

Síntesis Informativa

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[Juan de Villafranca](#)[@amelaf](#)[@devillafranca](#)

Domingo 11 de enero de 2026

I.- Información General Relevante

"Nuestra independencia no está a negociación"

Alonso Urrutia

(20260111), La Jornada, Política, PP-7, Nota Informativa

En el segundo día de su gira por Guerrero, la presidenta Claudia Sheinbaum sostuvo que a México le costó mucho alcanzar su independencia, por eso, dijo, "siempre decimos que cuando dialogamos con cualquier país del mundo, y en particular con Estados Unidos, podemos colaborar, podemos coordinarnos, somos vecinos, pero nunca nos subordinamos, somos dos países iguales". En una breve referencia a las relaciones con Estados Unidos en la compleja coyuntura actual declaró que nosotros "negociamos, pero hay algo que no está a negociación y esa es la independencia y la soberanía de la patria".

Engorda Adán Augusto su cochinito ;11.000%!

Mayolo López

(20260111), Reforma, Primera, PP, Nota Informativa

El morenista Adán Augusto López elevó en un 11 mil por ciento, en 2025, el monto de recursos de una partida en el Senado de la República que maneja a discreción. Con base en un documento del Comité de Administración, mientras en 2024 se ejercieron 8 millones 69 mil pesos, para 2025 esa misma bolsa tuvo un crecimiento exorbitante: a 894 millones de pesos, equivalente a 11 mil por ciento más. La cifra corresponde al Capítulo 4000 de "Transferencias, asignaciones, subsidios y otras ayudas", cuyo manejo queda a discreción de la Junta de Coordinación Política, en manos del morenista Adán Augusto López.

7 de cada 10 niños deportados de EU viajaban solos

Salvador Corona

(20260111), El Universal, Primera,PP-6,Nota Informativa

Ante las políticas migratorias impulsadas por Donald Trump, las deportaciones de niñas, niños y adolescentes mexicanos registraron 7 mil 463 casos entre enero y noviembre de 2025, de los cuales más de 68.65% no viajaban acompañados, de acuerdo con datos del Instituto Nacional de Migración. No obstante, estas cifras también reflejan una reducción significativa en comparación con el último año de la administración de Joe Biden y los primeros meses del gobierno de Trump, ya que en todo 2024 se contabilizaron 30 mil 320 menores deportados a territorio mexicano, lo que representa una disminución de 75.38% en los primeros 11 meses de 2025.

EU apura el retiro de sanciones a Venezuela para vender petróleo.

Reuters

(20260111), La Jornada, Primera,PP-4,Nota Informativa

El secretario del Tesoro de Estados Unidos, Scott Bessent, dijo a Reuters que las sanciones adicionales impuestas por su país a Venezuela podrían levantarse tan pronto como la próxima semana para facilitar las ventas de petróleo. También aseguró que se reunirá la próxima semana con los responsables del Fondo Monetario Internacional (FMI) y del Banco Mundial (BM) sobre su reanudación de las relaciones con Venezuela. Bessent declaró el viernes en una entrevista que casi 5 mil millones de dólares de los activos monetarios de Venezuela actualmente congelados de Derechos Especiales de Giro (DEG) del FMI podrían utilizarse para ayudar a reconstruir la economía del país.

EU busca justificación legal para combatir a los carteles en México

Jorge Aguilar

(20260111), La Crónica de Hoy, Nacional,PP-5,Nota Informativa

Para justificar de manera legal alguna posible incursión militar por parte de tropas estadounidenses en suelo mexicano para combatir a carteles de la droga, dentro del marco de la seguridad nacional, el Departamento de Estado de Estados Unidos ya trabaja a través de su área legal para revisar sobre implicaciones jurídicas que avalen la citada intervención a favor de EU, en lugar de evaluar marcos legales mexicanos relacionados con estas medidas que siguen sobre la mesa del huésped de la Casa Blanca. La evaluación de argumentos que justifiquen a EU atacar a narcos en México se registra en medio de un pronunciado clima de tensión tras una reciente operación militar de Estados Unidos en Venezuela y que culminó en la captura del represor venezolano Nicolás Maduro, lo que ha generado debate sobre la legalidad de acciones extraterritoriales.

La IA y las deepfakes amenazan democracia

Andrés Becerril

(20260111), Excélsior, Primera-Nacional,PP-6-8,Nota Informativa

La inteligencia artificial, el uso de granjas de bots y otras tecnologías utilizadas en la política electoral han llegado a un punto crítico donde la credibilidad está en duda, advirtió Gisela Rubach. En entrevista con Excélsior, la experta en marketing político alerta que, sin una regulación legal y ética clara, el uso de herramientas como los deepfakes y el procesamiento masivo de datos personales conducirá a una democracia virtual, en la que el contacto directo con la gente será la única defensa contra la desinformación.

III. Notas Relevantes del Sector Farma**Secretaría de Salud****Comprarán 4.7 millones de dosis de la hexavalente**

Juan Carlos Rodríguez / Montserrat Maldonado

(20260111), El Sol de México, República,PP-6,Nota Informativa

El Gobierno de México pretende adquirir 4.7 millones de dosis de la vacuna hexavalente este año, con lo que busca revertir la tendencia descendente en la protección de los niños de un año o menos. De acuerdo con los Lineamientos de Operación del Programa de Vacunación E033 para 2026, el sector salud invertirá mil 681.8 mdp para la producción y adquisición de los biológicos que protegen a la población infantil contra seis enfermedades: difteria, tétanos, tos ferina, hepatitis B, Haemophilus influenza tipo b y poliomielitis.

Denuncia Verónica Martínez desabasto de vacunas y riesgo de brotes epidémicos

Redacción

(20260110), Dossier de Prensa Online, Política,,Nota Informativa

La diputada federal Verónica Martínez García exhortó a los titulares de la Secretaría de Salud, del IMSS, del ISSSTE y del IMSS-Bienestar a intensificar campañas urgentes de vacunación, especialmente contra el sarampión, dirigidas a niñas, niños y adolescentes, con el fin de garantizar la aplicación oportuna del esquema básico. Agregó que los menores no vacunados pueden convertirse en focos de contagio, favoreciendo brotes en distintas regiones.

Birmex**NOTA RELEVANTE****Birmex, otra vez**

Asteriscos

(20260110), AM Online, Opinión,,Opinion

Luego del fracaso en la compra consolidada de medicamentos del 2025 a cargo de Birmex y el anuncio de que ahora sí este año implementará un nuevo modelo de compras para poner fin al desabasto, el diputado Éctor Jaime Ramírez Barba publicó que no es optimista. El secretario de la Comisión de Salud en la Cámara de Diputados señaló que en el Programa Institucional 2025-2030 publicado el pasado 6 de enero, Birmex admite la existencia de fallas en la cadena de abasto de medicamentos, derivado de la existencia de deficiencias operativas y logísticas que han impactado en la disponibilidad oportuna de medicamentos en las instituciones públicas del país.

IMSS-Bienestar**Suspenden servicio de hemodiálisis en hospital IMSS Bienestar de Zihuatanejo; 120 pacientes en riesgo crítico**

Redacción

(20260110), Trasfondo Informativo.com Online, „Nota Informativa

La suspensión del servicio de hemodiálisis en el hospital IMSS-Bienestar "Dr. Bernardo Sepúlveda Gutiérrez" ha generado una crisis sanitaria que mantiene en riesgo de muerte a alrededor de 120 pacientes de Zihuatanejo y municipios cercanos de la Costa Grande, quienes dependen de este tratamiento de manera periódica para sobrevivir. La crisis no se limita al servicio de hemodiálisis. Pacientes y trabajadores denunciaron un deterioro en las condiciones generales del hospital, incluyendo: Falta de alimentos para los pacientes, escasez de sábanas y ropa de cama, desabasto de medicamentos básicos, entre ellos suero antialacrán, esencial en una región donde estos incidentes son recurrentes.

Justifica coordinadora del IMSS Bienestar falta de medicinas y de atención nocturna en casas de salud; ¿no que estamos como en dinamarca?

Redacción

(20260110), Tribuna Online (Campeche), „Nota Informativa

Ante las reiteradas denuncias ciudadanas sobre falta de medicinas y de atención médica, sobre todo en Urgencias y turnos nocturnos, en la Península de Atasta, la coordinadora del IMSS-Bienestar Zona 1, Lourdes Lliteras Cardín, aseguró que los centros de Salud de la región reciben dotaciones mensuales de medicamentos, e invitó a la población a acudir a las unidades para constatar la disponibilidad. Y pese al discurso oficial de que la cobertura médica digna ya llega a gente vulnerable, sobre la ausencia de médicos durante la noche.

Otras Organizaciones del Sector

Innovación e ingenio / Fuego que sana: chile habanero contra superbacterias

J. Alberto Castro

(20260111), Vértigo, Revista,3-46-47,Columna

En la memoria del paladar mexicano el chile habanero (*Capsicum chinense*) ocupa un trono de fuego. (...) Sin embargo, más allá de la capsaicina que nos hace sudar, el habanero guarda en sus células un secreto evolutivo mucho más antiguo y vital: un sistema de defensa diseñado para la guerra microscópica. Hoy ese "fuego" ha dejado de ser solo un condimento para convertirse en una esperanza de vida bajo el nombre técnico de Patente MX407962 B. (...) La obtención de esta patente en México es un paso crucial para la soberanía tecnológica, pues significa que la propiedad intelectual del nuevo antibiótico pertenece a instituciones públicas mexicanas (UNAM y CICY); permite atraer inversión para fases clínicas (pruebas en humanos); y asegura que si se llega a comercializar como un medicamento (gel, espray o fármaco inyectable) los beneficios regresen a la investigación científica nacional.

IV Columnas Políticas y Financieras

Templo Mayor

F. Bartolomé

(20260111), Reforma, Primera - Opinión,8,Columna

Los rumores sobre supuestas tensiones en la relación entre la titular de la Segob, Rosa Icela Rodríguez, y el secretario de Seguridad, Omar García Harfuch, crecieron ayer como la espuma. Y es que ayer se viralizó un video en el que, aparentemente, Rodríguez le hace un desaire a García Harfuch cuando él intentaba saludarla en el marco de la conferencia mañanera de Claudia Sheinbaum que tuvo lugar en Acapulco el viernes. Lo que se alcanza a ver es que la secretaria camina frente a su compañero de gabinete sin cruzar palabra con él y sin siquiera voltear a verlo. Pero, más allá de ese momento incómodo, quienes anduvieron por allá cuentan que no los vieron interactuar a diferencia de giras anteriores, en las que platicaban continuamente (...)

Bajo Reserva

Sin autor

(20260111), El Universal, Primera,2,Columna

(...) Nos cuentan que si en la SEP ya no sabían qué hacer con el director de Materiales Educativos, Marx Arriaga, el que ya les colmó el plato es el subdirector Sady Loaiza, quien es el principal asesor de la insurrección interna a la que llama don Marx. Tras su llamado a insubordinarse al gobierno del que son funcionarios, ambos apuestan ahora por "movilizar" a sus bases. Don Sady, venezolano (...) nos aseguran, es el encargado de organizar plenarias estatales de maestros llamadas "Diálogos dialógicos", que ya arrancaron en Michoacán y en las que se llama a la insurgencia y a defender la Nueva Escuela Mexicana. (...) el hecho es que hoy lo traen en la mira.

Frentes Políticos

Sin autor

(20260111), Excélsior, Primera-Opinión,11,Columna

La presidenta Claudia Sheinbaum señaló que México ocupa el tercer sitio regional en salario mínimo, tras el ajuste vigente desde el 1 de enero. El hecho es medible, la Conasami, conducida por el secretario del Trabajo y Previsión Social, Marath Bolaños, lo fijó en 315.04 pesos diarios a nivel general y en 440.87 pesos en la Zona Libre de la Frontera Norte. El contraste histórico pesa (...)

Rayuela

Sin autor

(20260111), La Jornada, Opinión,CP,Editorial

Por lo visto, los planes que Trump ha hecho sobre el petróleo venezolano comienzan a parecerse cada vez más al cuento de La Lechera.

365 días / Jorge Luis no se merece esa vileza

Ciro Gómez Leyva

(20260111), Excélsior, Primera-Nacional,4,Columna

De poco pareció servir la primera corriente de opinión formada después de la publicación del libro colectivo Cállense, coordinado por Humberto Musacchio: un alegato en contra del rostro seudo legal que la censura va depurando en México. La jueza penal de Campeche Guadalupe Martínez Taboada mantuvo firme la acusación contra el periodista Jorge Luis González, quien supuestamente, incitando al odio a través de trabajos editoriales, causó un daño psicológico a la gobernadora Layda Sansores. La esperanza de que un rasgo de sensatez brillara en la audiencia de hace unos días volvió a disiparse. La audiencia continuará el 10 de febrero: más días de angustias y costos en la vida de Jorge Luis. "Vislumbro que van a encaminarme al juicio penal para imponerme dos años de cárcel y una retribución económica", me dice. "Es increíble. La pretensión de la Fiscalía de Campeche es que desaparezca la empresa que produce la plataforma (Tribuna). Yo me jubilé de ahí hace nueve años, no tengo nada que ver con la plataforma. Esto es una infamia de parte de la gobernadora Layda Sansores". Y es un tutorial para despedazar periodistas: ármale un caso con el ministerio público, busca al juez a modo, somételos a tensión y desgaste, quítale la voluntad de resistir y, si se puede, déjalos en la ruina económica (...)



NIEVE PERFECTA

Algunos rincones en Canadá evocan de manera casi pura, en esta temporada invernal, la serenidad, fomentan la relajación y dan pie a la innovación.

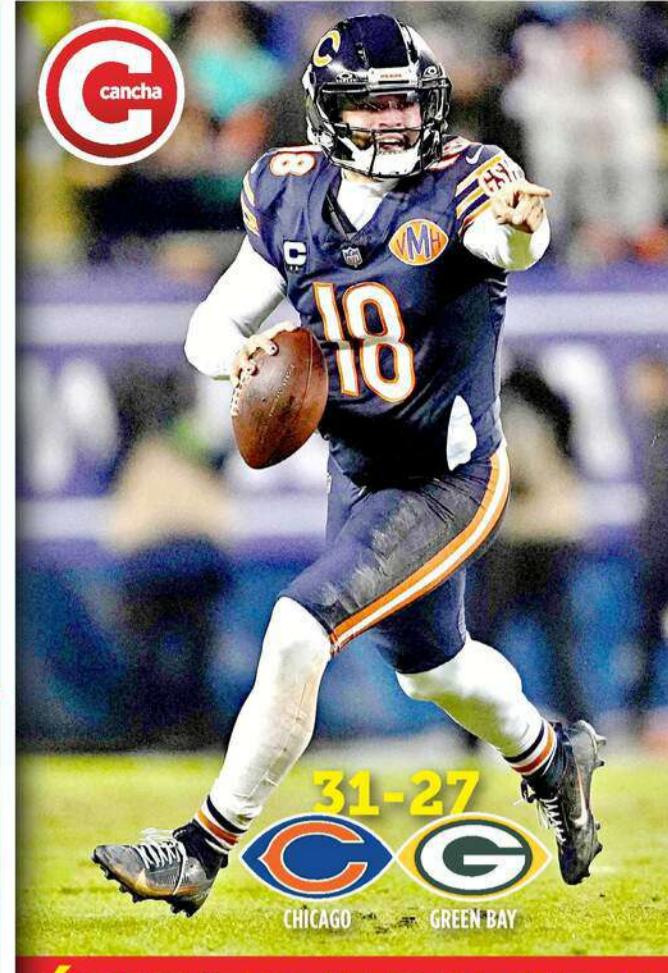
DE VIAJE (GENTE 5)



CON EL PIE IZQUIERDO

Sufre Cruz Azul derrota en su debut en el Clausura 2026 al caer 2-1 con el León, que sumaba 10 juegos sin victoria, 6 de ellos con Ignacio Ambriz al mando.

CANCHA



ÉPICA REMONTADA

Se reponen Bears de un déficit de 18 puntos a la mitad del encuentro ante Packers y sacan dramáticamente su primera victoria en Playoffs desde 2010.

BOLETO SUFRIDO

Matthew Stafford comanda serie ofensiva ganadora, en los segundos finales, y los Rams eliminan a Panthers 34-31 de visita para colarse a la Ronda Divisinal de la Conferencia Nacional.

CANCHA



DOMINGO 11 / ENERO / 2026 CIUDAD DE MÉXICO

44 PÁGINAS, AÑO 11,692 NÚMERO 11,692 \$30.00

REFORMA

CORAZÓN DE MÉXICO



Disparan en el Senado monto para partida secreta

Engorda Adán Augusto su cochinito ¡11,000%!

Líder morenista usó a discreción bolsa de 894 mdp el año pasado

MAYOLO LÓPEZ

El morenista Adán Augusto López elevó en un 11 mil por ciento, en 2025, el monto de recursos de una partida en el Senado de la República que maneja a discreción.

Con base en un documento del Comité de Administración, mientras en 2024 se ejercieron 8 millones 69 mil pesos, para 2025 esa misma bolsa tuvo un crecimiento exorbitante: a 894 millones de pesos, equivalente a 11 mil por ciento más.

La cifra corresponde al Capítulo 4000 de "Transferencias, asignaciones, subsidios y otras ayudas", cuyo manejo queda a discreción de la Junta de Coordinación Política, en manos del morenista Adán Augusto López.

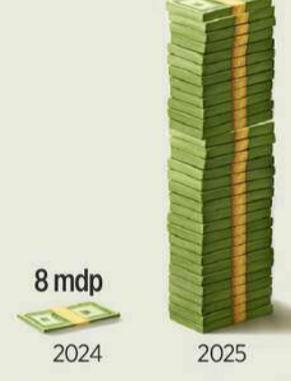
Una fuente parlamentaria consultada explicó que, con ese Capítulo 4000, el presidente de la Junta de Coordinación Política –también jefe de la bancada de Morena– suele conceder "apoyos y estímulos" a sus correligionarios, a los grupos aliados, del Partido del Trabajo y del Verde Ecologista, y a las bancadas opositoras.

"Generalmente ese tipo de 'asignaciones' no son auditables, entran en eso que

A lo oscurito

Los recursos que no transparenta el Senado se multiplicaron:

894 mdp
11,000% MÁS



Fuente: Presupuesto 2025

se denominan las 'tras ayudas', señaló.

Mientras tanto, otras importantes partidas de inversión, que sí son abiertas, han sido vaciadas.

El documento consultado –una de cuyas copias obra en poder de REFORMA– revela que, en el Capítulo 6000, concerniente a "Inversión Pública" del Senado no se ejerció un solo centavo en 2025. En 2024 se destinaron a ese rubro 5 millones 378 mil pesos.

El Capítulo 7000, denominado Inversiones financieras y otras previsiones, deja

...Y tiene otro de 12 mdp

MAYOLO LÓPEZ

Fundado en 1985, el Instituto Belisario Domínguez (IBD) del Senado permanece como un espacio de poder que le representa un opaco manejo de recursos a su presidente, Adán Augusto López Hernández.

El Instituto cada vez aporta menos al trabajo legislativo y de consulta para los senadores. Hasta hace unos cuantos años era un afamado órgano de prestigio y de análisis efectivo.

Con base en el Programa Operativo Anual 2025, el órgano tuvo una bolsa presupuestal de 11 millones

700 mil pesos cuyo uso y destino permanece en total opacidad.

Desde que comenzó la LXVI Legislatura, en septiembre de 2024, Adán Augusto López y Morena tomaron el control del Instituto, que antaño solía quedar en manos de la Oposición.

El Belisario Domínguez es un órgano especializado en realizar investigaciones estratégicas sobre el desarrollo nacional, así como estudios derivados de la agenda legislativa y análisis de la coyuntura en los ámbitos de competencia del Senado.

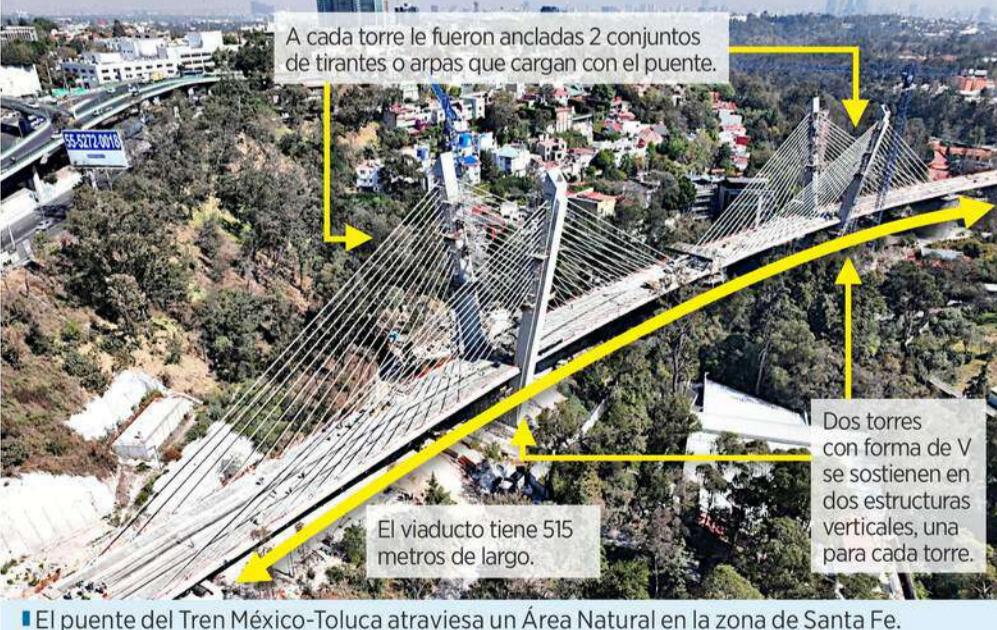
nado al gasto fijo en salarios y prestaciones del personal del Senado, dietas de los legisladores y prestaciones sociales.

Otra de las partidas más discretionales, es la contenida en el Capítulo 3000, que distribuye bolsas para los grupos parlamentarios, las asignaciones para órganos de Gobierno, para las comisiones de trabajo y en general todo tipo de gastos administrativos, la cual ejerció en 2025 un gasto de 76 millones 371 mil pesos, un 8.1 por ciento más que los 70 millones 609 mil pesos ejercidos en 2024.

ver que ni en 2024 ni en 2025 se canalizaron recursos. Presupuesto ejercido: cero centavos, según el registro.

Con base en el documento, en los siete Capítulos de gasto del Senado, se erogó un total de 4 mil 202 millones 340 mil pesos en 2024, y en 2025 la bolsa ascendió a 4 mil 251 millones 682 mil pesos.

Para 2025, la bolsa presupuestal total para el Senado fue de 5 mil 103 millones de pesos, de los cuales –conforme al documento– 2 mil 495 millones correspondieron al Capítulo 1000, "Servicios Personales", rubro destinado



Salvan, con atirantado, a manantial

IVÁN SOSA

Un puente atirantado en el pueblo de Santa Fe permitió proteger el Área Natural Protegida de Barranca de Tacubaya.

La estructura forma parte del recorrido del Tren México-Toluca, en el tramo que está en fase de pruebas y que se prevé comience a

operar a fines de mes.

El puente está situado entre las estaciones de la zona corporativa de Santa Fe y Vasco de Quiroga.

La obra evitó la inserción de zapatas y columnas que habrían obstruido el flujo subterráneo de los venenos de agua, que los vecinos estiman provienen del subsuelo de los bosques que

se ubican en el Desierto de los Leones.

"Sin el puente, hubiera desaparecido el manantial de donde brota el río que baja a la presa de Tacubaya", expuso el representante de la Comisión de Participación Comunitaria del pueblo de Santa Fe, José Pepino.

CIUDAD 3

DARÁN 'DIENTES' (POR T-MEC) AL CENTRO DE CONCILIACIÓN

VERÓNICA GASCÓN

Este año se retomará la propuesta para que el Centro Federal de Conciliación pueda tener herramientas para hacer valer las obligaciones de la reforma laboral, una exigencia por parte del Gobierno de EU de cara a la revisión del T-MEC.

La idea es que el organismo tenga facultades para sancionar la intervención patronal en la vida sindical en los centros de trabajo.

Alfredo Domínguez Marrufo, director del Centro, dijo que hace falta una reforma a la Ley Federal del Trabajo, la cual ya pasó por la Cámara de Diputados y se espera que se retome en el Senado.

"Tengo una gran expectativa de que en este año el Centro Federal tenga estas herramientas, para sancionar a nivel Méjico cualquier violación que se dé y no esperar a que venga una queja internacional", subrayó.

Liberan, tras unas horas, a secretaria de Manzo

BENITO JIMÉNEZ

Luego de ser detenida el jueves pasado, Yesenia Méndez Rodríguez, quien fue secretaria particular del Alcalde asesinado de Uruapan, Carlos Manzo, fue liberada.

"Gracias a todos los amigos por sus buenos deseos y a Dios por permitirme estar con mi familia", posteó ayer en Facebook junto con una imagen de ella con sus hijas.

Hasta anoche, ni las autoridades federales ni locales habían dado un reporte oficial sobre la liberación.

Méndez Rodríguez se mantuvo como secretaria particular con la actual Presidenta Municipal de Uruapan y viuda de Manzo, Grecia Quiroz.

De acuerdo con fuentes municipales, la mujer quedó en libertad tras comparecer ante autoridades ministeriales.

Atacan a líder de asociación que él fundó

MAYUMI SUZUKI

René Valencia, líder de Revolución Social, asociación fundada por Carlos Manzo, fue atacado anoche junto con su equipo mientras viajaba en una camioneta entre Pátzcuaro y Erongarícuaro, en Michoacán.

"Nos acaban de emboscar, un grupo armado. La llanta la traemos toda madreada, nos balacearon", dijo en una transmisión en vivo en redes sociales.

Más tarde, Guillermo Valencia, líder del PRI en el estado, reportó que su hermano estaba a salvo y bajo resguardo de militares.

"Agradezco a las autoridades y, sobre todo, a la ronda comunitaria de Jarzácuaro, pues gracias a ellos está vivo", indicó.

610972000023

Venezuela: las repercusiones en el continente

El ataque liderado por Trump que acabó en la captura de Maduro cambia la dinámica en la región, donde el petróleo pasa a ser un factor clave en las relaciones con Cuba y México; mientras, en Venezuela la democracia no parece cercana y el fin de la dictadura tampoco se ve próximo.

| A12 Y A13 |

ESCRIBEN DEL TEMA: **Duncan Wood, Luis Herrera Lasso M, Leonardo Curzio, Scarlett Limón Crump, Ricardo Smith Nieves, Pedro A. Reyes Flores, Eduardo Tzili Apango y Renata Zilli.**



FOTOS: AFP, ARCHIVO EL UNIVERSAL Y AP

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Domingo 11 de enero de 2024

domingo

Intentos de suicidio elevan la alerta en Edomex

En el primer trimestre de 2024 se reportó un alza de 140% respecto al mismo periodo del año previo, al pasar de 127 a 305 casos, la mayoría de mujeres.



| A16 |

TAMAULIPAS ENCABEZA EN RECEPCIONES

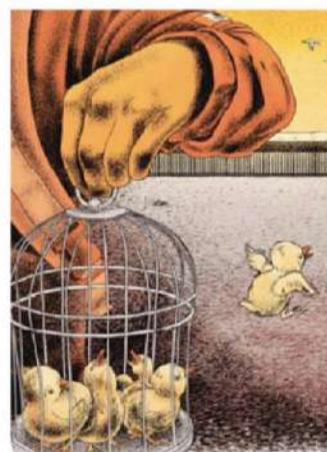
7 DE CADA 10 NIÑOS DEPORTADOS DE EU VIAJABAN SOLOS

Texto: SALVADOR CORONA

De enero a noviembre del año pasado se registraron 7 mil 463 casos, de los cuales 68.65% no estaban acompañados, indican datos de Instituto Nacional de Migración. Esta cifra representa una reducción significativa comparada con 2024, cuando hubo 30 mil 320 devoluciones en todo el año.

| A6 |

PERIODISMO DE INVESTIGACIÓN Y DATOS



Hay 33 devoluciones diarias de menores migrantes a México

Para especialistas, el gobierno mexicano está rebasado. Señalan que falta coordinación entre autoridades y seguimiento por niño respecto a cuándo se internó y regresó, las veces que ha cruzado, si se mantuvo en la comunidad de origen o si está bien.

| A7 |

ESTADOS UNIDOS ATACA EN TODO SIRIA AL ESTADO ISLÁMICO

| A4 |

LIBERAN A SECRETARIA DE MANZO Y QUIROZ, TRAS DECLARAR

| A2 |

PROTESTAN CONTRA ICE POR MUERTE DE MUJER

| A4 |

GIRA POR GUERRERO



La presidenta Claudia Sheinbaum dijo que hay coordinación con EU y que la soberanía no se negocia. En Guerrero, entregó apoyos e inauguró centros de acopio de productos del Bienestar. | A5 |

FRANKENSTEIN INQUIETA LOS PRONÓSTICOS

La madurez del filme de Guillermo del Toro podría romper las quinielas esta noche en los Globos de Oro, según la crítica. | A21 |



NETFLIX

OPINIÓN

NACIÓN

- A6 Claudio Ochoa Huerta
- A14 Jorge Triana
- A14 Raúl Rodríguez Cortés
- A15 Eduardo Backhoff
- A15 Ulrich Richter
- A15 Jean Meyer

| EL TIEMPO | Máx | Min |
|-------------|-----|-----|
| CDMX | 17 | 5 |
| Guadalajara | 24 | 9 |
| Monterrey | 13 | 5 |

Año 109, Número 39486
CDMX 48 págs.



ARTESANAS COSEN MODA E IDENTIDAD

En el municipio de San Juan Mixtepec, Oaxaca, las costureras han reinventado la indumentaria tradicional, sin perder la esencia de su pueblo, y puntada a puntada crecen el negocio. | A10 |



BRIGITTE BARDOT ÍCONO DE BELLEZA Y LIBERTAD SEXUAL

DOMINGO

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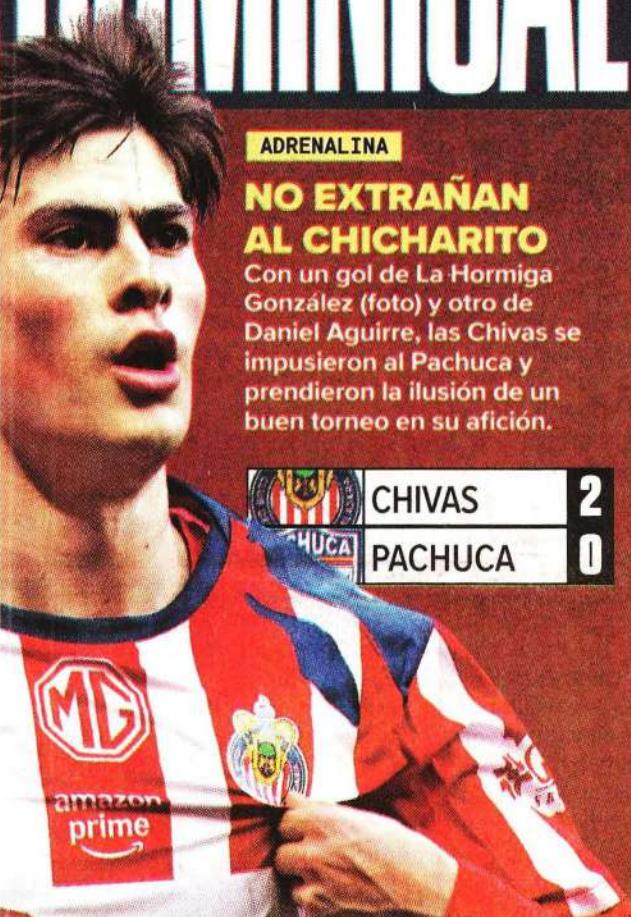
DOMINA EL IDIOMA DE LOS PANDAS

A sus 9 años, Aylin Mérida no conoce límites: toca el violín, la guitarra, surfea, practica karate y ganó un certamen para escoger a la niña latinoamericana que mejor habla el chino mandarín. / 5

Foto: Eduardo Jiménez



DOMINICAL



ADRENALINA

NO EXTRAÑAN AL CHICHARITO

Con un gol de La Hormiga González (foto) y otro de Daniel Aguirre, las Chivas se impusieron al Pachuca y prendieron la ilusión de un buen torneo en su afición.

CHIVAS 2
PACHUCA 0

RESULTADOS LIGA MX

LEÓN 2 - 1 CRUZ AZUL | SANTOS 1 - 3 NECAXA | MONTERREY 0 - 1 TOLUCA

NFL: RONDA DE COMODINES

RAMS 34 31 PANTERAS G. BAY 27 31 OSOS

ESTRELLA DE SANGRE LATINA

En un deporte de caos, el QB cubano-mexicano Fernando Mendoza es la excepción: es ordenado, estudia negocios y sólo usa la red LinkedIn. / 6

Foto: AFP

EXPRESIONES

ARTE QUE DESAFÍA FRONTERAS

Reino Unido será testigo del talento de cuatro artistas plásticas mexicanas seleccionadas para exhibir en la prestigiosa London Art Fair. / 18

ONG ACUSAN LENTITUD
Venezuela libera presos a cuentagotas

AFP, DPA Y REUTERS

Desde que el gobierno venezolano anunció el jueves que liberaría a "un número importante" de personas, menos de 20 de los más de 800 presos políticos contabilizados por varias ONG han dejado las prisiones.

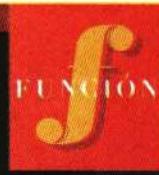
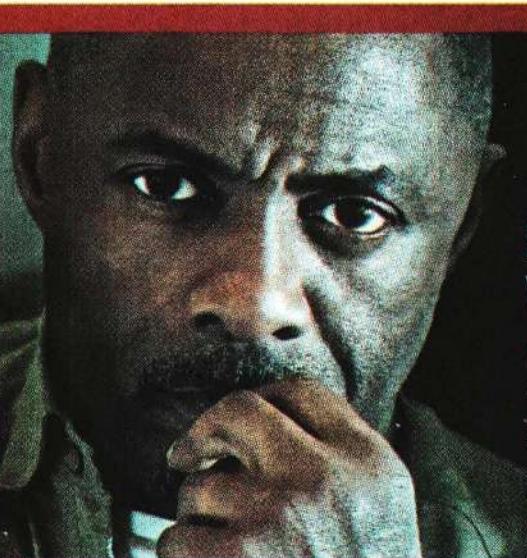
La principal coalición opositora de Venezuela, Plataforma Unitaria, informó que 17 presos políticos han quedado en libertad en medio del lento y hermético proceso de excarcelaciones.

Decenas de familias llevan dos días durmiendo a las afueras de centros de detención como Rodeo I, a las afueras de Caracas, la capital, a la espera de noticias. Los custodios afirman no saber nada.

En tanto, el gobierno de Nicaragua anunció la liberación de "decenas" de opositores y críticos encarcelados, una semana después de la captura del presidente venezolano Nicolás Maduro.

El régimen del país centroamericano anunció en el sitio oficial 19digital que "regresaron a sus hogares y familias decenas" de presos, "al conmemorarse 19 años" de la llegada de Daniel Ortega al poder.

GLOBAL | PÁGINA 16



SER UN HÉROE LE VIENE DE FAMILIA

Con poco más de dos décadas de trayectoria, Idris Elba reconoce que su éxito en la actuación, la música y la dirección tiene un origen emocional: el apoyo de su padre.

Foto: Especial

PRENDEN ALERTAS POR VACÍOS LEGALES

La IA y las *deepfakes* amenazan democracia

POR ANDRÉS BECERRIL

La inteligencia artificial, el uso de granjas de bots y otras tecnologías utilizadas en la política electoral han llegado a un punto crítico donde la credibilidad está en duda, advirtió Gisela Rubach.

En entrevista con **Excelsior**, la experta en marketing político alerta que, sin una regulación legal y ética clara, el uso de herramientas como los *deepfakes* y el procesamiento masivo de datos personales conducirá a una democracia virtual, en la que el contacto directo con la gente será la única defensa contra la desinformación.

Alertó que los comicios en México y en el mundo tienen un nuevo protagonista: el metaestratega, quien sabe qué le gusta escuchar a la gente y qué mensajes deben enviarse para generar aceptación o rechazo. Para Rubach, el tema de fondo es el uso del *big data*, el *machine learning*, los bots, la inteligencia artificial y los algoritmos. "Aquí es donde advierto un gran riesgo: la manipulación de la información".

EL USO DE TECNOLOGÍAS y algoritmos que manipulan al electorado puede transformar los procesos democráticos en simulaciones virtuales, alerta la especialista Gisela Rubach

NUEVAS HERRAMIENTAS ELECTORALES



Un *deepfake* es un video, audio o imagen generada o manipulada con IA para parecer real, pero es falsa.



Roblox es una web donde los usuarios juegan, crean y comparten videojuegos propios o ajenos.



El *Big Data* es un conjunto de datos tan grandes que no pueden ser gestionados de manera tradicional.

candidatos que cuentan con su propio chatbot para contestar llamadas o mensajes de WhatsApp. Ya no es el candidato quien responde directamente, sino su versión digital o "doble" automatizado.

Hoy, pensar en que repartir despensas en bultos de cemento resolverá una elección, es una visión limitada.

"Sí, puede funcionar en

ciertos segmentos, pero no en otros, especialmente entre los jóvenes, que ya son completamente digitales", indicó.

Por ejemplo, los candidatos deben pensar en estar presentes en plataformas como Roblox, en el mundo de los videojuegos e incluso en el metaverso.

PRIMERA | PÁGINAS 6, 7 Y 8



CLAUDIA SHEINBAUM

IMPULSA SOBERANÍA ALIMENTARIA

Con el objetivo de que las ganancias por cultivos lleguen directamente a las familias campesinas, la Presidenta anunció en Guerrero la incorporación de la jamaica al programa nacional Alimentación para el Bienestar. / 2

EL DECLIVE ES CONSISTENTE, SEÑALA ESTUDIO

Se desploman decomisos y muertes por fentanilo

El tráfico de la sustancia desde México hacia Estados Unidos disminuyó 46% en el último año

POR HÉCTOR FIGUEROA

Durante el año fiscal 2025, las incautaciones de fentanilo en la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos registraron su nivel más bajo desde 2021, además de que las muertes por sobredosis de esta sustancia en Estados Unidos disminuyeron 24% el año pasado.

Informes de la Oficina de Aduanas y Protección Fronteriza de Estados Unidos (CBP) y de la Oficina en Washington para Asuntos Latinoamericanos (WOLA) indican que la baja en decomisos coincide con el

inicio de la administración de Sheinbaum y la intensificación de operativos contra laboratorios clandestinos y precursores químicos en territorio mexicano.

El pasado 15 de diciembre el presidente de Estados Unidos, Donald Trump, declaró al fentanilo "arma de destrucción masiva", con lo cual pretende realizar acciones militares contra los carteles que trafican esa droga.

Una investigación de la Facultad de Políticas Públicas de la Universidad de Maryland, conocida a través de la publicación *Science* el pasado 7 de enero, con datos de los Centros para el Control y Prevención de Enfermedades (CDC), señala que la reducción del consumo de fentanilo en Estados Unidos es una tendencia consistente.

PRIMERA | PÁGINA 4

EXCELSIOR

Fabiola Guarneros Saavedra 2
Ciro Gómez Leyva 4
José Luis Valdés Ugalde 11
Vianey Esquinca 13





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DOMINGO 11 DE ENERO DE 2026 // CIUDAD DE MÉXICO // AÑO 42 // NÚMERO 14905 // Precio 10 pesos

“Abajo la Doctrina Monroe”, clamor en la CDMX



▲ Miles de personas se movilizaron ayer en la Ciudad de México, del Ángel de la Independencia al Hemiciclo a Juárez, donde hubo un mitin en demanda de la liberación del presidente de Venezuela, Nicolás Maduro, y su esposa, Cilia Flores, así como

en defensa de la soberanía de los países de América Latina. Mientras, en urbes de España, Francia, Italia, Suecia y Tailandia hubo protestas frente a las embajadas estadounidenses. Foto Yazmín Ortega Cortés / ARTURO SÁNCHEZ Y REDACCIÓN

El Tesoro busca que FMI y BM reanuden relaciones

EU apura el retiro de sanciones a Venezuela para vender petróleo

● Cerca de descongelar unos 5 mil millones de dólares de los activos monetarios de Caracas

● Trump blinda las ganancias del crudo de posibles embargos y procesos judiciales

● “Estamos bien, somos unos luchadores”, mensaje de Maduro desde la cárcel a su hijo

ÁNGEL GONZÁLEZ, ESPECIAL PARA LA JORNADA, REUTERS Y SPUTNIK / P 2 A 5

Washington lanza ataque a gran escala contra el Estado Islámico en Siria

● Gobierno, partidos en el poder y de oposición se unen en defensa de la soberanía de Groenlandia

AFP, AP, EUROPA PRESS Y SPUTNIK / P 4 Y 18

“La independencia no se negocia”

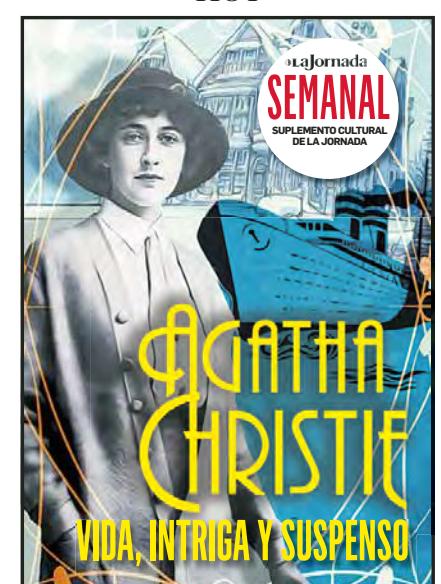


▲ En su segundo día de gira por Guerrero, la presidenta Claudia Sheinbaum subrayó que en el diálogo entre países, en particular con Estados Unidos, México colabora en condición de igualdad, no se subordina. Foto Presidencia A. URRUTIA, ENVIADO / P 7

Automovilismo

ELENA PONIATOWSKA / CULTURA

HOY



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EDGAR NEGRETE LIRA/CUARTOSCURO

RTP, al relevo por obras en Línea B del Metro

Durante los días 10 y 11 de enero, la Red de Transporte Público (RTP) proporciona servicio a usuarios de la Línea B del Metro, debido a que se llevan a cabo obras en el tramo elevado de las estaciones San Lázaro a Oceanía, por lo que el servicio estará suspendido en seis estaciones.



CULTURA

PAG. 14

Instituto de Artes Gráficas de Oaxaca celebra 37 años

■ Engalanan obras de Francisco Toledo



NACIONAL

PAG. 6

Sheinbaum evalúa avances en nuevas escuelas de Guerrero

EU busca justificación legal para combatir a los carteles en México



← Argumento

El Departamento de Estado revisa marcos legales para respaldar una acción militar

Estrategia. El Departamento de Estado de EU ordenó a su área legal analizar implicaciones jurídicas que justifiquen una acción militar en México contra carteles de la droga, en lugar de revisar marcos legales mexicanos relacionados con esta medida. **PAG. 5**

OPINIÓN

Fernando Martínez González
Implicaciones por la captura de Maduro - P2

Rafael Cardona
La incomprensión como privilegio - P4

MUNDO

PAG. 19

EU alerta que milicias armadas en Venezuela buscan a estadounidenses

Advertencia. El Gobierno de Estados Unidos alertó este sábado que milicias armadas en Venezuela buscan a estadounidenses o pruebas de apoyo al país norteamericano, por lo que Washington pidió a sus compatriotas salir del país.

LA ESQUINA

Mover los hilos del mundo es un objetivo que Donald Trump disfruta y uno de sus blancos es México: primero impuso aranceles y ahora busca argumentos para combatir al narco en suelo azteca. El pretexto es lo de menos, ya que el llamado internacional no cuenta.



CIUDAD DE MÉXICO | DOMINGO 11 DE ENERO DE 2026 | AÑO LXI | NO. 21,704 | ORGANIZACIÓN EDITORIAL MEXICANA

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Crecen las protestas contra ICE

MINNEAPOLIS. Miles de personas marcharon por las calles de las principales ciudades de Estados Unidos en contra de la política migratoria de la Administración Trump, después de la muerte de una mujer estadounidense tras recibir varios disparos a manos de un agente del Servicio de Inmigración y Control de Aduanas (ICE) en Minneapolis. "El ICE mata. Son fascistas. Son asesinos. Han invadido nuestra ciudad", gritaron en Minneapolis. **Pág. 18**

Xiomara Castro pide diálogo a Trump

EU lanza amago a Honduras

Miami. El Departamento de Estado de Estados Unidos advirtió a Honduras que los intentos ilegales por revertir la elección presidencial "tendrán serias consecuencias". Esto, luego de que la presidenta del país centroamericano, Xiomara Castro promulgó un decreto aprobado por el Congreso para que se haga un nuevo escrutinio de la votación que ganó Nasry Tito Asfura, candidato del conservador Partido Nacional, apoyado por Donald Trump. En respuesta al mensaje desde la Unión Americana, la mandataria hondureña invitó en su cuenta de X a una llamada directa con el presidente estadounidense para hablar de la situación electoral en su país. **Pág. 17**

ANIVERSARIO LUCTUOSO

Hace 50 años murió Agatha Christie

La obra de la reina del misterio sigue vigente tanto en sus libros, como en las adaptaciones de las aventuras de Hércules Poirot y la Señorita Marple. **GOSSIP**

CUBA RECIBE LA AYUDA

Llega crudo mexicano

La refinería Ñico López, en La Habana, comenzó la descarga de 86 mil barriles de petróleo enviado para ayudar a aliviar los apagones en la isla, confirmó a EFE el Instituto de Energía de la Universidad de Texas. **Pág. 5**

BUSCAN REVERTIR CAÍDA EN VACUNACIÓN

Comprará 4.7 millones de dosis de la hexavalente

JUAN CARLOS RODRÍGUEZ Y MONTSERRAT MALDONADO

México acumula una década a la baja en cobertura de la inmunización infantil

El Gobierno de México pretende adquirir 4.7 millones de dosis de la vacuna hexavalente este año, con lo que busca revertir la tendencia descendente en la protección de los niños de un año o menos.

De acuerdo con los Lineamientos de Operación del Programa de Vacunación E033 para 2026, el sector salud in-

vertirá mil 681.8 millones de pesos para la producción y adquisición de los biológicos que protegen a la población infantil contra seis enfermedades: difteria, tétanos, tos ferina, hepatitis B, Haemophilus influenza tipo b y poliomielitis.

Los lineamientos reconocen que México acumula una década a la baja en cobertura

de vacunación infantil. En 2016, por ejemplo, cuando todavía se aplicaba la dosis pentavalente, el país aplicó 6.5 millones de dosis; 6.2 millones en 2018, cuando se introdujo el modelo de hexavalente (que incluyó la inmunización contra poliomielitis).

En 2020, año de la pandemia, los números cayeron a 5.1 millones de dosis. Pero las cifras se desplomaron en 2024, cuando sólo se aplicaron 3.7 millones, una caída de 43 por ciento respecto a 2016. **Pág. 6**



Betty Zanolli
Felipe Arizmendi
Flor María Yáñez

Pág. 13
Pág. 14
Pág. 15

META

#ADIVISIONALES

AVANZAN
LOS RAMS
Y BEARS



NUEVA ERA / AÑO. 9
/ NO. 3129 / DOMINGO 11
DE ENERO DE 2026

FOTO: ESPECIAL



FOTO: ESPECIAL

P8

#TRASDECLARAR

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FOTO: AP

#AUMENTAPRESIÓN

AMENAZA EU A NICARAGUA, HONDURAS E IRÁN

EL GOBIERNO DE DONALD TRUMP RESPALDÓ LAS ASPIRACIONES DE POBLADORES DE ESOS PAÍSES PARA VIVIR "LIBRES DE TIRANÍAS". LANZÓ AYER ATAQUE CONTRA SIRIA

POR DONOVAN KREMER / P10



#BUQUEMEXICANO

LLEGAN 86 MIL
BARRILES DE
CRUDO A CUBA

P5

FOTO: AP

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LA NUEVA POLÍTICA EXTERIOR DE EE UU

Trump, el imperialismo desbocado

● El presidente de EE UU se siente cada vez más libre para coaccionar a otros gobiernos y explotar recursos

● Envalentonado, dinamita el derecho internacional para defender los que considera intereses del país

● El magnate rompe el orden mundial y opta por otro del pasado donde impera la ley del más fuerte

MACARENA VIDAL LIY
Washington

El presidente de EE UU, Donald Trump, está exultante por la captura del líder venezolano, Nicolás Maduro, y su esposa Cilia Flores, en una operación sin bajas estadounidenses. Y se ha envalentonado. Opera como si fuera el gobernador de un mundo sin más ley que la suya. "Solo hay una cosa. Mi propia moralidad. Mi propia opinión. Es lo único que puede detenerme", dijo recientemente en una patada al derecho internacional. Solo en esta semana, e invocando los intereses de su país, ha intervenido Venezuela, ha amenazado a Cuba, Colombia, México o Groenlandia, se ha autopropuesto dueño del petróleo venezolano y se ha salido de docenas de organismos internacionales.

Trump define su visión como la *doctrina Monroe*, que los expertos describen como un reparto de influencia entre grandes potencias, con Washington al frente del Hemisferio Occidental, China al mando de Asia y Rusia, de la antigua Unión Soviética. Tiene, como sus antecesores, un gran poder presidencial para intervenir en el exterior, y lo está usando para dinamitar el régimen de la posguerra y estableciendo un sistema que representa un regreso al pasado, donde impera la ley del más fuerte.

—P2 Y 3



Cuba

Incertidumbre en La Habana: "Esto es un barco a la deriva"

La amenaza de ser el próximo objetivo marca la vida cotidiana —P12 Y 13

Groenlandia

Conquistar la isla "por las buenas o por las malas" —P16 Y 17

El pulso por el crudo
Trump se erige petrolero en jefe —P38 A 40

Un nuevo fascismo avanza en el mundo
Siri Hustvedt —P4 Y 5

Las barbas de tu vecino
Héctor Abad Faciolince —P11

Brutalidad neocolonialista
—EDITORIAL EN P24

Vértigo en la 'nueva Venezuela' de Delcy Rodríguez

J. QUESADA / M. MARTÍN
F. SINGER

Bogotá / Caracas

Los venezolanos convivían con Nicolás Maduro las 24 horas. Maduro para desayunar, comer y cenar. Maduro en televisión, en la radio y también en las redes sociales. Y, de repente, Trump lo desapareció. Su ausencia ha abierto un boquete en un país en crisis que se pregunta

ta si algo ha cambiado. El chavismo sigue controlando las comunicaciones y las calles: "Te llevan si quieren", dice una experta en marketing que ha prohibido a su hijo

Del asalto en Caracas al reparto del petróleo —P6 Y 7

salir por miedo a que le recluten.

La Venezuela de Delcy Rodríguez está en *shock*. Vive una situación confusa. Los ministros son los mismos, los militares vigilan igual las alcabalas. Pero, a la vez, el régimen libera a presos políticos y se espera la próxima apertura de la Embajada de EE UU en Caracas. Se empiezan a respirar otros aires.

—P8 Y 9

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Can Trump Make Venezuela An Oil Giant Again?

WSJ

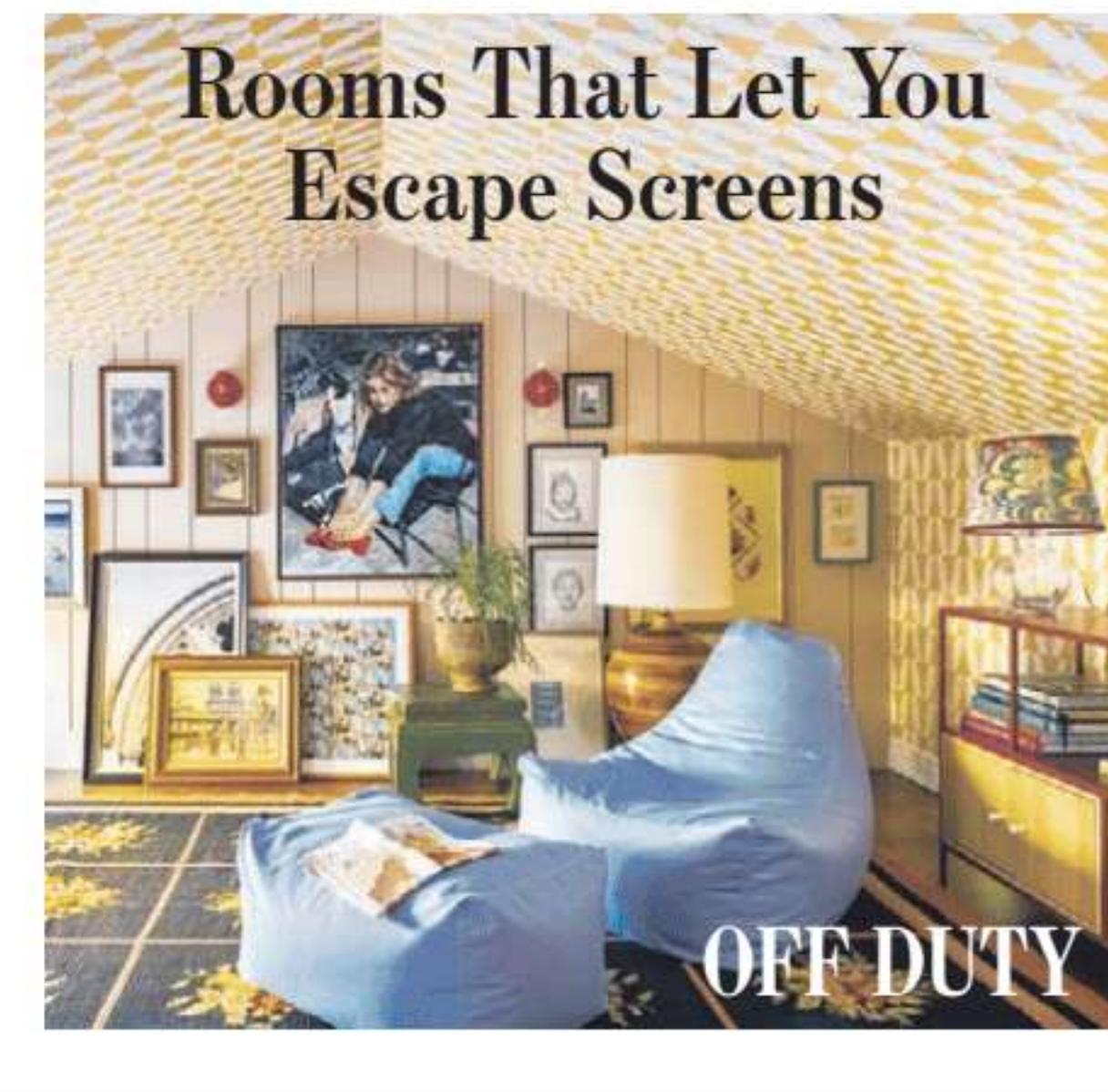
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U.S. Edition



What's News

Business & Finance

◆ **American employers** added jobs at a subdued pace in December, capping a year in which the U.S. labor market lost considerable momentum. **A1**

◆ **Trump inadvertently** posted job-market statistics online Thursday night that were supposed to remain confidential until the next day, the White House said. **A2**

◆ **The S&P 500 and Dow** closed at record highs. For the week, the S&P 500, Dow and Nasdaq rose 1.6%, 2.3% and 1.9%, respectively. **B11**

◆ **Merck is in talks** to acquire Revolution Medicines in a deal that could value the cancer-drug biotech at about \$30 billion, according to people familiar with the matter. **B10**

◆ **Meta unveiled a series** of agreements that would make it an anchor customer for new and existing nuclear power in the U.S., where it needs city-size amounts of electricity for its AI centers. **B10**

◆ **China cemented** its global lead in electric vehicles in 2025 with local brands grabbing further share from foreign carmakers in the world's biggest car market. **B10**

◆ **Bob's Discount Furniture** has filed for its IPO. **B11**

◆ **Pandora's full-year sales** are set to come in below guidance after weak consumer sentiment in North America. **B11**

Worldwide

◆ **As Iranian protests** grow in size, an unlikely figure is gaining prominence—the son of the country's reviled shah, who was toppled in the nation's 1979 revolution. **A1**

◆ **Iran's supreme leader** said the Islamic Republic won't back down amid protests and threats from Trump to intervene. **A8**

◆ **Local prosecutors** in Minnesota are seeking evidence from the fatal shooting of a woman by an ICE agent as they weigh their next steps in response to the death. **A4**

◆ **Democrats in the New York** state legislature are pushing to require schools to teach students about the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol, as the Trump administration sought to recast the riot as a "peaceful protest." **A3**

◆ **The U.S. Coast Guard** seized a fifth oil tanker and continued to eye other vessels trying to evade the U.S. blockade on sanctioned tankers traveling to and from Venezuela. **A6**

◆ **Russia launched** its nuclear-capable hypersonic Oreshnik missile against Ukraine for only the second time, hitting the western region of Lviv near the Polish border, in a significant escalation. **A8**

◆ **The EU approved** a trade deal with four South American countries, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. **A9**

NOONAN

A good riddance, but a disquieting one **A13**

CONTENTS Obituaries C6
Books C7-12 Opinion A11-13
Business & Finance B10 Sports A14
Food D6 Style & Fashion D2-4
Gear & Gadgets D10 Travel D9
Head on Street B12 U.S. News A2-5
Markets B11 World News A6-10

0 2 6 4 6
0 7 8 9 0 8 6 3 1 4 4 2
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Job Gains Cool, Cap a Weak Year

Payrolls rose by 50,000 in December as unemployment ticked down to 4.4%

By HARRIET TORY

U.S. employers added jobs at a subdued pace in December, capping a year in which the country's labor market lost considerable momentum. Outside

of the two most recent recessions, 2025 saw the lowest pace of average monthly job growth since 2003.

The U.S. economy added a

seasonally adjusted 50,000 jobs in December, the Labor Department said Friday. That was a slight slowdown from November's 56,000 gain and undershot economists' expectations for a 73,000 increase.

The unemployment rate ticked down to 4.4% last month, although it has drifted up from 4% last January.

All told, employers added 584,000 new jobs in 2025—or about 49,000 jobs a month, on average. That is a marked deceleration from 2024, when the economy added two million jobs, at a pace of 168,000 a month.

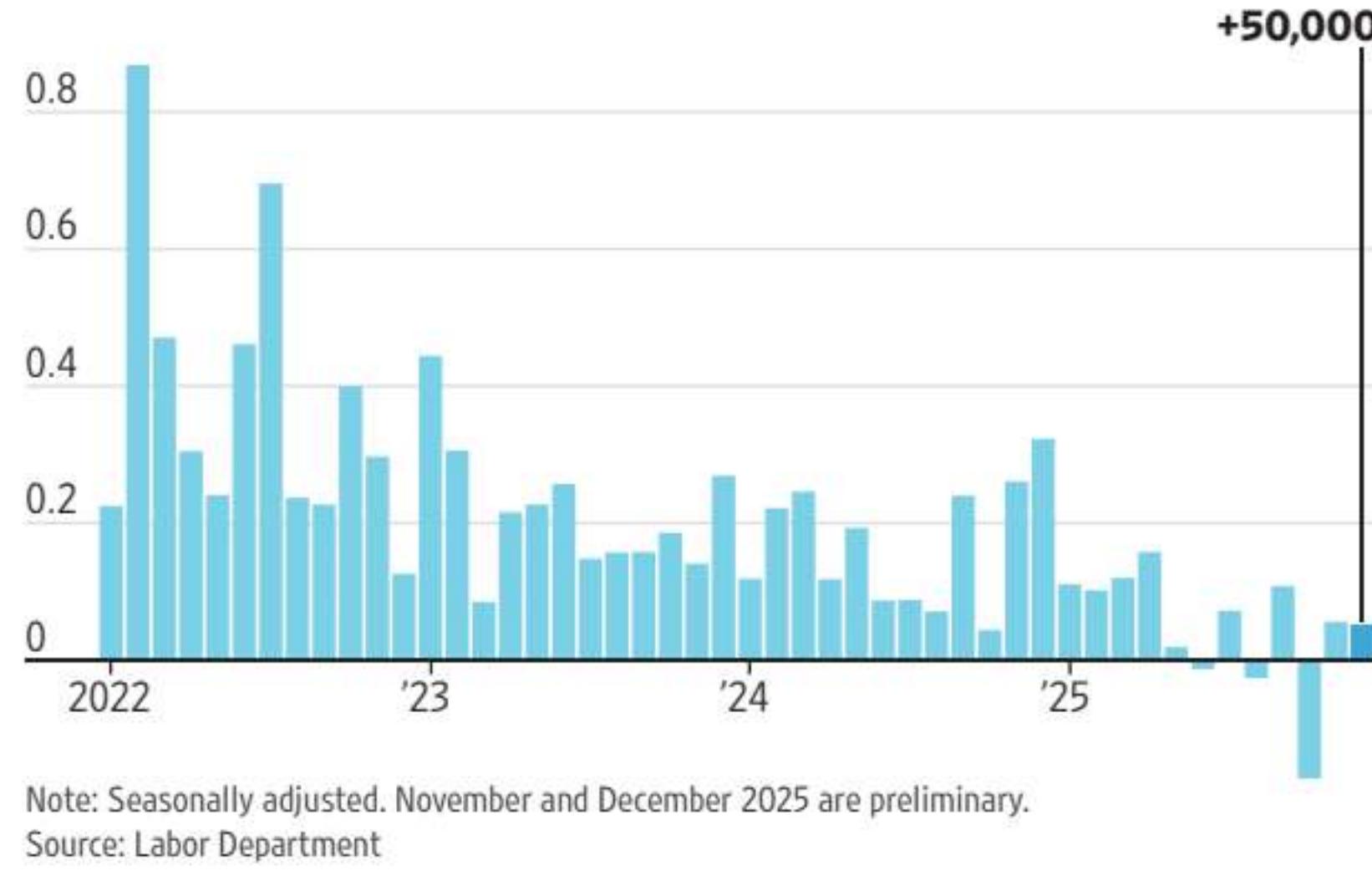
"We are at an inflection point," said U.S. Bank Chief Economist Beth Ann Bovino. Businesses that staffed up rapidly in the postpandemic years are pulling back on hiring, she said. Although economic growth has remained strong, with consumers and businesses continuing to spend, "the jobs market is very fragile—the unemployment rate is low, but businesses aren't hiring."

Headed into 2026, the labor

Please turn to page A2

◆ **Trump post indirectly revealed hiring stats..... A2**

Nonfarm payrolls, change from a month earlier



Note: Seasonally adjusted. November and December 2025 are preliminary.

Source: Labor Department

As Turmoil Rocks Tehran, Regime Vows Crackdown



DEFIANCE: Iranians chant 'Death to the dictator' as they march in the capital, in an image from video. Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei said Friday Iran 'will not retreat' after President Trump threatened to intervene if the regime response turns deadly. **A8**

Iran Protesters Rally Behind Son Of Former Shah as Unrest Grows

By BOENOT FAUCON
AND MARGHERITA STANCATI

As Iranian protests grow in size, an unlikely figure is gaining prominence—the son of the country's reviled shah, who was toppled in the 1979 revolution.

Iranians across the country are chanting slogans in support of Reza Pahlavi, whose father, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, ruled the country for decades.

The chants come as the

tone of the protests, which began with outrage over a falling currency and soaring prices, is shifting from economic concerns to attacks on the legitimacy of the theocratic regime itself. Protesters shouting anti-regime slogans filled streets in Tehran on Thursday night in the largest demonstrations in years. Videos showed burned out cars and a mosque.

"Long live the Shah," shouted protesters in a shop-

ping center in Tehran, as others set fire to a nearby government building, according to a video verified by Storyful, which is owned by Wall Street Journal parent News Corp.

"This is the last battle," thousands chanted at another march elsewhere in the capital, adding, "Pahlavi will return."

The 65-year-old Pahlavi's prominence is a departure from previous bouts of protest, when the heir of the

controversial dynasty was rarely evoked. His father, who ruled Iran from the 1940s, was widely despised in Iran for his autocratic rule, his political repression and what critics saw as his subservience to the U.S.

Few analysts think Pahlavi has a real path to the throne or leadership in Iran. His improved reputation in recent years says more about the

Please turn to page A8

President Blindsides Housing Investors

Blackstone Chief Executive Officer Stephen Schwarzman helped launch Wall Street into the business of buying and renting out single-family homes in the aftermath of the 2008 housing crash.

By Ryan Dezember,
Miriam Gottfried and
Josh Dawsey

This past week, his firm and others across the industry were blindsided when President Trump—a property mogul himself who many in the sector consider an ally—said he plans to boot investors from the market.

Though they regained some ground later in the week, shares of the two big publicly traded single-family landlords, Invitation Homes and AMH, shed 6% and 4.3%, respectively, on Wednesday.

Shares of Blackstone were hit, too. The firm financed the creation of Invitation Homes but has since sold all its stock. It now owns smaller rival Tricon Residential. The 5.6% decline in Blackstone's shares Wednesday cut the value of Schwarzman's roughly 20% stake by more than \$2.1 billion. Shares have recovered some since.

A Blackstone spokesman said the firm's ownership of U.S. single-family homes represents about 2% of its real-estate assets under management and 0.5% of the firm's overall assets.

Trump's top advisers have pushed the president to change his messaging on the economy

Please turn to page A5

Bad News, Maryland Drivers: Your 2005 Camry Isn't Historic

* * *

High prices for standard tags helped lead to a surge in 'classic' cars from the early 2000s

By SCOTT CALVERT

Andre Harris is a pawn in a debate that has car buffs across Maryland revved up: What should qualify as a historic vehicle?

The 40-year-old painter drives a blue 2005 Toyota Camry. "I wouldn't call it historic," he said on a recent Sunday, while parked at a Baltimore shopping plaza. But the state does. It says so on his license plate.

Tens of thousands of Marylanders have taken advantage of rules allowing historic tags on cars from the early 2000s. They make up nearly a third of historic tags—about 60,000 out of 190,000, the state said.

Perks include avoiding state

emissions tests and safety inspections. The license plates are also significantly cheaper than standard tags. Harris said the one-year savings, about \$65, was his main motivation.

There's a catch, though: A historic car isn't supposed to be driven daily. "It can only be used in exhibitions, club activities, parades, tours, occasional transportation and similar uses," according to the Maryland Motor Vehicle Administration.

Harris said he drives his Camry on weekends. But enough people were commuting in their "classic" Honda Civics—and enough people were complaining about them—that state lawmakers cracked down last year, revising

Please turn to page A10

EXCHANGE



DISNEY MAGIC

Inside the secret team working on the next big thing. **B1**

Trump's Fixation With Foreign Oil

Venezuela is latest example of wanting to leverage military might for energy

By ANNIE LINSKEY
AND COLLIN EATON

WASHINGTON—A smooth-faced 41-year-old Donald Trump settled in before a live studio audience assembled for "The Oprah Winfrey Show" and held forth on how America should be getting a cut of Kuwaiti oil.

"Kuwait is not paying us for all the oil they're sending out," said Trump, wearing a familiar solid red tie, as Oprah pressed him on his foreign policy views during the April 1988 interview. He complained that the Kuwaitis "live like kings" while the American military protected their tankers amid

the Iraq-Iran War.

"Why aren't they paying us 25% of what they're making?" Trump asked.

In media interviews going back to the 1980s—long before he would dominate U.S. politics—Trump outlined his interest in the U.S. seizing oil from countries where Americans intervened. Now, in his second term, he's making an audacious bid to turn his decadeslong fixation

Please turn to page A7

◆ U.S. seizes fifth tanker of campaign A6
◆ Trump presses oil executives to invest in Venezuela A6
◆ Heard on the Street: \$50 oil price goal is doable B12

President Trump promised that he could bring peace to Ukraine in a single day. What followed was nearly a year of on-again, off-again negotiations, apportioning of territory, administration infighting and a war still without end. This is the story of how it unfolded.



TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ukrainian forces in Donbas. As the United States sought a deal and Russia a victory, Washington factions bled Kyiv's war effort.

THE SEPARATION

Inside the Unraveling of the Partnership Between the U.S. and Ukraine

By ADAM ENTOUTS

The train left the U.S. Army depot in the west of Germany and made for Poland and the Ukrainian border. These were the final 800 miles of a trans-Atlantic supply chain that had sustained Ukraine across more than three long years of war.

The freight on this last day in June was 155-millimeter artillery shells, 18,000 of them packed into crates, their fuses separated out to prevent detonation in transit. Their ultimate destination was the eastern front, where Vladimir V. Putin's generals were massing forces and firepower against the city of Pokrovsk. The battle was for territory and strategic advantage, but also for bragging rights: Mr. Putin wanted to show the American president, Donald J. Trump, that Russia was indeed winning.

Day after day, then, thousands upon

Advertising their war plan, the Russians had told Mr. Trump's advisers. "We're going to slam them harder there. We have the munitions to do that." In Washington, the defense secretary, Pete Hegseth, had been talking about munitions, too, testifying to a Senate Appropriations subcommittee that those earmarked for Ukraine by former President Joseph R. Biden Jr. were "still flowing."

Three months earlier, in fact, Mr. Hegseth had, unannounced, decided to hold back one crucial class of munitions — American-made 155s. The U.S. military's stocks were running low, his advisers had warned; withholding them would force the Europeans to step up, to take greater responsibility for the war in their backyard.

Day after day, then, thousands upon

thousands of 155s earmarked for Ukraine had lain waiting on pallets at the ammunition depot. The American commander in Europe, Gen. Christopher G. Cavoli, had fired off email after email, pleading with the Pentagon to free them. The jam had been broken only after intervention from Jack Keane, a retired Army general and Fox News contributor who was friendly with the president.

But on July 2, as the train approached the Ukrainian border, a new order came in to the U.S. military's European Command: "Divert everything. Immediately."

Exactly why the liberated shells had been taken captive again was never explained. In the end, they waited for just 10

Continued on Page 12

Continued on Page 12

Early Comments Cast Doubts Over ICE Inquiry

By GLENN THRUSH

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration blocked Minnesota officials from investigating the death of the woman shot on Wednesday by a federal agent, then quietly offered this explanation:

Local investigators simply could not be trusted to conduct a fair inquiry.

The investigation into the killing of Renee Nicole Good, 37, federal officials said, would be the exclusive province of the F.B.I., which is overseen by a director, Kash Patel, who has described President Trump as an unerring boss, and even a king.

Mr. Trump had already declared the shooting justified. Vice President JD Vance has asserted that federal agents had "absolute immunity" from prosecution. The homeland security secretary, Kristi Noem, has spoken about the incident as if it were a closed case: Ms. Good had "weaponized" her S.U.V. to kill agents, she said, even though video analysis by The New York Times suggested it was more likely that she was turning her car away from officers.

The extraordinary volley of public statements stood in striking contrast to the far more restrained approach to high-profile incidents taken by other



DAVID GUTTENFELDER/THE NEW YORK TIMES
PROTESTS Demonstrations continued in Minneapolis and in other cities after the killing of Renee Nicole Good. Page 23.

presidents, who have typically called for calm pending the results of investigations. The all-hands effort to define Ms. Good as the only person who did anything wrong has cast serious doubt on the F.B.I.'s willingness to scrutinize the actions of the agent who killed the unarmed activist, according to former law

enforcement officials who were once responsible for investigating comparable tragedies.

"It's hard to have any trust in the federal investigation given the White House's immediate public effort to drive an outcome," said Vanita Gupta, a former top Justice Department

Continued on Page 23

Continued on Page 23

Streetwear Thrives Again

In London, Clint Ogbenna saw an opportunity to restore a long-gone thrill in style with his brand Corteiz.

PAGE 4



Continued on Page 23

Continued on Page 23

INTERNATIONAL 4-19

Ex-Revolutionary in Venezuela

Delcy Rodríguez, a guerrilla's daughter and a Maduro loyalist, revived a ravaged economy and is a key to President Trump's plans for her country.

PAGE 8

Jurists as Pariahs

Trump administration sanctions against judges of the International Criminal Court have tortuous effects.

PAGE 6

METROPOLITAN

A Year of Congestion Pricing

With about 73,000 fewer vehicles entering Manhattan's central business district daily, the streets were quieter.

PAGE 6

SUNDAY STYLES

Love, Silicon Valley Style

Some tech executives and other industry insiders are seeking to streamline the messy matters of the heart.

PAGE 4

Continued on Page 23

NATIONAL 20-28

Don't Fence Me In

GPS collars on cattle could allow ranchers in Wyoming and across the West to go without fences. That would be good for wildlife and for the land.

PAGE 20

Continued on Page 23

ARTS & LEISURE

'KPop Demon Hunters'

Filmmakers, songwriters and actors tell how a "wackadoo" concept evolved for years into a global phenomenon.

PAGE 6

Continued on Page 23

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Is He Apple's Next Chief?

John Ternus, a low-profile executive who is the head of hardware engineering, could be next in line.

PAGE 4

Continued on Page 23

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

RE V1 V2 V3 V4



Increasing wind 49/32 • Tomorrow: Breezy 48/31 B22

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SUNDAY, JANUARY 11, 2026 • \$6

Overseas actions pull focus from living costs

Trump's opening moves in midterm election year cloud affordability push

BY NATALIE ALLISON AND CLEVE R. WOOTSON JR.

In the closing weeks of 2025, President Donald Trump gave a prime-time speech on affordability and launched a swing-state rally tour that his advisers said would show voters his focus on domestic concerns — a messaging push intended to ramp up at the start of the year.

But the president's first major act in the new year was a military operation in Venezuela that led to Trump saying on Jan. 3 that the United States will "run" the South American country indefinitely. In the following days, Trump issued threats of military action in Iran and Colombia, hinted at U.S. intervention in Mexico and renewed his interest in taking ownership of Greenland.

The result has been a muddled opening message of the midterm election year, with Trump making clear that he has no plans to back down from a growing list of foreign entanglements, while the White House tries to assure voters that the president is delivering on promises to make life more affordable.

Mindful of the looming midterm elections, White House officials, including Vice President JD Vance, have sought to cast the Venezuela mission as one that will ultimately improve U.S. security and domestic quality of life, arguing that the capture of President Nicolás Maduro will stem the flow of illegal drugs and Venezuelan criminals entering

SEE TRUMP ON A8

The Sunday Take: Calling Trump a "neocon" stretches the label. A2



SEBASTIEN SALOM-GOMIS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Taking on the race of his life

Charlie Dalin stood on the bow of his boat, a light wind at his back, the Atlantic Ocean spread out in front of him.

He had just begun sailing's most difficult race, a grueling 24,000-mile solo journey around the world called the Vendée Globe. The competition, which takes place every four years, starts with about 40 professional sailors. Nearly half of them never finish. Many capsize. One was never found.

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Charlie Dalin stood up to the challenge of the world's toughest sailing competition — while fighting cancer

BY KEVIN SIEFF

French skipper Charlie Dalin sails off the coast of Lorient, France, on April 22, 2024. A year before the Vendée Globe round-the-world sailing race, Dalin was diagnosed with gastrointestinal cancer.

41-year-old looked almost like an extension of the 60-foot vessel: tall and angular, as if any excess had been blown off by the wind.

But Dalin had kept a secret from his competitors, his fans and even his own team as he embarked on a voyage that would take several months. He was battling gastrointestinal cancer.

He had been diagnosed a year before when a scan revealed a 15-centimeter-long tumor on his small intestine. At first, he wondered if he would survive. Then he wondered if he could race.

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SEE SAILING ON A12

Heavy scrutiny for ICE tactics

POSITION AT CAR'S FRONT IS CRITICIZED

Officer may have created needless risk, experts say

BY MARK BERMAN, MARIA SACCHETTI, DEREK HAWKINS AND DAVID OVALLE

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They said the officer — identified through court records as Jonathan Ross, an employee of the agency's Enforcement and Removal Operations division — placed himself at needless risk, escalated the situation and went against best law enforcement practices during the incident. Law enforcement officers should not position themselves in front of vehicles, and they need to try to de-escalate confrontations and must generally avoid shooting into moving vehicles, these officials said.

SEE ICE ON A10

ICE protests: Demonstrations take place across the nation. A11

Iran on edge as protests, government threats grow

BY YEGANEH TORBATI

ISTANBUL — Protests in Iran continued through Saturday despite threats from the country's supreme leader that he would expand the government's crackdown on demonstrators.

Though details remain scarce due to a severe communications blackout, videos shared by Persian-language news outlets based abroad, including BBC Persian and Radio Farda, on Friday and Saturday showed huge crowds in cities including Tehran, Mashhad and Yazd, chanting for an end to the Islamic Republic and praising

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The weekend gatherings were the latest development in a series of protests and strikes that began nearly two weeks ago with mer-

SEE IRAN ON A16

After fleeing the Taliban, they felt safe in America

But a shooting in D.C. has changed everything for Afghan refugees

BY ROBERT SAMUELS

MANHATTAN, KAN. — Inside a small beige room in a modest beige house, three Afghan refugees gathered around a long table where a lifelong Kansan had prepared for them a lesson about the Constitution.

"When the U.S. fought for freedom, they needed to create new rules," she told them on a Monday evening in early December. "It starts with the phrase 'We the People.' Remember that. We the people."

Rohina Safa, 28, scribbled notes as she learned about the power of citizenship, clinging to a hope that she and the others might one day gain it. Nearly four years ago, she and the two other Afghans at the table fled their homeland to escape persecution from the Taliban. When they set foot in America, lawmakers and veterans groups across the nation eagerly embraced them. The urge to help was so strong that here, in a small city in the center of the country, local veterans started a refugee resettlement agency dedicated to helping them find a new life in Kansas.

But over the past year, the women have had to navigate a different America, one in which the zeal for their presence has begun to fade. Under a new administration and



Fatima Jaghoori, second from left, co-founded a resettlement agency in Manhattan, Kansas. It serves Afghan refugees including, from left, Fatima Farahmand, Rohina Safa and Sediqa Baqeri.

in the wake of a national tragedy, they had little choice but to study American history to deal with the uncertainty of the American president.

Weeks earlier, an Afghan refugee trained by the U.S. military allegedly shot two National Guard members — one fatally — who were patrolling near the White House. Within hours, on the eve of the Thanksgiving holiday that the women had recently learned about, President Donald Trump's administration was using the shooting to justify, and amplify, his hard-line stance against refugees.

Since Trump's inauguration, his administration had severely restricted the acceptance of refugees from countries other than South Africa and slowed the issuance of green cards. States suspended access to food stamps and Medicaid for those seeking asylum. And after the shooting, Trump vowed to review the background of every Afghan refugee, saying he hoped his policies would yield "reverse migration" from the United States. "We have enough problems. We don't want those people," the president said of Afghans and other refugees.

The harsh language sowed fears among Afghans nationwide that their pursuit of the American promise would soon be met with prejudice, rejection or even deportation.

"Every night, I am thinking about this," Safa said. "If they send me back there, what am I going to

SEE REFUGEES ON A6

11 sanctioned oil tankers defy U.S. blockade, imagery shows

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SPORTS

Sports fan with a case of wanderlust? We have just the ticket in '26. B1

BUSINESS

A smaller home can be a happier one, a climate columnist writes. B9



GARMENTS & STYLE

The hunt for a stolen Jackson Pollock — and clues to a family's pain.

NATION

For the first time in 25 years, California is 100 percent drought-free. A4



TRAVEL

Kazakhstan's surreal canyons of Mangystau rival U.S. national parks.

BOOK WORLD

The literary legend who made Dr. Seuss and Ayn Rand household names.

COMICS

OBITUARIES B18

OPINION PAGES A19

WORLD NEWS A15

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RE V1 V2 V3 V4



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Prediction markets: A well-timed bet on Maduro draws scrutiny. A14

Prisoner releases: Families await return of political captives. A15

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SEE TANKERS ON A17

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Sunday

Los Angeles

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SUNDAY, JANUARY 11, 2026

Times

latimes.com



LUMBER is transported in Scotia, Calif., which is struggling to survive the loss of timber and cannabis jobs.

A company town looks to remake itself — one house sale at a time

Pacific Lumber is no more. Can the Humboldt County enclave it built find new life as a real estate gem?

By Jessica Garrison

SCOTIA, Calif. — The last time Mary Bullwinkel and her beloved little town were in the national media spotlight was not a happy period. Bullwinkel was the spokesperson for the logging giant Pacific Lumber in the late 1990s, when reporters flooded into this often forgotten corner of Humboldt County to cover the timber wars and visit a young woman who had staged a dramatic environmental protest in an old-growth redwood tree.

Julia "Butterfly" Hill — whose ethereal, barefoot portraits high in the redwood canopy became a symbol of the Redwood Summer — spent two years living in a thousand-year-old tree, named Luna, to keep it from being felled. Down on the ground, it was Bullwinkel's duty to speak not for the trees but for the timber workers, many of them living in the Pacific Lumber town of Scotia, whose livelihoods were at

stake. It was a role that brought her death threats and negative publicity.

The timber wars have receded into the mists of history. Old-growth forests were protected. Pacific Lumber went bankrupt. Thousands of timber jobs were lost.

But Bullwinkel, now 68, is still in Scotia. And this time, she has a much less fraught mission — although one that is no less difficult: She and another longtime Pacific Lumber employee are fighting to save Scotia itself, by selling it off, house by house.

After the 2008 bankruptcy of Pacific Lumber, a New York hedge fund took possession of the town, an asset it did not relish in its portfolio. Bullwinkel and her boss, Steve Deike, came on board to attract would-be homebuyers and remake what many say is the last company town in America into a vi-

[See Scotia, A10]

Fire-scarred businesses still struggling

Some owners are rebuilding in Los Angeles area; others have given up

By CAROLINE PETROW-COHEN AND ROGER VINCENT

The charred remains of the historic Pacific Palisades Business Block cast a shadow over a once-bustling shopping district along West Sunset Boulevard.

Empty lots littered with debris and ash line the street where houses and small businesses once stood. A year since the Palisades fire roared through the neighborhood, only a handful of businesses have reopened.

The Starbucks, Bank of America, and other businesses that used to operate in the century-old Business Block are gone. All that remains of the Span-

ish Colonial Revival building are some arches surrounding what used to be a busy retail space. The burned-out, rusty remnants of a walk-in vault squat in the center of the structure.

Nearby, the Shade Store, the Freeest clothing store, Skin Local spa, a Hastens mattress store, Sweet Laurel Bakery and the Hydration Room are among the many stores still shuttered. The barbershop Gornik & Drucker doesn't know if it can reopen.

"We have been going back and forth on what it would take to survive," co-owner Leslie Gornik said. "If we open, we have to start over from scratch."

Hundreds gathered around Busi-

[See Businesses, A17]



A YEAR after the Palisades fire, Business Block remnants stand.



BIKERS RIDE along the Snake, a famous stretch of the Mulholland Highway.

Thrill seekers return to Mulholland

Noise and recklessness rumble back with vengeance

By CLARA HARTER

Its serpentine curves have entranced drivers for decades, and even lured some to their death.

For motorcycle and car enthusiasts, riding the hair-raising turns of the 2.4-mile

section of Mulholland Highway known as "the Snake" can feel akin to a religious experience.

When the road reopened after a nearly seven-year closure in December, its devotees returned in droves.

"It is so gratifying, so tact-

ual, it clears my head and

reinvigorates my soul," said Malibu resident Doug Barron, who fell in love with the canyon road while cruising it alongside childhood friend Chad McQueen in the late 1970s.

But locals who live at the base of this motorsports

[See Mulholland, A12]

Grateful Dead co-founder dies

Guitarist Bob Weir, who wrote "Sugar Magnolia" and sang "Truckin'," was 78.

CALIFORNIA, B1

Rams survive to advance

After trailing late, L.A. rallies to defeat the Panthers 34-31 in the NFC wild-card matchup.

SPORTS, D1

A rising force in Mexican music

Singer JOP and his band Fuerza Regida want *música mexicana* to soar even higher.

ENTERTAINMENT, E7

Weather

Mostly sunny.

L.A. Basin: 75/51. B7

Opinion Voices A18

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A TIMES INVESTIGATION

Auto crashes, costly surgeries and big payouts

Small L.A. law firm that grew into a powerhouse is drawing scrutiny

By REBECCA ELLIS

Sereen Banna said the partners of Downtown LA Law Group called her "Erin Brockovich" for her work helping hundreds sue over noxious fumes spewing out of a landfill in northern Los Angeles County.

An ambitious paralegal, Banna said she embraced the role she had in empowering residents to take on companies suspected of polluting their neighborhoods.

Her bosses were proud too, she said. Banna, 28, recalled them saying she would make them all billionaires someday.

But in early 2024, Banna sued

Downtown LA Law Group, also known as DTLA, stating the firm failed to address her complaints about "illegal solicitation, as well as deceptive and unethical practices aimed at persuading individuals to become clients through misrepresentations."

She accused the firm, which she left in the fall of 2024, of amassing plaintiffs through "practices that appeared designed to exploit vulnerable individuals."

DTLA called the allegations "baseless," saying they came from a disgruntled former employee.

"Any allegations of fraud, paid referrals, or unethical practices by DTLA Law Group are not only unsubstantiated, but false," the firm said in a statement. "We

[See DTLA, A6]

Trump's first year sparks a legal war

Federal executive and judicial branches fight over the future of the rule of law in the U.S.

By KEVIN RECTOR

because it has rid itself of custody that there is nothing that can be done," Wilkinson wrote. "This should be shocking not only to judges, but to the intuitive sense of liberty that Americans far removed from courthouses still hold dear."

Two months later, U.S. District Judge William G. Young, also a Reagan appointee, ripped into the Trump administration from the bench for its unprecedented decision to terminate hundreds of National Institutes of Health grants based on their perceived nexus to diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives.

Young ruled the cuts were "arbitrary and capricious" and therefore illegal. But he also said there was a "darker aspect" to the case that he had an "unflinching obligation" to call out — that the administration's actions amounted to "racial dis-

[See Rule of law, A9]

Joy, then dread for Venezuelans in U.S.

Trump administration urges deportations as its travel warning underscores peril.

By ANDREA CASTILLO

Venezuelans began fleeing in droves in 2014 as economic collapse led to widespread food and medicine shortages, as well as political repression. Nearly 8 million Venezuelans are now living outside the country — including 1.2 million in the U.S.

A.G. and her now-18-year-old son arrived at the southern border in 2019. Since then, she said, they have built a good life — they own a transport company with delivery trucks, pay taxes and follow the law.

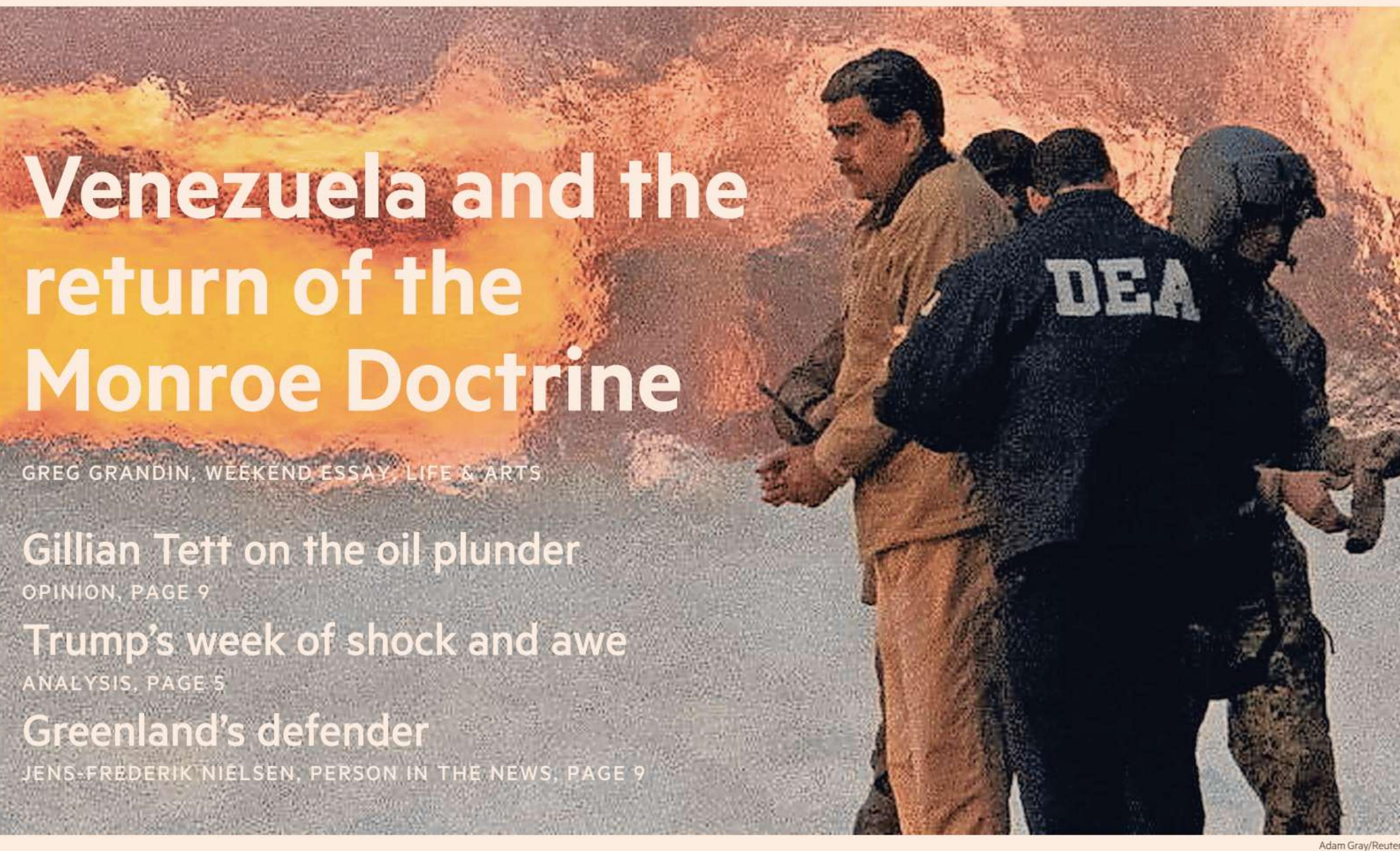
Maduro's fall left her with mixed feelings.

"He's obviously a dictator, many people have died because of him and he refused to give up power, but the reason that they entered Venezuela, for me what President Trump did was illegal," she said. "Innocent people died because of the bombs. I'm asking God that it all be for good reason."

Dozens of Venezuelans and others were killed in the U.S. invasion — more than 100, a government official said — including civilians.

The Trump administra-

[See Immigrants, A7]



Venezuela and the return of the Monroe Doctrine

GREG GRANDIN, WEEKEND ESSAY: LIFE & ARTS

Gillian Tett on the oil plunder

OPINION, PAGE 9

Trump's week of shock and awe

ANALYSIS, PAGE 5

Greenland's defender

JENS-FREDERIK NIELSEN, PERSON IN THE NEWS, PAGE 9

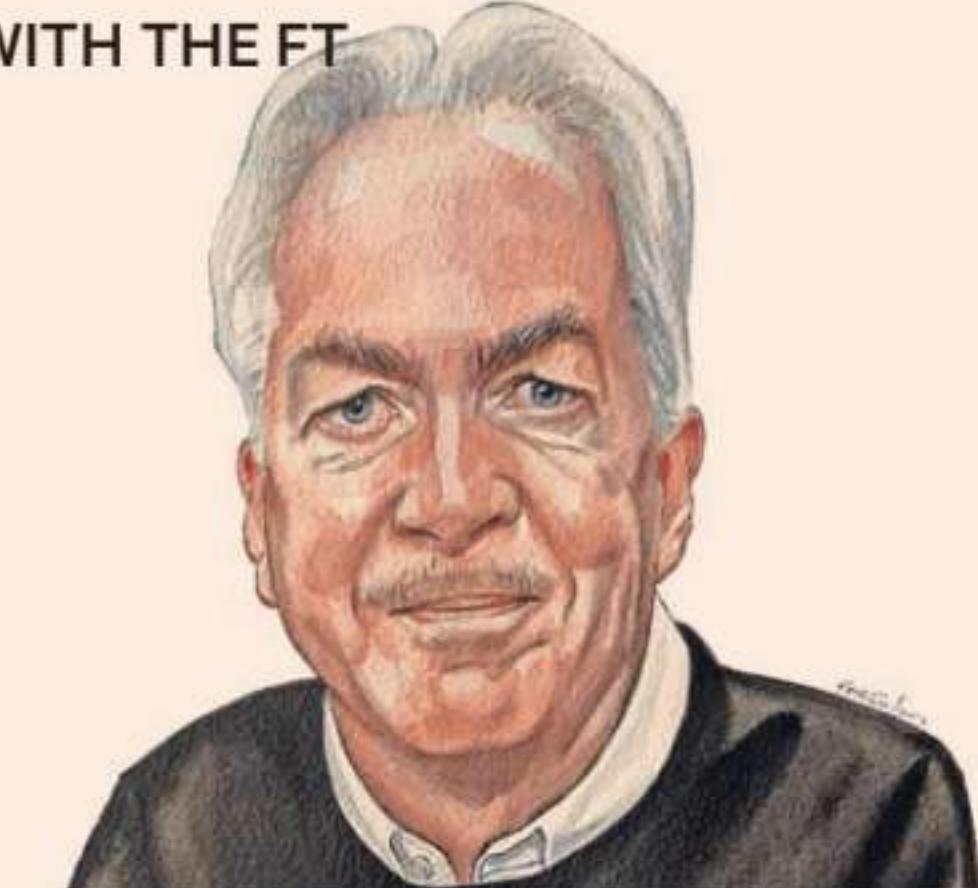
Photography special
What makes a house home?

FT WEEKEND MAGAZINE



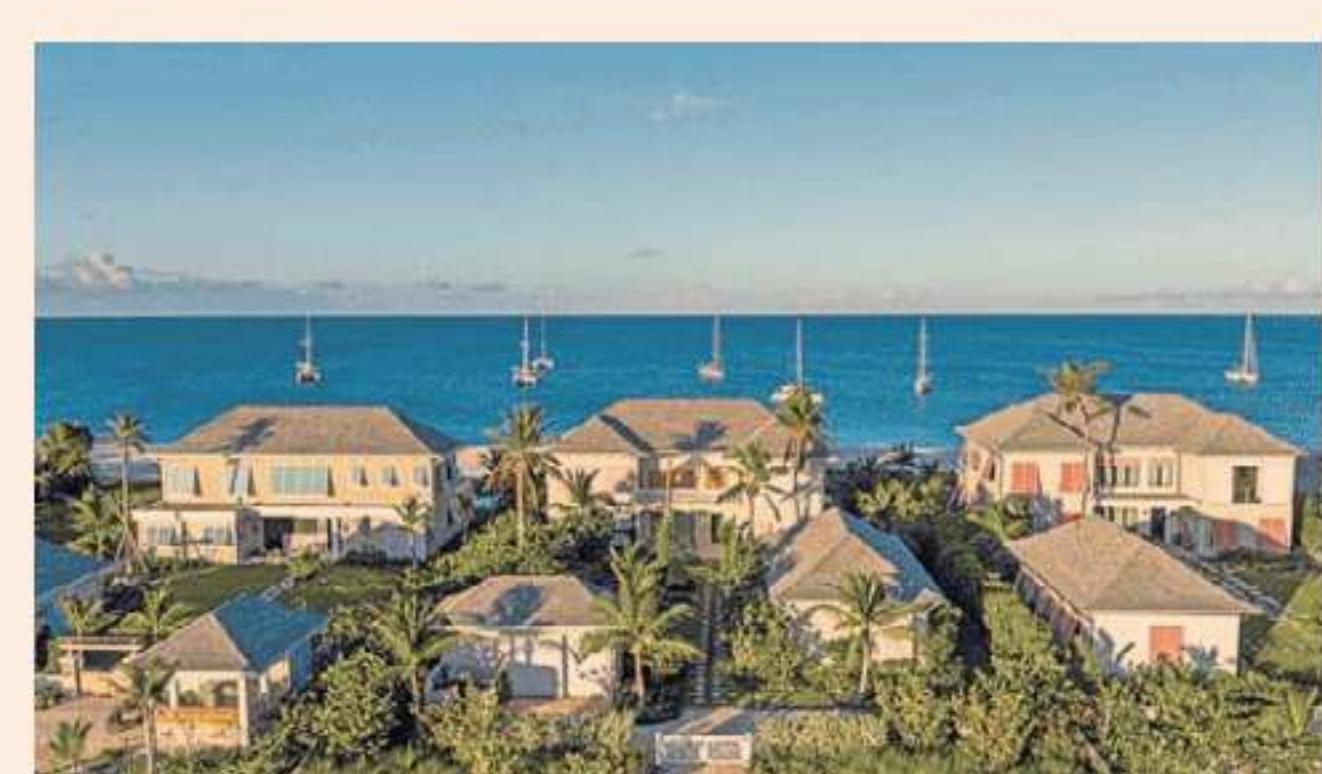
'I think we're still capable'
Former CIA boss William Burns

LUNCH WITH THE FT



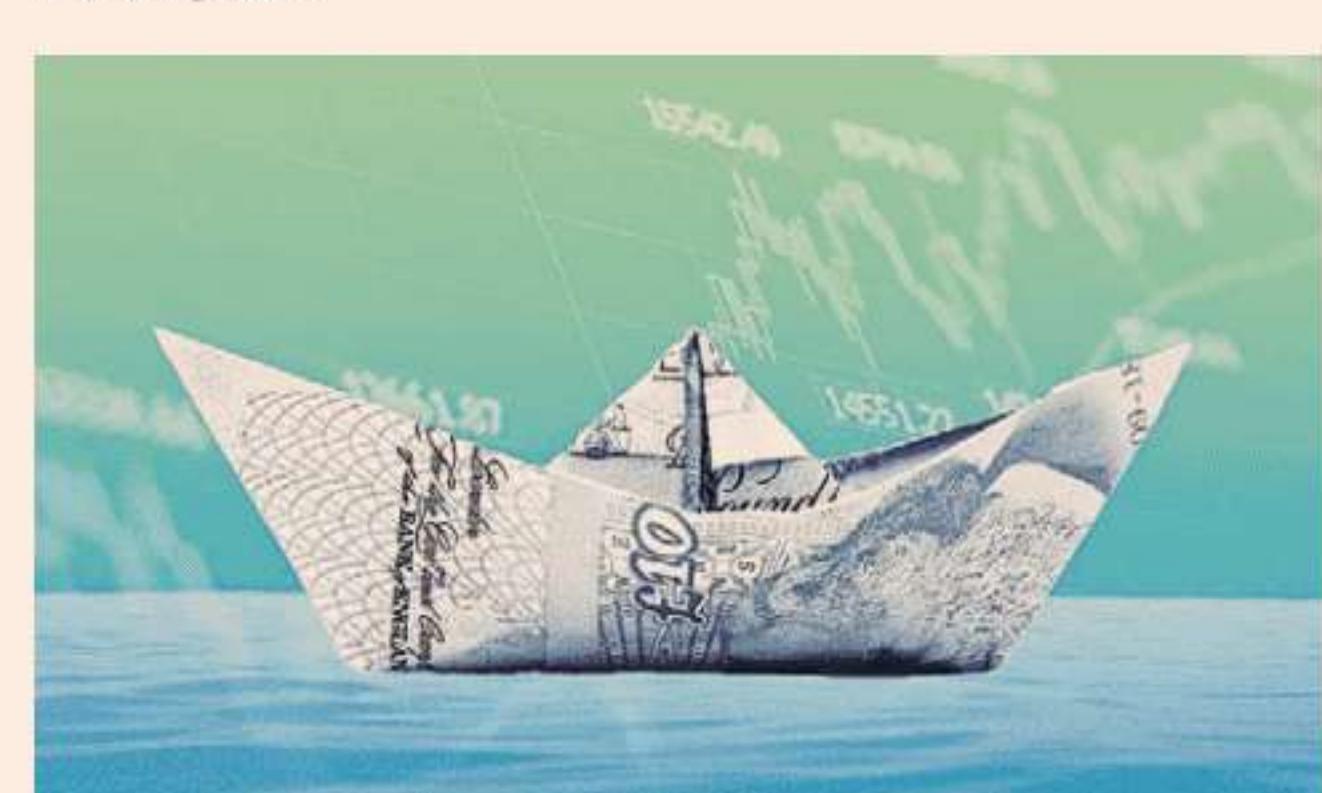
Antigua or Barbados?
Relocating to the Caribbean

HOUSE & HOME



'I'm all at sea with 100% cash'
Stuart Kirk

FT MONEY



Tehran hardens crackdown on protesters 'working for Trump'

• Biggest regime threat in years • Internet blackout cuts Iran off • Warning of harsh punishment

ANDREW ENGLAND — LONDON

Iran signalled it was hardening its crackdown against protesters yesterday as an internet blackout cut off the Islamic republic from the outside world while authorities battled to contain the biggest unrest in years.

After demonstrations intensified across Tehran and other cities, Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei accused protesters of acting on behalf of Donald Trump and vowed his government would not back down.

The protests present the biggest domestic threat to the regime in several years, erupting as the country grapples

with a plunging currency and soaring inflation. In a speech on state television, Khamenei warned: "If you work for foreigners, the nation . . . will reject you."

"There are people whose work is destruction. Last night in Tehran, for example, they set fire to a government building — a building that's their own, that belongs to their country — in order to please the US president," he said.

Iran's judiciary chief, Gholamhossein Mohseni-Ejei, later warned that the punishment for protesters "will be decisive, maximum and without any legal leniency", according to Tasnim, a state-affiliated news agency.

Diplomats fear that the regime could

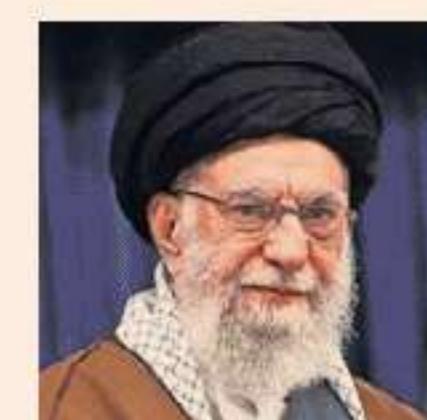
use the cover of the internet blackout to suppress the protests.

Trump has repeatedly threatened to come to the "rescue" if the regime kills demonstrators. He said on Thursday that Iran had "been told very strongly . . . that if they do that, they're going to have to pay hell".

State media have confirmed 17 deaths since the protests erupted last month, some of whom were security forces members, along with dozens of arrests.

The Human Rights Activists News Agency said the death toll had hit 42.

Tehran's mayor said banks, mosques and buildings linked to the Basij militia, a branch of the Revolutionary Guards,



Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei says demonstrators are trying 'to please the US president'

were attacked. Protesters have chanted angry anti-regime slogans, including "death to the dictator", a reference to Khamenei, 86, who has ruled since 1989.

The demonstrations began in late December after shopkeepers in Tehran shut stores in protest at rising prices, and have since spread to provincial cities and towns.

"We are seeing the system struggling to respond to a momentous wave of protests," said Sanam Vakil, head of the Middle East programme at Chatham House. "Without significant structural changes, [the regime] will be at a dead end."

Exiled monarch & Naval drills page 4

Trader Rokos pays himself £477mn as hedge fund surges in volatile markets

COSTAS MOURSELAS
HEDGE FUND CORRESPONDENT

Chris Rokos paid himself almost half a billion pounds last year as his macro hedge fund soared in a highly volatile period for markets.

Rokos Capital Management paid £477mn in profits to its highest-paid partner in the year to March 2025, the largest amount since a £509mn payout in 2021, accounts filed to Companies House showed.

While the accounts do not disclose the identity of the highest-paid partner, this is widely believed to be Rokos, who is the firm's founder, majority owner and key risk taker.

Rokos Capital declined to comment.

The hedge fund makes bets on key economic indicators such as inflation and interest rates through asset classes

including commodities, equities and bonds.

Rokos is one of the world's best-known hedge fund traders and a co-founder of macro hedge fund behemoth Brevan Howard.

Rokos Capital was up 21 per cent last year in its lowest-fee share class, according to a person who had seen the numbers, enjoying wild swings in equity, bond and commodity markets that proved the best year for macro hedge funds since 2009.

The fund returned 31 per cent in 2024, which primarily contributed to the profits in this set of accounts, and 8.8 per cent the previous year.

The accounts also showed that revenues more than doubled from £445mn to £1.2bn and that the profit pool available for partners was a record £940mn.

Rokos is the main risk taker at his

\$22bn hedge fund, supported by analysts and a team of senior investment professionals the firm calls investment officers. This approach is in contrast to most other hedge funds of a similar size, which have multiple key portfolio managers who make trades independently of each other.

After a disastrous 2021, when the fund lost a quarter of its value, performance has radically improved, increasing 51 per cent in 2022, with positive returns every year since.

Other hedge funds, including Caxton Associates and Graham Capital, also enjoyed a strong 2025, as the sector enjoyed winning bets on copper, gold and a weakening dollar.

Rokos's old firm Brevan Howard had a mixed year, with its Master fund up an estimated 0.75 per cent and its Alpha Strategies fund up roughly 8 per cent.

Race for copper at heart of renewed Rio-Glencore talks

The revival of talks to forge the largest mining group comes as the big global players race to acquire copper assets in a 'bigger is better' dealmaking era. Simon Trott, Rio Tinto's new boss, has been rekindling contacts with Glencore in pursuit of a \$260bn megamerger, a year after the initial attempt failed. As shortage fears generate record copper prices, the stakes are high and BHP, which twice failed to take over Anglo American, is a potential interloper.

Reports ► PAGES 11 & 13 | Lex ► PAGE 20

9

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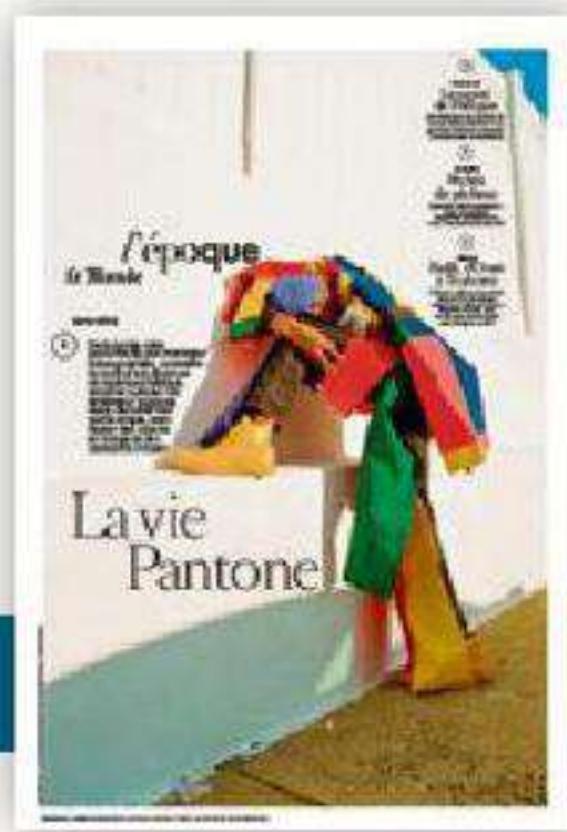
| STOCK MARKETS | | | | CURRENCIES | | | | GOVERNMENT BONDS | | | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|----------|-------|--------------|---------|---------|---------|------------------|---------|------|-----------|--------|------|-------|--|
| | Jan 09 | Prev | %chg | Pair | Jan 09 | Prev | Pair | Jan 09 | Prev | Chg | Yield (%) | Jan 09 | Prev | Chg | |
| S&P 500 | 6965.86 | 6921.46 | 0.64 | \$/€ | 1.164 | 1.165 | €/\$ | 0.859 | 0.858 | 0.04 | US 2 Yr | 3.52 | 3.48 | 0.04 | |
| Nasdaq Composite | 23633.78 | 23480.02 | 0.65 | \$/€ | 1.342 | 1.343 | €/\$ | 0.745 | 0.745 | 0.00 | US 10 Yr | 4.17 | 4.17 | 0.00 | |
| Dow Jones Ind | 49482.30 | 49266.11 | 0.44 | €/£ | 0.868 | 0.868 | £/€ | 1.153 | 1.153 | 0.00 | US 30 Yr | 4.83 | 4.84 | -0.02 | |
| Euro Stoxx 50 | 5997.47 | 5904.32 | 1.58 | ¥/\$ | 157.875 | 157.410 | ¥/€ | 183.782 | 183.367 | 0.36 | UK 2 Yr | 3.64 | 3.66 | -0.01 | |
| FTSEurofirst 300 | 2430.77 | 2405.95 | 1.03 | ¥/£ | 211.845 | 211.370 | £/Index | 84.970 | 84.970 | 0.00 | UK 10 Yr | 4.47 | 4.50 | -0.03 | |
| FTSE 100 | 10124.60 | 10044.69 | 0.80 | Swf/£ | 0.933 | 0.932 | £/Swf | 1.075 | 1.074 | 0.01 | UK 30 Yr | 5.12 | 5.16 | -0.04 | |
| FTSE All-Share | 5457.79 | 5415.83 | 0.77 | ¥/¥ | 0.932 | 0.932 | ¥/¥ | 1.075 | 1.074 | 0.01 | JPN 2 Yr | 1.15 | 1.13 | 0.02 | |
| CAC 40 | 8362.09 | 8243.47 | 1.44 | ¥/¥ | 0.915 | 0.916 | ¥/¥ | 1.075 | 1.074 | 0.01 | JPN 10 Yr | 2.11 | 2.08 | 0.02 | |
| Xetra Dax | 25261.64 | 25127.46 | 0.53 | ¥/¥ | 0.915 | 0.916 | ¥/¥ | 1.075 | 1.074 | 0.01 | JPN 30 Yr | 3.42 | 3.44 | -0.02 | |
| Nikkei | 51939.89 | 51117.26 | 1.61 | €/€ | 3131.13 | 3118.22 | €/€ | 4.200 | 4.199 | 0.01 | GER 2 Yr | 2.10 | 2.09 | 0.01 | |
| Hang Seng | 26231.79 | 26149.31 | 0.32 | ¥/¥ | 4.200 | 4.199 | ¥/¥ | 5.200 | 5.199 | 0.01 | GER 10 Yr | 2.86 | 2.82 | 0.04 | |
| MSCI World | 4480.50 | 4501.00 | -0.46 | ¥/¥ | 4.200 | 4.199 | ¥/¥ | 5.200 | 5.199 | 0.01 | GER 30 Yr | 3.46 | 3.47 | -0.01 | |
| MSCI EM | 1452.70 | 1461.90 | -0.63 | ¥/¥ | 4.200 | 4.199 | ¥/¥ | 5.200 | 5.199 | 0.01 | | | | | |
| MSCI ACWI | 1026.80 | 1031.60 | -0.47 | Oil WTI | 59.25 | 56.77 | 4.37 | | | | | | | | |
| FT Wilshire 2500 | 7014.11 | 6955.92 | 0.84 | Oil Brent \$ | 63.77 | 61.16 | 4.27 | | | | | | | | |
| FT Wilshire 5000 | 69593.51 | 69213.10 | 0.55 | Gold \$ | 4508.41 | 4460.69 | 1.07 | | | | | | | | |

World Markets

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UE-Mercosur : les effets en cascade de l'accord

► Les vingt-sept membres de l'UE ont approuvé, vendredi 9 janvier, à la majorité qualifiée, l'accord de libre-échange avec quatre pays sud-américains

► La France, la Pologne, la Hongrie, l'Autriche et l'Irlande se sont vainement opposées à ce traité, négocié au nom de l'UE par la Commission européenne

► « Le Monde » analyse les conséquences économiques et politiques, dans l'Hexagone et ailleurs, de ce texte assorti de diverses mesures protectrices

► Même s'il doit désormais être ratifié par le Parlement, une entrée en vigueur provisoire, sans attendre le vote des eurodéputés, est envisagée

► En France, cette séquence expose l'exécutif à des motions de censure de LFI et du RN, ainsi qu'à la colère des agriculteurs

PAGES 12-13 ET 7

IRAN LA RÉPRESSION S'INTENSifie



► Alors que la révolte gagne du terrain dans le pays, divers témoignages et des images authentifiées trahissent la violence de la réaction du régime

PAGE 4 ET ÉDITORIAL PAGE 30

Economie L'Europe perd-elle pied face aux Etats-Unis ?

PLUSIEURS ÉCONOMISTES, dont le Prix Nobel Philippe Aghion, s'interrogent dans *Le Monde* sur la nature et l'ampleur du décrochage de la productivité européenne par rapport aux Etats-Unis. Leurs textes viennent nourrir le débat lancé dès 2024 par un ex-président de la Banque centrale européenne,

l'Italien Mario Draghi, qui s'inquiétait dans un rapport du retard de l'Union dans bien des domaines. En décembre 2025, l'économiste français Gabriel Zucman contestait l'idée d'un décrochage net. Les tribunes que nous publions aident à approfondir le sujet.

PAGES 28-29

Venezuela Delcy Rodriguez à l'épreuve du pouvoir

Cette femme de 56 ans, vice-présidente propulsée présidente après l'enlèvement de Nicolas Maduro et son transfèrement aux Etats-Unis, dispose d'une marge de manœuvre très limitée, coincée entre les exigences américaines et les partisans du régime

PAGE 2

Politique La précampagne pour 2027 hantée par le déclinisme

Face à la menace croissante représentée par les Etats-Unis de Donald Trump, les discours déclinistes ont le vent en poupe en France. De quoi augurer une campagne présidentielle articulée autour de la question de la puissance du pays et de l'Europe

PAGE 8

Justice

La magistrature s'inquiète du climat politique

Intervenant vendredi à la Cour de cassation, les deux plus hauts magistrats du pays ont dit leur préoccupation pour l'Etat de droit à l'approche de plusieurs procès sensibles

PAGE 11

Géopolitique L'Indonésie en plein virage autoritaire

Le président Prabowo Subianto, un ancien commandant des forces spéciales, exerce une emprise de plus en plus importante sur le pays

PAGES 16-17

Rencontre Josiane Balasko, une vie de scène et d'engagements



A Deauville (Calvados), le 9 septembre 2023. LOU BENOIST/AFP

DANS UN ENTRETIEN au *Monde*, la comédienne revient sur son parcours, évoquant aussi bien son enfance parisienne, dans le café de ses parents, que sa trajectoire professionnelle. Depuis ses débuts dans la troupe du Splendid, dans les années 1970, elle a enchaîné une centaine de longs-métrages mêlant comédies populaires et films d'auteur, a réa-

lisé huit films et autant d'œuvres théâtrales. A partir du 23 janvier, au Théâtre des Bouffes parisiens, cette comédienne également connue pour ses engagements partagera pour la première fois la scène avec sa fille, Marilou Berry, dans *Ça, c'est l'amour*, pièce sur le thème des violences familiales et conjugales.

PAGE 25

Ukraine

Un tir de missile russe en guise d'avertissement aux Occidentaux

PAGE 5

Exécutif

La difficile rentrée d'Emmanuel Macron, sous le feu des critiques

PAGE 7

Crans-Montana Le gérant français du bar placé en détention

PAGE 10

Culture

Au théâtre, le loup sort du bois

PAGES 20-21



IL EST TEMPS
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UN NOUVEL ANGLE.

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LE FIGARO

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



Loiseau de Lorraine (Metz).

GASTRONOMIE

NOTRE SÉLECTION DES 35 NOUVELLES TABLES À SUIVRE EN FRANCE EN 2026

PAGE 28

TECH

LA RÉVOLUTION DES LUNETTES CONNECTÉES

PAGES 20 ET 21



ÉTATS-UNIS

La vidéo d'une femme tuée par la police enflamme le pays

PAGE 6

VENEZUELA

Le pouvoir lâche du lest en annonçant la libération de détenus politiques

PAGE 7

SUISSE

Drame de Crans-Montana : le lourd passé judiciaire du patron du Constellation

PAGE 10

RELIGION

Au Vatican, la révolution de velours de Léon XIV

PAGE 11

BOURSE

Ces valeurs délaissées en 2025 qui pourraient rebondir en 2026

PAGE 25

CHAMPS LIBRES

- À Taïwan, les princes de la tech s'imposent comme une nouvelle classe sociale
 - Les tribunes de Pierre Vermeren et de Jean-Louis Thériot
 - La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté
- PAGES 15 À 17

FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de vendredi : La France doit-elle voter contre le traité du Mercosur à Bruxelles ?

OUI
78%

NON
22%

VOTANTS : 109 491

Donald Trump doit-il intervenir en Iran pour renverser le régime des mollahs ?

Téléchargez l'appli du Figaro pour voter

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Iran : la contestation s'amplifie, le régime durcit la répression

Cible principale des manifestants, qui réclament son départ à travers tout le pays, l'ayatollah Ali Khamenei dénonce les menaces d'intervention évoquées par Donald Trump et affirme que la République islamique « ne reculera pas ». PAGES 4, 5 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



SOCIAL MEDIA / VIA REUTERS

L'Europe donne son feu vert au Mercosur malgré le refus de la France

Après plus de vingt-six ans de négociations, l'accord de libre-échange entre l'UE et quatre pays du Mercosur (Argentine, Brésil, Paraguay, Uruguay) a été approuvé ven-

dredi à Bruxelles à la majorité qualifiée. Une défaite cinglante pour la France, mise en minorité de façon rarissime. Mais Paris promet qu'il n'a pas dit son dernier mot. PAGES 2 ET 3



Tarifs, dossier médical partagé... Les raisons de la colère des médecins

Engagés depuis lundi dans une grève censée monter crescendo et durer dix jours, les médecins libéraux manifestent ce samedi. Ils dénoncent des mesures du budget de la Sécurité sociale,

voté avant Noël. Alors que les patients se reportent sur les urgences surchargées, la ministre de la Santé, Stéphanie Rist, va devoir répondre au malaise des soignants. PAGES 8 ET 9

ÉDITORIAL par Philippe Gélie

En Iran, le prix de la liberté

À quatre reprises déjà depuis 1999, le régime des mollahs s'est maintenu au pouvoir à Téhéran en noyant dans le sang la colère des Iraniens. La nouvelle flambee de contestation apparue fin décembre, qui ne cesse de s'étendre dans le pays, vaut-elle finir de la même manière, dans le deuil et le désespoir ? L'ayatollah Khamenei choisit à nouveau la répression brutale - déjà une cinquantaine de morts -, confirmant son isolement et son aveuglement. Non, bien sûr, il ne reculera pas devant les « saboteurs » soucieux de « plaire au président américain », cet « arrogant » aux mains « tachées du sang des Iraniens ». Lui-même en est pourtant inondé jusqu'au turban ! Dans ce pays aux richesses épuisées par l'incompétence et la corruption des dirigeants, les citoyens coupés du monde devraient s'estimer heureux de la dernière faveur du « guide » : un ticket alimentaire de... sept dollars par mois. Il faudrait pourtant, cette fois, que la liberté l'emporte et que la volonté populaire fasse basculer ce régime d'airain. L'irréformable théocratie-kleptocratie est de plus en plus ouvertement désignée comme la cible de la révolte - et son renversement comme le seul

remède. Les circonstances pourraient y contribuer. Complice des massacres du Hamas le 7 octobre 2023, l'Iran a subi dans la foulée des coups sévères : frappes israélo-américaines contre son programme nucléaire clandestin, démantèlement de l'« axe chiite » à travers l'Irak, la Syrie et le Liban, sanctions économiques renforcées... Avec Donald Trump à la Maison-Blanche, contraint seulement par sa « moralité », la menace de nouveaux raids en cas de tueries de civils pourrait se concrétiser. Les gardiens de la révolution, l'armée, le pouvoir politique même en feraient les frais.

Mais cela suffirait-il ? L'Iran n'est pas le Venezuela. Le système y est capable de changer de tête pour assurer sa survie. Et il reste de fortes craintes d'éclatement dans ce kaléidoscope ethnique, qui ramènent souvent la majorité autour du pouvoir. Cette peur du vide peut d'ailleurs expliquer le retour en grâce de l'héritier du chah, Reza Pahlavi. Car les Iraniens savent que la clique islamiste ne tombera pas sans combattre. Et qu'elle fera monter aussi haut que possible le prix de la liberté face au peuple désarmé. ■

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Cantelmi
INTERNACIONAL
EE.UU., entre Reagan y el Gatopardo. **P.2**



Roa
DEL EDITOR

El llanto sobre Maduro y el discurso de Trump. **P.3**



Carlin
ZOOM

El teatro del absurdo. **P.33**



Van der Kooy
TRAMA POLÍTICA
Milei, en el nuevo mundo de la jungla. **P.34**



Clarín

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BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA AÑO LXXX N° 28.781, PRECIO: \$ 5.700,00 - EN C.A.B.A. Y GBA-
RECARGO ENVÍO AL INTERIOR \$ 700,00 - PRECIO DE LOS OPCIONALES, EN EL ÍNDICE DE LA PÁGINA 54.

Corrupción en la AFA: un hombre de Gerardo Zamora, en la mansión de Pilar

Es apoderado de la casa atribuida a Toviggino. Fue nombrado en el Senado.

Los supuestos testaferros de Pablo Toviggino, tesorero de la AFA, les dieron a cinco personas un poder especial amplio para que manejen la empresa propietaria de la mansión de Villa Rosa. Una de ellas es Francisco Alejan-

dro Capurro, que fue nombrado como empleado en el Senado por el ex gobernador de Santiago del Estero, Gerardo Zamora. Otro es José Miguel Véron, cercano al operador judicial K Guillermo Scarella. **P.6**

OPERACIONES DESDE ESPAÑA

Antes de la llegada de Faroni, Toviggino tenía otra red para mover los dólares del fútbol

Les impiden hablar a los presos políticos liberados en Venezuela

La salida de los detenidos por razones políticas en las cárceles del chavismo sigue muy lenta. El puñado de liberados -menos del 1% de los presos en esa situación- sigue con muchas restricciones. Algunos están obligados a presentarse ante la Justicia y otros no pueden salir del país. Pero los que llegaron a España, incluso tienen restricciones para hablar con la prensa y contar lo que vivieron. **P.24**

Jesús Rodríguez



Transición a la democracia, sin una agenda fija

El ex ministro de Raúl Alfonsín analiza en diálogo con Clarín el recambio en el poder venezolano. **P.4**



Chubut: la falta de lluvia agrava los incendios

Ya se quemaron unas 5.200 hectáreas de bosques. Vecinos sufrieron situaciones similares en años anteriores. Enormes pérdidas materiales, casas arrasadas, animales calcinados y daños en infraestructura eléctrica, de agua, teléfono e Internet. Esperan lluvias y soluciones del Gobierno. En El Maitén (foto), los brigadistas, sin descanso. **P.36**

Un coronel del Ejército, preso por traficar cocaína

Pablo Guillermo Quiroga hizo toda su carrera en el área de Inteligencia militar. Vive en Nordelta. Lo detuvieron en Ezeiza cuando volvía de Perú. Coordinaba la venta de droga. **P.43**

Punta del Este: el arranque de enero más frío en 40 años

No llovía tanto desde 1986 en el Este uruguayo. Ayer hubo un alerta de vientos de hasta 100 kilómetros por hora. **P.38**