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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND SATURDAY/SUNDAY, JUNE 19 - 20, 2021 ~ VOL. CCLXXVII NO. 142

#### What's News

#### World-Wide

Chinese officials are drawing up plans to further loosen birth restrictions and transition toward policies that explicitly encourage child-birth, reflecting increased urgency in Beijing as economic growth slows and China's population mix skews older. Al

- The U.S. is sharply reduc-ing the number of antimissile systems in the Middle East in a major realignment of its military footprint there as it focuses on challenges from China and Russia. A1
- ◆ U.S. Catholic bishops agreed to a document that would lay out the conditions under which Catholic politi-cians who support abortion rights, including Biden, may be denied Communion. 44
- Biden said 300 million shots of the Covid-19 vaccine have been administered in the U.S. since he took office, but warned of a more easily transmissible variant. A6
- ♦ A Brussels court ruled that AstraZeneca isn't re-quired to accelerate deliv-eries of its Covid-19 vaccine to the European Union. All
- ◆ North Korean leader Kim said his country will prepare for both diplomacy and con-frontation with the U.S. A12

#### Business & Finance

- ◆ U.S. stocks retreated Fri-day to send the Dow to its worst week in nearly eight months, as traders warily eyed the Federal Reserve for hints of where mone-tary policy is headed. Al, Bl3
- Credit Suisse and Soft-Bank CEO Son recently dissolved a longstanding personal lending relationship and the bank clamped down on transactions with his company. A1
- HSBC expects to take \$3 billion in losses as part of an agreement to sell its unprof-itable French retail bank, in a sign of the souring fortunes of European banking. B1
- ◆ The EU lifted the ban against some banks that had been excluded from working on its bond sale earlier in the week. B12
- ◆ Airlines, airports and passengers are encounter-ing snags amid the speed and magnitude of the re-surgence in air travel. B1
- Legislation making
  Juneteenth a new national
  holiday set off a scramble
  inside corporations to figure out how to mark it. B3

#### NOONAN

Bill Maher Diagnoses Liberal 'Progressophobia' **A17** 



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#### Iran Holds Presidential Vote Amid Talks on Nuclear Deal



BALLOTING: Iranians went to the polls Friday to elect a new president. An ultraconservative cleric hostile to the U.S. had emerged as the front-runner after the mass disqualification of candidates. Polls showed that millions planned to boycott the vote. A12

## Rate-Hike Worries Send Dow To Worst Week Since October

BY PAUL VIGNA AND CAITLIN OSTROFF

U.S. stocks retreated Friday to send the Dow Jones Indus-trial Average to its worst week in nearly eight months, as traders warily eyed the Fed-eral Reserve for hints of where monetary policy is headed. Policy makers had signaled Wednesday that they expect to

raise interest rates by late 2023, sooner than they had previously anticipated. Sentiment waned again on Friday after Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis president James Bullard said on CNBC that he expects the first rate increase even sooner, in late 2022.

The Fed has faced more inflation than it expected, and policy makers need to be nim-

ble, he added. But it will take several Fed meetings to orga-nize the debate over tapering its bond-purchase program, he

The Dow industrials fell The Dow intustries to 1.6% Friday, or 533.37 points, to 33290.08. For the week, the blue-chip index lost 3.45%, its worst since the week

ended Oct. 30. The S&P 500 declined 1.3%

or 55.41 points, to 4166.45 on Friday, losing 1.9% on the week. That broke a three-week streak of gains. The Nasdaq Composite lost 0.9%, or 130.97 points, to 14030.38, as large technology stocks also fell. For the week, it was down 0.3%.

Please turn to page A2

#### China Poised to Lift All Childbirth Controls

As population ages. Beijing faces growing economic threat even with three-child policy

By Keith Zhai

SINGAPORE—Chinese officials are drawing up plans to further loosen birth restrictions and transition toward policies that explicitly encourage childbirth, according to people familiar with the matter, reflecting increased urgency in Beijing as economic growth slows and China's population mix skews older.

Policy makers are discussing the possibility of fully doing away with birth restrictions by 2025, the end of the ruling Chinese Communist Party's current five-year economic plan, according to one of the people. According to that person, China will likely begin by eliminating birth restrictions in provinces where the birthrate is the lowest before enacting nationwide changes.

The party said late last month that it would allow all

The party said late last month that it would allow all couples to have as many as three children, weeks after a once-in-a-decade showed China, the world's most populous nation, on the cusp of a historic downturn in its population.

Last month, Chinese leader Xi Jinping told senior party officials that he regards China's aging population as a thina's aging population as a threat to national security, Please turn to page AIZ

#### U.S. Speeds Military Withdrawal In Mideast

WASHINGTON—The Biden administration is sharply re-ducing the number of U.S. anducing the number of U.S. an-timissile systems in the Mid-dle East in a major realignment of its military footprint there as it focuses the armed services on chal-lenges from China and Russia, administration officials said.

> By Gordon Lubold, Nancy A. Youssef and Michael R. Gordon

and Michael R. Gordon

The Pentagon is pulling approximately eight Patriot antimissile batteries from countries including Iraq, Kuwait, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, according to officials. Another antimissile system known as a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense, or Thaad, system is being withdrawn from Saudi Arabia, and jet fighter squadrons assigned to the region are being reduced, those officials said.

The accelerated withdrawals reflect several recent changes on the ground in the Middle East as well as Washington's own strategic imperatives under the Bidden administration. As the war in Afghanistam winds down, ending two decades of counter-insurgency as a chief driver of U.S. troop and weapons de-Please turntopage A6

#### EXCHANGE



#### CIRCUIT BREAKER

The world relies on one chip maker in Taiwan. That could be a problem. B1

## Behind Families' Decisions To Split Up at the U.S. Border

Pressures at home and U.S. policies drive migrants' calculations

DIOS CON NOSOTROS, Honduras—Sayda and Maikol Zelaya knew 9-month-old Jefer-son was too young to make the journey

By José de Córdoba in Reynosa, Mexico, Santiago Pérez in Ciudad árez, Mexico and Juan Carlos Rivera in Dios con Nosotros, Honduras

north. The parents worried the trip might be too hard on their two daughters, ages 5 and 2. That left Jordi, their rambunctious year-old, always begging to go out fishing

with his dad.

with his dad.

The plan was set: Jordi and his father would travel 1,500 miles to the U.S. border by foot, car, bus and truck, drawn by the promise of work in South Carolina. Then they would illegally cross the border, turn themselves over to border patrol and request asylum to stay in the U.S. The rest would stay behind.

"We had never thought that to dream of living a better life we would have to do something like this," said Ms. Zelaya, 22.

Please turn to page A14

#### At Olympic Swim Trials, First Battle Is the Warm-Up Pool

World's fastest swimmers can collide in jammed lanes; 'kicked in the side'

OMAHA, Neb.—Last month, Mariah Denigan graduated from high school in Kentucky. This week she's here competing in the U.S. Olympic Swim Trials against swimmers she has idolized most of her life for a spot on Team USA. But no one gets a Watch it

chance at their Olympic dreams if they don't survive the warmup pool first.

The warm-up pool is the place where hundreds of swimmers frantically swim over, through and on top of each other, all at once, to prepare for their races. There are no rules or Please turn to page A4

#### SoftBank's Son and Credit Suisse End Ties

By Margot Patrick And Phred Dvorak

AND PIRED DVORAK

Credit Suisse Group AG and
SoftBank Group Corp. Chief
Executive Masayoshi Son recently dissolved a longstanding personal lending relationship and the bank clamped
down on transactions with his
company, according to regulatory filings and people familiar with the matter.

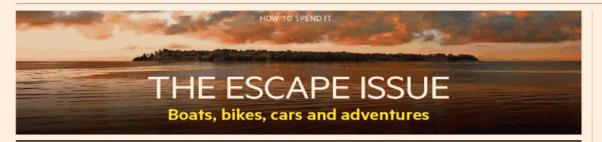
The moves came after the
collapse of SoftBank-backed
Greensill Capital in March
plunged Credit Suisse into tur-

moil. It also follows Credit Suisse's \$5.5 billion loss stem-ming from trading by family office Archegos Capital Man-agement. The bank has since promised to dial down risk. Mr. Son had long used Credit Suisse and other banks to borrow money against the

Credit Suisse and other banks to borrow money against the value of his substantial holdings in SoftBank. As recently as February, Mr. Son had around \$3 billion of his shares in the company pledged as collateral with Credit Suisse, one of the biggest amounts of any Please turn to page A6

# FTWeekenc

USA \$3.00 Canada C\$3.50 SATURDAY 19 JUNE / SUNDAY 20 JUNE 2021



## EU loses fight over AZ jab deliveries

Court battle over shortfall ◆ 'Serious breach' of contract ◆ Demand to speed supply denied

HANNAH KUCHLER — LONDO MICHAEL PEEL — BRUSSELS

The EU has lost a legal bit to force Astra-Zeneca to speed up delivery of Covid-19 vaccines or risk billions of euros in fines, in the latest round of a bitter battle between the bloc and the British-Swedish pharmaceuticals company. In a ruling yesterday, a court in Brus-sels criticaled Astra-Zeneca for a "erforce

sels criticised AstraZeneca for a "serious breach" of its contract with the EU after repeated shortfalls. But the court did not agree with the European Commis-sion's demands for AstraZeneca to deliver 120m doses by the end of June or pay fines of C10 per dose per day. The dispute between the commission

and AstraZeneca has severely damaged the company's standing on the continent and in February spiralled into a diplomatic row.

The Brussels court ruled that AstraZeneca should provide 80m doses by the end of September. However, AstraZenecas has already delivered 70m doses and plans to provide the remaining 10m this month. The commission insisted that the court judgment would nonetheless put pressure on AstraZeneca as it "hald the tracks for the delivery of future doses on the basis of clear contractual principles".

principles". The ruling found that the drug com-pany's failure to send the EU vaccines

manufactured in the UK was inconsistent with making the "best reasonable
efforts" on supply required by its contract. But it did not order AstraZeneca
to use the plant to fulfil the EU order.
A UK plant to perated by Oxford BloMedica plant is nonetheless expected to
start manufacturing for the EU, according to a person familiar with the matter.
AstraZeneca was originally expected
to supply up to 300m doses to the EU in
the first six months of this year but that
forecast was cut sharply after production problems. With the pace of the EU's
vacche rollout accelerating, using
mainly BloNTech/Pfizer and Moderna
jabs — and some countries imposing



in the EU have restricted the AZ jab because of blood clot fears, cutting

restrictions on the Oxford/AstraZeneca vaccine after the discovery of rare blood clots — there is less practical need for the doses. Jeffrey Pott, AstraZeneca's general counsel, said: "AstraZeneca has fully compiled with its agreement with the European Commission and we will con-tinue to focus on the urgent task of sup-phdrag anglefictive vaccine;

blying an effective vaccine."
Ursula von der Leyen, president of the
commission, said: "This decision concommission, sair. In a decision con-firms the position of the commission: AstraZeneca did not live up to the com-mitments it made in the contract. It is good to see that an independent judge confirms this."

#### Putin's éminence grise has Lunch with the FT



#### Football vs the culture wars

Gideon Rachman

LIFE & ARTS



#### The Biden world order

**Edward Luce** 

BIG READ



#### Call of the wild

Path to a nature-friendly garden

HOUSE & HOME



#### Games plan Suga eyes gold at ballot box

A protester outside the Tokyo building housing the 2020 Olympics organising committee yesterday as Japan's top Covid-19 adviser said staignt the games without spectators was "desirable". Shigeru Omi said strict attendance caps should be enforced if they were allowed. Prime minister Yoshihide Suga must now respond to the recommendations. But he will be buoyed by the latest NHK poll, which shows opposition to the games among Japanese has fallen to 31 per cent, from 80 per cent in May. Suga is betting that a good Olympics can deliver success in an election that

can deliver success in an election that must be called by October 22. Olympic fever page 2





#### Fed rates rethink blows hole in 'reflation trades'

The Federal Reserve's recalculation of when it might need to start raising interest rates has sparked a market's shake-up. Commodities tumbled while long-dated Treasuries rose as officials brought forward forecasts for when action might be needed. The result was a battering for reflation trades'—bets on securities that might gain from inflation—as doubts emerged on how much pressure the Fed will tolerate. FT view PAGE 6

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## Rich nations' failure to cough up cash threatens to derail UN climate summit

Tensions over climate finance have threatened to derall the COP26 summit in November after weeks of UN deliberations stumbled over how to proceed with core principles of the Paris climate accord.

The downbeat conclusion fuels further disappointment about progress on halting global warming, after last week's G7 summit in Cornwall falled to produce specific plans for new climate funding. Rich countries appear to have missed a target of providing \$100bn in annual climate ald by 2020, creating mistrust among the 191 countries that signed the Paris agreement. The shortfall sets the scene for difficult discussions at the COP26 in Glasgow when it comes to COP26 in Glasgow when it comes to agreeing new goals for climate finance.

"It is unlikely that rich countries hit "It is unlikely that rich countries hit the target of mobilising \$1000m per year by 2020," said Amar Bhattacharya, co-chair of the UN's Independent Expert Group on Climate Finance and senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, although official figures are yet to be tal-

although official figures are yet to be tailed formally.

At a time when government coffers have been emptied by the pandemic, reaching agreement on Climate finance — public and private funding to help developing countries cut emissions and adapt to climate change — is more contentious than ever.

During three weeks of negotiations at the UN Climate Change intersessional meetings, which ended on Thursday, an undercurrent of discontent over climate finance stymied talks on topics such as

finance stymied talks on topics such as

carbon markets and transparency.
"The issue of climate finance still

remains the most difficult part of all these negotiations," said Molwyn Joseph, environment minister for Antigua. "I do not believe that particular aspect was dealt with asit should have been."

Rich countries donated about \$80bm in 2018, according to UN figures.

Several aspects of the "rule book" governing the 2015 Paris climate accord are due to be finalised at the COP26, including how countries report carbon emissions. Negotiators will also try to craft rules for global carbon markets, such as carbon offsets between nations.

Patricia Espinosa, UN climate chief, admitted there had been a lack of progress. "I cannot say that there was really any breakthrough in the consultations that took place here," she said.

The promised \$1000 hu wa "absolutely crucial" for the success of the talks, she added.

#### World Markets

	Jun 18	prev	%chg		Jun 18	prev		Jun 18	pnev		price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4183.46	4221.96	-0.91	\$ per €	1,186	1.194	£ per \$	0.724	0.717	US Gev 10 yr	146.25	1.46	-0.03
Nasdaq Composite	14055.42	14161.35	-0.75	\$ per £	1.381	1.395	€ per £	1.165	1.168	UK Gov 10 yr		0.75	-0.03
Dow Jones Ind	33437.33	33823.45	-1.14	£ per 6	0.859	0.856	¥ per €	130.701	131.631	Ger Gov 10 yr		-0.20	0.04
FTSEurofirst 300	1744.89	1773.48	-1.61	¥ per \$	110.240	110.225	£ index	82.153	82.174	Jpn Gov 10 yr	116.67	0.06	-0.01
Euro Staxx 50	4079.33	4158.14	-1.90	¥ per €	152.198	153.776	SFr per £	1.274	1.277	US Gov 30 yr	111.56	2.04	-0.05
FTSE 100	7017.47	7153.43	-1.90	SFr per €	1.094	1.093				Ger Gov 2 yr	105.88	-0.67	0.00
FTSE All-Share	4002.07	4071.33	-1.70	€ per \$	0.844	0.837							
CAC 40	6569.16	8866.26	-1.46										
Xetra Dax	15448.04	15727.87	-1.78	сонно	DITIES						price	prev	chg
Nikkei	28964.08	29018.33	40.19							Fed Funds Eff	0.06	0.07	-0.01
Heng Seng	28801.27	28558.59	0.85			Ji	m 18	prev	%chg	US 3m Bills	0.04	0.04	0.00
MSCI World \$	2996.51	3008.48	-0.40	Oil W/TI \$		7	11.56	71.04	0.73	Euro Libor 3m	-0.55	-0.55	0.00
MSCI EM \$	1362.88	1370.00	40.52	Oil Brent :	S	7	3.45	73.08	0.51	UK 3m	0.08	0.08	0.00
MSCLACWL\$	714.87	717.84	-0.41	Gold \$		177	18.70	1880.75	-4.41	Prices are latest for edition	Data pro	wided by Mo	mingster



"All the News

# Today, warm, humid, clouds and sunshine, high 87. Tonight, clear and sunshine, high 87. Tonight, clear and sunshine, high 88. Tonight, clear and sunshine, high 89. Weather map appears on Page 29.

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Iran Election Could Speed Nuclear Deal

Hard-Liner May Be Biden's Best Chance

NEWS ANALYSIS

By DAVID E. SANGER
and FARNAZ FASSIHI
WASHINGTON — Iran's announcement on Saturday that an ultraconservative former head of the judiciary, Ebrahim Raisi, has been elected president now touches off an unpredictable diplomatic drama: The ascension of a hard-line government in Iran administration with a brief opportunity to restore the 2015 nuclear deal with the country. President Biden's top aides, who have been negotiating with Iranian officials behind closed doors in Vienna — passing messages from hotel rooms through European intermediaries because the Iranians will not meet them directly — believe the moment may have come. And, they say the next six weathed present a unique window to strike a final deal with Iran's leadership on a painful decision it has been delaying.
Officials in both Washington and Tehran content that Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamene, wants to restore a nuclear agreement with the West—which President Donald J. Trump ripped up more than three years ago — in order to lift three carket.

In fact, the detailed wording of the resurrected agreement was

market.

In fact, the detailed wording of the resurrected agreement was worked out weeks ago in Vienna, the same city where the original accord was finalized six summers ago, senior officials say. Since then, the resurrected

Continued on Page 13

FINAL DAYS OF PRIMARY

As City Recovers, Equity, Policing and Housing Divide Candidates

The primary election marks the end of an extraordinary chapter in

Continued on Page 26

TEAM OF RIVALS A rally held by Andrew Yang and Kathryn Garcia rankled Eric Adams. PAGE 27

**Dread Absence** Of Contractors This article is by Thomas Gib-bons-Neff, Helene Cooper and Eric Schmitt.

Schmitt.

KABUI, Afghanistan — An Afghan Air Force UH-60 Black
Hawk helicopter, shelled while on
the ground by the Taliban on
Wednesday, sat helpless at a small
outpost in the country's southeast, its burning and damaged airframe displayed in a video on
Twitter.

frame displayed in a video on Twitter.

Even if it could get to the choppert ot try to service it, the Afghan military would face another escalating problem: It relies heavily on American and other foreign contractors for repairs, maintenance, fueling, training and other jobs necessary to keep their forces are now departing along with the American military, leaving a void that leaders on both sides say could be crippling to Afghan forces as they face the Taliban alone.

#### CLASH OF VISIONS AS NEW YORKERS VOTE FOR MAYOR

By KATIE GLUECK

The New York City mayor's race began in the throes of a pandemic, in a shuttered city convulsed by a public health catastrophe, economic devastation and widespread protests over police business. The converse of the primary polis on Tuesday, New York finds itself in a very different place. As the city roars back to life, its residents are at once buoyed by optimism around reopenings, but also anxious about public safety, affordable housing, jobs — and the very character of the nation's largest city.

The primary election marks the

The primary election marks the end of an extraordinary chapter in New York's history and the start of another, an inflection point that will play a defining role in shaping the post-pandemic future of the city. The leading mayoral candidates have promoted starkly divergent visions for confronting a series of overlapping crises, making this primary, which will almost certainly determine the next mayor, the most significant city election in a generation. Public polling and interviews with elected officials, voters and party strategists suggest that on the cusp of Tuesday's election, Eric Adams, the Brooklyn bor-Continued on Page 26

# the G.O.P-controlled county com-mission has the sole authority to restructure the board and appoint all the new members. "I speak out and I know the laws," Ms. Hollis said in an inter-view. "The bottom line is they don't like people that have some type of intelligence and know what they're doing, because they Afghan Pilots

An Expression of Freedom

nth celebration in Harlem on Saturday. Events across the nation recognized the end of slavery on June 19, 1865. Page 21.

G.O.P. Expands Power in Remade Voting Boards

by Gov. Brian Kemp, a Republi-can. Previously, election board members were selected by both political parties, county commis-sioners and the three biggest mu-nicipalities in Troup County. Now, the G.O.P-controlled county com-

#### D.A. on the Left In Los Angeles Faces a Revolt

By TIM ARANGO

By TIM ARANGO
LOS ANGELLES — From inside the walls of Folsom State Prison, the two immates, one a convicted murderer, clinked their cups of prison moonshine in a toast to the new district attorney of Los Angeles, George Gascón.

See Gorge Gascón.

Gascón's opponents — and there are many — who used it to attack what is perhaps the most farreaching plank of his progressive agenda: the review of nearly 20,000 old prison sentences, many for violent crimes like murder, for possible early releases.

Mr. Gascón, a Democrat, has brushed off the video as nothing more than a Willie Horton-style convicted of the video as nothing more than a Willie Horton-style convicted of the video as nothing more than a Willie Horton-style convicted of the video as nothing more than a Willie Horton-style convicted of the video as nothing more than a Willie Horton-style ponents that "plays well on Fox News." But he doesn't shy away from his belief that even those convicted of violent crimes deserve a chance at redemption. "There's no way we can get to meaningful prison reduction in this country without looking at more serious crimes," Mr. Gascón, who also supports ending cash bail and eliminating the prosecut and more serious crimes," Mr. Gascón, who also supports ending cash bail and eliminating the prosecut an interview. "The public stories you hear are the really scary stuff. You're talking about the violent sexual predator. You're talking about the violent sexual predator. You're talking about some sadistic murderer. The reality is those are really a small number of the prison population and violent crime."

But the prospect of convicted murderers getting out early, or getting lighter sentences than they would have the convicted murderers getting out early, or getting lighter sentences than they would have the convicted murderers getting out early, or getting lighter sentences than they would have the convection of the convicted murderers

Continued on Page 28

On the Road Again, Finally





Americans are getting behind the wheel for vacations again. But like nearly everything, the road trip has changed. Special Section.

#### Worried by Dirty Money, U.S. Examines the Secrecy of Art Sales

By GRAHAM BOWLEY

and REID J. EPSTEIN
LagRANGE, Ga. — Lonnie Hollis has been a member of the
Troup County election board in
West Georgia since 2013. A Democrat and one of two Black women
on the board, she has advocated
Sunday voting, helped voters on
Election Days and pushed for a
new precinct location at a Black
But this year, Ms. Hollis will be
removed from the board, the result of a local election law signed

By GRAHAM BOWLEY
The federal agents who raided a
drug dealer's house in a suburb of
Philadelphia found marijuana
and, to their surprise, \$2.5 million
in cash stashed in a secret compartment beneath a fish tank.

But they were even more sur-prised to discover so much art — 14 paintings on the walls and an-other 33 stacked in a storage unit a

few miles away from the home of the dealer, Ronald Belciano. The artists included Renoir, Picasso and Salvador Dali.

"That jumped out at us," said Brian A. Michael, special agent in charge for Homeland Security In-vestigations Philadelphia. "That amount of artwork was not some-thing you come across in every in-vestigation."

It turned out, Mr. Belciano used the art to launder some of his drug

know they can't influence them."
Ms. Hollis is not alone. Across Georgia, members of at least 10 county election boards have been removed, had their position eliminated or are likely to be kicked off through local ordinances or new laws passed by the state legislature. At least five are people of color and most are Democrats—though some are Republicans—and they will most likely all be replaced by Republicans, Ms. Hollis and local officials like her have been some of the earliest

Continued on Page 28

cash, purchasing the works from an established gallery near Philadelphia's Museum Row. In 2015, he was sentenced to more than five years in prison for dealing drugs and for laundering the illicit proceeds by taking advantage of one of the art market's signature features — its opacity. Billions of dollars of art changes hands every year with little or no public scruting. Buyers typically have no idea where the work they

are purchasing is coming from. Sellers are similarly in the dark about where a work is going, And none of the purchasing requires the filing of paperwork that would allow regulators to easily track art sales or profits, a distinct difference from the way the government can review the transfer of other substantial assets, like stocks or real estate.

But now authorities who fear Continued on Page 22

Continued on Page 22

forces as they sace the summandone.

The problem is especially acute for the Afghan Air Force. Not only for the Afghan Air Force. Not only feet provide air support to beleatened the support to beleatened the support to be supported to supplying and evacuating hundreds of outposts and bases across the country — the quickly thinning line that separates government and Taliban-controlled territory.

territory Continued on Page 10

#### INTERNATIONAL 4-14

Tempest-Tost Miniature

France is sending a bronze copy of the model used for the Statue of Liberty, less than 10 feet tall, to the United States. First stop? Ellis Island. PAGE

NATIONAL 15.29

Vatican Silent on Bishops' Vote

Pope Francis had no response to the Americans' plan to draft new rules that could eventually deny communion to President Biden. PAGE 16

U.S. Open Is Crowded at the Top

Late surges by some of golf's biggest names, including Rory McIlroy, left a number of players in contention heading into the final round. PAGE

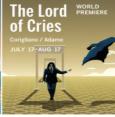
SUNDAY BUSINESS Hunting for Cool

Retail runs on predicting the future. But now forecasters are looking to TikTok more than the runway, adapting to a reality no one predicted. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW Nicholas Kristof

















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MARCUS YAM LOS Angel AN AFGHAN soldier surveys the terrain from a UH-60 Black Hawk during a resupply flight to troops in Shah Wali Kot. Taliban advances in the area mean all logistical support to outposts must be done by air.

## Afghanistan's air force in a downward spiral

The viability of the rare U.S.-backed success story is in question as the Americans pull out

SHAH WALI KOT, Afghanistan — The UH-60 Black Hawk plummeted like a roller coaster from 10,000 feet — safe from whatever the Tailban was firing at it — all the way down to 50 feet, its nose al-most licking the sun-scorched terrain of Shah Wali

most licking the sun-scorene uerrammost licking the sun-scorene uerrammost. Bilitzing at 115 mph, the helicopter swooped just beyond the battle barriers of an Afghan army base, its two onboard gunners areing their M240 machine guns as they scanned for any Tailban fighters passible.

ine guns as they scanned for any Taliban fighters nearby. When the Black Hawk landed, five soldiers — two wounded, all terrified — were dragging a sleeping bag with their belongings down the hill through the desert underbrush. They were almost at the helicopter when the gunners let loose a burst of bullets toward a dull-brown knoll. The soldiers themselves onboard one of them frantically pointing at an unseen enemy to the left and beg-

ging the crew to take off quickly.

The door closed. The pilot punched the throttle. The Black Hawk lunged forward, then knifed up into the afternoon sky to the drumroll of another M240 salvo.

Before takeoff hours earlier, Capt. Rezaye Jamshid had explained — a wan smile through his thick beard — that he would descend fast "because of the situation."

"But don't worry," he said, soothingly.

Bravado? Not really. More a curt acknowledgment of what had become the lethal, dally reality confronting Jamshid and the rest of the Afghan pilots. The Tailban forces were resurgent. The Americans, along with NATO troops and their hardware — the F-18s, Reaper drones, C-130s and hundreds of other aircraft — were leaving. The Afghan air force, which the U.S. and its partners have nurtured to the [See Afghanistan, A4]

#### He saves the beach. one piece of garbage at a time

#### STEVELOPEZ

The first plece of trash Josey Peters found on the beach was a flattened paper cup. He bent down, as he would hundreds of times in the following two hours, and tossed the cup into a big, black garbage bag slung own the following two hours, and tossed the cup into a big, black garbage bag slung own the following two hours, and tossed the cup into a big, black garbage bag slung on the following two hours, and the roller coaster carried passengers into a hazy sky, he came upon dozens of white, BB-sized Styrofoam beads scattered on wet sand.

"Dude, this is a tragedy," said Peters, a onetime rock in roll guitarist, frizzy hair exploding from under his hat. "These cheap boogle day's use."

Summer arrived early in Los Angeles, with tempera-

day's use."
Summer arrived early in
Los Angeles, with temperatures topping 100 degrees in
some areas on Tuesday. So
[See Lopez, A16]



WIN MCNAMEE Getty Imag QUARTERBACK Colt Brennan, a former Mater Dei High star and a sixth-round NFL draft pick in 2008, was third in Heisman voting while at Hawaii.

## A Warrior fallen: The life and death of Colt Brennan

Substance abuse haunted Hawaii football legend

e wanted to hand-deliver the card because Mother's Day was approaching and Mom was heading out of town.
So Colk Breman Joined his parents at the family home in the hills above Irvine, four months into the fivemonth substance-abuse treatment program that was giving back to the Brennans their only son.
His mood practically danced, remem-

bered Betsy, who noticed, too, the shine that had returned to Brennan's green

that had returned to Brennan's green eyes.

"He didn't want to leave," she said.
"He stayed and stayed until Terry had to drive him back."

Terry, his father, and Betsy would be heading to Mexico in the morning for a wedding. They'd be back on Sunday — Mother's Day — but Betsy already was holding her gift.

"Thope you have an awesome Mother's Day weekend," Brennan had written in the card.

[See Brennan, A10]

## What will be new norm in L.A. traffic?

Transit officials and motorists wait to see if patterns altered by COVID offer clues to future of commuting.

By Hayley Smith

As Los Angeles reopens after enduring more than a year of COVID-19 restrictions, those seemingly unbelievable ribbons of green on your phone's freeway traffic app are rapidly returning to red.

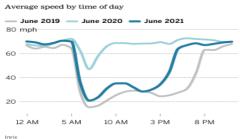
Traffic and transit patterns were altered by the pandemic, and both transportation officials and driv-

ers are anxiously waiting to see whether they offer clues to the future of commuting or simply represent temporary changes in L.A.'s inevitable slog toward gridlock.

Though congestion is approaching permanent approaching properties of the follows have changed, according to data reviewed by The Times.

The findings are fairly consistent among L.A.'s major arteries. The afternoon commute has bounced back faster than the morning trek, which remains a bit more free-flowing in many areas of the morning and evening rush hours are shorter than they used to be, with [See Traffic, A14]

#### Northbound 405 Freeway speeds



#### Low vaccine rates for first responders raise a troubling question

By Kevin Rector, Richard Winton, DAKOTA SMITH AND BEN WELSH

When COVID-19 vaccines became available in Califor-nia, police officers, firefight-ers and other first respond-ers got priority access, and potentially more.

potentially more.
There were Airbnb gift cards, bicycles and cameras. Cash prizes in raffles ranged from \$20 to \$1,000. Some prison healthcare workers were made eligible for cash

prizes just for sitting through a 30-minute "Vacci-nation Education" training

through a 30-minuse vacanation Education" training session.

But despite the priority access and array of incentives, vaccination rates for police, fire and corrections agencies across Los Angeles and California have lagged well behind the state's average for adult residents, according to a survey of agencies conducted by The Times.

While about 72% of adult

Times.
While about 72% of adult
Californians and 64% of L.A.
[See Unvaccinated, A18]



#### LEIMERT PARK FESTIVITY

Crowds celebrate Juneteenth on Degnan Boule vard in the heart of Black L.A. california, bi

#### wins presidency

Ebrahim Raisi, chief justice linked to mass executions, elected in low turnout. world, A3

#### Bidens' dog Champ dies

The older of their two German shepherds was a "constant, cherished companion" for 13 years. NATION, AS

#### 6 agencies name problem officers

Most of L.A. County law enforcement hasn't given misconduct files to D.A. CALIFORNIA, B1

Weather Partly sunny. L.A. Basin: 84/64. **B10** 



BUSINESS INSIDE: For communities of color, trust in big banks does not come easily. A19

Out of office no more Americans describe their return to the workplace **BUSINESS** 



Fatherhood What planning a child's birthday party taught a dad about 'mental labor' оитьоок



Dancing in the streets Juneteenth celebrations bring a joyful energy to the District metro

# The Washington Post

SUNDAY, JUNE 20, 2021 - \$3.50

#### Vlassacre by Taliban heightens foreboding

Slain commando chief was seen by Afghans as best hope as U.S. departs

BY PAMELA CONSTABLE

BY PAMELA CONSTABLE

KABUL — He was a general's son, a
U.S.-trained officer with a dazzling
academic record and a daring military reputation.

Col. Sohrab Azimi, a field commander in Afghan special forces
that often rescue troops and retake outposts from Taliban attacks, symbolized the country's
best hope to fend off an insurgent
takeover as U.S. troops began to
withdraw from the fight.

Azimi, 31, and his squad of
22 men were massacred Wednesday by Taliban forces while defending a base in northern Faryab
province and waiting for reinforcements.

province and waiting for rein-forcements.

The loss unleashed a flood of emotions across social media — grief, anger and fear that even the nation's most skilled defenders would be undercut by poor mili-tary leadership and the departure of Afghanistan's major foreign military all.

of Afghanistan's major foreign military all; At a ceremony outside a military hospital in Kabul on Saturday morning, a Muslim cleric blessed the velvet-draped coffins of Azimi and two other commandos, released by the Taliban after negotiations with the International Committee of the Red Cross. They were lifted onto artillery trucks, followed by goose-stepping solidiers and a marching band, then loaded into ambulances.

"This is the price we pay for defending our country's independence, freedom and dignity," Rangin Dadfar Spanta, a former

Rangin Dadfar Spanta, a former foreign minister, told the silent, SEE AFGHANISTAN ON A26

Historic water shortages spell peril for farmers, regulators and politicians alike



## The new West: Scorched dry

LAKE OROVILLE, CALIF. — The work had to be done quickly as water vanished to vapor in the early summer heat. Hauling giant houseboats, some 50 to 60 feet long, from this lake became urgent just a few weeks ago.

In all, the Oroville Lake Marinas company removed 130 houseboats; floating recreation palaces such as the Monte-Carol and La Bella Vita now sit in a parking lot on stacks of pasteboard props. The lot stands where the lake's high water mark would usually be — 900 feet. The lake is now at 700 feet and falling fast.

The man-made lake, which helps to irrigate thousands of acres of crops through the elaborate State Water Project, is

now so low that it is impossible for the marina to remove more of the large boats even as dun-colored islands begin to pop up. The launch ramp no longer reaches the water, which will keep disappearing amid a summer of record heat, including the "mega-heat wave" scorching much of the West.

the West.
"Tve seen it like this before but only at the end of summer, never this early," said Aaron Wright, the area's public safety chief who has worked in and around Lake Oroville — the state's second-largest reservoir — for the last eight years.
"This low will be historic."

Boats sit unused in Lake Oroville, Calif., on Tuesday. The manufactured reservoir is not only a recreation area but also provides drinking water to 27 million Californians and irrigation to farmland.

## Iranian election a win for hard line

JUDICIARY CHIEF TO BE NEW PRESIDENT

Raisi expected to discard Rouhani's reform agenda

#### BY KAREEM FAHIM

Iran's announcement Saturday of a resounding election victory by Ebrahim Raisi, the ultraconservative judiciary chief, signaled a stunning consolidation of power, handing the elected leadership back to hard-liners and sidelining reformists who negotiated a nuclear deal with global powers and advocated greater engagement with the West.

The victory by Raisi also showed the determination of Iran's conservative establishment, including its security and intelligence agencies, to eliminate any political challenge at a critical moment, analysts said.

Among the potential landmark moments ahead: reckoning with who would succeed the 82-year-old supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who is seen as a mentor to Raisi.

Some experts speculated about whether the return to unity at the

Khamenei, who is seen as a mentor to Rais:
Some experts speculated about whether the return to unity at the top — Khamenei's ruling cleries and the political structure around Raisi — could become a permanent fixture in Iran and the country's relatively vibrant election contests could become a thing of the past. For Friday's election, most moderates were barred by the ruling establishment, leaving many voters frustrated and turnout apparently low.

Raisi's win, however, was not expected to derail negotiations currently underway in Vienna SEE IRAN ON A26

#### How false 'Italygate' claims made their way to the top

Va. executive's firms pushed election-fraud conspiracy theory

BY JON SWAINE AND EMMA BROWN

Late last December, as President Donald Trump pressed senior officials to find proof of election fraud, White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows emailed acting attorney general Jeffrey Rosen a letter detailing an outlandish theory of how an Italian defense contractor had conspired with U.S. intelligence to rig the 2020 presidential contest. presidential contest

presidential contest.
The letter, which was among records released by Congress this past week, was printed under the letterhead of USAerospace Partners, a little-known Virginia aviation company. In early January, a second Virginia firm, the Institute

for Good Governance, and a part-ner organization released a state-ment from an Italian attorney who claimed that a hacker had admit-ted involvement in the supposed

ted involvement in the supposed conspiracy. According to the conspiracy heory known as "Italygate," people working for the Italian defense contractor, in coordination with senior CIA officials, used military satellites to switch votes from Trump to Joe Biden and swing the result of the election. Though her name was not mentioned in either document, both Virginia organizations are led by Michele Roosevelt Edwards, according to state corporate filings reviewed by The Washington Post. Edwards is a former Republican congressional candidate who built a reputation as an advocate built a reputation as an advocate for the Somali people and as some-one who could negotiate with war-lords and pirates in the war-torn

region.
Edwards was formerly known
SEE ITALYGATE ON A10

#### Brain surgery helped him stay sober 600 days

Gerod Buckhalter's success shows what may be possible with experimental treatment



Gerod Buckhalter gazes at part of a large mural depicting brain circuitry at the Rockefeller Neuroscience Institute, where he underwent surgery to install a deep brain stimulator.

BY LENNY BERNSTEIN

MORGANTOWN, W.VA. — After nearly two decades of hardcore drug addiction — after overdoses and rehabs and relapses, homelessness and dead friends and ruined lives — Gerod Buckhalter had one choice left, and he knew it.

He could go on the same way and die young in someone's home or a parking lot, another casualty in a drug epidemic that has claimed nearly \$50,000 people like him. Or he could let a surgeon cut two nickel-size holes in his skull and plunge metal-tipped electrodes into his brain.

More than 600 days after he underwent the experimental surgery, Buckhalter has not touched drugs again — an outcome so outlandishly successful that neither he nor his doctors dared hope it could happen. He is the only person in the United States to ever have substance use disorder relieved by deep brain stimulation. The procedure has reversed Parkinson's disease, epilepsy and a few other intractable conditions but had reversed Parkinson's disease, epilepsy and a few other intractable conditions but had never been attempted for drug addiction here.

C14 A20 WEATHER ... WORLD NEV

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SEBASTIAN MANISCALCO **BRUNO MARS BOYZ II MEN** 

AND MORE



#### revista

#### KARINA GAO. EL TRIUNFO DE LA VIDA

Embarazada de su tercer hijo, la chef estuvo en coma con Covid. Una historia de esperanza.



#### POR QUÉ BAJÓ LA EDAD DE LOS AFECTADOS POR CORONAVIRUS

—el berlinés

El cambio de rango etario de los infectados, al demostrar la efectividad de la vacunación, impone garantizar la continuidad del plan de inmunización.

#### LAS OBRAS DE INFRAESTRUCTURA, EN MODO PAUSA

-economía

Varias de las grandes construcciones están frenadas, mientras la inversión en obras se desplomó; hoy los subsidios les ganan a los aportes de capital.

# LA NACION

DOMINGO 20 DE JUNIO DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

# Preocupa al Gobierno la baja en los sondeos entre los jóvenes y la clase media baja

**ELECCIONES.** El oficialismo mira con inquietud el retroceso en esos sectores, que siempre simpatizaron con el FdT; apunta a reconquistarlos con medidas y mensajes en la campaña

A partir de esta semana el Gobierno entró de lleno en el doble modo gestión-campaña. En las primeras evaluaciones que se hicieron de las encuestas que consulta el oficialismo surgió un dato precupante: un marcado retroceso en dos segmentos históricos del kirchnerismo: la clase media baja y los jóvenes.

Tanto los segmentos socioeconómicos C2 y C3 como quienes tienen entre 16 y 29 años exhiben fuertes niveles de descontento con el Gobierno. Muchos votaron al Frente de Todos en 2019, pero hoy engrosan la tropa de los "desencantados".

"Tenemos un problema con los sectores de trabajadores informales, autónomos y monotributistas, que ses intieron desprotegidos en la pandemia", dijo a LANACION un funcionario que lee las encuestas que circulan por Balcarce 50. Una encuesta de Analogías que llegó a la Casa Rosada ofrece un dato contundente: ante la consulta sobre si el Gobierno tiene acciones para acompañar a los jóvenes en materia laboral y educativa, el 73.5% de las personas entre 16 y 29 años respondió "poco o nada". En el Gobierno ya trabajan en posibles medidas para revertir este cuadro de situación. Página 22

#### **EL ESCENARIO**

La búsqueda de una tregua Macri-Larreta

Martín Rodríguez Yebra Página 26

#### **EL ANÁLISIS**

El peligro de una oposición desordenada

Joaquín Morales Solá

l árido desierto que cruzó durante cuatro años convirtió a Cristina Kirchner en peor de lo que era hasta 2015. Más radicalizada, más mandona y más vengativa. La derrota y los reveses judiciales de esos años a la intemperie la convencieron de que solo en el poder estará tranquila. Necesita cambiar todo, las instituciones y la economía. Continúa en la página 39

#### Incertidumbre oficial por la segunda dosis de Sputnik

covid. Prevén un vuelo a Moscú la semana próxima, pero no tienen datos

Preocupado por la falta de certezas, el Gobierno realiza gestiones para destrabar el arribo de la segunda dosis de la Sputnik V. Tiene previsto un vuelo a Moscú la próxima semana, pero aún no sabe cuántas vacunas podrá cargar. Apremia el dato de que se vence el plazo de tres meses para la segunda dosis en cientos de miles de personas que recibieron la primera. Página 4

#### EL ESCENARIO

La vacuna desnuda los límites de Rusia

> Inés Capdevila Página8

Sputnik V: angustia y dudas en la espera del segundo componente Página 6



Ferreyra, con su esposa, Roxana, y sus hijos, Joaquín y Valentino, en Gral. Belgrano santiago haffori

#### EE.UU. Más amable, pero firme en sus reclamos

A pesar del mejor clima, hay planteos por la deuda y malestar por Nicaragua

WASHINGTON. (De nuestro corresponsal),—Desde que Joe Biden asumió el poder en EE.UU., la relación con la Argentina ganó en fluidez y en intercambios. Sin embargo, Washington no dejó de expresar la firmeza de sus posiciones en los temas que considera cruciales. Esta semana reclamó un planeconómico "Sólido" para negociar la deuda con el FMI y transmitió su malestar por la abstención en la OEA a la hora de condenar al régimen de Nicaragua. Página 30

#### Sergio Ramírez. "Ortega está

"Ortega está decapitando las elecciones"

El escritor nicaragüense advierte que la escalada represiva del presidente continuará. Página 19

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# **500 MIL MORTOS PELA COVID**

★ PAÍS VACINOU 15% DA POPULAÇÃO ADULTA ★ CASOS REGISTRADOS SE APROXIMAM DE 18 MILHÕES

Quase 16 meses após o registro do primeiro caso no país, o Brasil chegou neste sábado (19) à marca de meio milhão de mortos pela Covid, saldo absoluto até hoje só atingido pelos Estados Unidos, com população cerca de 50% maior, e acima de qualquer outra tragédia nacional. Com a campanha de seimedo ainde la general de servicio de 10% de panha de vacinação ainda lenta — pouco mais de 15% dos adultos tomaram as duas doses necessárias de imunizan-te— e um governo que negligencia medidas de contenção, não é possível dizer quantos ainda irão morrer.

O desaparecimento de 500 mil brasileiros em um intervalo de menos de um ano e meio, por uma única causa, é algo sem precedentes. Para que tamanho saldo fosse atin-gido, foi necessário um encadeamento de erros que vai do presidente ao cidadão comum. Começa pela tentativa de minimizar a pandemia, passa pelo questionamento da eficácia da imunização e pelo atraso para adquirir as doses necessárias e culmina na aposta em remédios ineficazes e no descrédito de medidas simples, como uso de máscara. A dose de fatalismo aplicada por Jair Bolsonaro (cuja ges-tão da crise é alvo de uma CPI), assim como por quem o apoia, traduz-se na ideia de que "todos nós vamos morrer um dia" e tem como legado grandes vazios: famílias despe-daçadas, economía e renda abaladas, disparada de trans-tornos mentais, uma geração afastada da escola, negócios falidos. Transcorridos 16 meses a serem relatados em livros de história, os que combatem e os que desdenham a pande-mia convergem em apenas um ponto: até quando? saúde B1

De repente, crianças ficam sem pais, e famílias, sem renda B2

Total de óbitos da pandemia no país supera 8 genocídios BS Em 16 meses, perfil de vítimas da doença fica mais jovem B4



Multidão toma a avenida Paulista, na tarde deste sábado (19), em São Paulo, em protesto organizado por entidades de esquerda contra o presidente Jair Bolsonaro

#### Números da pandemia

200	Casos	Obitos
Total	17,9 mi	500,9 mil
19.jun**	72,0 mil	2.073
Variação*	16,1%	26,3%
Em 24 h	78,9 mil	2.247
Estágios	T.	and he



#### Vacinação no Brasil % da população vacinada

Brasil	2* dose 15,1	1ª dose 39,0
MS	19,0	50,6
RS	18,6	46,0
ES	15,4	44,0
Cohortur	a da primeira	doen*



62,7 mi
6 mi
4,4 mi

## 33681

#### TENDÊNCIAS / **DEBATES A3** Meio milhão de vidas perdidas

Vazio de políticas públicas, ao lado das de descons-trução, revela a sociedade que se sente adoecida.

Irã elege para presidente **juiz ultraconservador** Ebrahim Raisi venceu com 62% dos votos e vai suceder Hasan Rowhani. A14

#### **VAMOS MORRER ATÉ QUANDO?**

SE UMA CAPA VAZIA CAUSA INCÔMODO, IMAGINE A DOR QUE CAUSA O VAZIO NAS FAMÍLIAS DOS 500 MIL BRASILEIROS QUE PERDERAM A VIDA PARA A COVID-19

#### EDITORIAIS A2

Esporte B10

Canoísta Isaquias

Queiroz quer dois

ouros em Tóquio

#### Para não esquecer

Meio milhão de mortos re sultam de um fracasso his-tórico — e disso jamais deve-ríamos nos esquecer. A civi-lização também é o esforço incômodo do aprendizado.

O mal-estar de investigar o que terá dado errado no Brasil da pandemia reme-terá inevitavelmente às cau-sas do desenvolvimento pela metade e desigual do país.

E ter eleito o pior presi-dente desde a redemocratização, que infestou a Espla-nada com assessores pré-gi-nasianos, foi decisivo para esse desfecho catastrófico.



Como agiu o serial killer preso no Paraná que atraiu e depois estrangulou rapazes gays c6e c7

#### Adesão sobe, e milhares vão às ruas contra **Bolsonaro**

Novos protestos reuniram milhares de manifestantes neste sábado (19), em dife-rentes cidades brasileiras. Entre os maiores atos, es-tiveram os de São Paulo, Piedo Locimo Pareflio Rio de Janeiro e Brasília.

A mobilização ocorreu menos de um mês após os atos de 29 de maio e pediu o impeachment de Bolsonaro, além de mais vaci-nas contra a Covid e au-xílio emergencial. Poder A4

#### Candido Bracher

#### Exemplo peruano nos alerta sobre o risco em 2022

No Peru, a população teve de optar entre candidatos nos extremos opostos do espectro ideológico, dois representantes fracos ou despreparados. Aqui, pes-quisas apontam candidatos dos extremos como líderes da corrida. Poder A16

Administrador, foi executivo do setor financeiro por 40 anos; escreverá nos penúltimos domingos do mês

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Salud alerta que será prueba de fuego en cumplimiento de medidas sanitarias

# Partidos a internas en medio de preocupación por contagios

53.385 precandidatos pugnan por un lugar en las municipales y otros 35.199 por los cargos partidarios. Analista afirma que son los peores comicios por la pésima oferta electoral.

PÁGINAS 4 y 6 a la 11

Siga hoy las elecciones internas de los partidos políticos a través del multimedios más importante del país

ULTIMAHORA



Empresario afirma que el contrabando causó la caída del 20% del comercio formal

PÁGINA 17

Sobrevive al infierno de Tacumbú y logra beca para una universidad de EEUU



Unión de esfuerzos. Acciones conjuntas desde instituciones del Estado y la sociedad civil permitieron la inmunización y cursos de capacitación para las gestantes. PÁGINA 2

## DOMINGO

Titular de la OIE ve factible conseguir más mercados para la carne paraguaya

En un noble gesto los médicos hacen videollamadas para los pacientes

Corrupción impidió que en 30 años se fortalezca el poder de los municipios

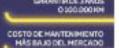
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ART LYRIQUE D'AIX-EN-PROVENCE FÊTE SA RENAISSANCE pages 35 à 38

JEAN TODT LA CÉLÈBRE FIGURE DU SPORT AUTOMOBILE MONDIAL QUITTE LES CIRCUITS PAGE 17

Après la guerre, l'Arménie aux urnes

EUROPE Les droites italiennes à couteaux tirés

HANDICAP La réforme de l'allocation adulte handicapé provoque un tollé

RUGBY Mola-Urios, une forte opposition de styles entre Toulouse et Bordeaux

NUCLÉAIRE Tensions entre EDF et la Chine après l'incident de Taishan PAGE 24

DÉFILÉ À Athènes, Dior ravive la flamme de la mode PAGE 34

de Christophe de Voogd Les chroniques d'Édouard Tétreau

La tribune

Bock-Côté L'analyse de Stéphany Gardier

et de Mathieu

Réponses à la question de vendredi : Pensez-vous que la levée des restrictions sanitaires aura une influence sur le vote aux élections régionales?

TOTAL DE VOTANTS: 145 335

#### Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr

Êtes-vous favorable à la vaccination obligatoire des soignants en septembre?

EAN LOUIS FERNANDEZ - JEAN-HRISTOPHE MARMARA/LE FIGARO

# Régionales : le grand test avant la présidentielle

Les Français sont appelés à voter ce dimanche, à moins d'un an du scrutin de 2022. Une élection locale aux enjeux nationaux, avec en toile de fond une possible performance du RN.

À dix mois de la présidentielle. les Français sont appelés à re-nouveler leurs conseils régionaux et départementaux. Un double scrutin local qui devrait être marqué par une abstention massive, mais qui revêt cependant des enjeux majeurs pour

les différentes forces politiques. À droite, des présidents de région sortants y voient une rampe de lancement en vue de

conquérir une ou plusieurs ré-gions pour asseoir sa dynamique. Face à Marine Le Pen. Les

et la gauche vont devoir se po-sitionner dès dimanche soir sur un éventuel front républicain.

⇒ DEUX SCRUTINS, DEUX BULLETINS : MODE D'EMPLOI → UNE ABSTENTION MASSIVE POURRAIT BROUILLER LES RÉSULTATS → À DIX MOIS DE LA PRÉSIDENTIELLE, UNE ÉLECTION À HAUTS RISQUES POUR EMMANUEL MACRON -> RÉGION PAR RÉGION, LES ENJEUX DU DERNIER RENDEZ-VOUS ÉLECTORAL AVANT 2022 PAGES 2 À 7 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



Avant le deuxième match de l'équipe de France lors de l'Euro, ce samedi à 15 heures contre la Hongrie, le leader technique des Bleus s'est longuement confié au «Figaro». PAGE 12

#### de Boeing au «Figaro»: « Nous sortirons plus forts de la crise»

Le patron

Calhoun s'attelle méthodi-quement à la remise en ordre de marche du géant américain, avec comme priorité la mutation numérique et la transition vers une aviation décarbonée. Frappé de plein fouet par la pandémie, comme tout le secteur de l'aéro-nautique, mais aussi par les déboires de son modèle 737 Max, Boeing veut désor-mais regarder l'avenir avec confiance. PAGES 22 ET 23

#### ÉDITORIAL par Vves Thréard ythreard@lefigaro.fr

### En attendant 2022

ien sûr, après des mois d'assignation à résidence, de vie masquée, et à l'approche des vacances, les Français ont la tête ailleurs. Bien sûr, pour mille raisons - et la dé-fiance à l'égard des responsables politiques en est une, majeure -, l'abstention s'annon-ce massive. Bien sûr, entre ce qui est imposé ou contrôlé par l'Europe, depuis Bruxelles, ou l'État, depuis Paris, les pouvoirs exacts des régions sont loin d'être évidents pour tout le monde.

Faudrait-il pour autant négliger les résultats des scrutins des deux dimanches à venir? Sans être une préfiguration de la présiden-tielle, ils donneront une indication à prendre au sérieux pour la suite. Avec, à la clé, une certitude : la poutre qui soutient l'édifi-ce politique n'a pas fini de bouger.

ce pointque n' a pàs inn de bouger. Le Rassemblement national va-t-il, cette fois, réussir à gagner? La probabilité existe dans plusieurs régions. Si tel était le cas, cela signifierait que beaucoup de tabous et de verrous ont sauté dans le pays. Et pas uniquement le fameux « barrage » du front ré-publicain, qui semble de plus en plus lézardé. À l'horizon, toujours dans l'hypothèse

du succès, la route de l'Élysée deviendrait

moins sinueuse pour Marine Le Pen. Si l'avenir de la gauche paraît durablement compromis, même quand elle tente ici ou là de s'unir, celui de la droite se joue aussi en partie en ce début d'été. Xavier Bertrand, Valérie Pécresse, Laurent Wauquiez? La question n'est pas tellement de savoir s'ils

Les régionales vont désigner les futurs adversaires de Macron

vont triompher, mais comment. Si l'un d'eux se dégage vraiment dans les urnes, son camp saurat-il éviter une nouvelle guerre des Atrides? Ce

serait une bonne surprise pour la droite. En ces jours de suspense, un seul homme ne se fait guère d'illusions. Il est sans parti ni ancrage local. Autant par sa faute que par sa volonté. Emmanuel Macron, qui parcourt la province dans une espèce de vraie-fausse campagne, ne peut pas attendre grandchose de ces régionales, sauf qu'elles lui dé-signent ses futurs adversaires. Alors, la course pour 2022 pourra commencer. ■



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