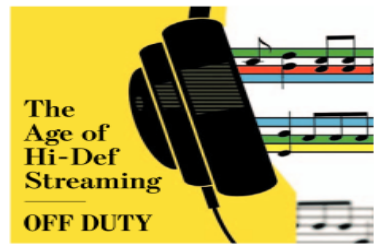




WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND



DOW JONES | News Corp *****

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What's News

World-Wide

The Justice Department sued the state of Georgia, alleging its new voting law aims to restrict the rights of Black voters, marking the Biden administration's first such challenge to Republican-backed efforts in multiple states to tighten voting laws. **A1**

◆ **Rescue crews continued** the search for as many as 159 people who were unaccounted for after the collapse of a condo tower in Surfside, Fla., that killed at least four people. **A1, A6**

◆ **Senate Republicans** criticized Biden for his comments yoking together a bipartisan infrastructure plan and an antipoverty program reliant solely on Democratic support. **A4**

◆ **Authorities in Israel** and Australia imposed new Covid-19 restrictions in response to the Delta variant, while India warned of a worrying new mutation. **A11**

◆ **A government report** on "unidentified aerial phenomena" offered no evidence of extraterrestrial activity, but acknowledged that scores of cases defied explanation. **A3**

◆ **Researchers said** a prehistoric skull retrieved from a Chinese well in 2018 belonged to a previously unknown species that may be modern humans' closest relative. **A3**

Business & Finance

◆ **U.S. stocks rallied** to their best week since February, lifted by robust gains among shares of everything from banks to oil producers and manufacturers. The S&P 500 closed at a record on Friday. **A1**

◆ **Households increased** spending in May on services that they shunned earlier in the pandemic, helping position the U.S. economic recovery for a strong summer. **A1**

◆ **A revolt by foreign** shareholders at Toshiba that ousted the board's chairman sets an example that will reverberate across Japan's business world. **B1**

◆ **Virgin Galactic came** a step closer to sending customers to the edge of space, as the FAA expanded the company's operator license. **B3**

◆ **Tenno's chairman** apologized and temporarily reduced his duties at the consulting firm after behaving inappropriately at a recent charity event. **B3**

◆ **The U.K.'s antitrust** regulator launched a probe into whether Amazon and Google are doing enough to crack down on fake reviews. **B3**

◆ **Panasonic, the leading** battery supplier to Tesla, said it sold its entire stake in the electric-vehicle maker for about \$3.6 billion. **B12**

NOONAN

New York Democrats Take a Stab At Reality **A17**

CONTENTS Opinion..... A15-17
Books..... C7-12
Sports..... A14
Business News..... B3
Style & Fashion..... D2-3
D6-7
Travel..... D5
Gear & Gadgets..... D8-9
U.S. News..... A2-6
Hearst on Street..... B14
Weather..... A14
Obituaries..... A12B3
World News..... A12-12



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Rescue workers searched in the rubble at the Champlain Towers South site on Friday.

'There Was Nothing There': Survivors Recount Collapse

SURFSIDE, Fla.—At 1:30 a.m. Thursday, Albert Aguero woke to shaking walls and a thunderous noise.

By Daniela Hernandez, Deborah Acosta and Arián Campo-Flores

Mr. Aguero, 42, was vacationing from New Jersey with his family in an 11th floor apartment in Champlain Towers South.

South that belongs to his parents. His wife, Janette, jumped out of bed to make sure their children were all right. From his balcony, he asked firefighters outside if they should evacuate, and was told: immediately. Part of the building had just collapsed.

"When we opened the door and looked to the left, our neighbor's apartment was half-gone," said Mr. Aguero. "I looked forward, the elevator

shaft is missing. So then we had to run to the nearest stairwell and get out of there. I'm thinking now that the rest of the building is going to come down."

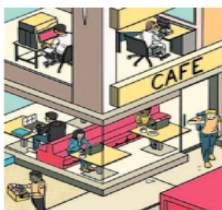
After descending to around the third floor, they encountered an 88-year-old woman and began helping her escape. The woman seemed resigned to not making it out, he said, telling him she had lived a good life.

The first floor of the building was flooded, he said, so the group crawled up several feet of rubble. Once they reached the pool deck, he said, his instinct was to run. "When we got down to the beach, I think that's when it all really hit me, of what had just happened," he said.

Please turn to page A6

◆ Cramped conditions complicate rescue efforts..... A6

EXCHANGE



NEW WORLD Seven ways Covid-19 has reshaped the economy, government and business. **B1**

Push to Sing 'One Britain' Falls Flat

U.K. isn't in tune over patriotic song for schoolchildren

By JAMES HOOKWAY

Five years after the vote that pulled the U.K. out of the European Union, the British government this week tried to persuade schoolchildren across the country to belt out a new anthem expressing their love for the motherland, "One Britain One Nation."

It didn't go so well. On Friday morning, some schoolchildren sang the song, with lyrics such as "We are Britain and we have one dream—to unite all people in one great team" and "We stand together with pride in our hearts, united forever, never apart."

The young students, mostly around the Bradford area in northern England, where the campaign began, gathered out-

Please turn to page A13

DOJ Sues Georgia Over New Voter Law

By ARUNA VISWANATHA AND CAMERON McWHIRTER

The Biden administration sued the state of Georgia on Friday, alleging its new voting law aims to restrict the rights of Black voters, marking the administration's first such challenge to Republican-backed efforts in multiple states to tighten voting laws.

The lawsuit, filed in federal court in Atlanta, alleges that Georgia violated Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act when it earlier this year enacted changes to the state's election requirements, including altering how people cast absentee ballots and where people can drop off their ballots.

Republican Gov. Brian Kemp signed the new law in March after it was passed by the GOP-dominated legislature. Republicans said the changes amounted to common-sense efforts to restore confidence

among voters in the integrity of Georgia elections following the 2020 presidential election, in which some absentee-voting provisions were loosened.

After the vote, then-President Donald Trump made unfounded claims of election fraud and pressured a top Georgia election official and a staff member to reverse his loss in the state.

"Many of that law's provisions make it harder for people to vote," Attorney General Merrick Garland said in announcing the lawsuit.

Georgia Republicans were quick to criticize the lawsuit. "This lawsuit is born out of lies and misinformation the Biden administration has pushed against Georgia's Election Integrity Act from the start," Gov. Kemp said on Twitter.

House Speaker David Ralston said: "Georgia's Election

Please turn to page A4

Consumer Spending Primed to Lift Growth

By SARAH CHANEY CAMBON

Households increased spending in May on services that they shunned earlier in the pandemic, helping position the economic recovery for a strong summer as more businesses fully reopen and consumers unleash pent-up demand.

Spending was flat last month as consumers cut back on purchases of big-ticket items and rotated more of their money toward in-person services. Still, this spring shaped up to be a solid one for spending: April expenditures were upwardly revised to a 0.9% increase from a previously reported 0.5% rise. Overall spending in May was well above pre-

Please turn to page A2

Personal-consumption expenditures



Note: Seasonally adjusted at annual rate
Source: Commerce Department via St. Louis Fed

Markets Bounce Back In Broad Rally

Optimism about the recovery in the global economy and new stimulus lifts stocks

By AKANE OTANI AND JOE WALLACE

U.S. stocks rallied to their best week since February, lifted by robust gains among shares of everything from banks to oil producers and manufacturers.

Markets raced higher from the get-go this week. Stocks jumped Monday, sending the Dow Jones Industrial Average to its biggest one-day climb since March. While the pace of gains slowed over the following days, stocks nevertheless kept mostly rising, allowing the S&P 500 to notch fresh closing highs both Thursday and Friday.

The moves mark a sharp reversal from just a week ago when the Dow suffered its worst stretch since October after the Federal Reserve signaled it would aim to raise interest rates sooner than previously anticipated.

Driving the bounce back, investors say, was data signaling a fresh acceleration in

Please turn to page A2

Chauvin Draws 22½-Year Term

Former Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin was sentenced to prison for the murder of George Floyd, a case that redefined the conversation over race and policing in the U.S. **A3**



Labor and Costs Hurt Hotels, Cafes

Hospitality firms seek big summer rebound, but they are being squeezed on all sides

Shut for long stretches because of the pandemic, Mississippi River Distilling Co. in LeClaire, Iowa, has been counting on a summer rebound.

By Te-Ping Chen, Heather Haddon and Lauren Weber

Crowds have come rushing back. But the distillery and events space can't find enough workers to serve its customers. And prices for spirits-making commodities, such as corn and glass, have spiraled. So have costs for lumber and construction, making a long-delayed plan to build a new party and wedding venue about 25% more expensive.

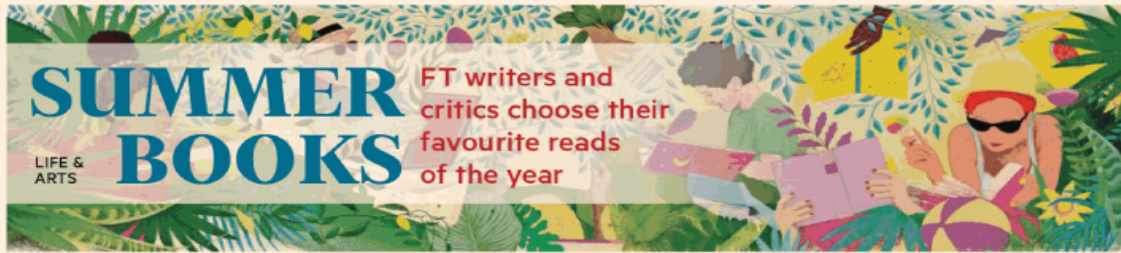
"What's at stake this summer is to try to build enough bank for the off months

down the road," said co-owner Burchett. An outsider "might see the patios packed and say, 'Everything is back. We made it.' But we didn't yet."

Referring to the revenue lost to the pandemic, he said: "There's a hole. It can't be filled."

Summer looked like the on-ramp to a big recovery for the leisure and hospitality industry, hard hit by the pandemic and its lockdowns and propped up with billions in government aid. Instead, restaurants, theme parks, hotels and tourist attractions are finding themselves squeezed from multiple sides: rising costs, worker shortages, unpredictable supplies of some foods and, in some cases, demand so overwhelming it's difficult to

Please turn to page A13



SUMMER BOOKS

LIFE & ARTS

FT writers and critics choose their favourite reads of the year

Merkel's push for Putin talks foiled

◆ EU blocks engagement bid ◆ Chancellor's influence wanes ◆ Pushback from Baltic states

GUY CHAZAN — BERLIN
SAM FLEMING, MEHREEN KHAN
AND MICHAEL PEEL — BRUSSELS

Angela Merkel has admitted defeat after failing to rally EU leaders around her plan to engage with Vladimir Putin, in a setback that points to her waning authority in Europe as she prepares to leave office.

The German chancellor said she was "saddened" that fellow leaders scuppered her idea for the bloc to hold its first summit with the Russian president since Moscow annexed Crimea in 2014.

The plan, backed by France, sparked an angry reaction from Poland and the Baltic states, which have protested

against being bounced into a fresh dialogue with the Kremlin.

Merkel's failure yesterday comes as Germany prepares to elect her successor in September. "She miscalculated the influence she can bring to bear," said Ulrich Speck, senior visiting fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the US.

It was her second foreign policy initiative to misfire this year. An EU-China investment deal she backed was frozen in March by the European parliament when Beijing imposed sanctions on five MEPs. "Merkel's effectively a lame duck," Speck said.

The Russia row broke out this week after Berlin joined forces with Paris to

try to change EU strategy towards Putin.

A text tabled by the two capitals argued for a co-ordinated approach to Russia's "malign activities", including economic sanctions, coupled with the prospect of leader-level EU contact with the Russian president and a lengthy list of areas for "selective engagement".

The point, supportive diplomats said, was to formulate a more coherent EU position, particularly over Russian aggression, and to replace the ad hoc responses that typify the EU's approach.

Berlin and Paris wrongfooted their EU partners, floating their plan on Wednesday on the eve of the leaders' summit.

The initiative followed last week's



Angela Merkel's failure to rally her fellow EU leaders comes as Germany is set to elect her successor in September

meeting between US president Joe Biden and Putin in Geneva, which was designed to stabilise relations.

The move by the two largest EU states divided leaders, who had spent hours exchanging barbs with Hungary's Viktor Orban over LGBT+ rights. One diplomat said the gambit was widely seen as a "mistake".

Speaking before meeting fellow leaders, Merkel said: "The EU must create formats for dialogues. Otherwise, we won't be able to solve conflicts."

Macron said the EU could not remain purely reactive in dealing with Putin.

Lack of 'trust' page 3
FT View page 6

City sighs Tourist dollars tempt Venice

Venice's emergence from lockdown has reignited the debate among its 50,000 inhabitants about how the city deals with its annual influx of 30m visitors.

The economy is almost entirely reliant on deep-pocketed tourists, many of whom arrive on the kind of giant cruise ship that has long attracted anger. The ships, which are said to deliver limited economic benefit since passengers eat and sleep on board, are blamed for damaging the lagoon's delicate ecosystem.

But many Venetians see little alternative. Glassware seller Deborah Rosetto said: "If mass tourism is our only way to make ends meet, then bring it on."

Sailing into hot water page 2



Lucia Zanon/Photolibrary/Getty Images



Confident Chinese brands show the west how to sell

Nimble social media marketing has allowed Chinese brands to shake off their inferiority complex and eclipse the biggest of western brands. Young consumers, with rising confidence in "China style" and backed by Xi Jinping's growth agenda, are keen to chase trends. They want a rich e-commerce experience from "micro-influencers" to professional reviews. This next decade is going to be the decade of Chinese brands, says one analyst.

Analysis ► PAGE 10

Short seller who predicted Enron says Spac boom is creating 'castles in the sky'

HARRIET AGNEW AND ORTENCA ALJAI
LONDON

The Spac boom will hand investors "a pretty expensive lesson" as the race to go public via blank-cheque vehicles creates "castles in the sky", a leading short seller has warned.

Jim Chanos, who remains best-known for predicting the collapse of energy group Enron, accused some who have taken companies public via a Spac of "playing fast and loose with their projections" to entice retail investors.

Kynikos Associates, the hedge fund founded by the 63-year-old, is betting against a number of Spac companies that are "very bad businesses" and whose valuations "have gotten silly", Chanos said. He declined to name them.

The criticism comes as scandals at several high-profile Spac companies

begin to damp the euphoria generated by a boom that started last year and gathered momentum early this year.

US electric truckmaker Lordstown Motors this month warned its business might run out of money despite previously declaring it had enough cash to build its flagship vehicle. Rival Nikola, which went public in June 2020, has also drawn scrutiny for several of the claims it has made over its technology.

"You're seeing all kinds of situations now that probably wouldn't pass muster in the IPO process that are coming public via the Spac machinery," said Chanos.

"As the boom has gone on, we suspect that more and more companies are playing... fast and loose with their projections in order to entice investors to commit capital."

Spacs, or special purpose acquisition vehicles, raise money from investors

through a listing on the promise of merging with a real business. Over the past 18 months, blue-chip mutual funds, private equity firms and retail investors have ploughed money into them. They have raised \$100bn globally from 370 listings this year, according to data provider Refinitiv, and more than 400 Spacs are now hunting for companies to buy.

The bonanza has thrown up several prolific sponsors, the name given to Spac founders, including former Facebook executive Chamath Palihapitiya, ex-Citigroup dealmaker Michael Klein and cantor Fitzgerald chief executive Howard Lutnick.

Chanos cautioned against the danger of investors being beguiled by reputations, while also warning against "smart guy syndrome" or the "celebrity patina" where high-profile names are brought in to endorse a deal.

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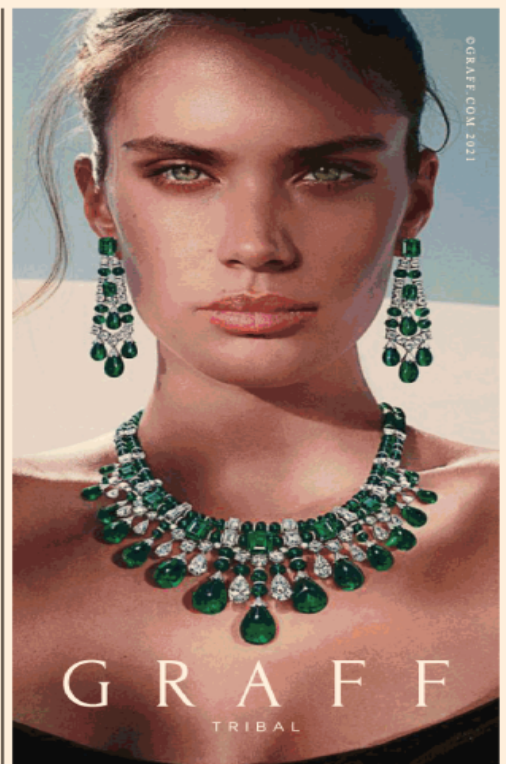
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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Jun 25	prev	%chg		Jun 25	prev			price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4279.36	4266.48	0.29	\$ per £	1.195	1.193		US Gov 10 yr	146.95	1.53	0.06
Nasdaq Composite	14374.67	14369.71	0.03	\$ per €	1.391	1.390		UK Gov 10 yr		0.78	0.04
Dow Jones Ind	34425.10	34190.02	0.67	€ per \$	0.858	0.858		Ger Gov 10 yr		-0.16	0.04
FTSE Eurofirst 300	1767.43	1765.01	0.14	¥ per \$	110.775	110.850		Japan Gov 10 yr	116.86	0.05	0.00
Euro Stoxx 50	4120.35	4122.43	-0.05	₩ per \$	154.123	154.027		US Gov 20 yr	111.94	2.15	0.05
FTSE 100	7136.07	7109.97	0.37	SF per €	1.095	1.096		Ger Gov 2 yr	105.81	-0.05	0.00
FTSE All-Share	4067.79	4051.12	0.41	€ per \$	0.837	0.839					
CAC 40	6622.87	6631.15	-0.12								
Xinhua Dai	15607.87	15589.23	0.12								
Nikkei	28764.18	28675.23	0.06								
Hang Seng	26098.22	25987.46	1.40								
MSCI World \$	3013.36	2999.00	0.51	Q4 WTI \$	74.04	73.30	1.01	Fed Funds Eff	0.09	0.07	-0.01
MSCI EM \$	1367.39	1360.50	0.51	Q4 Brent \$	76.09	75.56	0.70	US 3m Bill	0.05	0.05	0.00
MSCI ACWI \$	718.88	715.02	0.51	Gold \$	1784.85	1791.60	-0.38	Euro Libor 3m	-0.54	-0.54	0.00
								UK 3m	0.08	0.08	0.00

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Pictures of some of the 156 people who are still missing after the collapse of the Champlain Towers South complex in Surfside, Fla.

'Major' Concrete Damage Was Cited in 2018 Report On South Florida Towers

**Cause of Collapse Remains Unknown —
County to Audit Older Buildings**

This article is by **Mike Baker, Anjali Singhvi and Patricia Mazzei**.

Three years before the deadly collapse of the Champlain Towers South condominium complex near Miami, a consultant found alarming evidence of "major structural damage" to the concrete slab below the pool deck and "abundant" cracking and crumbling of the columns, beams and walls of the parking garage under the 13-story building.

The engineer's report helped shape plans for a multimillion-dollar repair project that was set to get underway soon — more than two and a half years after the building managers were warned — but the building suffered a catastrophic collapse in the middle of the night on Thursday, crushing sleeping residents in a massive heap of debris.

The complex's management association had disclosed some of the problems in the wake of the collapse, but it was not until city officials released the 2018 report late Friday that the full nature of the concrete and rebar damage — most of it probably caused by persistent water leaks and years of exposure to the corrosive salt air along the South Florida coast — became chillingly apparent.

"Though some of this damage is minor, most of the concrete deterioration needs to be repaired in a timely fashion," the consultant, Frank Morabito, wrote about damage near the base of the structure as part of his October 2018 report on the 40-year-old building in Surfside, Fla. He gave no indication that the structure was at risk of collapse, though he noted that the needed repairs would be aimed at "maintaining the structural integrity" of the building and its 136 units.

In a statement on Saturday, Mr. Morabito's firm, Morabito Consulting, said it provided the condo association with both an assessment of the "extensive and necessary repairs" needed and an estimate of how much they would cost.

"Among other things, our report detailed significant cracks and breaks in the concrete, which required repairs to ensure the safety of the residents and the public," the statement said.

Emails show that the secretary of the condo association forwarded the report to an official in the town's building department on Nov. 13, 2018. The town did not disclose any further correspondence related to the report.

Mayor Charles W. Burkett of Surfside said on Saturday he did not know what, if any, steps were

Continued on Page 23



Debris removal was hampered by fires burning underneath.

Biden's Efforts At Race Equity Run Into Snags

This article is by **Michael D. Shear, Stacy Cowley and Alan Rappeport**.

WASHINGTON — Since taking office 158 days ago, President Biden has promised to put racial equity at the center of everything he does, pledging in an executive order on Day 1 to take a "systematic approach to embedding fairness in decision-making" as he drafts legislation, hires staff, proposes spending and develops regulations.

But his efforts — which could radically realign the distribution of federal money and benefits in favor of people of color and other underserved communities — are running into legal and political obstacles.

In late May, Syovata Edari, the owner of CocoVaa Chocolatier in Madison, Wis., was told she would receive \$50,000 from Mr. Biden's government, courtesy of the president's efforts to ensure that pandemic relief aid for struggling restaurants and food businesses would be distributed equitably.

But three weeks later, she instead received an email that broke the bad news: The award had been rescinded thanks to a lawsuit filed on behalf of white restaurant owners that successfully challenged the program's policy of prioritizing applications from women and people of color. The check she was counting on would not arrive.

"It doesn't surprise me that once again these laws that we fought and died for, that were intended to benefit us — to even the playing field a bit more — are being used against us," Ms. Edari, who is Black, said, referring to the Constitution's equal protection clause. "You can't promise something and then take it back."

No part of Mr. Biden's agenda has been as ambitious as his attempt to embrace racial considerations when making decisions. It pushes against limits set by the Supreme Court, which say programs based on race must be "narrowly tailored" to accomplish a "compelling governmental interest." And it ignites passions at a time when Democrats hold the narrowest majority in Congress.

Continued on Page 20

Online Trickery in Fund-Raising Entraps Seniors

By **SHANE GOLDMACHER**

William W. Vaughan Jr. was a senior atmospheric scientist at NASA during the space race and later an accomplished academic, but as with so many aging Americans, time and technology had sapped him of some of his savvy, especially online.

Computers made him feel "like a duck out of water," his son Steve Vaughan said. So when Steve was sorting through the elder Mr. Vaughan's papers after his death at 90 in December, he was unsettled by what he found on his father's final credit card bill.

The first item was familiar: \$11.82 at the local Chick-fil-A in

**Analysis Shows Older
Donors Are Milked
by Campaigns**

Huntsville, Ala. But every other charge on the first page, and there were dozens of them, was to the firm that processes online Republican campaign contributions, WinRed. Over four months last year, Mr. Vaughan had made 400 donations totaling nearly \$11,500 — to Donald J. Trump, Mitch McConnell, Tim Scott, Steve Scalise and many others.

The sum was far beyond the

realm of his financial ability, his son said, and sure enough, he soon discovered handwritten notes outlining what appeared to be his father's call disputing the charges with his credit card company. He is still seething at the avalanche of charges and "what they did to a 90-year-old" just before his death.

"If it happened to him," he said, "I have to figure it happened to other people."

It has. The dirty little secret of online political fund-raising is that the most aggressive and pernicious practices that campaigns use to raise money are especially likely to ensnare unsuspecting older

Continued on Page 18



Gloria Vásquez in Soacha, Colombia, with her daughter, Ximena, 8, who left school in the pandemic.

1+1=4? Latin America Faces a Dropout Crisis.

By **JULIE TURKEVITZ**

SOACHA, Colombia — Already, two of Gloria Vásquez's children had dropped out of school during the pandemic, including her 8-year-old, Ximena, who had fallen so far behind that she struggled with the most basic arithmetic. "One plus one?" Ms. Vásquez

quizzed her daughter one afternoon. "Four?" the little girl guessed helplessly.

Now, Ms. Vásquez, a 33-year-old single mother and motel housekeeper who had never made it past the fifth grade, told herself she couldn't let a third child leave school. "Where's Maicol?" she asked

her children, calling home one night during another long shift scrubbing floors. "Is he studying?"

Maicol, 13, certainly was not. Frustrated by the work sheets his teachers had been sending via text message — the closest thing to instruction his school had been

Continued on Page 12

Teens' New Way To Defy Parents: Getting Vaccine

By **JAN HOFFMAN**

Teenagers keep all sorts of secrets from their parents. Drinking. Sex. Lousy grades.

But the secret that Elizabeth, 17, a rising high-school senior from New York City, keeps from hers is new to the buffet of adolescent misdeeds. She doesn't want her parents to know that she is vaccinated against Covid-19.

Her divorced parents have equal say over her health care. Although her mother strongly favors the vaccine, her father angrily opposes it and has threatened to sue her mother if Elizabeth gets the shot. Elizabeth is keeping her secret not only from her father, but also her mother, so her mom can have plausible deniability. (Elizabeth asked to be identified only by her middle name.)

The vaccination of children is crucial to achieving broad immunity to the coronavirus and returning to normal school and work routines. But though Covid vaccines have been authorized for children as young as 12, many parents, worried about side effects and frightened by the newness of the shots, have held off from permitting their children to get them.

A recent poll by the Kaiser Family Foundation found that 60 percent of parents of children ages 12 to 17 said they would not get their child vaccinated.

Continued on Page 22

Rise of Adams Spurs His Party To Look Inward

By **KATIE GLUECK**

He bluntly challenged left-wing leaders in his party over matters of policing and public safety. He campaigned heavily in Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx, often ignoring Manhattan neighborhoods besides Harlem and Washington Heights. And he branded himself a blue-collar candidate with a keen personal understanding of the challenges and concerns facing working-class New Yorkers of color.

With his substantial early lead in the Democratic mayoral primary when votes were counted Tuesday night, Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, demonstrated the enduring power of a candidate who can connect to working- and middle-class Black and Latino voters, while also appealing to some white voters with moderate views.

Mr. Adams is not yet assured of victory. But if he prevails, it would be a triumph for a campaign that focused more heavily on those constituencies than any other winning New York City mayoral candidate in recent history.

As the national Democratic Party navigates debates over identity and ideology, the mayoral primary in the largest city in the

Continued on Page 16

SPECIAL SECTION

Main Street, Block by Block

We spent four months photographing a typical American street in Wilkes-Barre, a Pennsylvania city of 41,400, to capture the pandemic's impact.

NATIONAL 15-25

A Holy Ritual Offers Salvation

For many Catholics, the eucharist is wholly apart from political skirmishes. It is the most personal and intimate way to connect with God.

PAGE 15

SUNDAY STYLES

Betting on a Post-Death Future

The business of cryonics — preserving bodies in deep freeze in the hope of another shot at life someday — got more complicated in the pandemic.

PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Is This Meeting Necessary?

There was a moment, centuries ago, when workplace huddles saved time, rather than merely filled it. Thoughts as workers return to the office.

PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Ross Douthat

PAGE 7



TIFFANY & Co.

This Pride Month and always, Tiffany & Co. celebrates the LGBTQIA+ community. #StandForLove



FRANK CARSON walks toward the Modesto courthouse in 2019. The controversial criminal defense lawyer had been on trial — one of the longest in state history — for the 2012 killing of a scrap metal thief.

CRAIG SANDERS For The Times

FOR REBEL LAWYER, THE CASE OF HIS LIFE

Modesto defense attorney Frank Carson spent years accusing local police and prosecutors of corruption. One day, they accused him of masterminding a murder.

By Christopher Goffard
REPORTING FROM MODESTO

Franks Carson, with his cane and a black leather satchel, was struggling up the courthouse steps in downtown Modesto. At 64, the wildest and most combative criminal defense lawyer in Stanislaus County had made this trip thousands of times. In better days, he swaggered, the flamboyant terror of cops and prosecutors and judges. Now it hurt Carson just to get up the steps, and his Vicodin had not kicked in. It was a Monday morning in June 2019. He was here to do the work of defending the wrongly accused, the thoroughly guilty and clients at every point in between. And he was here, as always, to spite his enemies with the raw fact of his survival. His broad shoulders had shrunk in his size-48 jacket. As he shuffled between courtrooms, cops stared. Carson would eventually make his way to the courtroom at the end of the first-floor hall. There, a brutally protracted murder trial was unfolding, one of the longest in California history. There, for 17 months, Carson had taken his seat at the defense table — not as the attorney but as the accused. [See Carson, A14]



LISTEN TO THE PODCAST
Find the eight parts at latimes.com/podcasts or on your favorite podcast service.

Army of 'poll watchers' gears up for recall

Groups use unproven fraud claims to recruit thousands, aiming not just to observe voting but to challenge it.

By Paige St. John
and Anita Chabria

Conservative activists who have long promoted unproven and often false claims of voter fraud in California are spearheading a major new effort to capitalize on the upcoming gubernatorial recall vote, attempting to recruit tens of thousands of volunteers to police the polls on election day. The effort is the outgrowth of a campaign waged for nearly three decades to challenge ballots and voter registrations in California — one often aimed at immigrants, a Times investigation has found. In November, volunteers

from one of the fraud watch groups, the Election Integrity Project, caused disruptions at the polls, sometimes intimidating voters, according to election logs, emails and records filed in federal court.

An observer in Nevada County raised concerns about the race of a woman seen removing ballots from a drop box outside the county building, according to county records. The woman, who was Black, was the county registrar's wife.

In San Diego County, a volunteer poll watcher upset voters by telling them they should surrender their hand-delivered mail-in ballots so they could be canceled and instead vote in person. And in Orange County, an observer attempted to interrupt a couple voting together, and another caused a disturbance for three hours by trying to interview voters as they left. "Inspector wants her gone but is unsure of how," the call [See Polls, A16]

Florida's missing reflect the area's unique diversity

Tourists, immigrants and retirees are among the 156 feared lost in the condo collapse.

By Jenny Jarvie

SURFSIDE, Fla. — On the ninth floor, Magaly Delgado, 80, a devout Catholic from Cuba with a love for lobster and Elvis Presley, was looking forward to traveling to Napa, Calif. Seven floors below, Chaim "Harry" Rosenberg, a 52-year-old asset manager from Brooklyn who is Jewish, was thrilled to host his daughter, Malki, and her husband, Benny, from New Jersey. He had bought the

apartment just a few months ago, and hoped the sweeping views of the Atlantic Ocean would help clear his mind after losing his wife to brain cancer and both parents to COVID-19.

Leidy Vanessa Luna Vilalba, 23, a nanny from rural Paraguay, had arrived on Wednesday with the sister of Paraguay's first lady. It was her first trip abroad and she messaged her family on WhatsApp that she could not wait to explore the city and go to the beach.

The people inside Champlain Towers South, a 12-story beachfront condo complex just north of Miami Beach, reflected Miami's status as a staggeringly diverse, international 21st [See Condo, A18]

More locals at top UC schools?

Under bill, campuses would reduce share of out-of-state students.

By Teresa Watanabe

Three top University of California campuses — UCLA, UC Berkeley and UC San Diego — would reduce their share of out-of-state and international students to make way for more local

residents, and the UC system would admit 6,229 more freshmen in 2022, under an amended state budget bill posted Friday.

The legislation pledges to deliver by 2022 what would be the largest single-year infusion of state funds to increase California student enrollment at UC campuses. The proposal comes after the university system was inundated by a record number of applications for fall 2021 in a year of high emotion

and myriad questions over the admissions process and frustration over the lack of seats for qualified students.

The state would provide enough funding to reimburse the campuses for the loss of nonresident supplemental tuition, which amounts to nearly \$30,000 per student and \$1.3 billion collectively each year.

The higher education spending numbers were in [See UC campuses, A19]

The young outliers trying to restore China's history

As centennial nears, party erases wrongs to build a triumphalist story for the new generation

By Alice Su

BEIJING — He stood in Tiananmen Square, wearing sneakers, track pants and a black T-shirt printed with the date of a massacre.

It was June 4, 2019, the 30th anniversary of the killing of hundreds of pro-democracy protesters in Beijing. Dong Zehua, then 28, hadn't even been born when tanks clattered over the square and the world watched. The events on that bloody day in 1989 weren't taught in school or ever mentioned in Chinese media. But Dong knew what had happened.

Tech-savvy and good at English, Dong had mastered circumventing the Great Firewall. He had learned about the anti-government protests and deaths through foreign websites banned in China. As the anniversary approached, he booked a train ticket and traveled to Beijing, keeping the T-shirt hidden until he was on the square.

Dong was a *huitinghou*, as those born after 1990 are called in China. They are a nationalistic [See China, A6]



IN Tiananmen Square in 2019, Dong Zehua commemorates the massacre.

More police? Not the answer

A grieving father says adding officers won't address the economic roots of L.A.'s crime.

CALIFORNIA, B1

Palestinians clash over death

Protesters and security forces face off for third day over the beating of an activist.

WORLD, A4

Weather

Sunny and very warm. L.A. Basin: 90/69. B10



ROBERT GAUTHIER Los Angeles Times

CLIPPERS FALL SHORT

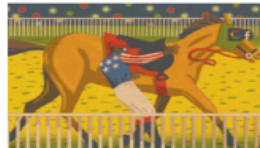
Paul George loses control of the ball in L.A.'s loss. Phoenix leads the series 3 to 1. **SPORTS, D1**

The World They Inherit

This is the first in a series of stories about young people globally. They inherit a planet of multiplying dangers. The young are more connected than any generation in history, linked at light-speed across continents and cultures. Yet they are threatened by old ways of power. Can they change it?



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The Washington Post

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BOOK EXCERPT

Inside the race to save Trump from covid

BY DAMIAN PALETTA
AND YASMEEN ABUTALEB

This article is adapted from "Nightmare Scenario: Inside the Trump Administration's Response to the Pandemic That Changed History," which HarperCollins will publish June 29.

Health and Human Services Secretary Alex Azar's phone rang with an urgent request: Could he help someone at the White House obtain an experimental coronavirus treatment, known as a monoclonal antibody?

If Azar could get the drug, what would the White House need to do to make that happen? Azar thought for a moment. It was Oct. 1, 2020, and the drug was still in clinical trials. The Food and Drug Administration would have to make a "compassionate use" exception for its use since it was not yet available to the public. Only about 10 people so far had used it outside of those trials. Azar said of course he would help.

Azar wasn't told who the drug was for but would later connect the dots. The patient was one of President Donald Trump's closest advisers: Hope Hicks.

A short time later, FDA Commissioner Stephen Hahn received a request from a top White House official for a separate case, this time with even greater urgency: Could he get the FDA to sign off on a compassionate-use authorization for a monoclonal antibody right away? There is a standard process that doctors use to apply to the FDA for unapproved drugs on behalf of patients dealing with life-threatening illnesses who have exhausted all other options, and agency scientists review it. The difference was that most

SEE EXCERPT ON A23

As search grinds on, collapse fears spread



Rescue workers dig through the debris of the collapsed complex in Surfside, Fla., on Saturday, when three more bodies were found.

Years earlier, a warning of 'major structural damage'

BY JON SWAINE, JOSHUA PARTLOW,
ANTONIO OLIVO, AARON GREGG
AND BETH REINHARD

An engineer warned in October 2018 that he had discovered "major structural damage" to a concrete slab below the pool deck in the section of the Champlain Towers South condominium building that collapsed Thursday, killing at least four and leaving scores trapped, according to records released by local authorities late Friday.

The engineer, Frank P. Morabito, said in a structural survey report that waterproofing

SEE BUILDING ON A22



This photo released by Surfside, Fla., in a 2018 report shows cracking on floor slabs in the garage at Champlain Towers.

Gone in 11 seconds: A shake — then a deep boom

BY MARC FISHER, LAURA RILEY,
LORI ROZA AND MERYL KORNFIELD

SURFSIDE, FLA. — From her fourth-floor balcony, Cassandra Stratton felt a tremor and saw the deck of the swimming pool cave in. She immediately called her husband, Michael, in Denver, 2,000 miles away.

Michael listened as Cassandra, who had been riding out the pandemic at their apartment on the beach in Surfside, described a sudden shaking.

"And then the phone went dead," he said.

"She screamed bloody murder and that was

SEE TIMELINE ON A14

RESCUE OPERATION REMAINS FRUITLESS

Mayor urges residents
of twin tower to evacuate

BY STEVEN MUFSON,
LORI ROZA
AND MERYL KORNFIELD

SURFSIDE, FLA. — Surfside officials worried about the potential for new disasters ordered inspections of buildings near the collapsed Champlain Towers South on Saturday, as fires at the disaster site smoldered and hopes of finding survivors faded.

Rescue workers, armed with sonar and cameras, found three more sets of remains, bringing the total to five people dead and 156 others missing inside a haphazard heap of concrete and steel rebar. Officials warned that picking apart the heavy sandwiched apartments was a delicate and dangerous task and that progress would be slow.

The family of Gladys and Antonio Lozano, who lived on the ninth floor, confirmed that rescuers had found the couple's remains. The pair would have celebrated 59 years of marriage next month, the family said.

Officials said DNA samples collected from relatives of the missing would help in the speedy identification of those found.

Surfside Mayor Charles Burkett suggested residents of Champlain Towers North evacuate. The neighboring structure is nearly identical to the 22-story condominium on the barrier island near Miami Beach that partially caved in early Thursday morning.

Burkett said that while engineers had not found serious flaws in their initial inspections Saturday of Champlain Towers North, their examination was "not a deep dive into the building itself" and "I can't say I'd be excited about staying in that building myself."

The specter of another collapse has been fueled by the public

SEE COLLAPSE ON A20

USPS overhaul would slow delivery to much of country

The West, Texas and Florida would see most delays via DeJoy proposal

BY JACOB BOGAGE
AND KEVIN SCHAUL

Las Vegas, Seattle, San Diego, Orlando and countless communities in between will see mail service slow by as much as a day under the U.S. Postal Service's strategic restructuring plan, a Washington Post analysis shows.

The new delivery regimen, for which the agency seeks regulatory approval, disproportionately affects states west of the Rocky Mountains and the country's mainland extremities, including

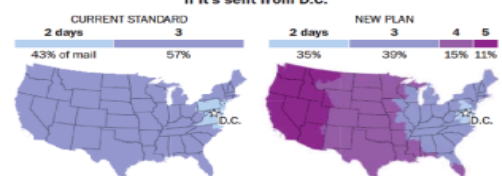
large swaths of southern Texas and Florida.

The proposed service standards, or the amount of time the agency says it should take to deliver a piece of first-class mail, represent the biggest slowdown of mail services in more than a generation, experts say. It involves significant reductions in airmail — a Postal Service tradition dating to 1918 — and geographic restrictions on how far a piece of mail can travel within a day.

Seventy percent of first-class mail sent to Nevada will take longer to arrive, according to The Post's analysis, as will 60 percent of the deliveries to Florida, 58 percent to Washington state, 57 percent to Montana, and 55 percent to Arizona and Oregon. In all, at least a third of such letters and parcels

SEE USPS ON A6

How long it should take for mail to arrive, if it's sent from D.C.



Source: Analysis of USPS proposal data submitted to the Postal Regulatory Commission

THE WASHINGTON POST



Damen Adams Jr., 13, reunites with his father, Damen Adams Sr., after a sixth-grader fired shots April 26 inside Plymouth Middle School near Minneapolis, attempting suicide-by-cop.

As classrooms reopened, nation saw shootings at schools soar

BY JOHN WOODROW COX AND STEVEN RICH

Months had passed since the sixth-grader decided he wanted to die, and now the day that he hoped would be his last had come. The boy sneaked into his father's bedroom, reaching into a dresser drawer for the loaded magazine and 9mm handgun he'd been told never to touch. He hid them both inside his

backpack, then left for school.

"I hope my death makes more sense than my life," the 12-year-old had already jotted in a spiral-bound notebook of his plan to commit suicide-by-cop. He would have shot himself if he hadn't feared offending God, he later said in an interview he and his father gave to The Washing-

ton Post. Forcing a police officer to kill him didn't seem as bad. "That way it wasn't a sin," he explained.

So, at 8:44 a.m. on April 26, he walked down a busy hallway at Plymouth Middle School outside of Minneapolis, loaded the magazine, chambered a round.

SEE SHOOTINGS ON A10

In rural Va., a far-right Trump disciple will face a BLM organizer

BY GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER

STUART, VA. — Wren Williams was all set to dig into his biscuit, bacon and eggs at the Stuart Family Restaurant when a white-haired woman rushed over from a nearby booth. Mary Fulcher wanted Williams to know that she was praying for him to win his House of Delegates race this fall so he could go to Richmond and take on the Democrats.

"We need to get rid of every dad-burn Democrat we got," said Fulcher, 83. "They're selfish. They think they know everything and they don't know nothing." Williams, 32, didn't mind the Monday morning interruption. After all, it was people like Fulcher who powered him to one of the most surprising outcomes of Virginia's June 8 primaries, in which the first-time candidate defeated a seven-term incumbent for the GOP nomination in this hill, rural 9th District House seat south of Roanoke.

Almost no one had thought Del. Charles D. Poindexter (R-Franklin) was vulnerable — he had top ratings from the National Rifle Association and the ultraconservative Family Foundation — but Williams trounced him by about 25 points. And he did it in a way that caught even other Republicans off-guard.

SEE VIRGINIA ON A28

—deportes

Andy Murray

“Hubo momentos en los que pensé que nunca volvería a jugar”

ENTREVISTA — por Sebastián Torok


EMPIEZA A NOTARSE EN LOS HOGARES EL EFECTO DEL ENCIERRO

—el berlinés

Comienza a verse en las familias la magnitud de las secuelas del confinamiento, pérdida de escolaridad y reconfiguración de los vínculos.

TODA LA OFERTA DEL STREAMING EN TIEMPOS DE COVID

—espectáculos

El arribo de HBO Max, el martes, será seguido por Star+, en agosto, que ampliarán el universo del entretenimiento en casa.

LA NACION

DOMINGO 27 DE JUNIO DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

El Gobierno aplicó un doble estándar para condenar violaciones de los DD.HH.

POLÍTICA EXTERIOR. Evitó criticar la situación en Venezuela, Nicaragua y China, pero sí lo hizo con Siria, Belarús y Myanmar, pese a que hubo denuncias similares; la explicación oficial

La política argentina en materia de derechos humanos exhibe contrastes que generan cuestionamientos dentro y fuera del país. En las últimas semanas, la Cancillería evitó pronunciarse en contra de los gobiernos de Venezuela, Nicaragua y China, a pesar de las denuncias de persecución, abuso de poder y alteración de los procesos electorales.

Sin embargo, en otros casos con características similares tuvo una postura diferente. Eso ocurrió con las votaciones en el Consejo de Derechos Humanos de la ONU respecto

de Siria, Belarús y Myanmar, donde la Argentina optó por seguir el voto mayoritario de condena.

“La Argentina ha tenido una posición coherente de defensa de DD.HH. y hoy tiene un rol que cumplir. Esta postura zigzagueante basada en decisiones *ad hoc* daña la credibilidad del país”, señaló José Miguel Vivanco, de Human Rights Watch. En la Cancillería, en cambio, sostienen: “No firmamos documentos contra un país, pero sí [Michelle] Bachelet propone una resolución la firmamos”. **Página 22**

EL ESCENARIO

Un peligro real que no debe ser relativizado

Jorge Fernández Díaz

El poeta, que leía muy temprano los periódicos, se asomó a su balcón del hotel Grand Saint Michel y gritó a los cuatro vientos: “¡Se cayó el hombre!”. Y todos los exiliados que

pernoctaban en los alrededores se removieron nerviosos, en la esperanza de que fuese su propio dictador y no otro el que acababa de ser depuesto. **Continúa en la página 38**

EL ANÁLISIS

La dinámica electoral no pasa por Olivos

Jorge Liotti

—LA NACION—

Los preparativos iniciales para la campaña se empezaron a palpar en los principales despachos del poder, en La Plata, en el Senado, en Diputados, en el Instituto Patria. Mucho menos vibrante es la sensación en la quinta de Olivos. Allí, Alberto Fernández atraviesa un período gris de su mandato, marginado del flujo que debate estrategias y candidatos. Varios interlocutores del Presidente coinciden en describirlo como “entregado” o “abatido”. **Continúa en la página 27**

La Quiaca. La frontera está cerrada, pero los cruces no paran

Clausurado el puente a Villazón, se usan 16 pasos sin ningún control. **Página 10** Diego Cabot LA NACION



El cruce entre La Quiaca y Villazón se hace a pie, sorteando un pequeño curso de agua

JAVIER CORBALÁN

Sputnik: una firma ligada a Moyano, tras la planta local

En el conurbano bonaerense Covelva es sinónimo de recolección de residuos. Pero ahora la firma de Ricardo Depresbiteris, que siempre se la relacionó con Hugo Moyano pese a que no hay lazos formales, es la primera inversora en la planta de Laboratorios Richmond para producir en el país la Sputnik V. Ya se comprometió a aportar un total de US\$16 millones, de los cuales desembolsó un 60%. **Página 4**

La pandemia hunde a la región en una crisis educativa

AMÉRICA LATINA. Alerta por el alto índice de desertión. **Página 12**

Miami: la torre tenía “daños estructurales”

Página 14

folhamais

Novidade digital

Estreia hoje o FolhaMais, caderno editado como a versão impressa, mas exclusivo das versões digitalizadas do jornal em papel. Ele integra a Edição Folha e inaugura pacote de assinaturas digitais. **A14**

Mercado A25

Mistura de drone com helicóptero, 'carro voador' traça futuro da mobilidade

Oposição quer usar prevaricação em novo pedido de impeachment

Para partidos, Bolsonaro cometeu crime de responsabilidade ao não mandar investigar Covaxin

O relato do deputado Luis Miranda (DEM-DF) à CPI da Covid sobre a conduta do presidente Jair Bolsonaro ao ser alertado de supostas irregularidades na compra da vacina Covaxin deu novo impulso ao superpedido de impeachment articulado por partidos da oposição.

Segundo Miranda, Bolsonaro disse que pediria investigação da Polícia Federal, mas não se encontrou registro de inquérito. Para opositoristas, isso enquadraria o presidente em crime de prevaricação — deixar de praticar um ato para satisfazer interesse pessoal.

A área jurídica que elabora o pedido de impeachment encontrou um dispositivo na lei dos crimes de responsabilidade que dará sustentação à estratégia. Randolfe Rodrigues (Rede-AP), vice-presidente da CPI, disse que também acionará a Procuradoria-Geral da República.

Na sexta-feira, Miranda disse ainda à Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito que o presidente ligou o líder do governo na Câmara, Ricardo Barros (PP-PR), às supostas irregularidades nas negociações para a compra da vacina. O deputado nega ter participado do processo.

As entidades que têm encabeçado os atos pelo impeachment de Jair Bolsonaro decidiram antecipar de 24 para 3 de julho uma nova mobilização. **Poder e Pánel A4**

Siglas de centro veem presidente em processo de derretimento **Pánel A4**



Funkeiro Guilherme Chaves, 21, no Capão Redondo, zona sul de São Paulo; ele já indicou marcas de roupas e barbearias locais a seus seguidores **Karlme Xavier/Folhapress**

Contratação suspeita fugiu de regras e foi feita a jato

O governo Jair Bolsonaro assinou a toque de caixa o contrato de R\$ 1,61 bilhão para compra da vacina Covaxin, sem atender a tempo a um conjunto de dez recomendações da consultoria jurídica do Ministério da Saúde, formada por membros da Advocacia-Geral da União. Apenas três orientações foram seguidas antes da assinatura do contrato. O governo não comentou. **Poder A8**

No tapetão CPI não vai levar, declara Bolsonaro

A9

Mercado A26

Parceria com funkeiros ajuda comércio nas periferias em SP

ilustração

Vale a pena ver de novo

'Roda de Fogo', de 1986, ressurge com retrato sombrio do fim da ditadura **C3**

Especial p.1

Sinônimo de boas práticas, sigla ESG muda a forma de lucrar no século 21

Esporte B8

Stephanie Balduccini será, aos 16, a mais jovem nadadora do Brasil em Olimpíadas

ATMOSFERA

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A nadadora Stephanie Balduccini, 16 **Adriano Vizzoni/Folhapress**

População acima de 18 anos imunizada*

	totalmente	parcialmente
Brasil	16%	28%
MS	22%	33%
RS	20%	30%
AM	19%	27%

Totalmente imunizada



Números da pandemia

	Casos	Óbitos
Total	18,4 mi	512,8 mil
Méd. movel	71,9 mil	1.707
Variação**	6,6%	-13%
Em 24 h	61,4 mil	1.547

Estágios



Brasil

Dados das 20h de 26 jun
*Parcialmente imunizada: tomou apenas 1ª dose. Totalmente imunizada: tomou dose única ou 2ª dose **Em relação a 14 dias

Transexuais veem dificuldades com serviços de saúde

Homens e mulheres transexuais relatam dificuldades no acesso a serviços de saúde pela falta de preparo de instituições e de profissionais para atenderem às suas necessidades. Como consequência, diagnósticos de tumores no sistema reprodutivo podem vir tarde. **Saúde B3**

Ano de pandemia leva SUS a reduzir 25% das consultas

O impacto do primeiro ano de pandemia no SUS é um rastro de desassistência. Consultas com especialistas em 2020 tiveram redução de 25%, e internações, de 16% (exceto por doenças infectocontagiosas). A comparação leva em conta a média de procedimentos de 2017 a 2019. **Saúde B1**

País pode ter equilíbrio racial no ensino superior em 2033

A COR DA DESIGUALDADE
O Brasil registrou melhora no equilíbrio racial em termos de acesso à educação superior em 23 das 27 unidades da Federação entre 2014 a 2019, mostra o novo Ifer (Índice Folha de Equilíbrio Racial), e poderá atingir a equidade em 2033.

Há percalços, porém: as crises econômica e fiscal instaladas em 2014 podem impor obstáculos ao ritmo desse avanço, e a evolução é distinta pelo país. Rondônia e Amapá estão hoje mais próximos da igualdade, e Alagoas e Amazonas, mais distantes. **Cotidiano B4 e B5**

EDITORIAIS A2

Governo acossado

A respeito de impactos políticos do caso Covaxin.

Alívio cambial

Sobre causas e consequências da queda do dólar.

PAINEL S.A.

Roberto Funari

Podemos enfrentar a inflação, diz chefe da Alpargatas

Presidente da empresa de 114 anos que produz as Havaianas afirma à Folha que a marca cresceu 6% durante a pandemia de Covid e tem resiliência para se adaptar à conjuntura de incerteza. **Mercado A20**

Arminio Fraga

O futuro do país do futuro

Mostrar crescimento econômico sempre tem apelo eleitoral. No caso de Jair Bolsonaro, os 5% ou mais projetados para este ano e o provável impacto do fim da pandemia no ano que vem (a despeito de suas escolhas de política sanitária). No caso de Lula, há o seu legado. **Poder A18**





Ramón González Daher incumplió acuerdo con Hacienda de hace más de un año

Congelan cuatro cuentas para asegurar pago de RGD al Fisco

Juzgado dispuso el embargo total de USD 12,5 millones depositados en dos cuentas corrientes y otras de ahorro. Monto queda retenido para saldar obligación con la SET.

PÁGINA 20

Covid: Reportan 150 muertos y prometen para julio otras dos millones de vacunas

PÁGINA 2

Historial de acuerdos políticos muestra que pactos variopintos son normales en Congreso

PÁGINAS 8 y 9

Titular de IPS justifica salida de Halley y dijo que generó temor sin razón sobre fondos

PÁGINA 18

¡VACUNATE! ES SEGURA

Dolor. Para las víctimas los asaltos son hechos reales, que dejan consecuencias con las que deben seguir lidiando.

La inseguridad no es una sensación

PÁGINAS 56 y 57

DOMINGO

El desafío de encontrar ventajas de videojuegos en educación de los niños

PÁGINA 28

Hijos de artista paraguayo brillan cantando en The Voice Kids de Alemania

PÁGINA 36

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LE FIGARO

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



MILA
LE PROCÈS
DE LA HAINE ET
DE LA BÊTISE **PAGE 17**

BERNARD ARNAULT
« LA RENAISSANCE DE LA SAMARITAINE
EST UN SYMBOLE APRÈS QUINZE MOIS
DE CRISE » **PAGES 30 À 33**



MATIGNON
Jean Castex,
serein malgré
les turbulences **PAGE 8**

DÉFENSE
Il y a vingt ans,
la conscription était
définitivement
suspendue **PAGE 10**

EUROPE
Les Vingt-Sept
refusent
un sommet avec
la Russie **PAGE 11**

PALÉONTOLOGIE
La Chine
revendique
la découverte d'une
nouvelle espèce
humaine **PAGE 13**

RUGBY
Top 14: le Stade
Toulousain sacré
pour la 21^e fois de
son histoire **PAGE 14**

INTERNET
Quand les faux avis
gangrèment
la toile **PAGE 27**

MODE HOMME
Entretien croisé
avec le directeur
artistique de Dior,
Kim Jones,
et le rappeur star
Travis Scott **PAGE 33**

CHAMPS LIBRES
• Les
chroniques de
Chantal Delsol
et de Mathieu
Bock-Côté
• Les tribunes
de Thomas
Morales et de
Florence Parly
PAGES 18 ET 19

**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**
**Réponses à la question
de vendredi :**
Êtes-vous favorable
à la mise en place
d'un front républicain face
à La France insoumise ?

NON 23% OUI 77%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 115 474

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sur lefigaro.fr**
A-t-on eu raison
de supprimer le service
militaire il y a vingt ans ?

CHRISTOPHE ARCHAMBAULT/AFP-
JEANNE ACCORSINI/SIPA

Régionales : droite et gauche veulent confirmer leur retour

Renforcés lors du premier tour, les présidents de région sortants de droite et du PS espèrent transformer l'essai dimanche. Le RN entend de son côté jouer les trouble-fêtes en Paca.

La vengeance de « l'ancien monde » ? Dimanche, à l'occasion du second tour des régionales, droite et gauche pourraient prendre une revanche symbolique à dix mois de l'élection présidentielle. Les Républicains et

leurs alliés, d'un côté, et les socialistes, de l'autre, espèrent voir tous leurs présidents de région sortants réélus, signe d'une dynamique positive à l'approche de 2022. Après un premier tour marqué par une forte abs-

tention qui l'a lourdement pénalisé, le Rassemblement national entend remobiliser ses électeurs en Paca, où son candidat, Thierry Mariani, est au coude-à-coude avec le président sortant LR, Renaud Muselier. Une victoire serait

déterminante pour Marine Le Pen, qui cherche à installer son duel face à Emmanuel Macron. Le président de la République, lui, semble avoir anticipé la défaite de ses troupes et se projette déjà vers 2022. Dès lundi, il sera à

Douai, sur les terres de Xavier Bertrand, pour un déplacement sur le thème de l'attractivité économique française, avant de recevoir à Versailles des grands patrons français et internationaux. **PAGES 2 À 7 ET L'EDITORIAL**

En Bretagne, le départ d'un Tour de France plus ouvert que jamais



La 108^e édition va passer quatre jours dans les départements bretons. Julian Alaphilippe rêve de s'emparer rapidement du maillot jaune, mais les Slovènes Pogacar et Roglic sont les favoris pour la victoire finale. **PAGE 14**

ÉDITORIAL par Vincent Trémolet de Villers vtremolet@lefigaro.fr

Examen de conscience

Les absents ont-ils toujours tort ? Depuis dimanche, les deux tiers des Français qui ont fait la grève démocratique ont le choix entre la culpabilisation et l'infantilisation. Un jour c'est Marine Le Pen qui leur reproche de ne pas s'être « bougés », un autre c'est Richard Ferrand qui pointe du doigt l'isolement, cet objet anachronique, pour promouvoir le vote par correspondance et le vote par internet. Voter de chez soi, sur une application, entre deux achats et trois écrans, voilà qui amoindrirait un peu plus encore la vie civique. Il ne suffit pas pourtant de dénoncer la paresse, l'indifférence ou l'individualisme des abstentionnistes. Ce serait oublier l'éléphant au milieu de la pièce : les acteurs de la vie politique eux-mêmes. Les élus, d'abord, qui pratiquent une langue que personne ne parle. Qui, dans la conversation commune, évoque les « territoires », les « mobilités douces », les « projets citoyens », les « actions inclusives et résilientes » ? Qui, à part eux, rejoue interminablement le célèbre sketch de Pierre Palmade ?

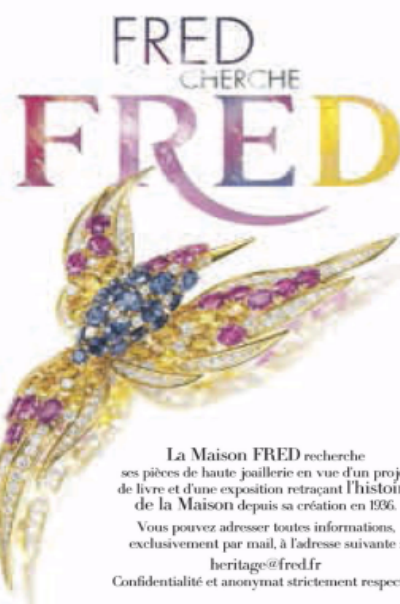
« Tu tu préfères avoir des dents en bois ou des jambes en mousse ? » demandait le comique. « Tu préfères un communiste ou un identitaire ? », s'interrogent gravement Xavier Bertrand et Sébastien Chenu. Les sondages, ensuite. Indispensables pour tenter de saisir les sentiments qui traversent le corps social, ils nous ont rappelé dimanche dernier - ce n'est pas la première fois - qu'il fallait leur accorder une confiance très relative. Le système d'information, enfin, quand il se fait univoque et bavard. La crise de la représentation

s'étend désormais au champ médiatique. La politique, dès lors, Dominique Reynié l'a bien montré, se réfugie dans les manifestations de minorités actives. Le rapport de force économique, social et numérique décide de la vie de la cité. Au risque d'aboutir à l'affrontement de tous contre tous. Le vote ne résoudra pas, seul, la crise démocratique, mais il reste un précieux moyen, à portée de toutes les mains, d'expression publique. Un instrument modeste mais décisif. ■

Un profond malaise dans la démocratie

La dette de la France dépasse les 2700 milliards d'euros

En hausse de 89 milliards d'euros sur trois mois, la dette publique française, dopée par la lutte contre la crise, a atteint un nouveau sommet. Elle représente désormais 118,2 % du PIB, un niveau inégalé qui pose un peu plus la question de sa vulnérabilité. Une hausse des taux d'intérêt serait rapidement dramatique. Le gouvernement promet de freiner la hausse des dépenses publiques dans les années à venir et mise sur la croissance pour réduire l'endettement. **PAGE 22**



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