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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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Last week: DJIA 33290.08 ▼ 1189.52 3.4% NASDAQ 14030.38 ▼ 0.3% STOXX 600 452.05 ▼ 1.2% 10-YR. TREASURY ▲ 4/32, yield 1.449% OIL \$71.64 ▲ \$0.73 EURO \$1.1864 YEN 110.23

What's News

Business & Finance

Valuations of the so-called FAANG stocks are diverging after their synchronized surge last year amid the pandemic, as investors reconsider them and broaden their sights beyond familiar names. **A1**

◆ **Half of mortgage borrowers** put down at least 20% in April, causing many would-be buyers who can't afford big down payments to lose out in the current turbo-charged housing market. **A1**

◆ **As the U.S. and allies** chase China in procuring critical minerals essential for modern technologies, they confront a lack of companies and projects with an established record. **A1**

◆ **American Airlines**, which rapidly increased flying to meet a surge in travel demand, is trimming some flights to alleviate potential strains on its operations. **B1**

◆ **Some brand new exchange-traded funds** are dabbling in meme stocks, chasing returns in an effort to pull in assets. **B1**

◆ **The natural-gas glut** has evaporated, driving prices higher in a move that heralds bigger utility bills for Americans. **B1**

◆ **North Face owner VF** in March withdrew a statement of concern about alleged labor practices in China's Xinjiang region, then quickly reaffirmed its stance. **B3**

World-Wide

◆ **When Iranian diplomats** resume talks with Western officials to revive a battered nuclear deal, one name will stand out on the list of individuals Tehran wants removed from the U.S. sanctions list: Ebrahim Raisi, Iran's president-elect. **A1**

◆ **The Supreme Court** signaled with a ruling last week in favor of a Catholic social-service agency that secular interests will increasingly have to give way to more religious rights. **A4**

◆ **Sen. Rob Portman** (R., Ohio) said a higher gasoline tax may not be in a final infrastructure package, suggesting the removal of an obstacle to a nearly \$1 trillion proposal pushed by a bipartisan group of lawmakers. **A4**

◆ **Covid-19 vaccine rollouts** have accelerated in many Asia-Pacific countries, overtaking the pace of doses being administered in the U.S. and other Western nations. **A8**

◆ **Battlefield setbacks** are beginning to create a perception of inevitability about a Taliban takeover that risks becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy, Afghan officials warn. **A7**

◆ **Amtrak's** national expansion under a plan with the Biden administration faces a hurdle in freight carriers' willingness to participate, current and former federal officials say. **A4**

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Tropical Depression Claudette Rips Through Southeast



WAVE OF DESTRUCTION: A man removes debris from a home devastated by heavy flooding in Northport, Ala. At least eight people, mostly children, were killed in a multiple-vehicle crash in the midst of the powerful storm in the state. **A3**

Iran's Next President Will Test Effort to Revive Nuclear Talks

By SUNE ENGEL RASMUSSEN
AND LAURENCE NORMAN

When Iranian diplomats resume talks with Western officials to revive a battered nuclear deal, one name will stand out on the list of individuals Tehran wants removed from the U.S. sanctions list: Ebrahim Raisi, Iran's president-elect.

The Trump administration imposed sanctions on the 60-year-old hard-line judge, who won Friday's presidential election, two years ago over his close ties to Iranian Supreme

Leader Ali Khamenei. As Iran's next president, Mr. Raisi has emerged in a pivotal role that could determine the fate of the 2015 multinational accord.

His mentor, Mr. Khamenei, supports the talks as part of efforts to unshackle Iran's economy from U.S. sanctions. In a televised election debate this month, Mr. Raisi said his administration would "be committed to the [nuclear deal] as an agreement that was approved by the supreme leader."

But while Mr. Raisi is expected to agree to reimposing

constraints on Iran's nuclear program, he is seen as a more confrontational adversary to the West than his predecessor, current President Hassan Rouhani. Some analysts anticipate Mr. Raisi will be even more resistant to American efforts to curtail Iran's military activities in the Middle East.

"There is going to be continuity in some areas, like the nuclear deal," said Anisheh Bassiri Tabrizi, senior research fellow at the London-based Royal United Services Institute. "But in terms of a broader pos-

ture towards the West, Raisi is not going to make the same kind of commitment that Rouhani made in terms of cooperation and engagement."

Mr. Raisi received 17.9 million votes, or about 62% of the ballots cast, Iran's interior ministry said. His main challenger in Friday's election, Abdolnaser Hemmati, the only moderate candidate left in the race, received about 8.5% of the vote.

Mr. Raisi's victory was largely the result of a historically low turnout of 48.8%—a

Please turn to page A7

Would-Be Buyers Get Shut Out Of Homes

By NICOLE FRIEDMAN
AND BEN EISEN

Surging prices in the turbo-charged housing market are sidelining many would-be buyers, with those who can't afford big down payments often losing out.

Half of existing-home buyers in April who used mortgages put at least 20% down, according to a National Association of Realtors survey. In 10 years of record-keeping, that percentage has hit or exceeded 50% three times, and all have been since last fall. A quarter of existing-home buyers in April paid cash, the highest level since 2017, NAR said.

Oscar Reyes Santana has been house hunting with his parents and siblings for more than a year in California's San Fernando Valley. They are all first-time buyers and budgeted for a 5% down payment.

The family bid on at least five homes, each time offering at least \$30,000 above the asking price, but they lost out every time, said Mr. Reyes Santana, who is 23 years old. "It's been really tough to try to beat everyone else," he said.

They have all but given up

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◆ **Heard on the Street:** Home prices test central banks... **B10**

Spaniard Rahm Wins U.S. Open



It was Jon Rahm's first victory in a PGA major and came two weeks after he tested positive for Covid-19. **A14**

The Hottest New Concert Venue: Your Local Movie Theater

Arenas aren't quite ready for bands yet, but the cinema can put them on screen

By ANNE STEELE

LOS ANGELES—Brooke Green wasn't sure who the band was, but she was excited for the show. A self-described live-music fan, the elementary-school teacher "didn't really care who was playing."

"I've been home alone in isolation for a year on Zoom," said Ms. Green, who added that she has spent thousands of dollars lining up tickets for

Tight Labor Market Returns The Upper Hand to Workers

Employers competing to hire offer higher pay, signing bonuses, perks

By ERIC MORATH AND GREG IP

Low-wage workers found something unexpected in the economy's recovery from the pandemic: leverage.

Ballooning job openings in fields requiring minimal education—including in restaurants, transportation, warehousing and manufacturing—combined with a shrinking labor force are giving low-wage workers perks previously reserved for white-collar employees. That often means bonuses, bigger raises and competing offers.

Average weekly wages in leisure and hospitality, the sector that suffered the steepest job losses in 2020, were up 10.4% in May from February 2020, Labor Department data show, outpacing the private sector overall

and inflation. Pay for those with only high school diplomas is rising faster than for college graduates, according to the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta.

"It's a workers' labor market right now and increasingly so for blue-collar workers," said Becky Frankiewicz, president of staffing firm ManpowerGroup Inc.'s North America operations. "We have plenty of demand and not enough workers."

Lower-wage employers are boosting pay and offering gift cards to applicants who show up for interviews, along with sign-on and retention bonuses, and sometimes immediate employment before drug screenings and background checks, she said.

While benefiting workers, higher labor

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U.S. Struggles in Push To Mine Rare Earths

By ALISTAIR MACDONALD

The U.S. and its allies are facing a major hurdle as they chase China in procuring critical minerals essential for modern technologies: a lack of companies and projects with an established record.

The U.S. has pumped millions of dollars into researching how to extract rare-earth minerals from abandoned coal fields, an approach some say won't work. The Pentagon has invested in a U.S.-based rare-earth magnets manufacturer

that sources many of its products from China. Canada has put money into a 21-year-old mining company that has never mined and handed an option to control its main asset to a business run by the chief executive's son.

"There were many ventures we had questions about in terms of their claims and what they were doing," said Drew Horn, a former senior official at the Energy Department, the White House and the Office of the Director of National Intel-

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Pre-distribution

California rethinks how to spread wealth — RANA FOROQAR, PAGE 17

Credibility issues

State role in China TV is turn-off for global audiences — BIG READ, PAGE 15



Bagpipes and cash

Companies pull out stops to lure workers back to the office — PAGE 12

Poll reaction Iran nuclear pact at stake

Western powers have vowed to forge ahead with efforts to revive the Iran nuclear deal after the election of Ebrahim Raisi, a conservative cleric and judiciary chief, as the country's president.

Negotiators in Vienna yesterday adjourned talks aimed at restoring the accord. The EU said it stood ready to work with Iran's new government, while US officials insisted the election had not reduced the Biden administration's desire to revive the nuclear pact.

Iran has been seeking to restore the 2015 nuclear accord, but Friday's election has cast an extra layer of uncertainty over an already complex process. **Hardliners tighten grip** page 3
Saudi oil aid to Pakistan page 4
FT View page 16



Hajir Agapov/AP/WideWorld

Chinese provinces tighten screws on power-hungry bitcoin miners

Shockwaves rattle sector • Sichuan operators ordered to halt • Beijing emissions push

CHRISTIAN SHEPHERD — BEIJING

China's biggest bitcoin producing provinces have intensified a crackdown on cryptocurrency mining in the latest sign of how local authorities are toughening their stance on the rapidly growing digital asset markets.

The country's bitcoin mining operations, the power-hungry process of computational puzzle-solving that creates new units of the virtual currency, have been in retreat since May when the government confirmed a ban on cryptocurrency transactions and warned of the risks of using them for payments. Bitcoin prices plunged after the announcement and are currently trading at about \$35,000 — well below the April peak of almost \$65,000.

China's latest intervention places further pressure on what was once one of the world's most vibrant markets for trading and mining digital currencies. It comes at a time when many governments are scrutinising the industry's effect on both the environment and the financial system.

Global regulators this month called for digital currencies to carry the toughest bank capital rules of any asset, with the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision warning that the growing use of crypto assets "has the potential to raise financial stability concerns".

Officials in all of China's hubs for mining operations released new measures targeting bitcoin creators last week, sending shockwaves through the sector. Sichuan, a hydropower-rich province

in south-west China, ordered the 26 biggest local mines to stop operating as an investigation is conducted, Chinese media reported. The probe, which will last until June 25, had been taken as a warning by many bitcoin miners that it was time to relocate outside of China.

Owing to its abundant supply of renewable energy from its network of dams, Sichuan had been seen as a location of last resort for mining operations pushed out of provinces that rely on coal-fired power plants for electricity.

Governments in leading cryptocurrency mining locations Xinjiang, Yunnan and Qinghai have also announced plans to close mining operations.

Local governments are under pressure from Beijing to reduce energy intensity — carbon dioxide emissions



The world's watchdogs have warned that the growing use of crypto assets 'has potential to raise financial stability concerns'

per unit of gross domestic product — as China aims to reach peak output of greenhouse gas by 2030, Cambridge University's Bitcoin Electricity Consumption Index suggests that global bitcoin mining consumed more electricity than Sweden did last year.

Despite earlier moves to clamp down on bitcoin trading and investment, China remained the main global hub for creation of bitcoin and accounted for up to 75 per cent of the world's mining, according to pre-crackdown estimates. "[Bitcoin mining] doesn't do any good to the national economic development or social development," said Guan Dabo, an economist at Tsinghua University in Beijing. "On the other hand, it consumes a lot of electricity that could be used for other purposes."

Briefing

► **Microsoft and Alphabet resist ESG drive**
The US tech groups have pushed back against calls to include disclosures on environmental, social and governance issues in regulatory filings, setting them on course for a tussle with asset managers. — PAGE 6

► **ECB board member talks up digital euro**
Fabio Panetta has told the FT that a digital currency would boost consumer privacy and protect the eurozone from competing cryptocurrencies that could undermine its monetary sovereignty. — PAGE 2

► **US buyout firm pursues British grocer**
People close to the bid have said Clayton, Dubilier & Rice is set to push ahead with its targeting of the Wm Morrison chain despite its initial 230p-a-share offer being rebuffed over the weekend. — PAGE 6

► **Brussels defends new tech legislation**
Margrethe Vestager, head of EU competition policy, has told the FT she rejects the idea that the bloc's new Digital Markets Act will only target American tech companies. — PAGE 2



► **Activision Blizzard vote on chief's \$155m**
The video games group faces a vote on Bobby Kotick's salary package today after delaying the "say on pay" showdown in a bid, critics say, to avoid an embarrassing rebuke. — PAGE 8

► **Ikea and Rockefeller green energy push**
The Rockefeller foundation and a counterpart set up by the furniture retailer have made their biggest investments to start a fund they hope can finance \$10bn of projects in developing countries. — PAGE 8

► **Cuban vaccine trial shows 62% efficacy**
One of the country's coronavirus jabs has surpassed efficacy thresholds required for approval by global regulators and health agencies, including the WHO, using two of its three recommended doses. — PAGE 4

Datawatch

Baby blues



Rising Delta variant poses risk to Europe's defences

The clusters of the Delta coronavirus variant in some EU countries threaten to halt the progress made in bringing infections and deaths to their lowest since the autumn. FT analysis shows the strain that emerged in India is dominant in Portugal, with pockets in France, Spain and Germany. Now the EU is looking to the UK, where cases have tripled in a month and the variant accounts for 98 per cent of infections, for clues as to how to fight the surge.

Analysis — PAGE 2

Santander set to challenge Wall St with European investment banking push

NICHOLAS MEGAW
AND OWEN WALKER — LONDON
DANIEL DOWNEY — MADRID

Santander has set its sights on becoming a major force in European investment banking, challenging the Wall Street powerhouses that have come to dominate the industry.

The ambition is a marked departure for Europe's largest retail lender, which has spent much of the past four decades building a consumer banking empire spanning 20 countries from its domestic market in Spain to Poland and the US.

It also underlines the pressure on Santander to escape the effects of low interest rates, which have eroded profits at its retail business. But as European rivals such as Deutsche Bank shrink their investment banking operations, Santander sees an opportunity to take

advantage of what it believes is a growing unease about the dominance of US lenders in the region.

"In Europe it is fair to say that we started being probably a tier two to tier three [investment bank]," said José María Linares, who was recruited from JPMorgan to expand Santander's corporate and investment banking division. "The ambition is to be one of the leading European banks."

Linares hopes to complement the bank's existing strength in credit markets by building new business in areas such as M&A advisory. "It is obviously good that Americans can provide a competitive offer, but I think that especially our European clients want to see European banks with them," he said.

Investment banking activity accounted for 15 per cent of Santander's revenues and 28 per cent of pre-tax

profit in the first quarter of this year.

With Santander's shares down 40 per cent over the past four years, the plans for investment banking are pivotal for executive chair Ana Botín, who last year presided over the bank's first annual loss in its 164-year history as the pandemic ravaged its consumer businesses.

Santander is not the only European lender sensing an opportunity. BNP Paribas is making a similar push but starting from a much larger base with €1.2bn of annual revenues at its corporate and investment banking division before the pandemic, compared with Santander's €5.2bn.

Rivals are taking Santander's efforts seriously, but caution that adding scale is easier said than done. "You don't become top three just because you decide you are going to," said the head of investment banking at a European rival.

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Jun 18	Jun 11	%Week		Jun 18	Jun 11			price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4166.45	4247.44	-1.91	\$ per £	1.186	1.211	\$ per €	0.724	0.708		
Nasdaq Composite	14039.38	14069.42	-0.28	£ per €	1.381	1.412	€ per £	1.185	1.186		
Dow Jones Ind	33290.08	34479.60	-3.45	¥ per €	0.859	0.857	¥ per \$	136.701	132.931		
FTSEurofirst 300	1744.89	1763.78	-1.07	¥ per \$	110.240	109.765	£ index	82.153	81.995		
Euro Stoxx 50	4093.37	4125.70	-1.05	¥ per £	152.190	155.038	Sfr per €	1.274	1.269		
FTSE 100	7017.47	7134.06	-1.63	Sfr per €	1.094	1.088					
FTSE AEX Share	4002.07	4068.35	-1.63	€ per \$	0.844	0.826					
CAC 40	6508.16	6600.86	-1.40								
Nikkei Dow	15448.04	15693.27	-1.56								
Nikkei	29964.03	29561.56	0.02								
Hong Kong	28901.27	28738.88	0.22								
MSCI World	2996.51	-	-								
MSCI EM	1362.88	-	-								
MSCI ACWI	214.67	-	-								
				COMMODITIES							
	Jun 18	Jun 11	%Week		Jun 18	Jun 11	%Week		price	prev	chg
Oil WTI	71.85	70.81	1.19								
Oil Brent	73.34	72.63	0.98								
Gold	1779.20	1880.65	-5.82								

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ERIC ADAMS The front-runner visited a Brooklyn church Sunday.



KATHRYN GARCIA Taking a yoga break in Times Square.



MAYA WILEY Hula-hooping at a festival in Brooklyn.



ANDREW YANG Greeting voters at a festival in the Bronx.

Piles of Money Paving the Path To a Mayoralty

**Billionaires Buoy New
York's Moderates**

This article is by **Dana Rubinstein, Jonah E. Bromwich and Katie Glueck.**

More than seven years after one of the nation's wealthiest men stepped down as New York City's mayor and was replaced by a successor who shunned the rich, billionaires have re-emerged as a potent force in the mayor's race.

Together, billionaires have spent more than \$16 million this year on super PACs that are primarily focused on the mayoral primary campaign that ends on Tuesday — the first mayoral election in the city's history to feature such loosely regulated organizations devoted to individual candidates.

Overall, super PAC spending in the mayor's race has exceeded \$24 million, according to the New York City Campaign Finance Board, making up roughly 30 percent of the \$79 million spent on the campaign.

The impact has been dramatic: a deluge of campaign mailers and political ads on radio, television and the internet, especially in recent weeks, as the unusually large field of Democratic candidates vied to win over an electorate distracted by the pandemic.

Dedicated super PACs exist for all but one of the eight major Democratic candidates, but half of the billionaires' spending has benefited just three of the field's more moderate contenders: Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president who is considered the front-runner; Andrew Yang, the 2020 presidential candidate and a top rival; and Raymond J. McGuire, a former Citigroup executive who trails in the polls.

At least 14 individuals that Forbes magazine has identified as billionaires have donated to mayoral-related super PACs. Several run companies that are headquartered in New York City, while others have interests that would benefit from a good relationship with City Hall, and they are hedging their bets in an apparent effort to improve their chances of backing the winner.

Steven A. Cohen, the hedge fund billionaire who owns the Mets, donated \$500,000 to Mr. Yang's super PAC and \$500,000 to Mr. Adams' in mid-May, when the two candidates were leading the polls. But as Mr. Yang's support appeared to wane and Mr. Adams' grew, Mr. Cohen cut off Mr. Yang and donated another \$1 million to Mr. Adams.

A similar trajectory characterizes the giving patterns of Daniel S. Loeb, another hedge fund billionaire and an outspoken supporter of charter schools and former chairman of Success Academy Charter Schools. He donated

NEW YORK TRAILS REST OF THE U.S. IN VIRUS REBOUND

ECONOMIC SCARS LINGER

**Businesses Challenged by
Dearth of Commuters
and Visitors**

This article is by **Nelson D. Schwartz, Patrick McGehee and Nicole Hong.**

As the national economy recovers from the pandemic and begins to take off, New York City is lagging, with changing patterns of work and travel threatening the engines that have long powered its jobs and prosperity.

New York has endured deeper job losses as a share of its work force than any other big American city. And while the country has regained two-thirds of the positions it lost after the coronavirus arrived, New York has recovered fewer than half, leaving a deficit of more than 500,000 jobs.

Restaurants and bars are filling up again with New Yorkers eager for a return to normal, but scars are everywhere. Boarded-up storefronts and for-lease signs dot many neighborhoods. Empty sidewalks in Midtown Manhattan make it feel like a weekend in midweek. Subway ridership on weekdays is less than half the level of two years ago.

The city's economic plight stems largely from its heavy reliance on office workers, business travelers, tourists and the service businesses catering to all of them. All eyes are on September, when many companies aim to bring their workers back to the office and Broadway fully reopens, attracting more visitors and their dollars. But even then, the rebound will be only partial.

The shift toward remote work endangers thousands of businesses that serve commuters who are likely to come into the office less frequently than before the pandemic, if at all. By the end of September, the Partnership for New York City, a business advocacy group, predicts that only 62 percent of office workers will return, mostly three days a week.

Restoring the city to economic health will be an imposing challenge for its next mayor, who is likely to emerge from the Democratic primary on Tuesday. The candidates have offered differing visions of how to help struggling small businesses and create jobs. "We are bouncing back, but we are nowhere near where we were in 2019," said Barbara Byrne Denham, senior economist at Oxford Economics. "We suffered more than everyone else, so it will take a little longer to recover."

At 10.9 percent in May, the city's unemployment rate was nearly

War Blots Out Nobel Halo of Ethiopia's Premier

By **DECLAN WALSH**

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia — As war raged in northern Ethiopia and the region barreled toward its worst famine in decades, a senior American envoy flew to the Ethiopian capital last month in the hope of persuading Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed to pull his country out of a destructive spiral that many fear is tearing it apart.

Mr. Abiy, though, wanted to go for a drive.

Taking the wheel, the Ethiopian leader took his American guest, the Biden administration's Horn of Africa envoy, Jeffrey D. Feltman, on an impromptu four-hour tour of Addis Ababa, American officials said. The prime minister drove him past smart new city

**Leader Faces Vote Amid
Famine and Claims
of Atrocities**

parques and a refurbished central plaza and even crashed a wedding where the two men posed for photos with the bride and groom.

Mr. Abiy's attempt to change the channel, showcasing economic progress while parts of his country burned, was just the latest sign of a troubled trajectory that has baffled international observers who wonder how he got him so wrong.

Not long ago, Mr. Abiy, who faces Ethiopian voters on Monday

in long-delayed parliamentary elections, was a shining hope for country and continent. After coming to power in 2018, he embarked on a whirlwind of ambitious reforms: freeing political prisoners, welcoming exiles home from abroad and, most impressively, striking a landmark peace deal with Eritrea, Ethiopia's old foe, in a matter of months.

The West, eager for a glittering success story in Africa, was wowed, and within 18 months Mr. Abiy, a onetime intelligence officer, had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

But in just nine months, Mr. Abiy's halo has been shattered. The civil war that erupted in the northern region of Tigray in No-

Continued on Page A9

Bishops' Vote Against Biden Reveals Reach

By **ELIZABETH DIAS**

WASHINGTON — Pope Francis and President Biden, both liberals, are the two most high-profile Roman Catholics in the world.

But in the United States, neither of these men is determining the direction of the Catholic Church. It is now a conservative movement that decides how the Catholic Church asserts its power in America.

That reality was unmistakably declared last week, when the country's bishops voted overwhelmingly to draft guidelines for the Eucharist, advancing a conservative push to deny Mr. Biden communion over his support for abortion rights.

"There is a special obligation of those who are in leadership because of their public visibility," Bishop Kevin C. Rhoades, who heads the diocese of Fort Wayne, South Bend in Indiana, said after the vote.

It was the most dramatic example of the conservative Catholic movement's reach since Mr. Biden was elected. But the contingent had been gaining strength throughout the Trump era, clashing with the Vatican, wresting influence away from Pope Francis' top representatives in the United

Continued on Page A13



Juan Gutierrez struggles with the Arizona heat at construction sites that creep into the desert.

For Builders, Hot Phoenix Market Feels Like 115°

By **JACK HEALY**

PHOENIX — As the sun rose on another day of record-breaking heat, Juan Gutierrez and his construction crew were already sweating through their long-sleeve shirts. It was 91 degrees, and workers in a subdivision called Desert Oasis were racing to nail together the wooden skeletons of \$380,000 homes that had sold before they were even built.

**Housing Crunch Keeps
Crews Toiling in Sun**

"Your skin falls off, you have to cover up everything," said Mr. Gutierrez, 22, who has been undocumented since he came to the United States as a 4-year-old. "It's work you have to do. You have no choice."

Across the West, housing markets and temperatures are both scorching hot. A punishing spring of drought, wildfires and record-shattering heat is amplifying questions about the habitability of the Southwest in a rapidly warming climate. But it has done little to slow the rapid growth of cities like Phoenix, where new arrivals are fueling a construction frenzy — as well as rising housing costs that

Continued on Page A13

Once Royalty, Cheney Is G.O.P.'s Lonely Warrior

By **MARK LEIBOVICH**

CASPER, Wyo. — Representative Liz Cheney was holed up in a secure undisclosed location of the Dick Cheney Federal Building, recounting how she got an alarmed phone call from her father on Jan. 6.

Ms. Cheney, Republican of Wyoming, recalled that she had been preparing to speak on the House floor in support of certifying Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s election as president. Mr. Cheney, the former vice president and his daughter's closest political adviser, consulted with her on most days, but this time was calling as a worried parent.

He had seen President Donald J. Trump on television at a rally that morning vow to get rid of "the Liz Cheneys of the world." Her



STEFFAN REYNOLDS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Representative Liz Cheney

floor speech could inflame tensions, he told her, and he feared for her safety. Was she sure she wanted to go ahead?

"Absolutely," she told her father. "Nothing could be more important."

Minutes later, Mr. Trump's supporters breached the entrance, House members evacuated and the political future of Ms. Cheney, who never delivered her speech, was suddenly scrambled. Her promising rise in the House, which friends say the former vice president had been enthusiastically invested in and hoped might culminate in the speaker's office, had been replaced with a very different mission.

"This is about being able to tell your kids that you stood up and did the right thing," she said.

Ms. Cheney entered Congress in 2017, and her lineage always ensured her a conspicuous profile, although not in the way it has since blown up. Her campaign to defeat the "ongoing threat" and "fundamental toxicity of a presi-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Revisiting an Anthrax Leak

The accident in a Soviet lab and a subsequent cover-up have renewed relevance as scientists search for the origins of Covid-19. PAGE A4

'Black Fungus' Strikes India

Mucormycosis has sickened former Covid patients nationwide. Hospitals desperate to keep virus patients alive may have left them vulnerable. PAGE A6

Selling Books in Hong Kong

Some independent shops flout the new limits on free expression. For readers, the stores offer a sense of connection in a politically muted city. PAGE A8



NATIONAL A11-17

How Covid Shaped Her Class

Roneline Ramoutarsingh's third graders in Salem, Mass., navigated a year of loss and resilience. PAGE A16

Wondering if the Shot Worked?

Antibody testing after vaccination is generally not recommended. But for some people, it makes sense. PAGE A17

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A Double-Edged Source

When Tucker Carlson, a proud traitor to the elite political class, is not denouncing the liberal media, he's trading gossip with them. Ben Smith writes. PAGE B1

Millions Say: 'I Quit'

With different priorities as the pandemic eases, workers are leaving their jobs in record numbers. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B6-7

Physicist Who Ran a Tavern

George Stranahan, a millionaire involved in fields ranging from craft beer to activism, has died at 89. PAGE B6

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A Movement's Treasures

The country's most significant collection of Shaker objects, out of public view for a decade, will relocate to an \$18 million museum complex designed by Annabelle Selldorf. PAGE C1

Next Challenge: The World

The rock band Maneskin found fame in Italy on "The X-Factor." But the Eurovision contest — and a post-show drugs controversy — put the group in front of a global audience. PAGE C1

OPINION A18-19

Charles M. Blow



SPORTSMONDAY D1-7

Spaniard Wins the U.S. Open

Jon Rahm, above, birdied the final two holes at Torrey Pines to defeat Louis Oosthuizen by a shot for his first major golf championship. PAGE D1



0 354 613 9

Spain is seeing its ship come in

Cruises are docking once again, bringing tourists and hopes for economic revival.

By CLAUDIA NÚÑEZ

MALAGA, Spain — On a warm morning last week, Florencia Frangi was barely awake when she saw her phone light up with messages: The first cruise ship to dock in mainland Spain in more than a year had sailed into Malaga's port. She wept with relief.

Frangi wasn't alone. In tourism-dependent Spanish cities such as this historic hub on the country's Mediterranean Costa del Sol, the streets are again filling with the summertime scents of churros, chocolate and fried fish, now mingled with the buzz of foreign languages.

Across Europe, the long-awaited reopening to tourism is proceeding in piecemeal fashion but at a quickening pace. On Friday, the European Union took a major step forward by formally recommending that its 27 member states lift a ban on nonessential travel from the United States, opening the way to salvaging the summer tourist trade.

Under the EU's new non-binding measures, it is up to individual countries to decide on visitor regulations, and Germany quickly said it would allow Americans to enter if they were vaccinated or tested negative for the coronavirus. Southern European nations such as Spain are in the forefront in advocating maximum mobility, despite risks of reigniting the coronavirus contagion and quarrels over what kind of vaccine certification should be adopted.

In Malaga, Frangi, a young mother who emigrated from Argentina five years ago, had grown desperate as the pandemic raged and her adopted city shut down. Before the virus hit, she managed to find work as a

[See Spain, A4]



Photograph by GARY COBOKADO Los Angeles Times

THE CALIFORNIA Correctional Center, a minimum-security state prison in Susanville, is scheduled to close by June 2022. The state's plan would be to transfer the more than 2,300 inmates housed there.

Plan to close prison sparks anger, fear in rural town

Susanville dependent on economics of incarceration



MIKE O'KELLY, shown at the site where his grandfather's pasteurizing plant stood in Susanville, is a third-generation dairyman.

By HAILEY BRANSON-POTTS

SUSANVILLE, Calif. — When Mike O'Kelly was a boy, this was a timber town.

In the early 1900s, his grandfather drove a herd of cattle more than 200 miles from the Oregon border to this remote outpost near the Nevada state line where he sold milk to millworkers and loggers.

He ran a dairy, and so did O'Kelly's father, whose children grew up watching logging trucks speed past their house.

By the 1950s, the mills had started closing, but the California Correctional Center opened in 1963, bringing jobs — and for O'Kelly, who eventually took over Morning Glory Dairy, brisk business as he sold milk and eggs to the prison.

"They came in, and they promised to buy everything local. It was all about economic benefit to the

[See Prison, A8]

Democrats' proposed recall rules alarm county elections officials

By JOHN MYERS

SACRAMENTO — Elections officials across California say that the proposed rules written by Democratic lawmakers for the recall election of Gov. Gavin Newsom could push the event's cost far beyond the current estimate of \$215 million, creating voter confusion and delaying the counting of ballots.

They have urged Lt. Gov. Eleni Kounalakis, who will choose the date of the election, not to schedule the contest before mid-September, citing a long list of concerns, including the time needed to print ballots and federal guidelines for when to ship them to military and overseas voters.

"There are so many unknowns right now," said Cynthia Paes, the interim registrar of voters in San

Diego County.

Local elections officials began sounding the alarm soon after Democrats unveiled new legislation June 11 allowing the Newsom recall vote to be held as early as Aug. 24. The proposal would shorten the timeline by up to two months by eliminating the existing requirement of a lengthy analysis of the election's costs.

Registrars of voters out-

[See Recall rules, A7]

Diplomats report progress in Iran nuclear talks

Political decisions are needed before negotiators meet next in Vienna to try to restore the 2015 deal. **WORLD, A3**

Former chef at Spago dies at 66

Rising from dishwasher to restaurateur, Mark Peel helped establish L.A. as a dining destination. **OBITUARY, B1**

Weather

Low clouds, then sun. L.A. Basin: 83/64. **B6**

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.



ROBERT GAUTHIER Los Angeles Times

CLIPPERS DROP GAME 1

DeMarcus Cousins fouls Dario Saric during L.A.'s 120-114 loss to the Phoenix Suns. **SPORTS, D1**



MEL MELCON Los Angeles Times

PEACOCKS, like this one in Pasadena on June 10, aren't native to Southern California, but since their introduction in the late 1800s, they've adapted to life here.

Cultural treasure or menace?

County wades into debate over feral peacocks

By JACLYN COSGROVE AND CHRIS KUO

It's a fowl topic that has pitted neighbor versus neighbor over some brilliantly plumbed invaders: peacocks.

For lovers of the birds, the peacocks are a cultural treasure worthy of being fed and tended and allowed to run free and unfurl their tail feathers across streets and lawns of homes in the western San Gabriel Valley.

For the anti-peacock contingent, they are a menace that blocks traffic, destroys gardens, screeches incessantly and poops on roofs and cars. There are peacock fans who welcome the birds onto their yards to drink from bowls of water, and peacock haters who erect fences, install nets to keep them out and even try to poison them or run them over. In East Pasadena, one resident even tried to hire a trapper to capture and relocate a peafowl from the neigh-

borhood.

"I can't believe it.... It seems like you either love them or you hate them," said Mike Maxwell, a retired zookeeper who contracts with city and county governments to relocate peacocks whose feathery displays (and aggressive behavior) are agitating a swath of the valley from Altadena to Arcadia. "I've been doing this as a side job for over 20 years, and I've never seen such a polarizing topic or discussion as the peafowl."

[See Peacocks, A7]

BUSINESS INSIDE: Gmail filter puts a crimp in the booming business of newsletters. **A9**



Manchin struggles to build bridges

As ultimate swing vote, senator from W.Va. faces test of bipartisan instinct

BY ANNIE LINSKEY
AND MIKE DEBONIS

FARMINGTON, W.VA. — On a recent Sunday afternoon, Sen. Joe Manchin III called with big news for the mayor of this 18,000-person town nestled in a lush valley where the Tygart and West Fork rivers meet to form the north-flowing Monongahela.

"Hey, buddy," Manchin said, using his signature greeting, before explaining how a federal stimulus package that had just passed would mean nearly \$8 million for the two-century-old town dotted with picturesque red-brick buildings and beset by frequent flooding.

"He said, 'What do you think about getting the money?'" recalled the town's mayor, Thomas Mainella, who, like many civic leaders in the state, has known Manchin for decades. "He was as excited about it as we were."

One topic that didn't come up was how Manchin had, at least temporarily, put in jeopardy the \$1.9 trillion bill that was the first major pandemic relief effort pushed by the new Biden administration, and the source of the money for Farmington.

SEE MANCHIN ON A4

A fete for Black fathers



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST

Eric Smith, 36, and his sons, 9-year-old Eric II, left, and 7-year-old Chase, wait for the start of a motorcade procession as part of the second annual D.C. Black Fathers Matter event. This year, organizers said their mission was twofold: to celebrate Black men and encourage vaccination against the coronavirus. **Story, B1**

Extremist pays a price after unmasking by left

BY ROBERT KLEMKO

In a flash, Laura Jedede was surrounded by screaming men. The freelance journalist was filming a group of Trump supporters walking the streets of the District after the "Million MAGA March" on Nov. 14 when a man wearing an American flag gaiter mask approached her, stepped on her toes and began yelling.

"What's up, you stupid b—?"

Wash. state man loses privacy and job after role in D.C. clash is exposed

The man in the flag mask was quickly identified as Washington state resident Edward Jeremy Dawson by a local antifa group.

Twitter users mining public records last released his address and phone number.

The video was amplified by Christian Exoo, a prominent anti-fascist activist who tweeted it out to his 50,000-plus followers. Exoo also included contact information for Dawson's employer.

Two days later, Dawson lost his job as an ironworker, his employer citing his actions in D.C. His wife, Michelle, uploaded a tearful

Reaction was swift.

SEE DOXING ON A6

Education's new fault line: Virtual learning

BY DONNA ST. GEORGE
AND VALERIE STRAUSS

Deanna Nye is not ready to send her children back into classrooms come fall, even though she knows the worst of the pandemic may be over. Her 8-year-old twins have medical conditions that put them at greater risk, she said, and her eldest son thrives in virtual learning.

But in New Jersey, learning remotely will no longer be an option.

"All we want is the choice," said Nye, a New Jersey mother of three who has joined with other parents to protest the state action.

The clash comes as elected leaders and educators across the country have been promising a more typical school year in the fall — five full days a week, with

SEE LEARNING ON A14

India's covid orphan numbers surge

BY JOANNA SLATER

BHOPAL, INDIA — The nights are the hardest.

Five-year-old twins Ruhi and Mahi go to sleep late. In the dark, they often wake up crying or seized with fear.

In the morning, their great-uncle dresses them and combs their hair. They ask him the same question over and over: Where are our parents?

Your mom and dad are with the doctors, he tells the girls. They're at the hospital.

The truth is too difficult for him to speak. Ruhi and Mahi's parents are both dead, swept away in a matter of days during the calamity of India's second wave of coronavirus cases.

The girls' father, Mohan, known for his helpful nature and devotion to his daughters, died on April 30, his lungs straining on a ventilator at a government-run hospital in this central Indian city.

Three days later, their mother, Rita, died at home in a rooftop room with pale yellow walls,



VIKRAM SINGH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Five-year-old twins Ruhi and Mahi lost their mother and father to covid-19. When they ask their great-uncle, Subhash Raikwar, about their parents, the truth is too hard for him to speak.

crushed by sickness and grief. Her daughters were asleep nearby.

"They've left these two girls alone in the world," said Subhash Raikwar, the girls' great-uncle.

"Our family never imagined something like this could happen."

The full severity of India's recent wave of infections — now

SEE INDIA ON A15

Scientists still battling over coronavirus's origin story

BY JOEL ACHENBACH

Stanley Perlman, who has been studying coronaviruses for 39 years, got a nasty email June 4: "Dr. Frankenstein just wants more public money and wants to research things he shouldn't be messing with. THANKS A LOT FOR CORONA LOSER."

Perlman, a mild-mannered, grandfatherly virologist at the University of Iowa, didn't know the author of the dyspeptic email and had nothing to do with the emergence of the coronavirus. But he had co-signed a letter to the Lancet in February 2020 saying SARS-CoV-2 was not a bioengineered virus and condemning "conspiracy theories suggesting that COVID-19 does not have a natural origin."

That remains the consensus of many scientists — but the "lab leak" theory has never gone away and has become louder than ever. It is not a theory so much as a constellation of scenarios that imagine how the virus may have

emanated from a laboratory in China, ranging from the accidental to the sinister.

It dominates news coverage and public discussion of the origin of the pandemic, shoving aside the natural zoonosis hypothesis — which asserts that, like so many previous infectious pathogens, the novel coronavirus most likely jumped unassisted into the human population from a still-identified animal host.

Scientists haven't found that animal, however. Some virologists, including Perlman, have said they can't rule out some kind of unintentional laboratory accident.

It's possible, for example, that researchers studying coronaviruses in Wuhan did not even know they had SARS-CoV-2 in their facility. The new openness to such scenarios culminated last month when the journal Science published a letter from 18 prominent scientists calling for a more robust probe of the virus's origin

SEE SCIENTISTS ON A18

IN THE NEWS



SEAN M. HAFEEY/GETTY IMAGES

Rahm wins U.S. Open Spaniard Jon Rahm claims a one-shot victory at Torrey Pines in San Diego for his first major title. **D1**

Universal lessons Two mothers from sister cities in Germany and Virginia share stories of pandemic-era worries and adaptations. **A16**

THE NATION An Army soldier was allegedly killed by a man who walked uncontested onto a base, and his family is still awaiting answers a year later. **A2**

The push for LGBTQ rights has run into a wall of opposition in the U.S. Senate. **A3**

THE WORLD With France pulling back from Africa's fast-growing conflict, a security void is emerging. **A10**

Vaccination lotteries are grabbing attention around the world, and health experts say

there is precedent for at least some short-term success. **A13**

THE REGION Virginia lawmakers hope to use pandemic relief funds to address state mental hospitals, which officials say are overcrowded and understaffed. **B1**

A new report alleges patient mistreatment and staff misconduct at a D.C. psychiatric hospital that resulted in the mass arrest of teenagers and the death of a patient last year. **B1**

her two children slain Saturday in Herndon, Va., in what police called a "horrific" triple homicide. **B1**

THE WEEK AHEAD **MONDAY**

Vice President Harris and Labor Secretary Marty Walsh visit Pittsburgh for discussions on child tax credits and labor.

The Supreme Court issues orders and releases opinions.

TUESDAY **Federal Reserve Chair Jerome H. Powell** testifies about pandemic emergency lending programs during a House subcommittee hearing.

WEDNESDAY **Jury selection** is slated to start in the 2018 Capital Gazette mass shooting trial.

Colorado releases preliminary maps of its new congressional districts.

THURSDAY **Jobless claims** for the week ended June 19 are estimated at 380,000.

Education Secretary Miguel Cardona testifies at a House Education Committee hearing.

FRIDAY **Derek Chauvin**, the former Minneapolis police officer convicted in the murder of George Floyd, is sentenced.

INSIDE



STYLE **Vows and vaccines**

Many couples getting married want their wedding guests to be vaccinated, but getting everyone on the same page isn't easy. **C1**

Mass appeal The popularity of Netflix's "Lupin" and other non-English series shows that good TV translates, no matter the language. **C1**

BUSINESS NEWS	A19
COMICS	C6
OPINION PAGES	A20
LOTTERIES	B3
OBITUARIES	B6
TELEVISION	C5
WORLD NEWS	A10

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Noche de selección y otro récord para Messi

Contra Paraguay, a las 21, por la tercera fecha de la Copa América, el capitán jugará el partido N° 147 y alcanzará a Mascherano como el futbolista con más presencias. **Deportes**



JON RAHM, UN ESPAÑOL REY DEL US OPEN DE GOLF

—deportes

Lo intentaron muchas veces Ballesteros, Olazábal y Sergio García, hasta que este vasco, de 26 años, se llevó el Abierto de los Estados Unidos. **Página 7**

1959-2021 JUAN FORN. MAESTRO DE LA PALABRA

—cultura

El escritor, editor y periodista murió ayer a los 61 años en Villa Gesell, víctima de un infarto; dolor en ámbitos de la cultura. **Página 23**

LA NACION

LUNES 21 DE JUNIO DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

El Gobierno acelera el giro de fondos a Kicillof con la mira en las elecciones

GASTO. Ejecutaron el 50% de los recursos que eran de la Ciudad y el 76% de las partidas alimentarias

Cuando falta un mes para el inicio de la campaña electoral, la Nación aceleró el giro de transferencias discrecionales para atender los gastos de la provincia de Buenos Aires, que comanda Axel Kicillof.

En los primeros cinco meses y medio del año, el gobernador ya consumió la mitad de los casi \$50.000 mil-

liones del Fondo de Fortalecimiento Fiscal—creado el año pasado con los recursos que le quitó a la ciudad de Buenos Aires—y el 76% de las partidas que se le presupuestaron para la asistencia alimentaria. Se trata de transferencias del Tesoro nacional que van por fuera de la coparticipación y que en los últimos meses avanzaron verti-

ginosamente. Mientras el presupuesto nacional exhibe un nivel de ejecución promedio del 39,3% a esta altura del año, el Fondo de Fortalecimiento ya se ejecutó en un 48,5%, según datos del Ministerio de Economía. La oposición reclama que Kicillof explique el destino de estos \$24.266 millones ya gastados. **Página 12**

Ratifican la licitación de la Hidrovía pese a la presión

Jaime Rosenberg
Página 13

Segunda ocupación de tierras en Santa Fe

Página 16

Obligado por la crisis, San Telmo se reinventa

coronavirus—Ante la ausencia de turistas por la pandemia y la cuarentena, una nueva generación de comerciantes apuntan con sus ofertas al público vecinal y a propuestas de nicho; camaradería y una clientela fiel son los pilares de la transformación. **Página 6**



Ayer, Día del Padre, los comercios del barrio volvieron a ser refugio de un público más fiel

MAURO ALFIERI

Mar del Plata y otros distritos del interior de la provincia, cerca de reabrir las aulas

BUENOS AIRES. Así lo reconocieron fuentes del Gobierno y la localidad balnearia

En la provincia de Buenos Aires reconocieron ayer que Mar del Plata y otros distritos del interior, que expresaron su enojo y se consideraron discriminados, se encuen-

tran cerca de recuperar las clases presenciales.

El propio gobernador Axel Kicillof dijo que "los marplatenses están muy cerquita de volver a la presen-

cialidad", en una entrevista con el diario *La Capital*, de Mar del Plata. La flexibilización también puede incluir a Bahía Blanca y otros municipios que siguen en fase 2. **Página 2**

Preocupan en el país las nuevas cepas

Ayer se informó la detección de un segundo pasajero con la variante delta. **Página 3**

EL PULSO DEL CONSUMO

Una sociedad que vive implosiones silenciosas

Guillermo Oliveto

—PARA LA NACION—

Hoy comienza el invierno. Sí, recién hoy. Temido como nunca, sus fantasmas circulan ya desde hace semanas. La sociedad está viviendo una de las horas más tristes que recuerde. Ya ni siquiera está cansada ni agobiada, ahora la oprime el hastío. El efecto anestesia del verano concluyó abruptamente luego de la Semana Santa. Desde entonces comenzó el apesadumbrado tránsito por la oscuridad. **Continúa en la página 19**

La AFIP demanda a Cristóbal López por falta de pago

INDALO. Reclama \$500 millones de impuestos que debían abonar sus empresas. **Página 17**

Esquerda tenta ampliar atos contra Bolsonaro

Com um público maior no ato deste sábado (19) em relação ao de maio, organizadores de protestos contra o presidente veem espaço para ampliar a defesa pelo impeachment de Bolsonaro e fazem acenos ao chamado centro.

Há, porém, resistência a pedir a saída de Bolsonaro entre quem rejeita tanto o presidente quanto Lula (PT). Pandemia e bandeiras distintas, como a necessidade de unir a esquerda a quem apoiou o impeachment de Dilma, também são entraves. Poder A4

AGU defende levar processo de civis para a Justiça Militar

Poder A5

ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Frank Wilderson 3ª Escravidão persiste e negro não é visto como ser humano

Em "Afropessimismo", novo livro lançado no Brasil, o professor da Universidade da Califórnia sustenta que negros ainda são vistos como recursos.

A obra narra situações de violência racial em festa no Rio, a infância em Minneapolis (EUA) e passagem pela África do Sul. Os relatos são costurados com as premissas da teoria do afropessimismo. A11

Com energia mais cara, brasileiro vai atrasar contas

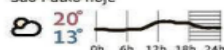
A crise hídrica encareceu a conta de luz, e muitos podem não conseguir honrar seus compromissos nos próximos meses. A inadiplência em contas básicas, como energia, água e gás, representava 22% do total de débitos em maio e tende a crescer, de acordo com a Serasa. Mercado A15

Adensamento privilegiou classe alta em São Paulo

Apesar de o Plano Diretor da cidade prever construir moradias populares onde há investimento público em transporte coletivo, verifica-se que o adensamento atraiu mais cidadãos de classes altas do que de baixas. Cotidiano B5

ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



ISSN 1414-5723 33682 9 771414 572025



Em foto de múltipla exposição, Caio Bonfim, da marcha atlética, modalidade que não permite tirar os dois pés do chão ao mesmo tempo Pedro Ladeira/Folhapress

Esporte B6

Nome para medalha em Tóquio, Caio Bonfim superou dúvida de juizes

Ilustrada B8

Perto do centenário da Semana de 1922, índios artistas integram Bienal

folhainvest A14

Investidor precisa olhar além do dividendo na hora de escolher ação

Sem perspectiva, metade dos jovens quer deixar país

No auge do bônus demográfico, parcela que não estuda nem trabalha é recorde

Os cerca de 50 milhões de brasileiros entre 15 e 29 anos revelam uma juventude decepcionada, sem perspectiva de trabalho e insatisfeita com a condução do país. Se pudesse, quase a metade deles (47%) deixaria o Brasil, que jamais teve ou terá tantos jovens como agora.

Uma série de pesquisas aponta que nunca foi tão alta a proporção dos que nem trabalham nem estudam (27,1%) e que 70% têm dificuldade de arrumar ocupação. Os dados constam do recém-lançado Atlas das Juventudes e de novos estudos da FGV Social.

Isso ocorre no auge do bônus demográfico, quando o Brasil teria a chance de acelerar o crescimento com uma proporção inédita de pessoas em idade profissional. Se não for alterado, o cenário de trabalho para esse grupo configura um desperdício de potencial histórico.

Para o economista José Marcio Camargo, da PUC-Rio, o Brasil deveria adotar programas de especialização, já que a pandemia deu vantagem aos mais escolarizados, elevando a desigualdade. "Vamos conviver com isso durante muito tempo." Mercado A12 e A13



O edifício Figueira Altos do Tatuapé, com 170 m de altura, é considerado o mais alto de São Paulo Eduardo Knapp/Folhapress

Maria Homem

Não tenho como expressar 500 mil

Não tenho 500 mil vidas. Espaços vazios. E não sei como expressar cada um. Com a letra do seu nome? Com uma vírgula talvez, era uma pausa (,). Um ponto e vírgula; uma encruzilhada (;). Ou quem sabe com um ponto final. Um espaço vazio? São preenchíveis esses espaços vazios? Saúde B3

Celso R. de Barros Por qual motivo Bolsonaro fez isso?

Por que este idiota não comprou as vacinas? Por que este imbecil não tentou unir o país contra a pandemia? Se tivesse feito isso, sua reeleição seria certa. Bolsonaro deixou essa gente toda morrer por três motivos. Poder A6

Pandemia na Índia pode estar cinco vezes pior

Enquanto o país divulga uma forte diminuição no número de casos, autoridades de saúde e dados regionais indicam grave subnotificação, inclusive no total de mortes. Mundo A9

Vacinação no Brasil % da população vacinada*

	2ª dose	1ª dose
Brasil	15,1	39,3
MS	19,0	51,4
RS	18,7	46,1
ES	15,6	45,4

Cobertura da primeira dose*



	Total de doses aplicadas	24,3 mi	63,2 mi
1º SP	6 mi	15,7 mi	
2º MG	2,6 mi	6 mi	
3º BA	1,7 mi	4,4 mi	

Números da pandemia

	Casos	Óbitos
Total	17,9 mi	501,9 mil
20.jun**	73,2 mil	2.063
Variação***	18,2%	26,6%
Em 24 h	45,3 mil	1.050



SP estuda antecipar a primeira dose mais uma vez

O estado de São Paulo já projeta antecipar novamente a meta de vacinar todos os seus habitantes com 18 anos ou mais até 15 de setembro.

Entre os motivos do otimismo do governo paulista estão: 1) a aceleração da vacinação na semana passada, que contou com grande presença das pessoas na faixa de 50 anos de idade; 2) a perspectiva menos incerta de que o cronograma de entrega de doses para o governo federal seja cumprido. Saúde B1

Poucas igrejas ainda não retomaram os cultos presenciais

Saúde B3

EDITORIAIS A2

Cerco ao Enem
Sobre ofensiva ideológica do MEC contra o exame.

Casa de torturas
A respeito de maus-tratos a adolescentes em SP.

Partidos políticos hicieron sus internas y tuvieron escasa participación

HC ganó pulseada a Añetete: Nenecho triunfó en Asunción

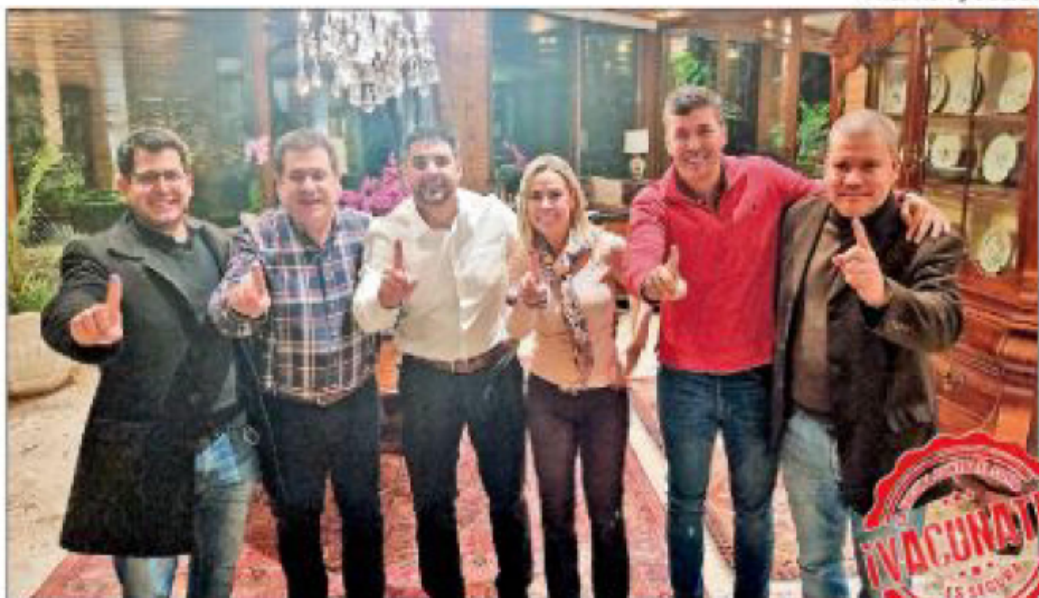
PÁGINAS 4 y 6 a la 14

● El procesado Ulises Quintana es candidato colorado en CDE

● Efraín Alegre seguirá al frente del Directorio en el PLRA

● El postulante de Hugo Velázquez se impuso en Lambaré

Festejo. Óscar Rodríguez fue a celebrar primero con Horacio Cartes su candidatura por el rekutu a la intendencia.



Fiscalía no investigó cuentas de RGD en el extranjero

PÁGINA 44

Soja generará USD 1.470 millones más que en 2020

PÁGINA 38


Paraguay vs. Argentina
Lunes 21 de junio
Previa 19:00
Partido 20:00

Covid-19
Los nacidos hasta 1969 ya pueden acudir a vacunatorios

PÁGINA 5

Emprendedurismo
Mujeres tienen mayor capacidad para operar en campo virtual

PÁGINA 19

CON ESTA EDICIÓN	COMPRA OPCIONAL
 1000 RECETAS PARRILLA \$ 8.000	 1000 RECETAS AGUJA \$ 8.000

ETIOS
MÁS POR DESCUBRIR



US\$ 236

LUBRAX

GARANTÍA DE 3 AÑOS
O 100.000 KM

COSTO DE MANTENIMIENTO
MÁS BAJO DEL MERCADO

lefigaro.fr

LE FIGARO

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

L'abstention s'envole, le RN décline, la droite relève la tête



Marqué par une participation spectaculairement faible, le premier tour des élections régionales place la droite en tête loin devant le Rassemblement national et le parti de la majorité présidentielle.

Emmanuel Macron

Valérie Pécresse

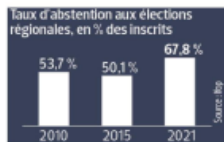
Xavier Bertrand

Laurent Wauquiez

Marine Le Pen

Une désaffection historique des électeurs

L'abstention s'affiche comme le grand vainqueur de la soirée. Son taux est historique. Au total, 67,8 % (l'op) des électeurs ne se sont pas déplacés aux urnes dimanche. Ils étaient 50,09 % aux régionales de 2015.



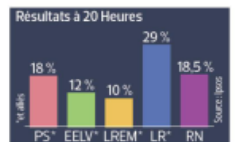
Le retour en force du clivage droite-gauche

La « recomposition » que Jean Castex appelait de ses vœux n'a pas eu lieu. La majorité présidentielle et le Rassemblement national ont échoué à transformer le paysage électoral des régions de France. LR arrive en tête au

plan national loin devant le RN et LREM. Les présidents sortant de la droite obtiennent des scores très élevés. À gauche, les socialistes maintiennent certaines de leurs positions et les écologistes continuent de s'installer.

La République en marche au plus bas

Dans plusieurs régions, les candidats LREM seraient éliminés dès le premier tour. Ce serait le cas dans les Hauts-de-France, où cinq ministres, dont Éric Dupond-Moretti, avaient pourtant été dépêchés face à Xavier Bertrand.



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ÉDITORIAL par Alexis Brézet, directeur des rédactions @abrezet

Sécession démocratique

On aurait voulu, comme il est de coutume au soir des élections, peser au trébuchet le rapport des forces sorti des urnes. Saluer la victoire surprise de la droite, à qui le chœur politico-médiatique promettait depuis des semaines le supplice de l'écartèlement, et qui, dans les scores fleuves de ses principaux leaders - Bertrand, Pécresse, Wauquiez -, retrouve soudain des couleurs et, pour la suite, des raisons d'espérer. Commenter la contre-performance du RN, renvoyé, une fois encore, à la malédiction du « plafond de verre ». Ironiser sur les fines manœuvres ourdies par les stratégies de l'Élysée, pour prendre ses adversaires dans la tenaille de ce duel Macron-Le Pen à tous imposé. On aurait voulu, en somme, faire de la politique, mais l'abstention - vertigineuse - suspend l'analyse et sonne l'alerte civique. Car il ne faut pas s'y tromper : quand l'abstention atteint un tel niveau, il n'est plus permis d'y voir un simple effet de l'arrivée des beaux jours, de l'euphorie post-Covid ou de l'ennui compréhensible qu'inspirent les enjeux régionaux ! Si près de trois électeurs sur quatre ont choisi de ne pas se rendre aux urnes, ce n'est

pas le fruit du hasard ni de l'accident. C'est le signe d'une véritable sécession démocratique, le témoignage irréfutable du discrédit qui frappe les partis politiques traditionnels, au premier rang desquels celui d'Emmanuel Macron, qui était censé - quelle ironie ! - « réduire la fracture démocratique »... mais aussi, c'est une surprise, le RN, qui, pour être depuis si longtemps dans le paysage, n'est plus épargné par la colère des Français. Cette colère, tout la nourrit depuis trente ans : le chômage, l'immigration incontrôlée et l'insécurité, bien sûr, mais aussi l'islamisme et la paupérisation de la France périphérique, le matraquage fiscal, la faillite de l'école et l'écologie punitive... Elle vise tous les pouvoirs - politique, économique, médiatique -, accusés pêle-mêle d'impuissance et, plus grave, d'indifférence aux malheurs des Français. Elle a nourri hier la révolte des « gilets jaunes ». Elle alimente aujourd'hui cette dissidence civique. Et demain, si rien n'est fait... ■

L'abstention n'est pas le fruit du hasard ni de l'accident

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Ministers tell Johnson: consult the entire cabinet, not just No 10 clique

Jessica Elgot

Deputy political editor

Cabinet ministers including Rishi Sunak will this week urge Boris Johnson not to keep sidelining his ministers as officials warn of a difficult autumn ahead with pressures on hospital waiting lists, reform for social care and court backlogs.

The prime minister will face a tricky few days after the landslide loss of the byelection in Chesham

and Amersham, a defeat many of his own MPs put down to his planning reforms and which Labour will seek to exploit in a debate and vote today.

He also remains under persistent attack from his ex-aide Dominic Cummings, who has promised a new submission on Johnson this week and a live Q&A today.

John Bercow, the former House of Commons Speaker, revealed yesterday he had defected from the Conservatives to Labour, calling Johnson "someone who has only a

nodding acquaintance with the truth in a leap year".

Sunak is one of the ministers privately pushing Johnson to pay more heed to collective decision-making, rather than sticking to a close clique in No 10 and bringing in only the relevant secretary of state. "The cabinet has to be involved in all the big decisions that reflect what the party stands for, the cabinet needs to be more involved in those decisions," one Whitehall official said.

"All cabinet ministers have to be

'All cabinet ministers must be part of making decisions. If not, it is very hard to sell a coherent argument'

Anonymous Whitehall official

part of making decisions that are part of a bigger picture. If you aren't taking decisions as a collective it is very hard to go out and sell a coherent argument."

Another cabinet source said cabinet meetings, once arenas of combat under Theresa May, had become non-events with no debate and key officials did not always attend. A reshuffle has been long-rumoured but the source said there was likely to now be a delay until the autumn. "Every

8 ➔



'Once inside, Covid felt like a distant memory'

Ten thousand music fans descended on Donington Park in Leicestershire for a stripped-down version of the Download festival over the weekend.

Festivalgoers had to submit a negative Covid test

before attending, allowing them to do away with masks and social distancing and get stuck into the mosh pits. The event was part of a government trial for the restarting of live events. **Review Page 7 ➔**

Pandemic fuels crisis over rural house prices

Robert Booth

Social affairs correspondent

Rural house prices are surging twice as fast as in cities, triggering a fresh affordability crisis for young people, with hot spots flaring up across the country from Lincolnshire to Lancashire as people seek more space post-pandemic.

Prices are rising 14.2% a year in countryside locations on average compared with less than 7% in urban areas, figures analysed by Hamptons estate agency for the Guardian show.

It is compounding existing affordability problems in places such as Cornwall and Devon, but the biggest increases of up to 30% were in Broxtowe in Nottinghamshire, around Lancaster, Lancashire, in Arun, West Sussex, and Amber Valley in Derbyshire.

Hamptons said that 4 ➔



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