The industry was long dependent on subsidies and regulatory promotions. Now, technological innovation and falling solar-panel prices have made solar power inexpensive enough to compete on its own with other fuel sources in some regions, when it comes to newly built plants. That could turbocharge growth of renewables in the global energy industry, especially in fast-growing Asian markets where

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Pull-Ups and Sit-Ups Don't Hurt As Much as These Gym Clothes

Crystals, sequins and painful zippers: 'This gear's so chic you can't do anything'

By KATHARINE K. ZABELLA

Personal trainer Alexis Clark rotates through a surprising wardrobe of sportswear that includes crystal-embellished ensembles, a white-mesh sports bra that won't stay put and leggings with painfully placed metal logos.

Ms. Clark, who has 2 million Instagram followers, is among the devotees of luxury performance wear—men and women willing to sweat, spend and endure what it takes to look good while working out.

The 28-year-old trainer in Scottsdale, Ariz., said she only rejects eye-catching outfits so impractical that she "literally can't do anything." Instead of tossing out a flattering piece, Ms. Clark would rather tailor her workout to match. Men are going toe-to-toe in form-fitting ensembles, plus such accessories as chest rigs from ASRV Sports-wear—strap-on pock-pockets to hold phones, keys and other survival gear.

Some new offerings appear to favor form over function. Eli Russell Linnetz, an artist and the designer of fashion line ERL, based in Venice Beach, Calif., created a jockstrap embroidered with baroque pearls, crystals and seashells. The glam jock goes for \$35,000. "I have personally

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INSIDE

LIFE & ARTS
A therapeutic approach for dementia, via games and puzzles. **A11**

BUSINESS
Home-furnishings giant Pier 1 imports files for bankruptcy, with plans to sell **B1**

Apple Warns Coronavirus To Hit Sales

The tech giant also says iPhone output will suffer as the outbreak's economic impact grows

By TRIPP MICKLE

Apple Inc. became the first major U.S. company to say it won't meet its revenue projections for the current quarter due to the coronavirus outbreak, which it said had limited iPhone production for worldwide sales and curtailed demand for its products in China. The tech giant had projected last month record revenue for the current quarter of between \$63 billion and \$67 billion,

which it said was a wider than normal range due to the virus. The technology giant didn't provide on Monday an updated sales estimate, saying that the situation in China is evolving. It said it would provide more information when it holds its earnings call in April.

Apple's announcement is the most prominent example yet of the broad ripple effects of the coronavirus on global business and markets as the outbreak continues to spread, hitting smartphone sales and commodity prices and delaying production across industries.

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Growth investors face test of their mettle. **B1**

U.S. Evacuates 14 Who Test Positive

By SUDHATAPA BHATTACHARYA

Hundreds of Americans who had been passengers on a coronavirus-stricken cruise ship in Japan landed in the U.S. on Monday, including 14 people who tested positive for the virus and were allowed to join the evacuation operation at the last minute.

The number of virus cases aboard the Diamond Princess ship rose to 454—about one in eight of those originally on the ship—prompting more questions about whether Japan made the outbreak worse by confining potential virus carriers in a narrow space that wasn't designed for a long-term quarantine.

The efforts to get people off the cruise ship come as the virus continues to disrupt global supply chains that rely on China, the epicenter of the outbreak, and daily life in many parts of the country. The Chinese government reported more than 72,000 cases on the mainland, with more than 1,860 deaths. Only three deaths and 794 cases have occurred outside of China, the World Health Organization has said, with the majority of those cases aboard the Diamond Princess.

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- Beijing delays its political showcase. **A6**
- Sales tax and virus hit Japan's economy. **A7**

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DOW JONES | *Market Cap* ***** WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 2020 - VOL. CCLXXV NO. 40 WSJ.com ***** \$4.00
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What's News

Business & Finance

- **HSBC** said it would shed 35,000 jobs and cut business lines and customer relationships across the U.S. and Europe. **A1**
- **Franklin Resources** agreed to buy rival asset manager Legg Mason for \$4.5 billion, a tie-up of two big players in a changing industry. **B1**
- **Walmart** posted sluggish holiday sales despite continued online gains, adding to a string of disappointments from traditional retailers. **B1**
- **PG&E** reported a \$3.0 billion fourth-quarter loss as it continued to settle investigations and claims related to California wildfires. **B1**
- **Big food-delivery firms** in the U.S. are seeking to shore up their finances through mergers or public listings, industry executives say. **B1**
- **The Dow fell** 0.5% in the wake of Apple's revenue warning, while the S&P 500 slipped 0.3%. The Nasdaq edged up 1.37 points. **B3**
- **DuPont** is bringing back Brown as CEO, replacing Doyle at the company's helm after less than a year. **B3**
- **Boeing** said it had found debris in the fuel tanks of undelivered 737 MAX jetliners, the latest setback on quality-control efforts. **B5**
- **Nike's Donahoe** is shuffling the firm's leadership ranks, a shake-up that will result in the departure of two longtime executives. **B2**
- **Angry Nissan** shareholders questioned whether CEO Ichida had a plan to reverse the Japanese car maker's widening losses. **B3**

World-Wide

- **Trump** issued a flurry of clemency orders, pardoning Milken, the financier who served time for securities-law violations, and commuting the sentence of former Illinois Gov. Blagojevich, who was convicted of trying to sell a U.S. Senate seat. **A1**
- **The president**, in a series of tweets, denounced efforts promoted by some in his administration to halt the export of controlled technologies, including jet engines and semiconductors, to China. **A1**
- **The world's severing** of many links to China due to the coronavirus epidemic is undermining core Beijing ambitions for the country. **A1, A7**
- **The State Department** said that the U.S. operations of five Chinese news organizations would be considered foreign missions. **A2**
- **Sanders** has taken sole possession of the lead in the Democratic primary race, a new Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll found. **A4**
- **Bloomberg** will sell the financial data and media firm he co-founded if elected president, his campaign said. **A4**
- **The Boy Scouts'** filing for bankruptcy protection halts hundreds of lawsuits over accusations of childhood sexual abuse going back decades. **A3**
- **Chad** won a second term as Afghanistan's president, a result announced as the U.S. attempts to reach a peace deal with the Taliban. **A10**
- **The administration** is planning to waive some federal contracting laws to accelerate border-wall construction. **A6**

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OFF THE HOOK: Clockwise from top left, ex-Illinois Gov. Rod Blagojevich, shown in 2011; financier Michael Milken, 1989; ex-San Francisco 49ers owner Edward J. DeBartolo Jr., 2013; and ex-New York City Police Commissioner Bernard Kerik, 2009.



HSBC to Cut Staff By 15%, Focus On Asia

Shift away from the U.S., Europe comes as bank plans to shed \$100 billion in assets

By SIMON CLARK AND MARGOT PATRICK

LONDON—HSBC Holdings PLC said it would shed 35,000 jobs and cut business lines and customer relationships across the U.S. and Europe, the latest phase in a decade-long retreat from global ambitions to focus on its Asian heartland.

The planned overhaul of the U.K.-based bank, one of the world's largest by assets, marks a significant step in a reorganization that started in the wake of the global financial crisis. Founded in Hong Kong in 1865, HSBC operates in 64 countries and territories but makes half of its revenue in Asia.

HSBC said the scaling back will help free up \$100 billion in risk-weighted assets to reinvest into the faster-growing Asia and Middle East regions. About 15% of its jobs as of the end of last year will be cut, the company said.

The move comes as European economic growth continues to be anemic, and political challenges destabilize HSBC's two main markets, the U.K. and Hong Kong. Banks in Europe have been hobbled by low and negative interest rates and regulatory challenges, particularly challenging.

"It is a really big warning signal from HSBC," said Peter Garmy, head of equity strategy at Saxo Bank.

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President Pardons Milken, Grants Blagojevich Clemency

By BYRON TAO AND CATHARINE LUCY

WASHINGTON—President Trump issued a flurry of clemency orders on Tuesday, pardoning financier Michael Milken, who spent nearly two years in prison for securities-law violations, and commuting the 14-year sentence of ex-Illinois Gov. Rod Blagojevich, who was convicted of trying to sell a U.S. Senate seat.

Mr. Trump also issued full pardons for former New York City Police Commissioner Bernard Kerik, and former San Francisco 49ers owner Edward J. DeBartolo Jr. Mr. Trump has now issued a total of 35 pardons or sentence commutations since 2017, far more than his two immediate predecessors in the first three years of their administrations.

While speaking at Joint Base Andrews on Tuesday, he portrayed the election-year clemency actions as an effort to address what he views as miscarriages of justice. Mr. Trump also said he has relied heavily on recommendations

from friends and associates of those seeking clemency.

"I really rely on the recommendations of people that know them," Mr. Trump said.

The unexpected pardons drew Democratic and some Republican criticism. Sen. Bernie Sanders (I, Vt.), a Democratic presidential candidate, tweeted: "Today, Trump granted clemency to tax cheats, Wall Street crooks, billionaires, and corrupt government officials. Meanwhile thousands of poor and working-class kids sit in jail for nonviolent drug convictions."

Mr. Milken's prosecution in the late 1980s defined an era of financial excess. Among those pursuing Mr. Milken on criminal charges in those years was Mr. Trump's current personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani, who at the time was the top federal prosecutor for the Southern District of New York. Mr. Giuliani said Tuesday that he supported the pardoning of Mr. Milken.

Mr. Milken, known as the "junk bond king," served 22 months in prison in 1991 for securities-law violations.

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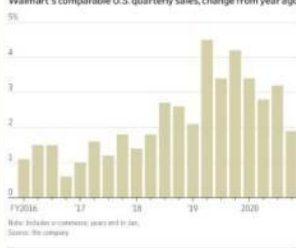
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Mr. Milken, known as the "junk bond king," served 22 months in prison in 1991 for securities-law violations.

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Holiday Sales Drag on Walmart

Walmart struggled to get shoppers to spend in its stores this holiday season. Its U.S. comparable sales rose 1.9% in the fiscal fourth quarter, compared with 4.2% a year ago. **B1**



Walmart's comparable U.S. quarterly sales, change from year ago. Source: the company

The World Closes Its Doors To China: 'I Feel So Isolated'

Travel bans thwart ambitions to be the center of commerce and culture

By JAMES T. AMESZ

SHANGHAI—To celebrate Christmas one year, Jing Sun trokked to the North Pole to see reindeer. For another holiday, the Shenzhen native flew to Marrakesh, and she recently in Cleveland for work. Los Angeles, New York and Barcelona were on her spring itinerary, while her maiden Australia voyage was penciled in.

Suddenly, the 29-year-old is grounded in Beijing.

Fearing the contagious coronavirus, the world has severed many links to China. More

Epidemic Escalates

- ◆ Ship quarantine faulted as infections rise **A7**
- ◆ Clinical trials lack qualified patients **A7**
- ◆ U.S. exposes businesses' dependency on China... **A7**

than 30 airlines have suspended China service, while a 78-nation matrix of rules and quarantines from the U.S. to Singapore have all but barred Chinese travelers from foreign soil. As of Tuesday, the virus has sickened more than 75,000 people and killed 1,853, according to the World Health Organization.

Watching the drawbridges go up is a jolt to China's masses of travelers, including families on holiday, students studying abroad, globe-trotting lawyers, financiers and art dealers, such as Ms. Sun. Their lives are in limbo.

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Dow Hits 40000—On License Plates

Market bulls project rosy future on their bumpers

By AMETH RAMSUDAR

A 10,000-point rise for the Dow Jones Industrial Average isn't what it used to be.

Just ask Richard Flasek, the former stockbroker at Merrill Lynch, who gave new vanity license plates in Ohio every time the index doubles.

He got his first Dow plate, "DJ 5000," in 1990, when the index traded at about 2500. He upgraded to "DJ 9000" in 1995 when it hit 5000 and he wasn't able to get the plate for 10,000. "DJ 20000" followed, and when the index finally cleared that mark in January 2017, he secured "DJ 40000."

Even though the Dow is

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Trump Deals a Blow To Tech-Sale Hawks

By TED MANN

WASHINGTON—A push by Trump administration hardliners to stem the flow of high-tech exports to China—even if doing so means limiting the market access of major U.S. companies—hit a hurdle Tuesday, President Trump himself.

In a series of tweets, Mr. Trump denounced efforts promoted by some within the White House and Commerce Department to halt the export of controlled technologies—including jet engines and semiconductors—to China, out of concern the products could be pirated and used to undermine U.S. commercial advantage in those sectors.

"We don't want to make it impossible to do business with us," Mr. Trump tweeted. "That will only mean that orders will go to someplace else."

The tweets followed a Wall Street Journal report over the weekend that officials within the administration were pushing to halt shipments of jet engines co-produced by General Electric Co. to China. The engines were designed for the Comac 919, a new commercial airliner that China hopes will grow to rival offerings from Boeing Co. and Airbus SE.

Officials are also considering changes to what is known as the foreign direct product rule, aimed at limiting the use of U.S. technology in military and national-security functions. The changes would require semiconductor manufacturers to obtain export licenses to use U.S. equipment when producing chips for Huawei Technologies Co. of China, people familiar with the discussions said.

The proposals have triggered a vigorous debate within the Commerce Department and the White House, which had originally planned to address the matter during a cabinet

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What's News

Business & Finance

- GE is looking to provide more jet engines to Airbus as it contends with reduced business from the grounding and production halt of Boeing's 737 MAX. **A1**
- L Brands is near a deal to sell control of Victoria's Secret to private-equity firm Symcor Partners. **B1**
- UBS chief Sergio Ermotti is stepping down and will be succeeded by ING boss Ralph Hamers. **B1**
- Fed officials signaled growing optimism last month but were on watch for disruptions from the coronavirus, meeting minutes show. **A2**
- Two hedge funds are reducing their bets to the embattled Sackler family, owners of Purdue Pharma. **B6**
- A judge lambasted PG&E for falling behind on efforts to trim trees near power lines to reduce fire risks. **B1**
- U.S. tech firms will soon need to meet new requirements in the EU regarding artificial intelligence and data sharing with smaller rivals. **B4**
- The Nasdaq and S&P 500 rose to records, gaining 0.9% and 0.5%, respectively. The Dow added 0.4%. **B11**
- The art estate of Don Maroon, the deceased farmer PaineWebber chairman, will be sold privately by three New York galleries. **B1**
- French authorities are deepening their investigation of spending during Ghosn's tenure as Renault's chief. **B2**
- The pace at which people are abandoning traditional pay-TV packages accelerated by more than 70% in 2019. **B3**

World-Wide

- Bloomberg faced a barrage of attacks as he joined Democrats for the first time in a fiery presidential debate that saw every candidate on stage launching shots at one another. **A1, A4**
- China revoked the press credentials of three Wall Street Journal reporters, saying the move was punishment for a recent opinion piece published by the Journal. **A1**
- China has poured resources into Hubei province to battle the coronavirus, but people with other conditions are struggling to get urgent medical attention. **A7**
- Mexican law-enforcement officers are investigating former President Peña Nieto as part of a high-profile corruption case. **A9**
- Trump named Richard Grenell, the current U.S. ambassador to Germany, as his next acting director of national intelligence. **A6**
- The president said John Rood, the Pentagon's undersecretary of defense for policy, is leaving his post. **A6**
- Aging and fragmented technology has left the Navy unable to fully defend itself from persistent cyberattacks, spurring an upgrade effort. **A6**
- Nine people were killed in shootings in central Germany, and the suspect was later found dead. Police didn't provide any information on possible motives. **A5**
- The U.K. government will curb the number of low-skilled migrants allowed into the country as part of an immigration-policy overhaul. **A8**

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From left, former New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg, Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren, Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders and former Vice President Joe Biden. Former South Bend, Ind., Mayor Pete Buttigieg and Minnesota Sen. Amy Klobuchar also were in the debate.

Bloomberg, in Debate, Draws Fire From Democratic Rivals

Former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg faced a barrage of attacks as he joined Democrats for the first time in a fiery presidential debate that saw every candidate on stage launching shots at one another.

Within minutes of the start of the ninth debate of this election cycle, held in Las Vegas just three days before Nevada's caucuses, Mr. Bloomberg began facing criticism from nearly a half-dozen rivals for his record on criminal justice. The other

candidates also brought up his prior comments about women in an effort to cast the New York billionaire as no different than President Trump.

"It's like to talk about who we're running against—a billionaire who calls women fat-breasts and horse-faced lesbians, and no, I'm not talking about Donald Trump, I'm talking about Mayor Bloomberg," Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren said. "Democrats are not going to win if we have a nominee who has a history of hiding his tax returns, of harassing women, and of supporting racist policies like red-lining and stop-and-frisk."

The attacks on Mr. Bloomberg came as the billionaire, who launched his candidacy in November and has run a torrent of advertising, has gained traction in national polls. Having bypassed all the

By Sabrina Siddiqui, Tarrin Parri and Elise Collins

GE Seeks Lift From Airbus as Boeing Struggles

With 737 MAX halted, talks pursue a deal on wide-body engines for European plane maker

General Electric Co. is looking to provide more jet engines to European plane maker Airbus SE, as it contends with reduced business from the extended grounding and production halt of Boeing Co.'s 737 MAX aircraft.

GE is in talks with Airbus to design and sell an engine variant for Airbus's latest wide-body, called the A330neo, according to people familiar with the matter. The discussions follow Boeing's decision to cut back production of that plane's rival, the 787 Dreamliner, the people said.

Larry Culp, GE's chief executive, cautioned investors on Wednesday that the manufacturing giant would burn through about \$2 billion in cash flow in the first quarter, in part because of the MAX's grounding. A General Electric joint venture with Safran SA of France makes the engines used on the jetliner.

Mr. Culp, speaking at a Barclays PLC investor conference, said there will be pressure on GE's ability to generate cash in the first half of the year, but he expects GE to generate

Estate Shuns the Auction Block



A \$450 million art collection, including the Picasso above, will be sold by three galleries instead of going to auction. **B1**

Mozzarella Here Might Be Swiss Cheese

Running a restaurant high in the Alps is hard enough. Lucio Trucco also has to figure out which country he's serving spaghetti in. Melted glaciers are changing the shape of Alpine crests, and with them, international borders.

When Mr. Trucco's restaurant and lodge, the Rifugio Guide del Cervino, opened in 1984, the rocky promontory on which it sits was indisputably in Italy. But in the past 15 years, the surrounding glacial ridge that defines the national boundary has moved decisively

The Drug Lobby Loses Potency With Lawmakers

A rift between the GOP and pharmaceutical allies is shaking up policy

WASHINGTON—The drug industry doesn't pack the lobbying punch it once did, and one sign is something rare in the capital today—a dose of bipartisanship.

Sen. Chuck Grassley (R., Iowa) joined Sen. Ron Wyden (D., Ore.) to write a bill last July to regulate prescription drug prices, an idea the industry has bottled up since the 1980s.

Sen. John Cornyn (R., Texas) with Sen. Richard Blumenthal (D., Conn.) sponsored a bill in May to block drug companies from using patent laws to delay lower-priced drugs.

President Trump and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D., Calif.) each has criticized the drug lobby and championed proposals to lower costs, though they disagree on approaches. Mr. Trump backs a plan to peg some U.S. drug prices to their costs abroad, a change PriceWaterhouseCoopers LLP's health-research institute estimates could

China Expels Three Journal Reporters

China revoked the press credentials of three Wall Street Journal reporters based in Beijing, the first time the Chinese government has expelled multiple journalists simultaneously from one international news organization since the country began re-engaging with the world in the post-Mao era.

China's Foreign Ministry said the move Wednesday was punishment for a recent opinion piece published by the Journal.

Deputy Bureau Chief Josh Chin and reporter Chao Deng, both U.S. nationals, as well as reporter Philip Wen, an Australian national, were ordered to leave the country within five days, said Jonathan Cheng, the Journal's China bureau chief.

The expulsions by China's Foreign Ministry followed widespread public anger at the headline on the opinion piece, which appeared online Feb. 3 and referred to China as "the real sick man of Asia." The ministry and state-media outlets had repeatedly called attention to the headline in statements and posts on social media and had threatened unspecified consequences.

"Regrettably, what the WSJ has done so far is nothing but purging and dodging its responsibility," Foreign Ministry spokesman Geng Shuang said at a daily news briefing Wednesday. "The Chinese people do not welcome those media that speak racially discriminatory language and maliciously slander and attack China."

The three journalists work for the Journal's news operation. The Journal has a strict separation between its news and opinion staffs.

William Lewis, the Journal's publisher and chief executive of its parent company, Dow Jones, said he was disappointed by the decision to expel the journalists and asked the Foreign Ministry

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What's News

Business & Finance

Morgan Stanley is buying discount broker E*Trade in a \$13 billion deal that will reshape the investment bank and its future to manage money for regular people. **A1**

- **Wexner's decision to part ways with Victoria's Secret is an admission that the L Brands chief couldn't revive the lingerie brand. **A1****
- **Sprint and T-Mobile have agreed on new terms for their merger, as the firms race to close the deal after overcoming a court challenge. **B1****
- **Ultimate Software and Kronos are merging in a deal that will create a big new player in workplace-software products. **B1****
- **Apple now accounts for about 14% of the market capitalization of Buffett's Berkshire, more than any other single stock in its portfolio. **B1****
- **ByteDance is looking to capitalize on the success of its TikTok video app by launching new apps and expanding into other businesses. **B1****
- **New Mexico sued Google, alleging that the search giant knowingly spies on students and their families through its Google Education platform. **B4****
- **U.S. stocks declined, with the Dow and S&P 500 both losing 0.4% and the Nasdaq retreating 0.7%. **B11****
- **The founders of hedge-fund firm Bessemer Investment Group are splitting up after 12 years together. **B6****
- **Goldman and JPMorgan agreed to back a new low-cost stock exchange that aims to challenge the NYSE and Nasdaq. **B10****

World-Wide

- **Roger Stone was sentenced to three years and four months in prison, after a tumultuous two weeks in which Trump denounced the handling of the case and the government trial lawyers withdrew. **A1****
- **The president lashed out at the acting director of national intelligence earlier this month after learning that an official had briefed a House panel about Russia's apparent preference for Trump in the 2020 election. **A4****
- **A global terror-finance watchdog agency is set to blacklist Iran, broadening an effort by the U.S. to isolate Tehran financially. **A1****
- **Iran's leadership is pushing for a high turnout in parliamentary elections. **A6****
- **The killing of nine people by a gunman in Germany added fuel to a tense debate over the rise of far-right extremism in that country. **A6****
- **Japanese officials defended their handling of cruise-ship virus victims after the first two passenger deaths were reported. **A7****
- **The U.S. and Britain joined Georgia in blaming Russia for a large-scale cyberattack on the Caucasus country in October. **A6****
- **The Trump administration plans to allow 45,000 additional seasonal guest workers to return to the U.S. this summer. **A3****
- **The DHS says it can't disclose a report that identifies officials responsible for mishandling a doctor who abused Native American boys. **A2****

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Morgan Stanley to Buy E*Trade

Bank pays \$13 billion for the e-broker, doubling down on wealth management

By **LIZ HOFFMAN**

Morgan Stanley is buying E*Trade Financial Corp. in a \$13 billion deal that will reshape the storied investment bank and firmly stake its future on managing money for regular people.

The all-stock takeover, announced Thursday, will combine a Wall Street firm in the late innings of a decade-long turnaround with a discount

broker built on the backs of dot-com day traders. It is the biggest takeover by a giant U.S. bank since the 2008 crisis.

E*Trade brings five million retail customers, \$360 billion in assets and an online bank with cheap deposits that Morgan Stanley can funnel into loans. Its CEO, Michael Pizzi, is coming along to run the e-brokerage business, which will keep its brand, its handful of retail storefronts and its buzzy and well-funded ad campaigns.

Morgan Stanley Chief Executive James Gorman said, "The deal will dilute Morgan Stanley's existing shareholders, who sent the shares down

4.6% on Thursday. Critics question the strategy behind buying a brokerage where customers aren't willing to pay commissions on trades. E*Trade shares closed up almost 22%.

E*Trade's future has been uncertain since November, when its two main competitors, Charles Schwab Corp. and TD Ameritrade Holding Corp., announced their own merger. Weeks earlier, Schwab had cut the trading fees it charges customers to zero. The move sent E*Trade shares



Stone Gets More Than Three Years

By **ALEXA VIVAKATHA AND EYON TAI**

WASHINGTON—President Trump's longtime confidant Roger Stone was sentenced to three years and four months in prison on Thursday for lying to Congress and witness tampering, after a tumultuous two weeks in which Mr. Trump denounced the handling of the case and the government trial lawyers withdrew.



Roger Stone leaves after his sentencing hearing at the Federal District Court in Washington.

At a 2½-hour hearing in a filled-to-capacity courtroom, U.S. District Judge Amy Berman Jackson repeatedly criticized Mr. Stone, saying that he had shown "flagrant disrespect" for Congress and the court, and dismissed claims that he was being prosecuted for his politics.

"The problem is that nothing about this case was a joke. It wasn't funny. It wasn't a stunt and it wasn't a prank," Judge Jackson said.

Hours after the sentencing, Mr. Trump criticized Mr. Stone's conviction as unfair and repeated his call for the exoneration of his former political adviser, who has asked for a new trial based on the alleged bias of a juror in his case. "I want the process to play out," Mr. Trump said in comments in Las Vegas.

While Mr. Trump suggested he wouldn't immediately intervene in Mr. Stone's case, he left the door open to exercising his presidential power to pardon or commute Mr. Stone's sentence.

Please turn to page A2

Retail Icon Casts Off Victoria's Secret

By **KHADEEJA SADHAN**

For more than five decades, Les Wexner brought fashion to the masses through mall stores across America, but the 82-year-old billionaire's decision to part ways with Victoria's Secret is an admission that he couldn't revive the troubled lingerie brand he had built on shopping centers and sex appeal.

L Brands Inc., Mr. Wexner's company, agreed on Thursday to sell a controlling stake in the apparel chain to private-equity firm Sycamore Partners for \$525 million, and he agreed to step down as chairman and chief executive. The Wall Street Journal had first reported on the move.

The deal leaves the shrinking Victoria's Secret business as a separate private company with a \$1.1 billion valuation. That is a fraction of the \$34 billion value investors give Lululemon Athletica Inc., a fast-growing apparel brand with half the annual sales.

In an internal memo to L Brands staff, Mr. Wexner shared news of the deal and his departure. "I think about the endless possibilities ahead for this company. And I've thought about where I fit in the picture," he wrote in the email. "I have decided that now is the

Please turn to page A8

A Million Syrians Flee Assad's March

Desperate throngs are trapped between the military's advance and Turkey's walled-off border

By **RAJAN ABDULRAHIM**

Amro Akouh and his family fled their home in northwestern Syria with no time to pack a bag and no ride to escape the machine-gun fire and falling bombs. Mr. Akouh carried only a son and daughter, one in each arm.

The family walked along darkened streets to the outskirts of Atrab and hid in an olive grove, waiting for a friend to ferry them away from the barrage. "It took about 40 minutes," Mr. Akouh said of their escape on foot, "but it felt like a year."

The Akouh family and nearly a million others have been on the run, trying to escape Syria's monthlong military assault on the country's last rebel stronghold. The offensive aims to defeat the remnants of armed opposition to the regime of President Bashar al-Assad. So far, it has yielded the largest displacement of people in Syria's 9-year civil war.

Families in northwestern Syria are trapped between the advancing Syrian military—backed by Russian airstrikes and pro-Iranian militias—and Turkey. The border is closed to refugees, secured by walls, trenches and guards

who have shot people trying to cross without permission.

The military advance, which has forced the flight of some 900,000 people, is shaping up to be "the biggest humanitarian horror story of the 21st century," said Mark Lowcock, the United Nations emergency relief coordinator.

Mr. Assad's vow to retake every inch of Syria is now focused on Idlib, a province the size of Delaware, and surrounding rebel-held areas—a stretch of northwestern Syria where the remaining opposition forces are concentrated.

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Inside the U.S. Quarantine: A Hankering for Home Comforts

As worry recedes among evacuees, boredom sets in; hot sauce, slippers

David Huang couldn't be more grateful to be back in the United States, after landing a seat on an evacuation flight out of Wuhan, China, during the coronavirus lockdown.

But the 30-year-old postal worker from Seattle wasn't expecting the two-week quarantine that followed to be an all-cold-free zone. "I have to drink red wine every day, at least one glass a day," he said. Red wine was one item U.S. government officials hadn't stocked up on for Mr. Huang's

By **Stephanie Yang in San Diego and Shan Li in Fairfield, Calif.**

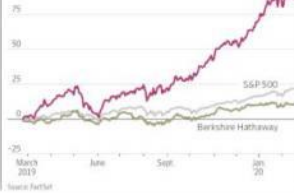
federally mandated sojourn at Travis Air Force Base, about 50 miles northeast of San Francisco. He befriended a worker at the site, who slipped him four miniature bottles of vodka hidden in latex gloves. He savored it over four nights.

The U.S. has quarantined hundreds of Americans return-

Please turn to page A9

Buffett Bets Big on Apple

Berkshire Hathaway Inc. has amassed a \$78.5 billion stake in Apple Inc., but the Omaha, Neb., conglomerate's stock has still been outperformed by the S&P 500. **B1**



Iran Faces Blacklisting In New Hit To Economy

A global terror-finance watchdog agency is set to blacklist Iran, broadening a U.S. effort to isolate Tehran financially and potentially straining the already sanctions-battered Iranian economy.

By **Benoit Faucon in London and Ian Tulley in Washington**

Iran's blacklisting by the Paris-based Financial Action Task Force is expected to take place Friday and comes after European governments decided to join the U.S., according to American and allied officials.

The task force's decision will place financial transactions with Iran under additional scrutiny and escalate the pressure on the dwindling number of banks and businesses still dealing with the Islamic Republic to cut their ties.

The blacklisting marks a step forward in the U.S. campaign to use sanctions to compel the Iranian government to end its support for terrorist groups and eliminate its nuclear weapons program. Most Western banks have already severed links with Tehran in response to the U.S. sanctions.

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Iran to hold parliamentary elections amid tensions... **A6**



How to Change Anyone's Mind REVIEW

WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND

The Shame of Hair Loss Is Receding OFF DUTY



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What's News

World-Wide

The globalized economy, one that is far more integrated than in the early 2000s when the SARS virus broke out, is complicating the task of responding to the coronavirus. **A1, A6, A7**

• The U.S. and the Afghan Taliban are preparing to sign a historic peace deal next week if the two sides succeed in reducing violence in Afghanistan over the next seven days. **A7**

• U.S. officials have informed Sanders that Russia is actively trying to support his campaign as part of Moscow's broader effort to interfere in the 2020 election. **A4**

• Bloomberg said he would release from nondisclosure agreements three women who made allegations against him in lawsuits over the past three decades. **A4**

• Biden has lost a substantial part of his black-voter support and is now running about even with Sanders, a new WSJ/NBC News poll found. **A4**

• Trump said that he is considering four candidates to be his permanent director of national intelligence, after removing acting chief Maguire. **A3**

• The Weinstein jury will resume deliberations Monday after suggesting that it had deadlocked on two charges against him. **A2**

Business & Finance

• Wells Fargo will pay \$3 billion to settle investigations by the Justice Department and SEC into the bank's long-running fake accounts scandal. **A1**

• Google is resisting demands to surrender emails, text messages and other documents sought by state investigators probing possible anticompetitive practices. **A1**

• Stocks fell as investors fled to traditionally safer assets. The S&P 500, Dow and Nasdaq lost 1.1%, 0.8% and 1.8%, respectively. **B1**

• Boeing has found debris inside the fuel tanks of about two-thirds of undelivered 737 MAX aircraft inspected so far. **B3**

• Securities regulators are investigating whether Altria adequately disclosed to shareholders the risks when it took a 35% stake in Juno. **B2**

• eBay is taking steps toward a potential sale of its classified-ads business, which could be worth roughly \$10 billion. **B3**

• Fox has expressed interest in acquiring Tubb, while Comcast's NBCUniversal is in advanced talks to acquire Vidua from Walmart. **B3**

• The SEC rejected a plan from Cboe to introduce a "speed bump," or split-second trading delay, to one of its exchanges. **B3**

NOONAN

The Best Democratic Debate in Years **A13**

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India Gears Up for Festivities to Mark Visit by Trump



PREPARATIONS MOUNT: Indian troops take part in a rehearsal ahead of President Trump's first visit to India next week, which will aim to highlight his ties with Prime Minister Narendra Modi rather than tensions over economic issues. **A8**

Wells Fargo Settles U.S. Probes

Bank will pay \$3 billion to resolve government investigations into its fake-account scandal

By Ben Elan

Wells Fargo & Co. will pay \$3 billion to settle investigations by the Justice Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission into its long-running fake accounts scandal, closing the door on a major portion of the legal problems that for years have beset one of the country's largest banks.

The deal resolves civil and criminal investigations. It includes a so-called deferred prosecution agreement, in which the Justice Department reserves the right to pursue criminal charges. The bank has to satisfy the government's requirements, including its continued cooperation with further investigations, over the next three years.

Friday's settlement is a victory for Charles Scharf, an outsider who took over as chief executive in October and was tasked with fixing the crisis that has claimed two CEOs. "The conduct at the core of today's settlements—and the past culture that gave rise to it—are reprehensible and wholly inconsistent with the values on which Wells Fargo was built," Mr. Scharf said in a statement. "We are committing all necessary resources to ensure that nothing like this

• Sanders is warned of Russian bid to aid his campaign. **A4**
• Bloomberg to release women from NDAs. **A4**
Please turn to page A10

Money Woes Vex Democrats

Cash is tight for some presidential candidates heading into the Nevada caucuses

By Julia Brzozowska and Chad Day

Four of the top six Democratic presidential campaigns are at a major disadvantage on the airwaves heading into next month's Super Tuesday contests, a sign the race could be shaken up as it moves beyond Saturday's Nevada caucuses.

Billionaire Michael Bloomberg is already spending

about \$160 million on TV and radio ads across the 14 states that weigh in on March 3, while Sen. Bernie Sanders also has a major paid-media presence in those states, with \$11 million in ads.

But neither Joe Biden nor Pete Buttigieg had invested in a single Super Tuesday commercial as of Friday night, according to ad tracker Kantar CMAG, while Sens. Amy Klobuchar and Elizabeth Warren combined have put less than \$2 million into Super Tuesday ads.

Federal Election Commission reports filed late this week, which cover finance ac-

tivity in the month of January, help explain the absence of paid media for much of the 2020 Democratic field. As February began, Mr. Biden, Mr. Buttigieg, Ms. Klobuchar and Ms. Warren each had less than half as much in the bank as Mr. Sanders did, having spent heavily ahead of the Feb. 3 Iowa caucuses and Feb. 11 New Hampshire primary.

None had a war chest close to the \$460 million Mr. Bloomberg, a former New York City mayor, had put into his campaign by the end of last month.

After a rough-and-tumble Las Vegas debate Wednesday

night that saw the five other top candidates largely take aim at Mr. Bloomberg, Nevadans gathered for caucus on Saturday at a crucial time in the largely unsettled race.

Mr. Sanders, of Vermont, has a double-digit lead in national polling, with no one yet to emerge as a decisive front-runner among the more centrist candidates. Mr. Bloomberg isn't on the ballot in Nevada, having opted to

• Sanders is warned of Russian bid to aid his campaign. **A4**
• Bloomberg to release women from NDAs. **A4**
Please turn to page A10

A Singapore Conference Spreads Coronavirus Globally

Virus hunters scurry to Malaysia, South Korea, the Alps, a British pub

Last month, 100 people gathered in a Singapore hotel for an international sales conference held by a U.S.-based company that makes products to analyze gas.

When the attendees flew home, some unwittingly took the coronavirus with them. The virus had a 10-day head start on health authorities who, after belatedly learning a 40-year-old Malaysian participant was infected, began a desperate effort to track the infection through countries including South Korea, England and France. Health investigators have found at least 20 people in six Asian and European countries who were sickened, some who attended the conference and others who came in contact with participants.

By Niharika Mambhani and Felix Salmon in Singapore and Eun-Young Jeong in Seoul

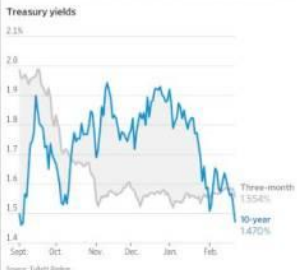
A globalized economy, one that's far more integrated than in the early 2000s when the SARS virus broke out, is complicating the task of responding to epidemics.

After this one conference alone, 94 participants left Singapore, authorities determined. Some joined Lunar New Year dinners. Others went on vacation, one to an Alpine ski town. They had eaten, taken car rides and shared a roof with others who then boarded more planes to places the virus hadn't yet reached. Health officials used international communications channels to share names of the participants.

• More coverage on pages A6, A7 and B3

Wary Investors Seek Safety

The yield on the 10-year Treasury note traded below the three-month yield this week amid worries over global growth



EXCHANGE



LIFE IN EXILE Carlos Ghosn plots his counterattack from Lebanon. **B1**

The Robot in Aisle Five Isn't Stalking You—No, Really

Automatons are patrolling supermarkets looking for spills, dodging spooked humans

By Kate King

Andy Callahan and his fellow engineers spent years building a robot that could roam grocery-store aisles counting soup cans and scanning for spills while dodging shopping carts. They named it Marty.

When a worker at a Giant supermarket in Harrisburg, Pa., stuck goosy eyes on one of the robots, the engineers rolled their eyes. "We built this sophisticated piece of hardware," says Mr. Callahan,

a system architect for Badger Technologies of Nicholasville, Ky. "It just seems like it cheapens the whole thing."

Then he noticed children waving and running up to Marty, which resembles a 6-foot-3-inch-tall upside-down hammer with blue flashing lights. He realized the humanizing touch addressed a need engineers hadn't fully anticipated: helping skeptical shoppers feel comfortable with an automaton.

The goosy eyes helped give

Google Resists State Demands in Ad Probe

By Josh D. McKeown

WASHINGTON—Google is resisting efforts to surrender emails, text messages and other documents sought by state investigators, probing possible anticompetitive practices, according to records and interviews.

Google, a unit of Alphabet Inc., also hasn't agreed to a waiver that would give the coalition of state attorneys general access to documents obtained by the Justice Department for its own probe, according to a person familiar with the situation.

Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton, who is leading the in-

vestigation by 48 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and Guam, said the company's actions suggest it is withholding information that could be damaging.

"Every indication right now is they don't believe that they're clean because they don't act in any way like they are," Mr. Paxton said.

A Google spokeswoman said the company has cooperated with the probe and that such discussions over access to information are common during investigations. She also raised concerns that the Texas-led investigation has been driven by outside business consul-

• More coverage on pages A6, A7 and B3

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DOW JONES | *Market Cap* | ***** | TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2020 - VOL. CCLXXV NO. 45 | WSJ.com | ***** \$4.00
 DAX 27960.80 | 10Y1.61 3.6% | NASDAQ 3221.28 | 3.7% | STOXX 600 411.86 | 3.8% | 10-YR. TREAS. | 28/32, yield 1.377% | OIL \$51.43 | \$1.95 | GOLD \$1,672.40 | \$27.80 | EURO \$1.0856 | YEN 110.72

What's News

Business & Finance

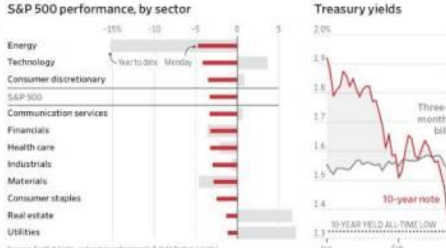
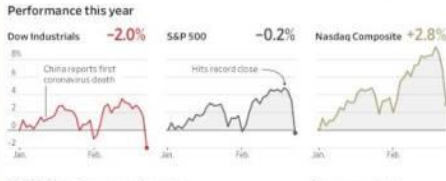
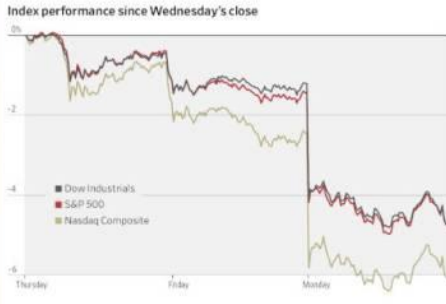
- Investors around the globe retreated from stocks and piled into haven assets like government bonds and gold, reflecting escalating worries that the coronavirus will disrupt the global economy. Major U.S. stock indexes all fell by more than 3%. **A1, B1, B11**
- Juul Labs** plans to present to federal regulators a new version of its vaporizer designed to unlock only for users who are at least 21 years old. **B1**
- HP** pledged to buy \$15 billion of stock, with at least \$8 billion of that in the first year, to tackle a hostile takeover bid from Xerox. **B1**
- Mallencrodt** is finalizing an at least \$1.6 billion opioid settlement proposal that would place its U.S. generic business into bankruptcy. **B2**
- Boeing** nominated two new outside directors with safety and engineering experience amid scrutiny of the board's oversight of the 737 MAX crisis. **B2**
- General Electric** last year shed roughly 78,000 employees, or more than a quarter of its workforce. **B3**
- Activist hedge-fund firm Third Point** called on British insurer Prudential PLC to separate its U.S. and Asian operations. **B6**
- Revolut** was valued at \$5.5 billion after the U.K.-based digital banking and payments startup raised new funding from venture capitalists. **B4**
- SoftBank's Vision Fund** has led a \$165 million investment in Karus, a startup that uses genomics and AI to speed testing for diseases. **B2**

World-Wide

- The WHO** said it isn't yet clear whether the coronavirus can be stopped from spreading further globally, as growing outbreaks in Italy, South Korea and Iran heightened concerns. **A1, A6, A7**
- Harvey Weinstein** was found guilty of sex crimes involving two women but was acquitted of the most severe charges he faced. The producer is scheduled to be sentenced on March 11. **A1, A2**
- The Supreme Court** will consider whether the Constitution allows a Catholic organization to reject same-sex couples as foster parents in a city-funded program. **A1**
- Facebook** in recent weeks investigated suspicious content supporting Sanders's presidential campaign. **A4**
- Mahathir** resigned as Malaysia's prime minister and the cabinet was dissolved, plunging the country into political chaos. **A16**
- The U.S.** said it is considering retaliating against China for that country's expulsion of three Wall Street Journal reporters. **A16**
- Trump** kicked off two days in India with a campaign-style rally in Prime Minister Modi's home state. **A16**
- Roughly 30 people** were injured when a car crashed into a carnival procession in a small town in Germany. **A16**
- NBA** great Kobe Bryant and his daughter Gianna were mourned at a public memorial in Los Angeles. **A3**
- DieD: Katherine Johnson**, 101, NASA mathematician. **A2**

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Virus Fears Bruise World Stocks



Investors seek safety in gold, Treasuries, as the epidemic worsens in China and beyond

Investors around the world retreated from stocks and piled into haven assets including government bonds and gold, reflecting escalating worries that the coronavirus will disrupt the global economy.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average dropped more than 1,000 points—its biggest point decline in more than two years—the yield on the benchmark 10-year Treasury note approached a record low, and gold prices climbed for the eighth straight session to a seven-year high.

Shares of travel, health insurers and high-flying technology stocks were among the hardest hit. American Airlines Group dropped 8.5%, UnitedHealth Group slumped 7.8% and Facebook fell 4.5%. Apple Inc. and Microsoft Corp. dropped by more than 3%. And popular momentum stock Tesla Inc. declined more than 7%.

U.S. stocks had been relatively resilient in the wake of the epidemic, but a surge of cases outside China that was reported over the weekend rattled investors, prompting concerns about new pockets of infection in Italy, Iran and South Korea. Global health officials said on Monday that the number of cases world-wide has surpassed 70,000. More than 2,000 have been confirmed outside of China.

The epidemic, which has curtailed Chinese manufacturing, exports and consumption

Disease's Spread Alarms Officials

The World Health Organization said Monday it isn't yet clear whether the coronavirus can be stopped from spreading further globally, as growing

outbreaks in Italy, South Korea and Iran heightened concerns. Italy reported a seventh death from the virus, with authorities imposing quarantines and other restrictions in the country's economic heartland to fight what is now the world's third-largest national outbreak, after those in China and Korea.

The 229 cases in Italy show how even the most proactive countries are at risk. Italy declared a state of emergency on Jan. 31 and banned all flights to and from China—the only Euro-

Widening Impact

- Haven assets get a lift; oil prices sink... **B1, B11**
- Drugmakers press ahead with vaccine efforts... **A6**
- For Italy, a new blow to the economy... **A7**

Justices To Hear Religious Rights Case

By JESS BRANTZ AND BRENT KENDALL

WASHINGTON—The Supreme Court will consider whether the Constitution allows a Catholic organization to reject same-sex couples as foster parents in a city-funded program.

Facebook in recent weeks investigated suspicious content supporting Sanders's presidential campaign.

Mahathir resigned as Malaysia's prime minister and the cabinet was dissolved, plunging the country into political chaos.

The U.S. said it is considering retaliating against China for that country's expulsion of three Wall Street Journal reporters.

Trump kicked off two days in India with a campaign-style rally in Prime Minister Modi's home state.

Roughly 30 people were injured when a car crashed into a carnival procession in a small town in Germany.

NBA great Kobe Bryant and his daughter Gianna were mourned at a public memorial in Los Angeles.

DieD: Katherine Johnson, 101, NASA mathematician.

Jury Convicts Weinstein in Mixed Verdict

By DEANNA PAUL

Harvey Weinstein was found guilty of sex crimes involving two women but acquitted of the most severe charges he faced, a mixed verdict that nevertheless means the Hollywood producer faces the prospect of a lengthy prison term and delivers a victory to the #MeToo movement.

The verdict on Monday completed a fall from grace for Mr. Weinstein, whose Oscar-winning movie empire crumbled after sexual-misconduct allegations emerged from several women, including famous actresses.

After nearly 20 hours of deliberation following a six-week trial in New York City, the jury found Mr. Weinstein guilty of first-degree criminal sexual act and third-degree rape, and

acquitted him of first-degree rape and predatory sexual assault. He faces between five and 25 years in prison on the criminal sexual-act charge and up to four years for third-degree rape.

New York State Supreme Court Justice James Burke ordered Mr. Weinstein, 57 years old, jailed until he is sentenced on March 11.

After the verdict was read, Mr. Weinstein's defense counsel recounted, the producer said, "I'm innocent, I'm innocent, I'm innocent. How could this happen in America?"

Authorities booked him at the city's Rikers Island jail facility, where he was to be housed in the infirmary. The wrists of the once-powerful producer were handcuffed before he hobbled out of the courtroom, leaning on



Several women accused the producer of misconduct.

ter, said his attorney, without disclosing the reason.

The trial marked the first serious legal test for the allegations that ignited the #MeToo movement in 2017. It presented jurors with difficult issues involving the nature of sexual consent, the fallibility of memory over several decades and how rape victims interact with abusers after alleged sexual misconduct.

In convicting Mr. Weinstein of third-degree rape, the jury found that Mr. Weinstein had sex with aspiring actress Jessica Mann against her will in 2013 but that he didn't use the physical force or threats of immediate harm.

Verdict could have far-reaching consequences, experts say.

Where's My Cup? Offices Find It's Not Easy Going Green

Companies embrace sustainability initiatives, but execution can be bumpy

By TI PING CHEN

"It wasn't a dignified move, but Philippa Dunaj felt she had no choice."

A strategist at an ad agency owned by Deloitte, Ms. Dunaj, 31, had just sat through a nearly two-hour meeting while visiting the firm's London headquarters. Another one was beginning shortly, and she was feeling parched.

Too bad. Deloitte had recently undertaken a sustainability campaign and removed all disposable items from office kitchens, including cups.

She checked the cupboards for glasses. No luck. Desperate, she stuck her head directly under the sink tap and gulped, water dribbling down her chin.

"I was so thirsty," she says. She was especially in need of refreshment, she says, because she'd been walking laps around the office for a while in search of the correct meeting room.

Around the globe, more offices are going green, jettisoning disposable dishware, installing motion-activated lights and rethinking trash practices to curb waste. Such changes are popular, surveys show, and employees are more drawn to companies with sustainable business practices and that they support the efforts. But the rollouts aren't always smooth, leaving workers irked and cupless—and occasionally, bedeviled by insects or sitting in the

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DIA 25766.64 ▼ 139.95 4.4% NASDAQ 9566.48 ▼ 4.6% STOXX 600 389.45 ▼ 3.7% 10-YR. TREAS. a 4/32, yield 1.296% OIL \$47.09 ▼ \$1.64 GOLD \$1,840.00 ▼ \$0.40 EURO \$1.1007 YEN 109.59

What's News

Business & Finance

The stock-market rout deepened, with major indexes world-wide again posting sharp declines. The Dow and S&P 500 both slid 4.4%, while the Nasdaq lost 4.6%, all slipping into correction territory. The yield on the 10-year U.S. Treasury hit a record low. AI, BI, B11

The coronavirus outbreak is disrupting supply chains and affecting production and sales across a range of industries. B10

The FCC is seeking big fines from top U.S. cellphone carriers after officials found the firms failed to safeguard information about customers' real-time locations. AI

DoorDash said it filed confidential paperwork for an IPO, setting up the food-delivery firm to go public as soon as late spring. A1

Bayer said it would strengthen external oversight of its due diligence in deal making and agreed to a new review of its risk evaluation in the Monsanto acquisition. B6

ThyssenKrupp is selling its elevator business to a consortium led by global buyout firms Advent and Cinven for \$18.9 billion. B6

Many miners' deaths in developing countries aren't counted as industry fatalities, distorting the sector's safety record. B1

WPP's shares plunged after the ad giant said sales would be flat for 2020, adding to pressure on CEO Read. B1

Cisco has started a new round of job cuts as the company faces the prospect of slowing sales growth. B5

World-Wide

Countries that never expected to have to combat the coronavirus are realizing they likely can't keep it out in today's connected world. The disease caused by the virus has claimed more than 2,500 lives. AI, A6-A9

Some federal employees were sent to work at California coronavirus-quarantine locations without adequate safety protocols and returned home on commercial flights, a whistleblower alleges. A6

At least 29 Turkish soldiers were killed in northwestern Syria, officials said, plunging Turkey deeper into the war there. A16

Trump signaled his support for a measure that would prohibit the U.S. government from turning to a secretive surveillance court to obtain wiretaps on Americans. A4

Bloomberg's presidential campaign sought Yang's backing and floated the possibility of his becoming Bloomberg's running mate. A5

A Sanders proposal would sharply curb the tax benefits of executives' retirement plans and require earlier taxation of stock options. A4

The Justice Department is proposing to dramatically increase the cost of appealing deportation orders. A3

The U.K. and the EU laid out clashing approaches to their post-Brexit relationship, setting the stage for months of tense negotiations. A16

The U.S. and Switzerland formally launched a humanitarian trade channel for Iran. A8

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Virus Sinks Stocks Into Correction



By KAREN LAMLEY, CATHY OSTROFF AND CHONG KIM PING

The February market rout deepened Thursday, as major stock indexes around the globe posted another round of significant declines and uncertainty over the impact of the coronavirus began shading into fear. All three major U.S. indexes slipped into correction territory—a drop of at least 10% from a recent peak—and posted their biggest one-day point drops ever. The Dow industrials tumbled 1,045.05 points, or 4.4%, to 25,766.64, bringing its slide this week to more than 3,200 points. The S&P also declined 4.4%, while the tech-heavy

Nasdaq Composite lost 4.6%. The S&P 500 and Nasdaq matched their largest one-day percentage declines since August 2011 and the S&P, now down 12% from its Feb. 19 peak, entered a correction from an all-time high at a record speed, only six trading days. Selling was broad based, with some energy and technology companies showing especially large declines. Shares that until last week were market highfliers posted double-digit percent losses, with Tesla Inc. sliding 12% and Virgin Galactic Ltd. shedding 24%. Traders described an atmosphere of apprehension, with many fixating on 4.4%, while the tech-heavy

Mild Symptoms Fuel Fast Epidemic

By BETSY MCKAY AND MARGHERITA STANGATI

The novel coronavirus has quickly hopped across a food market in China around the world, to small towns in northern Italy and a major pilgrimage site in Iran. It spread through a megachurch in South Korea and sickened hundreds on a cruise ship docked in Japan. Countries that never expected to have to combat the new infectious disease are realizing they likely can't keep it out in today's connected world. Popping up in disparate places, sometimes with no clear epidemiological links to the original outbreak in China, the virus is now all but impossible to stop, public-health officials and infectious-disease experts say. Italy's outbreak started

Global Risks

- Whistleblower alleges coronavirus bypasses... A6
- Mask supplies drop amid global hoarding... A7
- South Korea overtakes China in new infections... A8

with a delayed diagnosis of a man who wasn't suspected of having the virus because he hadn't been to China or in contact with anyone with symptoms. New cases reported in one day outside China exceeded the number of new daily cases in China for the first time, the World Health Organization said Wednesday. The same day, the U.S. identified a patient in California who could be the first to be diagnosed in the country without a clear explanation. Please turn to page A8

FCC Finds Cell Carriers Failed to Guard Data

By DEW FEZGERALD AND SARAH KRINKE

The Federal Communications Commission is seeking hundreds of millions of dollars in fines from the country's top cellphone carriers after officials found the companies failed to safeguard information about customers' real-time locations, according to people familiar with the matter. The telecommunications regulator in recent weeks informed AT&T Inc., Sprint Corp., T-Mobile US Inc. and Verizon Communications Inc. of pending notices of apparent liability, the people said. Such notices aren't final, and the companies can still argue they aren't liable or should pay less. It would ultimately fall on the U.S. Justice Department to collect any penalties.

The proposed fines, which could total more than \$200 million, are expected to be announced on Friday, one of the people said. Last month, FCC Chairman Ajit Pai notified members of Congress that an agency investigation had concluded that "one or more" carriers had apparently violated federal law by disclosing real-time location data. The FCC moved after some of the carriers had continued sharing their subscribers' coordinates even after they told members of Congress they were cutting off the middlemen companies from using

their data feeds. Verizon has said it stopped sharing cellular location data in 2018. AT&T and T-Mobile said in early 2019 that they were cutting off some location data sharing. The top U.S. wireless providers agreed to curb their data sharing after independent reporting found data aggregators were missing feeds that provided subscribers' real-time locations. Upon request, the carriers would pinpoint specific subscribers and share

the result with middlemen companies, which then shared the information with hundreds of other businesses. Some privacy advocates criticized the FCC action as overreach. "Consumers have no choice but to share highly private information with a provider about everywhere they go" to obtain cellular service, said Laura Moy, associate director at the Center on Privacy & Please turn to page A4

DoorDash Files Confidentially For a Public Listing

By CORBIN DRIBBACH AND PREETNA RAMA

Food-delivery provider DoorDash Inc. has filed for an initial public offering, firing the starting gun on what could be one of the year's marquee listings. The money-losing San Francisco startup said Thursday that it has confidentially filed paperwork for an IPO with the Securities and Exchange Commission. SEC rules allow companies to keep their listing documents private for a period of time leading up to a new offering. The move sets up DoorDash to go public as soon as late spring, in what would be one of the most-watched IPOs of the year. It would provide a signal of the health of the new-issue market after a year when a number of closely watched debuts stumbled.

Though plunging stocks right now make markets inhospitable for IPOs—with major stock indexes in the U.S. down roughly 10% from recent highs on fears of the economic impact from the coronavirus epidemic—DoorDash

Ex-Baltimore Mayor Sentenced



Former Baltimore Mayor Catherine Pugh was sentenced to three years in prison for illegally profiting from a scheme to sell her self-publishing children's books. A3

INSIDE

JASON GAY Joe Burrow, NFL's likely No. 1 pick, and his 'tiny' hands measure up. A12

MANSION Disturbances loom in Hawaii's pricey paradise, the Kohala coast. M1

You Can't Parallel Park? No Worries States drop test for driving skill that confounds many

Aspiring driver Justus Kelly has tried parallel parking a few times in his Uncle Bob's old Cadillac. "All very nerve-racking," the 18-year-old Las Vegas resident said. "I got a little bit too anxious and feel like I'm going to hit the car in front of me. Like, oops." The high-school student can relax. Nevada recently cut parallel parking from its driving exam. Last month, the state joined more than a dozen others that have dropped the classic test of hand-eye-foot coordination and a rite of passage for wannabe teenage drivers everywhere. Now, if you can back out of a space in a parking lot, that's good enough. Steven King, a 37-year-old cook in Las Vegas, said people can't drive well as it is. "So why do we need to make it easier?" he said. Tracy Turner, of Reno, is sorry to see the skill being lost. She said she considers parallel parking "one of my Please turn to page A5



WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND



DOW JONES *Market Cap* SATURDAY/SUNDAY, FEB. 29 - MARCH 1, 2020 - VOL. CCLXXV NO. 49 WSJ.com ★★★★★ \$5.00

What's News

World-Wide

The spread of coronavirus world-wide has intensified efforts to prepare for a U.S. outbreak, with hospitals straining to increase capacity to handle an influx of contagious patients, and local governments considering closures as a precaution. **A1, A7-A9**

The U.S. and the Taliban were set to sign a deal on Saturday that will chart a path for all American troops to leave Afghanistan. **A10**

Trump said he intends to nominate Rep. John Ratcliffe as his director of national intelligence, reviving a selection that floundered last year. **A3**

A U.S. appeals court ruled the Trump administration must halt its remain-in-Mexico policy for migrants seeking asylum. **A3**

Democratic presidential hopefuls made their final pitches ahead of South Carolina's primary. **A4, A5**

A federal appeals court ruled it wasn't the judiciary's place to decide whether McGahn must testify in a congressional probe of Trump. **A4**

A House panel said it wants to talk to over a dozen federal prosecutors, including those involved in the Stone case. **A4**

Swarms of locusts have swept across more than 10 nations on two continents and put millions of Africans at risk of starvation. **A10**

Business & Finance

U.S. stocks extended a punishing selloff, dragged to their worst week since the financial crisis by mounting investor uneasiness about the fallout from the coronavirus epidemic. **A1**

The Fed's Powell signaled that the central bank was prepared to cut rates to cushion the economy. **A8**

Plans to mandate simulator training for pilots before the 737 MAX can return to service could be further complicated by past strains between Boeing and the FAA. **B1**

FCC enforcers told the country's top cellphone carriers to pay more than \$200 million in penalties for allegedly mishandling sensitive location data. **B1**

Wayfair is trying to show it can moderate its losses as revenue growth slows and investor appetite for unprofitable companies dries up. **B1**

China's Huawei has approached high-profile figures in Washington to try to turn around negative perceptions of the company. **B3**

Hartley-Davidson CEO Levatich resigned, leaving the motorcycle maker after years of declining sales. **B3**

Coty said that CEO Laurence will leave the company and be succeeded by Jimmy Choo chief Denis. **B3**

NOONAN

Trump Isn't Easing Coronavirus Forebodings **A15**

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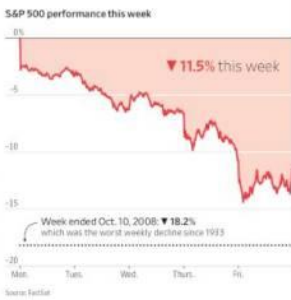
People seeking protection against coronavirus lined up to purchase masks in Seoul on Friday. South Korea is the hardest-hit country outside China.

Virus Deepens Selloff, Tests System

Stocks suffer worst week since 2008 even after late-Friday rally; Fed projects calm

By GUYAN BAMELI

U.S. stocks extended a punishing selloff, dragged to their worst week since the financial crisis by mounting investor uneasiness about the economic fallout from the coronavirus epidemic. Friday's session was marked by wild swings that sent the Dow Jones Industrial Average down more than 1000 points before it rallied over 600 points in the final minutes of trading to close down 1.4%. The Nasdaq Composite fell as much as 3.2% before bouncing higher to narrowly close in positive territory—the first time the index has fallen by that much and notched a gain for the day since November 2008, according to Dow Jones Market Data. Some of the most dramatic moves happened after the Federal Reserve's unexpected attempt to calm markets at the very tail end of a volatile week.



During the afternoon, Fed Chairman Jerome Powell signaled that the central bank was prepared to cut interest rates to protect the economy from the widening global slowdown. Stocks initially rallied losses after the announcement, dropped again, then climbed rapidly

into the close. Still, the weekly losses were broad. The Dow industrials fell 12.4% this week, a drop of more than 2500 points, capping their worst month since 2009. All 11 of the S&P 500's sectors have fallen into negative territory. *Please turn to page A8*

Health providers get set for a supply pinch while schools, local officials weigh closures

By MELANIE EVANS

The spread of coronavirus world-wide has intensified efforts to prepare for a U.S. outbreak, with hospitals straining to increase capacity to handle an influx of contagious patients, and local governments considering closures as a precaution. A large-scale U.S. coronavirus outbreak would strain a health-care system already facing a global disruption in medical supplies, with an anticipated shortage in rooms that could safely isolate patients, infectious-disease experts said. "You can't just invent medical equipment and more beds overnight," said Michael Osterholm, director of the University of Minnesota's Center for Infectious Disease Research and Policy. "This could escalate here in a matter of weeks." He said medical-supply manufacturers should cut off retail sales and narrow their customer base to health-care providers. Hospitals began to restrict the use of protective equipment early in the year as the new coronavirus in the U.S. with no clear idea of how the patient was exposed. On Friday, health officials in California and Oregon reported the nation's second and third coronavirus cases with no travel history to China or known exposure to carriers, adding to concerns among officials that the virus is spreading in U.S. communities.

Anxiety Grows

- Risk to supply of many medicines emerges... **A7**
- Europe's health systems come under strain... **A8**
- Exchange: A \$3.6 billion wake-up call... **B1, B4-B5**

Online Furniture Retailer Stumbles

By SARAH NASSAUER AND CHARITY L. SCOTT

In nearly two decades, online home-goods seller Wayfair Inc. grew quickly by burning through profits. Now the e-commerce company is trying to show investors it can moderate its losses as revenue growth slows and investor appetite for unprofitable companies dries up. On Friday, Wayfair said it lost \$330 million in the quarter ended Dec. 31, more than twice as much as it lost a year earlier. Quarterly sales rose 26% from a year before, but operating expenses jumped 44%. The company's annual net loss nearly doubled to \$985 million. Wayfair isn't like furniture chains such as West Elm or IKEA, which stock stores and warehouses with curated inventory. It sells sofas and tables much like Amazon.com sells books and toys. It has filled its website with millions of listings and promises free shipping on much of it. To attract those web shoppers, it spends heavily. It keeps minimal inventory and often ships directly from suppliers. That has quickly cre-

Trump vs. Bloomberg: the Back Story

The two billionaires, indulged in years of pretense, now trade insults ahead of Super Tuesday.

By MICHAEL HOWARD SAGEL AND KONRAD PUTZER

Party and politics aren't all that distinguish the billionaire New Yorker in the White House from the one seeking to displace him. President Trump's Fifth Avenue apartment in Manhattan's Trump Tower feels "like you're walking into a casino. Very lavish. A lot of gold," said John Catsimatlis, another billionaire New Yorker. He also has visited Michael Bloomberg's

New York City townhouse. "You walk into Bloomberg's home on 79th Street, it's like Louis XIV's home," he said. "Very conservative." Mr. Trump, 71 years old, and Mr. Bloomberg, 78, lived about 20 blocks apart on Manhattan's East Side and miles apart in sensibility, say dozens of people who know them. Mr. Trump was seen as a celebrity whose marriages and divorces splashed across newsstand tabloids. Mr. Bloomberg was the data-driven businessman who served three

terms as New York's mayor. "Mike's more intellectual, more of a refined billionaire," said Don Peckles, a real-estate developer. "Donald's more of a blue-collar billionaire." Mr. Bloomberg was raised in a working-class family outside of Boston and made his fortune selling data to Wall Street traders. Once established, he circulated easily in Manhattan's philanthropy circles. *Please turn to page A6*

Democrats just in the South... **A4, A5**

Leap-Year Babies Fight a Lonely, Quadrennial Fight for Recognition

Those born on Feb. 29 know they exist, but the computer at the DMV is skeptical

By JIM CARLTON

What Dean Walsmith really wants for his birthday is to have a computer notice him. Mr. Walsmith, who turns 52 and who celebrates his 13th leap-year birthday on Saturday, launched a Change.org petition two years ago to make all computer systems accept February 29 as an option for the end of February, instead of a common step now of the 28th. "It's just annoying," said Mr. Walsmith, of Post Falls, Idaho, whose petition has garnered more than 1,200 signa-

tures. "Hey, it's not our fault we were born on the 29th, dang it." Leap-year babies are fighting back. They're tired of being told the date on their IDs is fake. They're tired of having trouble at the DMV, getting library cards, or missing out on birthday specials that ignore their day. Rameel Dawn founded a group now called the Honor Society of Leap Year Day Babies, for people born on Feb. 29 to share the joys—and indignities—of leapers such as her self must endure. Its member- *Please turn to page A10*

Turkey-Syria Tensions Heat Up



Ankara said it retaliated against Assad regime forces a day after at least 33 Turkish troops were killed in Syria. Mourner attended a funeral for one of the soldiers on Friday. **A11**

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What's News

Business & Finance
Companies are confronting the impact of the fast-spreading coronavirus as it disrupts global travel and hobbles supply chains across industries and continents. A1
Global investors are bracing for another hair-raising ride, after a week of frantic and at times disorderly trading. B1, B6
China's Hainan province effectively took over HNA, making the conglomerate one of the first big corporate victims of the viral crisis. B1
Trump said he is counting on the Fed to shoulder the government's response to economic disruptions caused by the coronavirus. A2
American Express salespeople engaged in questionable tactics in a push for small-business owners' accounts after Costco ended a partnership. A1
AT&T is set to release its Google Assistant-equipped set-top box that streams live TV channels over the internet. B1
Activist hedge-fund firm Elliott has nominated four directors to Twitter's board, according to a person familiar with the matter. B1
Walmart and Verizon are in discussions to test 5G wireless service in the giant retailer's stores. B2
Car makers are accelerating the move to do more business online in China. B4

World-Wide
New cases of the novel coronavirus in Washington, New York, California and Rhode Island raised fears of a wider spread of Covid-19 in the U.S., prompting officials to ramp up testing efforts. A1, A8, A10
Pete Buttigieg ended his run for the Democratic presidential nomination after a poor showing in South Carolina's primary. A4
Joe Biden tried to leverage his victory in South Carolina before Super Tuesday. A4
Maine residents will vote to decide whether to overrule a new law that eliminates nonmedical vaccine exemptions for school children. A7
A decade-long battle over the quasi-independence of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau lands at the Supreme Court this week. A3
Two federal agencies are struggling to finish new rules to roll back auto-emissions regulations. A3
Turkey's air force shot down two Syrian jet fighters as a battle for control of the Syrian rebel enclave in Idlib province continued. A18
Macron moved to pass his pension overhaul without a vote in the French legislature, seeking to evade opposition amendments. A16
Died: Joe Coulombe, 83, Trader Joe's founder. B1

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Sparse crowds turned out to watch the Tokyo Marathon on Sunday after the race was cut back to about 200 elite runners. A8

Virus Cases Grow In U.S.

Spate of cases and first deaths fan fears, intensifying efforts to test for the infection

By Brianna Abbott and Brody Mullins

New cases of the novel coronavirus reported Sunday, including the second death from the virus in the U.S., raised fears of a wider spread of the disease, prompting federal officials to ramp up testing efforts. Health officials are focused on a cluster of confirmed cases in Washington, including the two deaths. Those infections, and several others in Oregon and California—many with no clear path to exposure—signal that there might be wider spread of the virus in some communities, with many cases still undiagnosed. New cases were also reported in New York, Florida and Rhode Island. Vice President Mike Pence, who is overseeing the Trump administration's task force on the virus, promised on Sunday that more testing kits are being produced and distributed so infections can be detected and contained. President Trump and other officials are scheduled to meet on Monday at the White House with executives from the pharmaceutical industry. White House officials are discussing a visit by Mr. Trump to the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention headquarters in Atlanta, an administration official said. Please turn to page A9

Disease Takes Toll on Companies

Virus disrupts global travel, supply chains, as businesses rethink investment and hiring

By Thomas H. Davenport and Russell Adams

Companies have endured financial meltdowns, civil wars and natural disasters. Now they are confronting a different kind of menace: a fast-spreading coronavirus that has abruptly dented supply

and demand across industries and continents. The virus, which has infected more than 85,000 people, has swept through Asia and Europe, disrupted global travel and hobbled supply chains that churn out everything from smartphones to pharmaceuticals. In days, it went from pockets of worry to the top concern of chief executives worldwide. Conferences are getting canceled, including the CER-AWeek energy conference in Houston and Facebook Inc.'s F8 developer gathering in Cal-

Fallout Spreads
Trump renews push for rate cut. A2
Korean church was petri dish for coronavirus. A10
Investors brace for hair-raising ride. B1

ifornia. Disneyland Tokyo is closed. Auto suppliers are warning of parts shortages. Generic-drug manufacturers are paying 50% more for some raw materials. The organizers of CER-

Industries Fret Over Potential Bernie Sanders Presidency

Targets of proposals say he would be limited in implementing them

By Greg Ip

The rapid ascent of Sen. Bernie Sanders in the Democratic primaries—despite a weak showing in Saturday's South Carolina vote—confronts American business with the once unthinkable: The most powerful policy maker in the world could soon be a strident, lifelong critic of capitalism and big business. Current and former business leaders and analysts have greeted the prospect with a mix of concern, skepticism and disbelief. Most doubt the Vermont independent, who calls himself a democratic socialist and caucuses with Demo-

crats, could win against President Trump in November, and if he does, could not or would not implement his boldest ideas. If they are wrong, some see an existential threat. For most businesses, contingency planning boils down to one word: Congress. Health companies assume a Republican-controlled Senate would block Medicare for All, which would ban private insurance. If, along with a Sanders win, the Democrats take both the House and Senate, "There would be a lot of things that would be done," says a pharmaceutical executive. Please turn to page A6

Black voters elusive for Sanders. A6

Buttigieg Ends White House Run



Pete Buttigieg, right, hugged his husband, Chasten Buttigieg, Sunday night as the former mayor of South Bend, Ind., said he is dropping out of the Democratic presidential race. A4

Another Israeli Election? Bring On the Ice Cream

Companies tap into voter frustration; 33% off until a prime minister is picked

By Felicia Schwartz and Dov Lieber

TEL AVIV—Everybody is tired of the never-ending election. Ori Potashnik just wants to throw a party. On Monday, Israel will try to pick a prime minister for the third time in 11 months. Never before has the country cast so many ballots in such a short span of time. "It's a joke," sighed Mr. Potashnik, who owns Xanadu, a wedding hall in the city of Petah Tikva. The election gridlock sparked an inspiration: He began offering 33% per

person discount for his dance floor, strobe lights and speaker system—until Israel picks a prime minister. The promotion includes a free post-wedding party. The offer ends April 1, however. Not because he thinks the country's political paralysis will be sorted out by then but because, said Udi Ben Simhan, the venue's manager, "the deal is too good." Xanadu is among the many businesses, from the makers of ice cream to trash cans to feminine-care products, that are trying to tap into voter frustration. Please turn to page A10

INSIDE



LIFE & ARTS
Adult children show new interest in learning about their parents' lives. A11

BUSINESS & FINANCE
Gourmet grocers are losing their edge as natural foods become mainstream. B1

AmEx Staffers Mised Small-Business Owners

By AnnaMaria Andriotti

The American Express Co. saleswoman had finally convinced Bryan Daughtry to apply for a card. There was just one thing: She had to run a credit check. Mr. Daughtry, who owns a chandelier-cleaning company in Illinois, balked. He was trying to get a mortgage and didn't want the inquiry to dent his credit score. She refused to stop the process, he said, checked his credit, and his application was approved. "That left a bad taste in my mouth," Mr. Daughtry said. Some AmEx salespeople strong-armed business owners to increase card sign-ups, according to more than a dozen current and former AmEx sales, customer-service and compli-

ance employees. The salespeople have misrepresented card rewards and fees, checked credit reports without consent and, in some cases, issued cards that weren't sought, the current and former employees said. An AmEx spokesman said the company found a very small number of cases "inconsistent with our sales policies." "All of those instances were promptly and appropriately addressed with our customers, as necessary, and with our employees, including through disciplinary action," he said. "We have rigorous, multi-layered monitoring and independent risk-management processes in place, which we continuously review and enhance to ensure that all sales customer-service and compli-

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What's News

Business & Finance

- ◆ **The Dow rebounded** 5.1%, lifted by investors' bets that central banks can stabilize markets and avert economic growth from the impact of the coronavirus epidemic. The S&P 500 gained 4.6%, and the Nasdaq added 4.5%. **B1, B9, B10**
- ◆ **ECB chief Lagarde** said the bank was ready to support the economic recovery against the virus's impact. **A8**
- ◆ **Global economic growth** will slow sharply this year as governments attempt to contain the coronavirus epidemic, the OECD said. **A9**
- ◆ **Glaxo will pay \$4.0 billion** to buy biotech firm Forty Seven, which has a promising blood-cancer medicine that could be on the market within two years. **B1**
- ◆ **"Hardball" host Chris Matthews** announced on-air that he was stepping down, bringing forward the anchor's retirement. **B1**
- ◆ **DAZN** is preparing to launch a global version of its sports-streaming service that will be available in more than 200 markets. **B1**
- ◆ **The Recording Academy** said it fired CEO Dugan after placing her on administrative leave amid conflicting allegations of harassment. **B2**
- ◆ **Alphabet's Waymo** has raised \$2.25 billion to fund its driverless-car enterprise. **B3**
- ◆ **Xerox** has launched an effort to acquire all HP shares outstanding, valuing the company at nearly \$35 billion. **B4**
- ◆ **Novartis's Sandoz unit** will pay a \$195 million criminal penalty for fixing prices on generic drugs. **B2**

World-Wide

- ◆ **Washington** emerged as the U.S. center of a spreading coronavirus fight, as state health officials reported four additional deaths there. European governments are divided in their response to the outbreak on the Continent. **A1, A7, A8**
- ◆ **Joe Biden** began consolidating the Democratic Party's moderate wing on the eve of Super Tuesday. **A1**
- ◆ **The Supreme Court** agreed to again decide the fate of the Affordable Care Act, but likely won't do so before the 2020 presidential election. **A3**
- ◆ **State Department officials** announced a personnel cap on four Chinese media outlets, citing Beijing's treatment of foreign journalists. **A2**
- ◆ **A top Senate Republican** said he intends to issue a subpoena as part of his panel's probe into the work that Hunter Biden did for a Ukrainian natural-gas company. **A4**
- ◆ **The White House** has withdrawn the nomination of Elaine McCook, in line to become a deputy defense secretary and comptroller, after she opposed the suspension last year of aid to Ukraine. **A4**
- ◆ **Exit polls** for Israel's third national election in less than a year suggested Netanyahu had a significant lead over challenger Benny Gantz. **A18**
- ◆ **Crews** rashed more personnel to its eastern border to try to hold back migrants after Ankara said it would no longer prevent refugees in Turkey from reaching Europe. **A9**
- ◆ **Died: Jack Welch**, 84, storied former GE chief. **A1**

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Former Vice President Joe Biden won the endorsement of his former primary rival Pete Buttigieg in Dallas on Monday.

Biden Wins Backing of Ex-Rivals, Scrambling Super Tuesday Field

The moderate wing of the Democratic Party swiftly consolidated around Joe Biden ahead of Super Tuesday, as three of the former vice president's competitors, Pete Buttigieg, Amy Klobuchar and Beto O'Rourke, joined forces to endorse him Monday.

The newly scrambled field put Mr. Biden on a collision course with former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg, whose campaign confirmed Monday he will stay in the race. The two rivals are pitching themselves as the candidate most capable of blocking Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders, the Democratic front-runner who continues to lead in polls in



Sen. Bernie Sanders greeted supporters in Salt Lake City on Monday, the day before voters in 14 states go to the polls.

By Tarini Parti in Washington, Ken Thomas in Dallas and Elise Collins in St. Paul, Minn.

delegated-rich states.

The endorsements for Mr. Biden followed his landslide victory in South Carolina on Saturday. Mr. Buttigieg, the former South Bend, Ind., mayor, exited from the race on Sunday and Ms. Klobuchar, a Minnesota senator, dropped out Monday. Both appeared with Mr. Biden.

Please turn to page A4

◆ **Gerard F. Seltz**, Democrat's choice to unite or fight... **A4**

Jack Welch, Brash CEO of GE, Reshaped C-Suite Landscape



Jack Welch, former chairman and CEO of General Electric, shown in 2013, died Sunday.

By THOMAS GATTS

Jack Welch led General Electric Co. through two decades of unparalleled growth and transformation, with a brash style that single-handedly remade the conglomerate and changed the landscape of U.S. corporations. He died Sunday at age 84.

Mr. Welch's success, driven by a hard-nosed strategy to slash less profitable businesses and unproductive employees, made him an international celebrity in the 1980s and drove GE to become the most valuable U.S. company during the 1990s. He groomed a generation of business leaders who went on to run giants such as Boeing Co. and Home Depot Inc.

His retirement in 2001

brought bestselling books and more adoration, but GE's troubles in the decades after his exit—under his handpicked successor, Jeff Immelt—raised questions about Mr. Welch's management methods and whether he pushed the conglomerate too hard.

"Jack was larger than life and the heart of GE for half a century. He reshaped the face of our company and the business world," GE CEO Larry Culp said.

"We'll continue to honor his legacy by doing exactly what Jack would want us to do."

He is survived by his third wife, Suzy, and several adult children. He married Suzy, a former Harvard Business Review editor, in 2004 after a highly public divorce from his

Please turn to page A2

Unexpected 2020 Choice: Chuck D or Flavor Flav

Public Enemy originals carp over politics, money and their resulting split

By NICK STAN

It was pretty clear the 2020 presidential election was going to be divisive. Who would contribute to the splintering of one of the most famous political groups in hip-hop history?

On Sunday, Public Enemy, the pioneering rap group, announced it was parting ways with longtime member Flavor Flav. He and Chuck D, the group's leader, had been quarreling for some time. Politics played a role. So did money. And now we have another topic on which the nation is split.

Flavor Flav's camp said the star didn't want his likeness used to promote Chuck D's performance at a campaign rally for Democratic presidential candidate Sen. Bernie Sanders. Chuck D's defenders say politics has little to do

INSIDE



LIFE & ARTS
Fitness clubs offer workout shortcuts for clients trying to save time. **A11**

WORLD NEWS
Israel election exit polls show Netanyahu with a lead over challenger Gantz. **A18**

Apple Bet on China. Then Coronavirus Hit.

Quarantines, tariffs and slumping sales hurt, but diversifying production isn't easy

By TERRY MCKELLE AND YUKO KIKUCHI

Long before the coronavirus struck, Apple Inc.'s operations team began raising concerns about the technology giant's dependency on China.

Some operations executives suggested as early as 2015 that the company relocate assembly of at least one product to Vietnam. That would allow Apple to begin the multiyear process of training workers and creating a new cluster of component providers outside the

Virus Deaths Reach 6 In U.S.

Washington state feels biggest brunt in nation; stock indexes surge on stimulus hopes

The U.S. death toll from the coronavirus outbreak rose to six as the global count topped 2,000, but investors' hopes that last week's sharp stock slide will prompt central banks to stabilize markets and shield economic growth sent the Dow Jones Industrial Average to its

By Jennifer Gaffan, Jim Carlton and Lucy Craymer

biggest one-day percentage gain in more than a decade.

The blue-chip index of 30 stocks surged 1,295.06 points, or 5.1%, to 26703.32 in its biggest one-day percentage gain since March 2009 and its biggest point advance on record. Other major indexes posted their biggest one-day percentage gains since December 2018.

Monday's moves helped reverse some of the declines suffered last week—the worst for major U.S. indexes since the financial crisis. Investors piled into wagers that the Federal Reserve and other major central banks might lower interest rates, possibly in tandem to boost the firepower of stimulus efforts.

Washington state emerged as the U.S. center of a spreading coronavirus fight. State health officials reported four additional deaths there. European governments are divided in their response to the outbreak on the Continent.

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◆ **Rhode Island school's Italy trip** results in infections. **A7**

◆ **Dow soars** as central banks weigh in. **B1**

◆ **Wine** threatens airlines' profit streak. **B1**

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54%

Industry

35%

Server revenue growth (12 qtr. comparison)

Source: IDC Worldwide Quarterly Server Tracker, Q4 2018. Server shipments and revenue growth as for the twelve quarter period from Q4 2018 through Q3 2019. A minimum of 1 million USD per server vendor for three periods Q4 2018 through Q3 2019.

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DOW JONES | *News Alerts* | WSJ.com | \$4.00
DIA 26121.28 | NYSE 261.86 | NASDAQ 8738.60 | 3.1% | STOXX 600 3807.6 | 1.4% | 10-YR. TREAS. 2/23/22 | 0.924% | OIL 545.90 | 50.88 | GOLD \$1,666.40 | \$25.30 | EURO \$1.1276 | YEN 106.16

What's News

Business & Finance

- U.S. stocks sank and government-bond yields dropped to fresh lows, resuming a stretch of painful market turbulence amid worries about the coronavirus. Major U.S. stock indexes lost more than 3%. **A1**
- Mortgage rates fell to their lowest level on record, pulled down by fears that the spread of the virus could weigh on the U.S. economy. **A1**
- OPEC reached a preliminary agreement to cut crude output by 1 million barrels a day to support oil prices. **B3**
- JPMorgan's Dimon was recovering in a hospital following emergency heart surgery on Thursday. **A1**
- Former UAW President Gary Jones was accused of conspiring with other union officials to embezzle more than \$1 million. **B1**
- Twitter's Dorsey appeared to back off plans for a sojourn in Africa as he tries to fend off a push by activist Elliott to possibly replace him. **B1**
- Greg Lindberg was found guilty on bribery charges after jurors determined he had tried to sway a state insurance commissioner. **B1**
- BP rejected Xerox's \$35 billion bid, again deeming the takeover offer as too low. **B4**
- Amazon is struggling to stamp out price-gouging by third-party sellers of virus-killing cleaning supplies. **B1**
- Two activist investors have taken a stake in Big Lots and are seeking to shake up the firm's board. **B2**

World-Wide

- New coronavirus cases continued to increase in the U.S. and abroad, underscoring the difficulty of containing the pathogen now that infections are spreading within many communities. The U.S. Senate passed a roughly \$8.3 billion emergency spending bill to combat the virus. **A5, A6, A7**
- Elizabeth Warren ended her bid for the Democratic presidential nomination after a weak showing among a number of states. **A4**
- Facebook removed Trump campaign ads that referred to a census, saying they violated a company policy aimed at preventing confusion around the 2020 census. **A3**
- Russia and Turkey agreed to a cease-fire in northwestern Syria after a meeting between Putin and Erdogan. **A8**
- The ICJ ruled its chief prosecutor could probe alleged war crimes in Afghanistan that may have been committed by U.S. and other forces. **A9**
- A federal judge accused Barr of a lack of candor and questioned his credibility in his handling of the release of the Mueller report. **A4**
- Schumer walked back comments about Supreme Court justices "paying the price" for their potential rulings on abortion. **A2**
- The administration said it is making an additional 35,000 seasonal guest-worker visas available this year ahead of the summer season. **A2**

JOURNAL REPORT

Workplace Technology
Office Pet Peeves. **R1-12**

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Refugee Crisis Mounts Amid New Cease-Fire



PRESSURE: Migrants waited in the buffer zone at the Turkey-Greece border on Thursday. Russia and Turkey agreed to a cease-fire in northwestern Syria, where intense fighting has triggered a flood of refugees, many seeking to enter the European Union via Turkey. **A8**

Dimon Has Emergency Heart Surgery

By David Boner and Brent McKay

JPMorgan Chase & Co. Chief Executive James Dimon was recovering in a hospital following emergency heart surgery Thursday.

The procedure to repair an aortic dissection was successful, and Mr. Dimon was alert and "recovering well," the bank said in a memo to employees.

Mr. Dimon, 63 years old, checked himself into a Manhattan hospital early Thursday after experiencing chest pains while getting ready for work, according to a person familiar with the matter. The medical staff made a quick diagnosis, the person said, and Mr. Dimon spent the morning sending emails before the surgery, which lasted several hours.

An aortic dissection is an abnormal separation of tissues in the wall of the aorta, the large blood vessel that carries blood from the heart to the rest of the body. It is a rare but very serious condition that occurs most commonly in men in their 60s and 70s, according to the Mayo Clinic. The inner layer of the aorta suddenly tears. Blood then flows through the opening, causing the inner and middle layers of the aorta to separate.

Its symptoms are similar to those of a heart attack, making it sometimes hard to diagnose. The condition is often fatal, but can be treated if caught early. Actor John Ritter died of an aortic dissection in 2002, when he was in his 50s.

"The good news is that it was caught early," the memo said of Mr. Dimon's illness.

Mr. Dimon was diagnosed with throat cancer in 2014 and made a full recovery.

JPMorgan's co-presidents, Daniel Pinto and Gordon Smith, are leading the bank while Mr. Dimon recuperates, they said in the memo. Mr. Pinto runs JPMorgan's investment bank, and Mr. Smith heads its sprawling consumer

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Boeing, Families Forge Tense Ties In Year After Crash

Victims' kin in Ethiopia want a memorial, so they must work with plane maker, airline

By Alison Sides and Alexandra Weller

GARA BUKAN, Ethiopia—In the remote fields where an Ethiopian Airlines Boeing 737 MAX crashed a year ago, the ground is still littered with shards of metal, bolts and colorful bunches of wires that once kept Flight 302 aloft. A solitary hiking boot protrudes from the ground.

"It's a graveyard," said Nadia Milleron, whose daughter Senso Rose Stumo died there on March 10. Ms. Milleron received her daughter's remains in 122 formaldehyde-soaked bundles with labels like "arm," or "hair." Some relatives didn't even get that much.

The grieving families of the 157 dead want to mark that ground with a permanent memorial and a paved road to reach it. They envision a hospital or school to

benefit local people who helped collect pieces of the wreckage and remains. Many will travel on Boeing Co.'s dime to Addis Ababa to commemorate the first anniversary of the crash next week.

The result is that families are caught in a grim partnership with the two companies that have been the source of their pain.

Nobody involved has a playbook to follow. The families, spread over some three dozen countries, are still reeling from their losses. Ethiopian Airlines has never had to deal with a tragedy of this magnitude, and Boeing has little experience working directly with families of crash victims.

Boeing has been slow to acknowledge the role its design and engineering mistakes played in the Ethiopian disaster and the similar accident off the coast of Indonesia.

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TOMORROW



WSJ MAGAZINE
ASAP ROCKY

Everyone Wanted to Touch the Orb. Then It Was Gone.

Glowing globe was displayed for Trump's visit to Saudi Arabia

By Dion Nissenbaum

RIYADH—President Trump produced one of the most memorable photos of his presidency when he placed his hands on a glowing Orb at the opening of a new center to combat Islamic extremism during a visit to Saudi Arabia nearly three years ago.

A flood of memes, jokes, tweets and photoshopped images followed. Some compared the moment to scenes from "The Lord of the Rings," "Star Wars," "Star Trek" and "The Wizard of Oz." The Church of Satan tweeted to let people know it wasn't a satanic ritual.

To this day, visitors from

Stocks Drop As Virus Fears Stir Volatility

By Gordon Bamber

Painful market turbulence resumed Thursday, pulling major stock indexes down more than 3% and government-bond yields to record lows as fears grew over the spread of the coronavirus in the U.S.

The declines continued what has been a dizzying two weeks on Wall Street as investors tried to gauge how the epidemic will affect global growth and whether governments would be able to combat it. The S&P 500 has risen or fallen at least 2% for four consecutive sessions, the longest such stretch since August 2011—when the European debt crisis rocked markets—according to Dow Jones Market Data.

Many investors expect the stock gyrations to continue as the ramifications of the virus

remain unclear.

The number of canceled conferences and travel has continued to rise as more people have fallen ill, potentially crippling business activity and spending while roiling the outlook for global growth. Investors and analysts have slashed their outlooks for corporate profits, and many have worried the virus will harm consumer sentiment and business investment.

Schools have shut down in the Seattle area. Facebook Inc. closed one of its Seattle offices after a contract worker was diagnosed with the virus and Amazon.

Please turn to page A5

- Epidemic sparks scrutiny of labs handling pathogens... **A6**
- Virus turmoil snarls shipping exports... **B1**
- Market volatility shakes pension funds... **B9**

Mortgage Rates Fall To Lowest Level Ever

By Orla Mc Caffrey and Ben Eisen

Mortgage rates fell to their lowest level on record Thursday, pulled down by fears that the spread of coronavirus could weigh on the U.S. economy.

The average rate on a 30-year fixed-rate mortgage fell to 3.29% from 3.45% last week, mortgage-finance giant Freddie Mac said. Mortgage rates are closely linked to yields on the 10-year Treasury, which this week dropped below 1% for the first time following an emergency Federal Reserve rate cut.

A decline in mortgage rates typically boosts home sales. But a worsening coronavirus epidemic and the efforts to contain it—quarantines, business shutdowns and travel restrictions—could keep would-be

home buyers on the sidelines during what is usually a busy spring selling season.

The greater Seattle area, home to the first major U.S. coronavirus outbreak and one of the country's hottest housing markets, could offer some clues about what is to come, said Tendayi Kapfiza, chief economist at loan-comparison website LendingTree.

"If people don't want to go out and see houses, that's going to put a damper on demand," Mr. Kapfiza said.

If the virus hobbles the U.S. economy as it has China's, workers could lose their paychecks—albeit temporarily—and their ability to make big purchases.

The shutdown of many Chinese factories already has disrupted the supply chain of would-be

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Warren Ends Run for President



Sen. Elizabeth Warren, speaking outside her Cambridge, Mass., home, said she was dropping out of the Democratic presidential race after disappointing primary results. **A4**

around the world come to Riyadh's Center for Combating Global Extremist Ideology in hopes of laying their hands on the glowing Orb.

"Everybody wants to see it," said Ron Berman, vice president of the American Foreign Policy Council think tank, who toured the Saudi center in mid-February. "Everyone wants to touch it."

What people like Mr. Berman and most others didn't know is that the famous Orb isn't at the center. It is locked up, largely forgotten, in storage at the U.S. Embassy in Riyadh.

The story of the Orb's journey from iconic photo to diplomatic obscurity is almost as surreal as its viral international debut. After the summit, the Orb was carted to the U.S. Embassy, where it was kept in a hallway before being quickly spirited away by diplomats who worried it could steal attention from the new American president on his first international trip, according to

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DIA 23851.02 ▼ 2013.76 7.8% NASDAQ 7950.68 ▼ 7.7% S&P 500 339.50 ▼ 7.4% 10-YR. TREAS. ▲ 2 3/32, yield 0.501% OIL \$31.13 ▼ \$10.15 GOLD \$1,674.50 ▲ \$3.70 EURO \$1,140 YEN 102.37

What's News

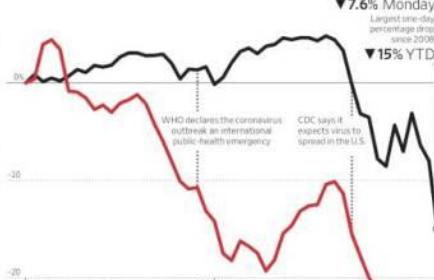
Business & Finance

- ◆ **U.S. stocks careened lower**, with major indexes swinging perilously close to the first bear market in more than a decade as a price war for oil and fallout from the coronavirus frightened investors. The Dow, S&P 500 and Nasdaq all plunged more than 7%. **A1, A7, B1, B11, B12**
- ◆ **A global market rout** could force the Fed to update its 2008 crisis playbook in an effort to prevent a full-blown recession. **A6**
- ◆ **The coronavirus has created the biggest challenge** for the global airline industry since 9/11. **A1**
- ◆ **Twitter and activist hedge-fund firm Elliott** have agreed to a truce that will shake up the social-media company's board but leave CEO Dorsey in place. **A1**
- ◆ **Aon agreed to acquire rival** insurance broker Willis Towers for almost \$30 billion in stock, the biggest global M&A deal so far this year. **B1**
- ◆ **Wells Fargo's Elizabeth Duke** has resigned as chairman, days before a congressional hearing at which she was expected to face calls to step down. **B1**
- ◆ **The UAW has hired a lawyer** to investigate allegations that a member of the union's executive board sexually harassed female staffers under his supervision. **B1**
- ◆ **Starbucks began using a prototype** of a more-sustainable paper cup in some of its cafes in the U.S., Canada and the U.K. **B2**
- ◆ **The PGA Tour is getting a 75% pay bump** for the rights to air its golf tournaments on TV and streaming services. **B3**

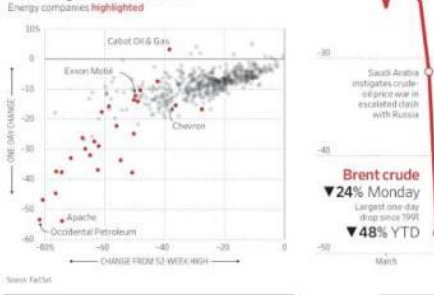
Global Markets Stagger

Dow plunges 7.8%, suffering worst drop since 2008 | Oil prices post biggest slide since Gulf War in 1991 | Yield on 30-year bond falls below 1% for first time

Index and price performance, year to date



Price changes in S&P 500 stocks



U.S. stocks careened lower Monday, with major indexes swinging perilously close to the first bear market in more than a decade as a price war for oil and fallout from the coronavirus frightened investors.

By Paul Vigna, Avantika Chikoti and David Winning

The selling was heavy across markets and geographies, with investors seeking shelter in government bonds, sending Treasury yields to new lows. U.S. stocks fell hard enough at the open to trigger a circuit breaker for the first time in 23 years that kept trading frozen for 15 minutes. The Dow Jones Industrial Average suffered its worst decline since 2008 and at one point came

Stress Tests

- ◆ **Analysis: The markets worst—for now**..... **A6**
- ◆ **Bond yields sink to historic search**..... **B1**
- ◆ **Shale drillers face fight for survival**..... **B3**

As Virus Spreads, Italy Locks Down Country

By Eric Stivers and Giovanni Ligorano

MILAN—Italy placed its entire national territory under quarantine, only two days after it locked down much of the country's north, marking the most dramatic step by any country so far to contain the coronavirus epidemic.

Facing the biggest outbreak of the virus outside China, Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte said all of the quarantine measures imposed in the north of Italy in recent days will apply to the whole country starting Tuesday morning.

That means Italian authorities will allow travel to, from and within Italy only if it is demonstrably necessary for work or health reasons. The nationwide quarantine also means employees are urged to take vacation and stay home, bars and restaurants must close at 6 p.m., and virtually all public gatherings are prohibited.

◆ **WHO says Covid-19 is close to pandemic**..... **A5**
◆ **Trump weighs payroll tax cut, other aid**..... **A6**
◆ **Xi pays visit to front line in Wuhan**..... **A7**

World-Wide

- ◆ **Italy extended its quarantine** measures to the whole country two days after it imposed a lockdown on much of the country's north in response to the coronavirus. Meanwhile, the WHO said the outbreak worldwide is now close to becoming a pandemic. **A1, A5-A8**
- ◆ **White House officials** plan to present Trump with a menu of potential fiscal-policy responses to the spreading virus. **A6**
- ◆ **The epidemic and related uncertainty** is disrupting and undermining the phase one U.S.-China trade agreement signed less than two months ago. **A5**
- ◆ **Sharing personal health data** with apps, doctors and hospitals will get easier under new federal rules that are likely to sharpen a debate over patient privacy. **A2**
- ◆ **Tens of millions of U.S. households** will be asked to fill out 2020 census forms online beginning this week. **A3**
- ◆ **An ex-software engineer** for the CIA was convicted of making false statements and contempt of court stemming from a leak of agency documents published in 2017. **A3**
- ◆ **President Ghani** and his main political rival held dual inaugurations as they both sought to claim rights to lead Afghanistan. **A10**
- ◆ **Fripanig investigators** faulted aircraft design and pilot training in the fatal crash of a Boeing 737 MAX airliner last year. **A10**
- ◆ **Montana Democratic Gov. Bullock** will challenge GOP Sen. Daines for his U.S. Senate seat. **A4**

Sanders Counts on Michigan



Sen. Bernie Sanders, in Detroit on Monday, is making an aggressive push in Michigan in his race against former Vice President Joe Biden for the Democratic nomination. **A4**

Fear of Flying Spawns Fresh Crisis for Airlines

As bookings fall, carriers cut flights, ground planes and trim costs

The coronavirus has suddenly and unexpectedly created the biggest challenge for the global airline industry since 9/11.

Bookings around the world are falling sharply. U.S. carriers are following Asian and European airlines in cutting flights, grounding planes and enacting draconian cost reductions, such as hiring freezes and unpaid leave. Foreign airlines are looking for help from governments, banks and investors. Major airlines are trying to reassure passengers with promises of scrubbed cabins, filtered air and free-flowing hand sanitizer.

"Delta has been preparing for such a scenario," Delta Air Lines Inc. Chief Executive Ed Bastian wrote in an email to customers Sunday that outlined the airline's response, insisting that travel "can't—and shouldn't—

By Alison Sider, Benjamin Katz and Doug Cameron

... simply stop."

The International Air Transport Association, a trade body, estimates the virus could reduce passenger revenue worldwide this year by between \$63 billion and \$113 billion, or as much as 20%. As recently as last month, the trade group was forecasting a bit of less than \$30 billion. The coronavirus has grounded 2,000 aircraft around the world, analysts at Jefferies estimate.

By comparison, the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks cut airline revenues by 7%, or \$23 billion, according to IATA. An eruption of an Icelandic volcano, which severely curtailed trans-Atlantic and European flying for six days in 2010, cost the industry \$1.7 billion in lost revenue.

United Airlines Holdings Inc. last week

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Finance Geeks Earn Love, By Degrees

Business school campuses are hot, not dating sites

By Patrick Thomas

Liza Merolla and her husband, Justin Merolla, are among a growing number of couples who met through one of the world's most expensive dating sites.

They were students at the business school of Columbia University in New York City, where two years of tuition and fees total more than \$200,000. It paid off: The Merollas, ages 34 and 36, graduated in 2015 and are living happily ever after in Brooklyn. On Monday, they had their first child, Avery Merolla.

Roughly half of Americans ages 18 to 28 say they use-

Please turn to page A2

Twitter, Elliott Reach Deal Keeping Dorsey

By Corey Decker

Twitter Inc. and activist hedge fund Elliott Management Corp. agreed to a truce that will shake up the social-media company's board but leave Chief Executive Jack Dorsey in place.

The deal halts what was shaping up as one of the highest-profile clashes between an activist investor to oust a founder of a high-profile tech company.

The agreement calls for Twitter to appoint two new board members to what was an eight-person board, with a promise to search for a new third independent director, the company said.

Twitter also has committed to \$2 billion in share repurchases—or around 8% of the company's stock at Monday's closing price. Twitter shares fell 5% on Monday, according to FactSet, outperforming the broader market.

The buyback is to be funded in part by a \$1 billion investment from technology-focused investment firm Silver Lake, the social-media company said. Twitter also pledged to deliver growth.

The agreement notably doesn't include the removal of Mr. Dorsey, CEO and co-founder of Twitter, a central pillar of Elliott's campaign, which came to light almost two weeks ago and spurred a rally in the stock. Elliott has taken a roughly 4% stake in Twitter, which is valued at about \$25 billion.

Mr. Dorsey splits his time between Twitter and Square Inc., a financial technology company he also co-founded and for which he serves as chief executive.

The dual responsibility has frustrated some investors. Mr.

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◆ **Heard on the Street** Paying up to buy Dorsey time..... **B11**

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54% Industry

35% Server revenue growth (12 qtr. comparison)

Source: IDC Worldwide Quarterly Server Tracker, Q3 2018. Server shipments and revenue growth as for the twelve quarter period from Q4 2018 through Q3 2019. A comparison to the prior 12 qtr. for server revenue for the period Q4 2016 through Q3 2017.

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DIA 7202.62 • NASDAQ 7201.00 • S&P 500 2949.91 • 10-YR. TREAS. 8/32, yield 0.847% OIL \$17.50 • GOLD \$1,589.30 • EURO \$1.105 • YEN 104.14

What's News

Business & Finance

- **U.S. stocks plunged** in their worst day since the 1987 crash, with the Dow falling 10%. The S&P 500 and Nasdaq slid by nearly as much, entering a bear market. **B1**
- **Elon Musk's SpaceX** is seeking to qualify for federal subsidies to provide broadband service to rural areas over the objections of competitors. **A1**
- **UPS** said David Abney is stepping down as CEO and will be succeeded in the role by board member Carol Tomé, the first outsider to run the delivery company. **B1**
- **Hundreds** of small, publicly traded companies will see their audit requirements eased under a rule approved by the SEC. **B3**
- **The ECB's Lagarde** unveiled a modest stimulus package to shield Europe's economy from the fast-spreading coronavirus. **A8**
- **Juul co-founder James Monsees** is stepping down from the board of the e-cigarette maker. **B3**
- **Chip maker Broadcom** pulled its financial projections for the year, citing uncertainty around the coronavirus pandemic. **B4**
- **Tupperware** appointed a new chief executive with a background in direct selling to conduct the kitchenschware supplier's comeback effort. **B3**

World-Wide

- **State and local officials** banned large public gatherings. Broadway theaters went dark and sports leagues suspended competitions in response to the spreading coronavirus. **A1, A4, A6-A8**
- **The Supreme Court** and other federal courts in the nation's capital said they would close to the public indefinitely as a health measure. **A6**
- **Australia** said it would spend \$11.42 billion to try to stave off a recession that would be its first in nearly three decades amid the coronavirus pandemic. **A8**
- **The U.S. began** conducting airstrikes against an Iran-backed militia group in Iraq in retaliation for an attack this week on an Iraqi base. **A16**
- **Trump's** announced travel ban on Europe, beyond surprising European capitals, deepens tensions among trans-Atlantic allies. **A7**
- **The U.S. blacklisted** TTI, a unit of Russian state oil company Rosneft, for allegedly helping Venezuela sell its oil in violation of U.S. sanctions. **A2**
- **The ACLU** is suing federal agencies for records about the use of facial recognition at airports and other ports of entry. **A3**
- **A set of domestic spying** tools appeared likely to expire in three days after the Senate failed to approve legislation that would have renewed them. **A3**
- **Germany's** domestic spy agency said it would put a group within the nationalist AfD party under surveillance as an extremist threat. **A16**

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Virus Batters Economy

Dow posts worst day since 1987 as outbreak's impact deepens

By JOSH MITCHELL
AND JONATHAN ZEEMAN

The U.S. and world economies look increasingly likely to slip into recession as swaths of commerce shut down and the Dow Jones Industrial Average suffered its worst day since 1987 amid the coronavirus pandemic.

The Dow industrials fell nearly 10%, while the S&P 500 and Nasdaq joined it in bear-market territory. For the day, the Dow industrials shed 332.6 points to 21200.62. The

self-off extended to U.S. futures Thursday night and Asian stocks on Friday morning. S&P and Dow futures were each down more than 2%. In early trading, Japan's Nikkei 225 Stock Average was down 9.3%, while South Korea's Kospi was down 7.5%. Hong Kong's Hang Seng Index was down 6.3% and the Shanghai Composite was down 2.4%.

In the U.S. Thursday, airline and cruise company shares led the collapse. United Airlines

Holdings was down 25%, Delta Air Lines dropped 23%, and Spirit Airlines dropped 23%. Royal Caribbean Cruises plummeted 32%.

Across America, the Pandemic Hits Home



In U.S., Threat Upends Daily Life

By JENNIFER CALFAS

The threat of a rapidly spreading new coronavirus took a more disruptive toll on Americans' lives on Thursday, as state and local officials banned large public gatherings, Broadway went dark and sports leagues suspended competition in dizzying succession.

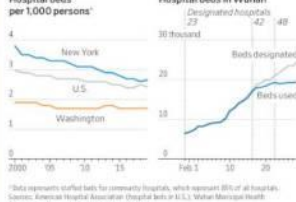


U.S. Hospitals Face Major Challenges

As coronavirus spreads, executives are scrambling to secure beds and places to put patients

Battle of the Beds

Hospital beds are on the decline nationwide, including New York and Washington states. Confronting coronavirus, Wuhan, China made more beds available, expanding the number of hospitals to 48.



By MELANIE EVANS
AND ANNA WILDE MATTHEWS

William Olson, the chief of operations for eight Oregon hospitals, grew worried when he was shown a heat map of coronavirus cases and flu-like symptoms among patients across seven Western states.

The maps captured trends for patients of Providence, which owns 31 hospitals and shared the results early Monday with its hospital executives. Seattle's outbreak, depicted in blue dots, was already ballooning. And now Portland had its own blue specks. If the pattern held, his hospitals were about to be severely tested. "That was the alarm bells going off," he

Landmarks across New York City, where Mayor Bill de Blasio declared a state of emergency, shut down, including Broadway theaters, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Carnegie Hall and the New York Philharmonic. Four Boston-area museums also temporarily closed. And Walt Disney Co. said it would temporarily close Disneyland.

Do We Need So Much Tuna? Stockpiling Splits Couples

Spouses disagree on backup supplies; '10,000 rolls of toilet paper'

By KATHERINE HINDLEY

The novel coronavirus has spread to more than 110 countries, triggering stock-market panic and causing Italy to go into lockdown. For Alexis Krieg and her husband, it has also sparked a disagreement over emergency tortilla chips.

She says her husband joked that they were part of the emergency coronavirus rations; she doesn't actually think he was joking. "He's actively trying not to get it, whereas I'm resigned to the fact that I might get it,"

says Ms. Krieg. "My theory is, who knows? I may already have it." It turns out there's nothing like a pandemic to highlight the personality differences between two people who have chosen to spend the rest of their lives together.

SpaceX Seeks Federal Broadband Subsidies

By RYAN TRACY
AND BRIGH MULLINS

WASHINGTON—Elon Musk's SpaceX is seeking to qualify for federal subsidies to provide broadband service to rural areas over the objections of competitors who say its satellite-based technology is unproven.

The company, formally known as Space Exploration Technologies Corp., has convinced the Federal Communications Commission to propose a policy change that would improve its chances of winning federal funds to expand internet service in far-flung parts of the U.S., records show.



SPECIAL REPORT
Understanding the risks of the coronavirus and how to prepare. **R1-12**

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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What's News

Business & Finance

A rush for cash shook the financial system, forcing investors to sell nearly everything they could. Stocks sank more than 5%, oil was crushed to levels not seen since the months after the 9/11 terrorist attacks and even risk-free government bonds were battered. **A1, B1, B11**

◆ **The Fed said** late Wednesday that it would launch a new lending facility to backstop the money-market mutual-fund sector. **A2**

◆ **The ECB unveiled** a nearly \$819 billion bond-buying program aimed at shielding the eurozone economy amid the pandemic. **A10**

◆ **Employers are cutting** shifts, suspending work and starting to lay off workers as the coronavirus devastates business. **A1**

◆ **Detroit's car makers** have agreed to temporarily shut plants in the U.S., Mexico and Canada in a bid to limit the virus's spread. **B1**

◆ **The administration** is brushing aside calls to put broad import tariffs on hold, despite pleas from the business community. **A2**

◆ **Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac** are suspending foreclosures and evictions of homeowners who are behind on their mortgages. **A6**

◆ **Playboy magazine** will end its print run in the U.S. after nearly seven decades. **B3**

World-Wide

◆ **Senate lawmakers** turned their full attention to the administration's proposal for \$1 trillion in spending to combat the coronavirus outbreak, including aid for airlines and direct payments to U.S. households, after passing a paid-leave bill that Trump later signed into law. **A1**

◆ **The U.S. escalated** its response to the pandemic as confirmed cases of Covid-19 world-wide exceeded 200,000, with more than 8,800 deaths. **A4, A6-A11**

◆ **The White House** considered an order expanding the use of investigational drugs against the coronavirus, but FDA scientists objected. **A6**

◆ **China's recourse** to its vast state sector in response to the coronavirus could mark a retreat from a market-oriented economy. **A9**

◆ **Sanders is assessing** the future of his campaign after a third consecutive string of losses to Biden in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination. **A3**

◆ **A Pakistani court** is weighing the appeal of a man convicted and sentenced to death nearly 18 years ago in the murder of Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl. **A12**

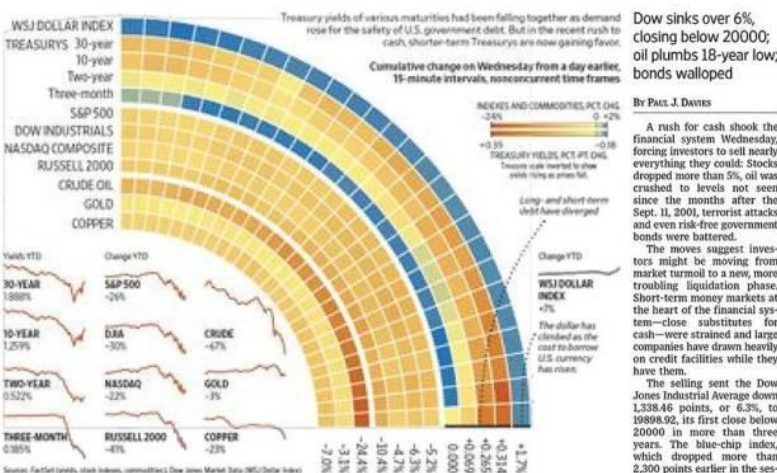
◆ **A 5.7-magnitude** earthquake struck Utah, causing power outages and damaging infrastructure. **A3**

NOTICE TO READERS

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Wild Rush for Cash Rattles Markets



Debate Stirs Over Stimulus Plan

WASHINGTON—Senate lawmakers turned their full attention to the Trump administration's proposal for \$1 trillion in spending to combat the coronavirus outbreak, including aid for airlines and direct payments to U.S. households, after passing a paid-leave bill that President Trump signed into law late Wednesday.

The urgent work in the Senate came as the coronavirus

tolled a grim milestone, with more than 200,000 confirmed cases world-wide—and more than 8,800 deaths—along with growing job losses. Two lawmakers, Reps. Mario Diaz-Balart (R., Fla.) and Ben McAdams (D., Utah), separately said they had tested positive for the illness, the first congressmen to be hit by Covid-19.

The State Department said it is suspending routine visa services in most countries world-wide in response to the outbreak of the new coronavirus, and Mr. Trump outlined plans to close the border with Canada to nonessential traffic. Mr. Trump, who had played

down the dangers of the virus until recently, compared the effort against the virus to fighting a war. "I view it in a sense, a wartime president," he said. "That's what we're fighting. It's a very tough situation."

The Republican president said the White House would be invoking the Defense Production Act, "just in case we need it." That act, first passed

America Needed Tests. The Government Failed.

A series of blunders blinded the U.S. to the outbreak's scale

When cases of the new coronavirus began emerging several weeks ago in California, Washington state and other pockets of the country, U.S. public-health officials worried this might be "The Big One," emails and interviews show. The testing program they rolled out to combat it, though, was a small one. Limited testing has blinded Americans to the scale of the outbreak so far, impeding the nation's ability to fight the virus through isolating the sick and their contacts, public-health officials say. As of Wednesday evening, about 7,800 people in the U.S. had tested positive, data compiled by Johns Hopkins University show, but the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention had reported only about 32,000 tests conducted at its facilities and other public-health labs. The CDC last updated its data on Tuesday, its website shows, leaving out an expected uptick in testing in recent days. Limited testing is also keeping patients like Justin LaBor in the dark, despite recent improvements. Mr. LaBor, 36, said he went to the emergency room at AtlantiCare Regional Medical Center in Pomona, N.J., Monday with a fever and dry cough, symptoms typical in a coronavirus infection. Doctors admitted him to the emergency room, but he was sent home with a prescription for antibiotics. "We're distraught. It's one thing to be on your own soil, but

Wave of Layoffs Socks Workers Nationwide

Employers are cutting shifts, suspending work and starting to lay off workers as the new coronavirus devastates business across the country.

By Micah Maidenberg, Chip Cutter and Rachel Feintzeig

Companies from restaurant operators to wedding caterers have started to let workers go as they ratchet down operations. Many firms have moved cautiously to date, furloughing employees and moving workers to part-time status. But for many companies, economists said, layoffs are likely next. More than 3,600 people, most of them from entertainment and leisure industries, have been laid off in the U.S. due to the pandemic, according to new data released Wednesday from Challenger, Gray & Christmas Inc., an outplacement firm. That count doesn't include job cuts at bars and restaurants in more than the country states and some cities that face restrictions on operations. In Texas, 60 employees working on the now-cancelled South by Southwest festival were laid off, according to a state filing. Ryan Choura, owner of his namesake events and tenting company in the Los Angeles area, said he shifted almost 140 full-time employees to part-time as clients canceled or postponed events, such as the Coachella Valley Music and Arts Festival. Other employees at the company have been laid off. Union Square Hospitality Group—a New York-based company led by Danny Meyer that runs the well-known Union

square in New York City—has been laid off in the U.S. due to the pandemic, according to new data released Wednesday from Challenger, Gray & Christmas Inc., an outplacement firm. That count doesn't include job cuts at bars and restaurants in more than the country states and some cities that face restrictions on operations. In Texas, 60 employees working on the now-cancelled South by Southwest festival were laid off, according to a state filing. Ryan Choura, owner of his namesake events and tenting company in the Los Angeles area, said he shifted almost 140 full-time employees to part-time as clients canceled or postponed events, such as the Coachella Valley Music and Arts Festival. Other employees at the company have been laid off. Union Square Hospitality Group—a New York-based company led by Danny Meyer that runs the well-known Union

No Lucky Charms but Lots of Okra

If you're late to the supermarket, pickings are slim

By Joe Flint and Annie Gasparro

Desperate times call for desperate measures. That's what Edwin Se says he was thinking when he grabbed three cans of cream of mushroom condensed soup and two cans of sardines at a Raleigh supermarket in the Miracle Mile section of Los Angeles on Saturday. The next morning, Mr. Se was back outside Raleigh waiting for it to open, in hopes of finding something he liked better for waiting out a pandemic. The coronavirus and the need to prepare for it are serious.

Lockdowns for Virus Trap Travelers Abroad

another to have this uncertainty," said Ms. de Chabert-Ostland, who is also traveling with her niece, Abigail Bravi, 26. "It's not that we're in danger. But it's that we're not where we need to be, with our families."

As the virus that causes Covid-19 spreads, Americans in Cambodia to Morocco, Chile to Spain have been trapped, caught far from home as governments trying to contain it have sealed borders and prohibited flights from coming and going. U.S. football players are stranded in Honduras, a couple is stuck in the Amazon and a safari-goer from Los Angeles is trying to get out of Africa. Travelers and students from a handful of other countries are also scrambling to get home, after Australia, Indonesia, New Zealand, Norway and the United Arab Emirates this week urged them to return as soon as possible. Singapore also told students overseas to consider making

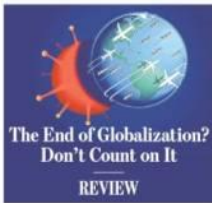
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latest annual market share results,

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What's News

World-Wide

More than 1 in 5 Americans were under orders to limit their outside activity as the coronavirus crisis spurred more emergency measures and continued to all but grind American life and commerce to a halt. **A1**

◆ Negotiations on an economic stimulus package hit snags on how to provide assistance to Americans during the pandemic, as a target to reach a bipartisan agreement by Friday slipped. **A3**

◆ Several members of Congress, their spouses and investment advisers sold stock after lawmakers attended closed-door briefings about the coronavirus threat. **A3**

◆ Italy recorded 627 deaths on Friday, the world's highest death toll in a single day from the coronavirus. **A7**

◆ The U.S. and Mexico agreed to curtail travel across their shared border in response to the pandemic. **A5**

◆ Bloomberg said he would transfer \$16 million from his presidential campaign to the DNC. **A4**

Business & Finance

◆ The global scramble for cash amid the pandemic is putting immense pressure on bond markets, raising concern about how well they are functioning. **A1**

◆ U.S. stocks sank, capping off the worst week for the Dow and S&P 500 since October 2008. Both lost more than 4% on Friday. **B1**

◆ From steelmakers to arts-and-crafts retailers, companies across the U.S. are arguing that their operations are essential. **B3**

◆ An unparalleled number of Americans filed for jobless benefits this week as businesses shut down. **A2**

◆ Airbnb is considering raising capital from new investors as it wrestles with losses in the outbreak. **B3**

◆ U.S. oil industry regulators opened a dialogue with OPEC in talks that could help foster a truce between the world's three largest oil producers. **B10**

◆ Gov. Newsom dropped his opposition to PG&E's bankruptcy plan after concessions from the California utility. **B3**

◆ The Fed expanded a lending operation that will accept municipal debt as collateral amid funding strains. **B11**

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NOONAN

We Need Time To Absorb All This **A15**

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States Batten Down as Cases Rise

New York, California and Illinois governors order limits to activity as they fight pandemic

More than 1 in 5 Americans were under orders to limit their outside activity as the coronavirus crisis spurred more emergency measures and continued to all but grind American life and commerce to a halt.

By Jennifer Calves, Joe Barrett and Jim Carlton

The governor of Illinois late Friday ordered residents to stay at home, joining his counterparts in California and New York. The restrictions come as deaths from the pneumonia-causing pathogen have more than quadrupled over the past week to 249, while confirmed infections in the nation have grown to 19,285 from around 1,700 just a week earlier. The majority of U.S. cases are in three states: New York, Washington and California. "I don't take this action lightly," Illinois Gov. J.B. Pritzker said Friday of his order for residents to remain at home and for all nonessential businesses to close by 5 p.m. Saturday.

Illinois had 585 confirmed cases by Friday afternoon, compared with more than 1,000 in California and more than 7800 in New York, the hardest-hit. There, Gov. Andrew Cuomo on Friday told residents to stay indoors "to the greatest extent" and all nonessential workforce employees to stay home, effective Sunday evening. Mr. Cuomo said measures would be enforced with fines and mandatory closures for businesses that don't comply. California late Thursday had ordered the state's 40 million

Please turn to page A5



Times Square in New York was sparse on visitors Friday as nonessential businesses were ordered to close.

Bond-Market Strain Heightens Risk

The global scramble for cash is putting immense pressure on bond markets, raising concern about whether they are functioning well enough to effectively distribute funds to communities and businesses.

On Friday, the Dow Jones Industrial Average dropped 933.21 points, or 4.55%, to 197,728, putting it down 23% for the year. Selling was broad-based, with declines in

By Gregory Zuckerman, Heather Gillers and Julia Ambra Verlatine

technology shares, financial issues and health-care firms leading the 30-stock index to its fourth weekly decline out of five. U.S. Treasury prices rose Friday, with the yield on the 10-year Treasury note fall-

ing to 0.932%. But many traders say trading this month in Treasury and other debt offers reason for acute concern.

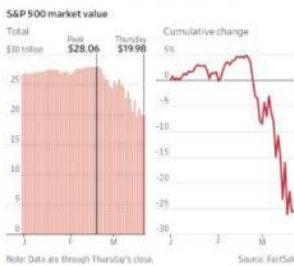
In recent days, long-term Treasury securities have suffered significant price declines alongside large stock-market retreats, an unusual dual downturn that has raised alarm among traders. A stampede into dollars is pushing up the U.S. currency's value overseas,

adding to repayment woes for companies and governments that borrowed in dollars.

In the U.S., corporate issuance has been largely off limits to all but the bluest chips. State and local governments are facing steeper declines in demand for their securities. Force rates much higher in some instances, while the market for Please turn to page A12

How the Bull Run Unraveled

The market's plunge reflects the pace at which coronavirus has upended life, as unruly trading is driving massive daily swings in markets. An in-depth graphics package, A8-9.



Note: Data are through Thursday's close.

Source: FitchIIF

Low-Wage Workers Face Brunt of Coronavirus Crisis

Double hit for service jobs: layoffs, plus high risk of contagion

By Eric Morath and Rachel Fintz

As coronavirus shutdowns halt commerce across the U.S., low-wage workers, many of whom live paycheck to paycheck, are being quickly stung.

The affected jobs, by their nature, often require personal contact, such as running a cash register or cleaning hotel rooms. That substantially raises the risk of infection.

Many such workers also hold positions most vulnerable to quick job cuts and pay cuts, especially in service industries. That includes restaurant workers, hotel maids, dog walkers and child-care providers. In many cases, the cuts are tied to shutdowns and cancellations at sports stadiums, conventions, casinos, music festivals and other gatherings.

The group encompasses many workers who were late beneficiaries of the surge in hiring as the labor market tightened in recent years—including members of minority groups or people with less education and skills—during one of the longest and most lucrative growth phases in U.S. history.

Malls, restaurants and hotels have closed. Already, the number of Americans seeking unemployment benefits—a proxy for layoffs—increased last week by 70,000 from the previous week, with states telling the Labor Department the cause was the pandemic. Economists predict a much bigger surge when numbers are released for this week, with Goldman Sachs Economics Research estimating roughly 2.25 million new claims for jobless benefits.

Please turn to page A10

Should We Say 'I Do' Now or Later?

Couples live-stream weddings, postpone or cancel; 'Dammit, we will get married!'

By Ellen Garberman and Deepa Saravanan

When Jess Kruss and Trent Hancock got married this weekend, their 115 loved ones will gather to watch the ceremony despite the threat of the coronavirus. The couple plan to exchange rings surrounded by rolling meadows dotted with magnolia and hickory trees on a North Carolina farm.

For their part, the guests will respond with their hearts. And their smily faces. And their thumbs up. And any other emojis they deem wor-

thy. Ms. Kruss and Mr. Hancock will exchange vows on Facebook's live stream.

The Covid-19 crisis wasn't on anyone's guest list, but the wedding crusher is coming anyway, forcing couples to re-think their walks down the aisle. Some brides and grooms are searching for workarounds, others are rescheduling, eloping or giving up on elaborate ceremonies altogether.

Governments are trying to contain the spread of the virus by shutting down restaurants, ordering lockdowns and warn-

Please turn to page A2

Musk, Striking a Defiant Tone, Resisted Pressure to Halt Teslas

By Tim Higgins

On Monday, as companies all over the Bay Area rushed to send their workers home, complying with an order to shelter in place, Tesla Inc. Chief Executive Elon Musk had a defiant message for his 56,000 workers.

"I will personally be at work, but that's just me," he said in an email. "Totally ok if you want to stay home for any reason." Tesla's Fremont, Calif., factory kept humming, even as the county sheriff's office the next day said publicly that Tesla should stop production.

Thursday, under pressure from local authorities and some in the public, he relented,

agreeing to temporarily suspend production in Fremont.

The decision followed weeks—and, arguably, a career—of defiance.

A malaria survivor who founded SpaceX, his rocket company with the aim of colonizing Mars because he fears Earth could be doomed, Mr. Musk, 48 years old, has consistently played down the reaction to the coronavirus outbreak as a panic. He has held forth on Twitter with his own sanguine takes on its epidemiology and likely impact.

"My guess is that the panic will cause more harm than the virus, if that hasn't happened

THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

Talks on economic-relief bill focus on cash payments. **A3**
New York City hospitals are already strained. **A5**

U.K. to foot the bill on short of firms' salary bills. **A7**

Communities mobilize to help senior citizens. **A11**
Businesses clamor to be labeled as essential. **B1**

What's News

Business & Finance

- ◆ The Senate approved a \$2 trillion economic stimulus package, moving the rescue bill to the House as Congress seeks to give American families and businesses a financial shield against the impact of the coronavirus pandemic. **A1, A6, A7**
- ◆ U.S. stocks gained after legislative leaders and the Trump administration reached their stimulus deal. The Dow and S&P 500 rose 2.4% and 1.2%, respectively. **B1**
- ◆ The coronavirus has prompted even the largest U.S. companies to cut their spending and bolster their balance sheets. **A1**
- ◆ Occidental ceded to OPEC's demands, announcing deep spending cuts in a bid to survive the steepest crude-price plunge in decades. **B1**
- ◆ The deepening coronavirus crisis is upending Russia's plan to ramp up oil production in its price war with Saudi Arabia. **A11**
- ◆ SoftBank dropped Moody's after the ratings firm criticized the tech giant's share-and-debt buyback plan and downgraded its ratings. **B1**
- ◆ Pershing Square's Ackman scored big on a bearish bet that enabled him to sidestep steep market losses. **B1**
- ◆ Most Huawei employees are back at work but the pandemic is likely to hurt the firm's results, its CEO said. **B2**

World-Wide

- ◆ Trump said restrictions on economic activity could be lifted in some parts of the country but not others as his administration works to craft a plan for how Americans could return to work in a few weeks without exacerbating the spread of the coronavirus in the U.S. **A1**
- ◆ The number of confirmed U.S. cases surpassed 68,000, led by a continued surge of infections in New York, and the nation's death toll topped 1,000. India, meanwhile, implemented the world's most extensive stay-at-home order. **A4, A6-A8, A10-A12**
- ◆ The coronavirus is now taking off in the world's poorest countries, which have fewer weapons to fight it than do developed nations. **A1**
- ◆ The U.S. says it will allow some imports to delay tariff payments, following appeals from business groups and import-dependent industries. **A2**
- ◆ The family of Robert Levinson, a former FBI agent who went missing in Iran in 2007, said they believe he died in Iranian custody. **A10**
- ◆ Turkish prosecutors indicted 20 Saudi nationals, including two with ties to the Saudi crown prince, on charges related to the killing of Jamal Khashoggi. **A10**
- ◆ An ISIS militant stormed a Sikh temple in the heart of Afghanistan's capital, killing 25 worshippers. **A10**

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Senate Passes Stimulus Package



Patients line up at Elmhurst Hospital Center in Queens, N.Y., for virus testing on Wednesday, as the total number of confirmed cases of new coronavirus in the U.S. surpassed 68,000. **A4**

The \$2 trillion bill, which aims to blunt pandemic's impact, now goes to House

WASHINGTON—The Senate approved a \$2 trillion economic stimulus package, moving the rescue bill to the House as Congress seeks to

By Joshua Jamerson, Andrew Duenren and Natalie Andrews

give American families and businesses a financial shield against the ravages of the new coronavirus pandemic. Senators approved the legislation late Wednesday after round-the-clock negotiations between the Trump administration and leading senators. Following precipitous declines, investors in the past two days

have sent U.S. stocks soaring in anticipation of the bill's passage. President Trump has said he would sign it immediately. The vote passed in the Senate by 96-0, with four senators absent.

Steny Hoyer (D., Md.), the House majority leader, said the House would consider the stimulus bill on Friday.

The legislation would provide loans and other disbursements to a wide swath of the economy, from direct payments to Americans and loans to large and small companies.

The bill also greatly expands unemployment insurance to cover freelance and gig workers, refills drained state coffers and extends additional

- ◆ How the legislation affects households, businesses... **A6**
- ◆ Vast stimulus plan will test SBA, lenders... **A7**

Trump Considers Partial Reopening

By REBECCA BALLHAUS AND STEPHANIE ARMOUR

WASHINGTON—President Trump said restrictions on economic activity could be lifted in some parts of the country but not others as his administration works to craft a plan for how Americans could return to work in a few weeks without exacerbating the spread of the new coronavirus in the U.S. "It's time. People want to get back to work," Mr. Trump said on Wednesday, adding that "large sections" of the country

could return to work far sooner than others.

The president in recent days has repeatedly signaled his interest in reopening the economy within the coming weeks, saying on Tuesday that he hoped to do so by Easter, which falls on April 12—just under a month after the White House issued guidelines advising people to practice social distancing and avoid gathering in groups of 10 or more.

The federal government's ability to force the reopening of

Next in Line Are Poor, Unprepared Nations

The new coronavirus is now taking off in the world's poorest countries, which join the battle with even fewer weapons than developed nations, some of which have fumbled the pandemic's early stages.

By Saeed Shah in Islamabad and Joe Parkinson in Johannesburg

From Venezuela to Pakistan to the Democratic Republic of Congo—and nearly every developing country between—confirmed cases have started to spike in recent days, a sign the contagion is advancing exponentially. Disease-control experts say,

"Extraordinary action is required if we are to prevent a human catastrophe of enormous proportions in our country," said President Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa, among the nations hardest hit by the 1980s AIDS epidemic. Addressing the country Mon-

THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

Countries brace for lengthy lockdowns, **A8**
 Outbreak complicates Russia's oil plan, **A11**
 Heard on the Street: Future comes early for grocers, **B12**

day night, he announced a 21-day nationwide lockdown to be enforced by the military.

South Africa on Wednesday declared 709 confirmed cases of coronavirus, a number the government said has risen sixfold in a week and could rise to hundreds of thousands without decisive action.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, ordering a national shutdown, said Tuesday. Please turn to page **A12**

As Virus Strains Economy, Companies Bank on Cash

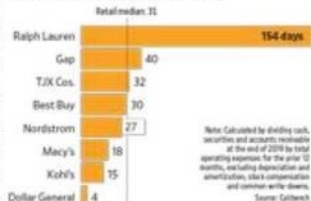
By THEO FRANCIS AND THOMAS GRETA

The fast-spreading coronavirus has prompted even the biggest U.S. companies to cut their spending and bolster their balance sheets, proving once again how cash is king, especially in times of crisis.

After a decade-long U.S. economic expansion, not every company has entered this crisis with the same cash cushion. Apple Inc. ended the year with \$217 billion in cash, securities and account receivables, enough to run its operations for more than a year even if it didn't cut costs or sell a single iPhone. Discount retailer Dollar General Corp. had \$240 million, enough for about four days, in the unlikely event it had to shut its doors and didn't cut costs.

Dollar General said its business model generates significant cash flow and has performed well in a variety of economic cy-

Estimated number of days select S&P 500 retailers could operate without new sales or cutting costs. Most have recently taken steps to bolster their liquidity.



cles, and the company can tap lines of credit and has good access to the capital markets. Apple declined to comment.

Technology companies generally operate with more cash on hand than retailers, which often have assets in unsold inventory.

The median amount of cash and other readily available assets on an S&P 500 tech company's books at year-end was enough to let it operate about 270 days in an extreme scenario without revenue or cost cutting, while

have assets in unsold inventory. Please turn to page **A2**

Fitness Buffs Sweat It Out At Home

Gym closures force new routines; dumbbell demand

By LAINE HOGGINS AND RACHEL BACHMAN

Tom Harland lined up at the starting line of a 10-mile race on March 15 in his hometown of York, England. An avid runner who has completed two marathons, he was startled to hear the race official announce, "Welcome to the last race of the year."

The next day, after watching governments in Italy, France and Spain lock down their populations and hours after British Prime Minister Boris Johnson recommended that British citizens work from home, Mr. Harland ordered a Reebok treadmill online. (The U.K. Please turn to page **A2**

Pandemic Cuts Off Older Americans

People over 65 retreat from outside world to keep safe, but isolation brings other risks

By CLARE ANSBERRY

PITTSBURGH—Every afternoon, Larry Levine, 94, took the bus 2½ miles from his senior-care apartment to visit his wife of 70 years, Claire Levine, who has Alzheimer's. He usually brought flowers and stayed for dinner at the memory-care community where she lives. His visits have stopped.

Thirteen days ago, Mrs. Levine's residence banned all visitors to protect them from the new coronavirus sweeping the country. That same day, Mr. Levine's apartment building asked seniors to stay put for their own safety. "She's there and I'm here," he said. "She doesn't understand this virus, why I don't come to

see her, why her children don't come to see her."

The pandemic is forcing the nation's most vulnerable generations—52 million adults ages 65 and older—into an extreme retreat from the outside world, cutting them off from family, friends, social activities and daily routines.

Even active, independent and otherwise healthy older people are being warned to seal themselves in their homes and apartments, and stay out of public spaces.

In the past few years, doctors and researchers have warned about the toll loneliness can take on mental and physical health, especially at an older age. Yet older Americans are more isolated

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DIA 2552.17 ▲ 191.62 6.4% NASDAQ 7797.54 ▲ 5.6% STOXX 600 371.39 ▲ 2.6% 10-YR. TREAS. ▲ 15/32, yield 0.806% OIL \$22.80 ▲ \$1.89 GOLD \$1,650.10 ▲ \$7.80 EURO \$1,101.05 YEN 105.75

What's News

Business & Finance

Record 3.28 million workers applied for unemployment benefits last week as the coronavirus hit the U.S. economy, marking an abrupt end to the nation's historic, decade-long run of job growth. A1, A2

◆ **U.S. stocks soared as the government came closer to approving a \$2 trillion stimulus package. The Dow returned to bull-market territory, gaining 6.4%. The S&P 500 and Nasdaq rose 6.2% and 5.6%, respectively. A1**

◆ **The relief package passed by the Senate would help stabilize the coronavirus-battered economy, but likely isn't enough to bring it back to health. A2, A6**

◆ **Muchin indicated that the U.S. would take stakes in airlines in exchange for billions in direct grants to the firms, according to people familiar with the matter. A6**

◆ **G-20 leaders said they would collectively spend more than \$5 trillion trying to insulate the global economy from the impact of the pandemic. A3**

◆ **ViacomCBS's parent firm is losing some of its ability to borrow at a time when its key revenue drivers have ground to a halt. A1**

◆ **The U.S. is moving ahead with new curbs aimed at cutting off Huawei from one of the firm's main suppliers of advanced chips. B1**

World-Wide

◆ **The U.S. has overtaken China as the country with the most confirmed coronavirus cases in the world, at more than 85,000 and counting, a new milestone in the fight against the global pandemic. A1, A4, A6-A11**

◆ **The Trump administration plans to issue guidelines categorizing countries by risk to help state and local authorities decide how stringent social-distancing should be. A4**

◆ **The administration dropped consideration of plans to send troops to the Canadian border to help curb the spread of the virus, after Canadian officials objected. A3**

◆ **China will close its borders to nearly all foreigners and slash international flights in a bid to curb the reintroduction of the virus from abroad. A10**

◆ **U.S. authorities charged Maduro and senior Venezuelan officials with drug trafficking and conspiring with terrorists. A18**

◆ **Israel's opposition leader splintered his party to pursue a unity government, a move that creates a path for Netanyahu to extend his tenure. A16**

◆ **Iran-backed groups trying to drive U.S. troops out of Iraq have moved to a more clandestine approach. A18**

◆ **Scientists have found fossils of a swift predator with killer claws that lived in the twilight of the dinosaurs. A3**

NOTICE TO READERS
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U.S. Cases, Jobless Claims Soar

Historic run of growth abruptly comes to a close as unemployment filings surge to record

WASHINGTON—A record 3.28 million workers applied for unemployment benefits last week as the new coronavirus hit the U.S. economy, marking an abrupt end to the nation's historic, decade-long run of job growth.

By Eric Morath, Jim Hinesworth and Sarah Chaney

The number of Americans filing for claims was nearly five times the previous record. The surge was for the week ended March 21 and could rise. Pennsylvania, Ohio and California were among 10 states reporting more than 100,000 claims, leaving unemployment systems overloaded. Millions of U.S. businesses have announced layoffs or furloughs, as their cash flows dry up. Several state and local authorities have ordered nonessential businesses to close in response to the novel coronavirus pandemic, bringing the great American job machine to a sudden halt.

Until March, U.S. employers added jobs for a record 113 straight months, causing payrolls to grow by 22 million. In the process, millions of people—including low-wage hourly laborers, disabled peo-

◆ **Rescue package to steady, not restore, economy..... A2**

ple, minorities, former inmates and others—found work. The unemployment rate, which was 3.5% in February, had been at levels not seen since the 1960s. Wages started to accelerate in the past two years after lagging during the early stages of the 2007-09 recession.

The strong labor market kept the U.S. economy humming for a decade.

And then, in a matter of days, it stopped.

Millions of Americans, already fearful the new coronavirus could infect them or their families, now have two new worries: When will the job machine start again? And can they hold out until it does? Much will depend on how long the virus crisis lasts and whether federal and state unemployment insurance pro-

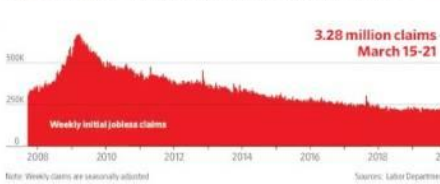
grams can adapt quickly to fill the immense gaps building in household cash flows until the virus recedes.

"We haven't seen this big of a free fall before," said Keith Hall, former director of the Congressional Budget Office and adviser to President George W. Bush. "Not even during the Depression. It's really like an instant Great Depression."

Please turn to page A2



National Guard troops in India, Calif., package food bags to assist people in home confinement.



Number of infections across country pass China's count; New York remains epicenter

The U.S. has overtaken China as the country with the most cases in the world of the novel coronavirus, a new milestone in the fight against the global pandemic.

China had held the top spot since the deadly virus began

By Talat Ansari, Jennifer Calkins and Chun Han Wong

spreading there in December. There were 85,305 confirmed infections across America, according to data compiled by Johns Hopkins University. The first case in the U.S.—a man in Washington state who had recently traveled to Wuhan, China—was reported on Jan. 21. Within six weeks, the U.S. began to see a surge in new infections and the country's first deaths.

Fatalities in the U.S. from the new coronavirus hit 1,288 Thursday night.

New York is the center of the pandemic in the U.S., with its 39,125 infections accounting for nearly half of all cases in the country and tens of thousands more than any other state. The New York City metro area accounts for 35% of all new cases in the U.S., Deborah Birx, response coordinator for the White House's coronavirus task force, said Thursday.

Please turn to page A4

Blue Chips Jump 6.4% After Stimulus Vote

U.S. stocks soared Thursday as the government came closer to approving a \$2 trillion stimulus package to combat the coronavirus pandemic.

By Caitlin McCabe, Anne Hirshstein and Chong Koh Ping

capping a three-day rally that has pushed the Dow Jones Industrial Average into a bull market since late 2018. The Dow industrials finished the day up 1,351.62 points, or 6.4%, to 22,552.17, sending the blue-chip index back into bull-market territory.

The jump ends an 11-trading day bear market for the index—the shortest in history for the Dow—which reached its bear-market low three days ago.

The rapid plunge out of and then rise back into a bull market demonstrates how volatile U.S. stocks have become as the coronavirus pandemic ripples through the economy.

The Dow industrials are still down 21% for the year, despite climbing 21% in the past three days—the largest three-day percentage gain for the index since 1931.

A bull market is typically defined as a 20% gain from a recent low. The stock market isn't a proxy for the economy, which remains battered by the pandemic.

The S&P 500 also ended the day higher, climbing 154.31 points, or 6.2%, to 2,630.07, helping the index to similarly reach its largest three-day percentage jump in nearly 87 years. The technology-heavy Nasdaq Composite jumped 412.24 points, or 5.6%, to 7,797.54. Both indexes are still far from returning to a bull market.

Investors had been jittery leading up to the release of

the latest weekly jobless claims data. Futures tied to U.S. stocks had declined steeply earlier in the morning but pared their losses after it was announced that a record 3.28 million workers filed for unemployment benefits—five times the previous high.

But stocks opened higher and remained in the green for the entire session as some investors were already looking ahead to the likely passage of the largest fiscal stimulus package in the U.S. in recent memory.

The Senate on Wednesday Please turn to page A6

THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

U.S. is set to get policies for classifying risk. A4

House leaders rush to set rescue-package vote. A4

Nursing home staff are stretched thin. A5

Inside the emergency room as virus hits. A8

ViacomCBS Parent Loses Some of Its Credit Clout

By KEACH HAGEY AND BERIAMIN MULLIN

ViacomCBS Inc.'s parent company is losing some of its ability to borrow money at a time when its key revenue drivers—movie theaters, new film releases and live-sports broadcasts from the CBS network—have ground to a halt because of the novel coronavirus pandemic.

National Amusements Inc., the movie-theater chain that in recent decades has become predominantly a holding company for its controlling stake of ViacomCBS, has reached a deal with Wells Fargo & Co. to restructure its credit facilities, the company said Thursday.

The restructuring became necessary after the value of the ViacomCBS shares pledged as collateral for credit fell below Wells Fargo's minimum threshold, according to people familiar with the matter.

ViacomCBS's stock has been under pressure long before fears about the spread of the coronavirus started rolling down Wall Street. Shares started dropping pretty much since the merger of sister companies CBS and Viacom was finalized last year, and are down nearly 65% so far this year.

As part of the deal with Wells Fargo, National Amusements is giving up the \$75 Please turn to page A9

Dialing In to Fight the Pandemic



Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and other Group of 20 leaders held a videoconference Thursday on the coronavirus. A3

Can You Socialize While Social Distancing? Sort of.

Do stand at the curb to shout hello, don't take beer from the cooler or pet the dog.

By KATHERINE BRADLEY

At 3:01 p.m. on March 16, Andy Hammond sent a note to his neighborhood's email list. The 48-year-old had learned through a local news outlet that some residents in the area were gathering outside for a nightly toast, and he wanted his block to do the same.

At 3:03 p.m., one of his neighbors emailed the group with the exact same idea. "My wife said doing it every night was a bit much," says Mr. Hammond, who works in advertising sales. The pair have 5- and 7-year-old

children they are now trying to home-school. "I was like, 'absolutely, we should do it every night,'" he says.

After a week or so of closed venues and "stay home" orders that aim to fight the coronavirus pandemic, people are finding they crave the kind of human contact they can't get online. Figuring out how to do that, while maintaining social distance, isn't easy.

Mr. Hammond says the first toast went off without a hitch. Neighbors brought their own drinks and walked up to one another's porches to say hello but kept a safe distance by re- Please turn to page A11

China's Reboot Hits Slow, Rocky Path

Factories are back, but demand has crashed while buyers wait for the pandemic to end

More than two months after imposing quarantines to contain the coronavirus, China is getting back to work. It is a slow and rocky process, one that rests on the world battling back suc-

cessfully against the pandemic. With new infections dwindling, factories are restarting, stores are reopening, and people are venturing outdoors. In some ways, China is where the U.S. and Europe hope to be within weeks or months.

Yet many Chinese factories find demand for their products has evaporated. Consumers in China and elsewhere are reluctant to spend over worries about what they have lost and what lies ahead.

For U.S. businesses tied to global trade, exporters and multinational companies, China's limited return to normal foreshadows the potential for a sluggish U.S. recovery. Consumption, which makes up more than two-thirds of the American economy, looks to be hobbled by lost jobs, fallen income and diminished confi-

dence for an unknown period. Even countries emerging from national lockdowns later than others will likely see weaker demand among trading partners also hurt.

Bryant Zhang, owner of Please turn to page A10

◆ **China closes its borders to most foreigners..... A10**



NAVIGATING THE CORONAVIRUS: R1-10

Juggling Kids and Work Under One Roof
Uncertainty Puts Focus on Household Budgets

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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DIA 2327.41 ▲ 69.70 3.2% NASDAQ 7774.15 ▲ 3.6% STOXX600 3748.8 ▲ 3.7% 10-YR. TREAS. ▲ 24/32, yield 0.667% OIL \$20.09 ▼ \$1.42 GOLD \$1,622.00 ▼ \$3.00 EURO \$1.1047 YEN 107.80

What's News

Business & Finance

- ◆ **The oil crash deepened,** sending prices to an 18-year low in a stark demonstration of how the coronavirus pandemic is crippling fuel demand. **A1**
- ◆ **U.S. stocks rose,** with major indexes all gaining more than 3%, despite the mounting toll of the pandemic on the economy. **B1**
- ◆ **Macy's, Gap and other retailers** will furlough tens of thousands of workers starting this week, highlighting the limits of the rescue package for some businesses. **A1**
- ◆ **GM is forging ahead** with its effort to produce medical ventilators, while Ford said it is working with GE to make the devices. **A7**
- ◆ **Companies ranging from Oracle to Nike** are borrowing record amounts in the investment-grade bond market to build cash. **B1**
- ◆ **The UAW's executive board** began a process to restructure one of its members after an internal inquiry into allegations of sexual harassment. **B1**
- ◆ **Johnson & Johnson** said it had made progress on a vaccine to prevent Covid-19 and that the product could be ready in early 2021. **B3**
- ◆ **Companies are rolling out** tests that can quickly detect the coronavirus outside of laboratory settings. **B3**

World-Wide

- ◆ **Governors and mayors** across the U.S. are working to secure more medical supplies, adding restrictions and asking the federal government for better coordination, as the rise in confirmed cases of the new coronavirus brought the nation's total to over 165,000. **A1, A4, A6-A10**
- ◆ **A New York medical center** told ER doctors they have "sole discretion" to place patients on ventilators and institutional backing to "withhold futile intubations." **A3**
- ◆ **The Treasury released** new details on grants and loans for airlines and urged companies to submit some applications by Friday. **A6**
- ◆ **The government will** begin sending out stimulus payments to U.S. households in the next three weeks, officials said. **A4**
- ◆ **The Justice Department** is examining whether lawmakers traded ahead of the market turmoil caused by the virus based on confidential briefings they received. **A6**
- ◆ **Saudi Arabia has invited** health representatives and the internationally recognized government in Yemen to peace talks. **A9**
- ◆ **The Trump administration** is completing new rules on tailpipe emissions that would sharply reduce targets auto makers must reach over the next five years. **A2**

NOTICE TO READERS
The World Health Organization has said it is safe to handle newspapers during the coronavirus pandemic. The Wall Street Journal's printing plants and delivery services, though, are taking precautions, frequently cleaning equipment and facilities while reducing human contact with the newspaper. A digital version of the print edition also can be viewed at <https://www.wsj.com/tsp>

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The Navy's Comfort medical ship sailed into New York City on Monday, where it will be docked to provide 1,000 additional hospital beds for non-Covid-19 cases, as scores of pandemic patients have overwhelmed the city's health system.

Makeshift Hospitals Sprout As Nation Fears More Cases

A U.S. Navy ship outfitted with 1,000 hospital beds pulled into New York Harbor. Tents sprang up in Central Park. The Javits Center, a mammoth convention facility on Manhattan's west side, opened its doors as a makeshift hospital.

Those scenes in New York City Monday were part of a striking new reality in the U.S. as state and federal leaders take steps unprecedented in modern times to fight the global coronavirus pandemic that has infected more than 164,000 people in the U.S. and over 785,000 globally.

With nearly half of states now reporting more than 1,000 confirmed infections, governors and mayors across the U.S. are working to secure more medical supplies, adding restrictions and asking the federal government for better coordination.

In New York—the state with the worst outbreak in the nation, with more than 66,000 confirmed cases—officials expanded hospital capacity in unconventional ways in the days before the pandemic is expected to reach its peak.

"We believe that we're dealing with this pandemic at a level, intensity and density that no one has seen before," New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo said inside the 18 million-square-foot Javits Center on Monday. "And hopefully we'll learn lessons here that we can then share with people across this nation."

The pandemic that has ground much of the U.S. economy to a standstill continued to produce whiplash market moves, as the Dow Jones Industrial Average and S&P 500 index each rose more than 3% Monday. Those measures have each rallied more than 15% since bottoming a week ago but remain down more than 20% from February records.

At the beginning of March, the U.S. had reported fewer than 100 confirmed cases of Covid-19, the pneumonia-like disease caused by the virus. It now has more than 164,000.

At Museum in Lockdown, a Van Gogh Is Pilfered



Thieves stole a Van Gogh on Monday from a Dutch museum closed because of the pandemic. **A10**

Parents Teach At Home, and Get Schooled

Ambitious plans evaporate; just put on 'Frozen' again

By SIMON THORNTON

Daniel Chancellor's simple weekly schedule for his 10-year-old son started out earnestly—reflecting the hopes of so many parents who suddenly found themselves isolated at home with their children, often while juggling full-time jobs.

Monday included blocks for chores, creativity, outdoor time and "lunch and learn."

"Things started unraveling Wednesday, with entries including 'Just try not to make a mess' and 'No, you can't use my phone.'"

By Friday's "Please find something to do in another room and just let us work here is \$100 please," followed by five hours of screen time.

Millions of American parents heading into another week of schooling their children from home are learning a difficult lesson: The kids are

The Fed Takes Uncharted Course to Stem Virus Damage

Jay Powell has moved the Fed faster and further than ever, transforming its role

By NICK TIMMONS

When Fed officials met Sunday morning, March 15, infections were rising along the East Coast. Mr. Powell and his colleagues left empty suits in between them at the central bank's oval boardroom table, made of Honduran mahogany and granite. Two screens suspended from the two-story boardroom ceiling showed 12 reserve

Oil Prices Hit Low Not Seen Since '02

Pessimism grows as pandemic erodes demand, with more declines expected

By AMELIE RANDEMAR AND DAVID HORARI

The oil crash deepened, sending prices to an 18-year low in a stark demonstration of how the coronavirus is crippling fuel demand and leaving consumers unable to take advantage at the pump.

U.S. crude-oil futures slumped 6.6% to \$20.09 a barrel Monday, ending the day at their lowest level since February 2002. The drop brings their slide for the year to 67%, or \$41. Oil enters the final trading day of March on pace for its biggest percentage drops on record for any month or quarter, according to data going back to 1983.

The latest declines came after President Trump said he was extending his administration's social-distancing guidelines to fight the coronavirus for another 30 days through the end of April, causing industrial analysts to further lower their expectations for fuel consumption. The pandemic has halted economic activity and global travel, resulting in a historic drop in oil demand.

Typically when fuel prices plummet, consumers drive more, helping the energy sector recover. That process can't occur.

Gasoline is cheap, but few drivers are buying. **B10**

Macy's, Gap Prepare To Idle Most Workers

By SEZANNE KAPFER

Macy's Inc., Gap Inc. and other retailers will furlough tens of thousands of employees beginning this week, highlighting the limits of the \$2 trillion rescue package for U.S. businesses that have been cut off from their customers.

The furloughs add to the swelling ranks of unemployed and the economic damage resulting from the fast-spreading coronavirus. Several states have ordered nonessential businesses like Macy's to close, and President Trump has advised that social-distancing guidelines remain in place until April 30.

The rescue package provides direct payments to individuals, enhanced unemployment bene-

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