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REVIEW



WSJ

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OFF DUTY



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SATURDAY/SUNDAY, JULY 3 - 4, 2021 - VOL. CCLXXVIII NO. 3

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What's News

World-Wide

U.S. officials have intensified planning for an emergency evacuation of the American embassy in Kabul amid concern that a worsening security situation in Afghanistan could imperil remaining military and diplomatic corps, as well as other Americans. **A1, A8**

- ◆ **Residents of a condo** in North Miami Beach, Fla., were ordered to evacuate due to structural and electrical issues, a move that came just over a week after the deadly collapse in Surfside. **A3**
- ◆ **The Biden administration** is preparing to enact major policy changes at the southern border, according to administration officials and others familiar with the discussions. **A5**
- ◆ **The U.S. military** must remove sexual-harassment and assault cases from the chain of command and hand them off to independent military lawyers, Biden said. **A5**
- ◆ **China and India** have sent tens of thousands of soldiers and advanced military equipment to their disputed border. **A7**
- ◆ **A cargo plane** made an emergency water landing in the ocean near Honolulu. **A3**

Business & Finance

- ◆ **Employers in the U.S.** added 850,000 jobs in June, the biggest gain in 10 months, and wages rose said, both signs of robust demand for workers. **A1**
- ◆ **The S&P 500, Dow** and Nasdaq all closed at records as an early summer rally in stocks picked up steam. **B15**
- ◆ **OPEC and a Russia-led** group of producers failed to agree on how to meet fast-rising demand from the industrialized world. **B15**
- ◆ **Chinese regulators** zeroed in on Didi Global, days after the Beijing-based ride-hailing company went public. **A1**
- ◆ **The Justice Department** is probing Lordstown Motors, the embattled electric-truck startup. **B1**
- ◆ **The FTC and Broadcom** agreed to settle charges that the firm used its dominance in some chip markets to squeeze out potential rivals. **B3**
- ◆ **Tesla** notched its fifth straight quarter of vehicle-delivery growth. **B3**
- ◆ **IBM** said that Jim Whitehurst, its second-highest-ranking executive, is leaving the company. **B3**

NOONAN

How Two Great Friends Overcame Politics **A13**

NOTICE TO READERS

WSJ.com and WSJ mobile apps will publish throughout the July Fourth weekend. The print edition won't appear Monday, but a daily edition will be available in WSJ iPad and Android apps.

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Job-Market Recovery Accelerates

Employers add biggest number of workers in 10 months in June as wages bounce back

By JOSH MITCHELL

The U.S. labor-market recovery is accelerating after a spring lull. Employers added 850,000 jobs in June—the biggest gain in 10 months—and workers' wages rose briskly, the government said Friday, both signs of robust demand for workers.

The unemployment rate, derived from a separate survey of households, rose to

5.9% last month from 5.8% in May. That was in part because of a positive development: A modest number of Americans came off the sidelines and entered the job search, expanding the labor pool. A broader measure of unemployment that takes into account workers stuck in part-time jobs and those discouraged to look for work fell sharply last month.

Job growth lagged behind broader economic growth earlier this spring, with the economy adding 583,000 jobs in May and 269,000 in April.

But big hurdles to hiring are starting to clear away. Rising vaccination rates, easing government restrictions on

businesses and the expiration of unemployment benefits in many states are stoking the latest growth.

Workers are coming back to the labor market—albeit slowly—and employers, desperate to hire to serve a flood of customers, are dangling higher pay and other incentives such as signing bonuses. Hourly wages among private-sector workers rose 3.6% from a year earlier.

Meanwhile, fears of the pandemic are easing. The number of workers who said they were prevented from looking for work because of the pandemic fell by 900,000 in June to 1.6 million.

"In terms of the pace of

hiring, this is probably close to max speed just given how quickly workers are coming back," said Sarah House, senior economist at Wells Fargo. "Employers are making it work."

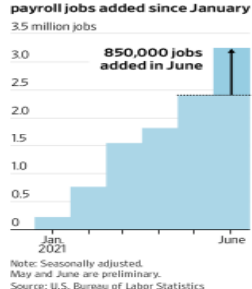
U.S. stocks rose Friday after the employment report. For investors, the gains were further evidence the economic recovery remains intact, so far fulfilling predictions by Federal Reserve Chairman Jerome Powell.

The solid hiring figures aren't likely to fundamentally change an intensifying debate

Please turn to page A2

◆ **U.S. stock indexes rally to fresh highs**..... B15

Cumulative number of nonfarm payroll jobs added since January



Afghan troops stand guard at Bagram Air Base on Friday after the U.S. military withdrew from the facility.

U.S. Leaves Afghan Air Base, Steps Up Evacuation Planning

U.S. officials have intensified planning for an emergency evacuation of the American embassy in Kabul amid concern that a worsening security

By Gordon Lubold
in Kabul and Nancy A.
Youssef and Warren P.
Strobel in Washington

curity situation in Afghanistan could imperil remaining military and diplomatic corps, as well as other Americans.

The preparations are taking place as part of the U.S. withdrawal of Afghanistan, which

the Pentagon said Friday would take place by the end of August. As part of the withdrawal, officials said, the U.S. military withdrew from Bagram Air Base, the centerpiece of American military operations in Afghanistan for nearly 20 years. The plan to withdraw by the end of August represents a shift from earlier plans to remove all U.S. forces by as soon as this month.

The expanded planning for an embassy evacuation, reflecting an increase in concern that a Taliban offensive could overwhelm U.S. security and Afghan government forces

guarding the U.S. Embassy, hasn't been previously reported. An evacuation could involve not only hundreds of personnel at the U.S. Embassy but thousands of other Americans in the country.

The U.S. military routinely conducts planning for nearly any contingency, including what it calls noncombatant evacuations at embassies and other locations. Because of the more pressing concerns in Afghanistan, planners stepped up preparations, contemplating evacuation operations based on more-specific scenarios, officials

familiar with the planning said. U.S. officials emphasized there is no immediate need for an evacuation of American personnel and preparations were still in the planning stage, though with more urgency. The military is coordinating with the State Department, officials said. "It's not the plan, it's a contingency," said one official. "It's still squarely in the box of just-in-case."

While details of the plan

Please turn to page A8

◆ **Militias in Afghanistan fill army's vacuum**..... A8

Chinese Regulator Puts Didi On Review

By LIYAN QI
AND TREFOR MOSS

Chinese regulators zeroed in on Didi Global Inc. on Friday, days after the ride-hailing company went public, by blocking its China business from adding new users as they review the company's cybersecurity.

The probe aims at preventing risks related to national data security, the Cyberspace Administration of China said in a brief statement.

The move comes as authorities seek to rein in China's big technology companies, which have become central to everyday life in Chinese society, and assert more control over data that these companies hold.

Didi Global's American depository shares closed down more than 5% Friday in New York, after rising 16% a day

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EXCHANGE



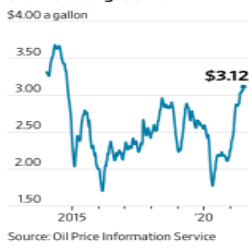
KEY MAN

After 27 years, a new CEO takes the wheel at Amazon. Can he deliver? **B1**

Gas Prices Deal Summer Sting

Americans face the steepest prices at the pump in nearly seven years as tens of millions take to the road. **A3**

Average U.S. price of a gallon of unleaded gasoline



Huge Old Wealth Gets New Owners

Baby boomers and older Americans start distributing record stockpile to heirs, others

By BEN EISEN
AND ANNE TERGESEN

The greatest wealth transfer in modern history has begun.

Baby boomers and older Americans have spent decades accumulating an enormous stockpile of money. At the end of this year's first quarter, Americans age 70 and above had a net worth of nearly \$35 trillion, according to Federal Reserve data. That amounts to 27% of all U.S. wealth, up from 20% three

decades ago. Their wealth is equal to 157% of U.S. gross domestic product, more than double the proportion 30 years ago, federal data show.

Now they have started parceling it out to their heirs and others, unleashing a torrent of economic activity including buying homes, starting businesses and giving to charity. And many recipients are guided by different priorities and politics than their givers.

Older generations will hand down some \$70 trillion

Please turn to page A10

Summer's Sweetest Workout: Building Fudge Muscles

Candy makers toil extra hard lifting, slicing, pouring; 'Superman would work here'

By JENNIFER LEVITZ

Wanted: Hard workers who can hoist 50 pounds and repeatedly bend, squat and lift in hot spaces. The ability to vigorously beat a blob with a 4-foot

No, this isn't the concrete industry, but the new rigorous workout of the summer tourism season—shifts at a fudge shop.

Americans are flocking back to tourist towns and hankering for fudge, that dense, sugary vacation mainstay. At the

same time, a national labor crunch means fewer fudge producers are toiling extra hard, nursing sore bodies and building fudge muscles.

"Who needs the gym when you're doing this?" says Angela Martel, a fudge maker at the Candy Corner in Hampton Beach, N.H.

The tight hiring market prompted Candy Corner to recruit for this season

on Indeed.com for the first time in its 23 years, but even so, it has just one fudge



Calorie burners

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'People were literally crawling because it was so hot'

America's heatwave PAGE 3

Global warming, silent killer PAGE 7

Simon Kuper LIFE & ARTS

Biden declares America 'on the move' as hiring beats forecasts

◆ 850,000 jobs created in June ◆ Lockdown easing fuels growth ◆ Wages rise to attract staff

COLBY SMITH — NEW YORK
LAUREN FEDOR — WASHINGTON

President Joe Biden hailed "historic progress" in America's recovery from the pandemic as the US economy created 850,000 jobs in June, with unrelenting demand for workers spurring a jump in recruitment.

Non-farm payrolls data yesterday came in well above economists' expectations of 720,000 jobs created for the month, surpassing the upwardly revised \$83,000 gain posted in May and an unexpectedly weak 278,000 new hires in April.

"We have now created over 3m jobs

since I took office, more jobs than have ever been created in the first five months of any presidency in modern history," Biden said at the White House after the data release. "This is historic progress, pulling our economy out of the worst crisis in 100 years."

Despite the increase in payrolls, the biggest in 10 months, the unemployment rate ticked up slightly to 5.9 per cent from 5.8 per cent the month before.

"It was a solid report, [one] you would hope for given the reopening has continued to gather pace," said Lee Ferridge, head of macro strategy for North America at State Street Global Markets.

The June report landed at a critical

juncture for the US economy. Easing lockdown measures and generous government stimulus programmes have fuelled a robust rebound in growth this year. US consumer prices have in turn surged as supply chain constraints have hampered some businesses' ability to meet red-hot consumer demand.

Crippling labour shortages have also hamstrung employers, as childcare constraints and fears about catching Covid-19 dissuaded people from returning to the workforce.

Some businesses blame unemployment benefits for holding up the jobs recovery, prompting several Republican-leaning US states to slash aid.



Yesterday's data surpassed the \$83,000 gain posted in May

Companies have begun raising wages and handing out perks to attract new staff. Yesterday's report suggested those measures have balanced some of the market mismatches. "Instead of workers competing with each other for jobs that are scarce, employers are competing with each other to attract workers," Biden said. "Put simply, our economy is on the move."

Despite June's gains, US employment remains far below its pre-pandemic levels. More than 9m people are still unemployed, compared to 5.7m in February last year.

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The Long View page 16



Trump's 'eyes and ears' under pressure to flip

What will Allen Weisselberg do next? This is the crucial question for prosecutors following their claims this week that executives' income has been concealed at the Trump Organization. They say perks amounted to \$1.7m for the man who has described himself as Trump's eyes and ears and hope the prospect of prison will persuade him to turn. But Weisselberg, who pleaded not guilty, is a loyal lieutenant hired by the ex-president's father 48 years ago.

Analysis ► PAGE 4

Didi shares tumble as Beijing's cyber watchdog launches data investigation

YUAN YANG — BEIJING

China's cyber security regulators have launched an investigation into Didi, sending the ride-hailing group's shares plummeting just days after it launched the year's biggest initial public offering in New York.

The Cyberspace Administration of China made the announcement yesterday evening, Beijing time, on Didi's third morning of trading in New York after it raised at least \$4bn in the IPO.

Despite the record fundraising, Didi kept the occasion low key, without celebrating on its domestic Weibo social media channel, organising a press conference, or taking part in a bell-ringing ceremony in New York.

The CAC said the investigation was in order to "safeguard national data security and protect national security", and

that Didi must stop registering users for the probe's duration to "comply with the cyber security investigation work and prevent risks from spreading".

Didi told the Financial Times it would "actively comply" with the investigation and "completely inspect our cyber security risks under the guidance" of the authorities. Its shares opened down 11 per cent yesterday in New York.

"This is a signal for big tech companies, warning them of the importance of data security and personal data protection," said Wang Gongwei, a partner at Beijing Jingshi law firm.

China's cyber security reviews are new measures launched last year in order to protect what it sees as "critical information infrastructure", a broad category including transport providers and big database systems. One aim is to prevent critical data leaks.

According to Chinese regulations, an investigation can last up to 30 business days, with extensions of 15 additional business days for complex cases. Didi has more than 577m users and 13m drivers annually active in China, meaning that it stores a significant amount of user data that could lead it to be considered critical information infrastructure.

The platform not only gathers data on trips and user locations but, following a passenger safety scandal, also records audio during every journey.

The company has not yet faced a major publicly known data leak. Following passenger murders in 2018, Didi was reprimanded for not sharing more data. That debacle underlines tension in Beijing between demands for more data-sharing and calls for data security.

Additional reporting by Nian Liu
Race to build champions page 8

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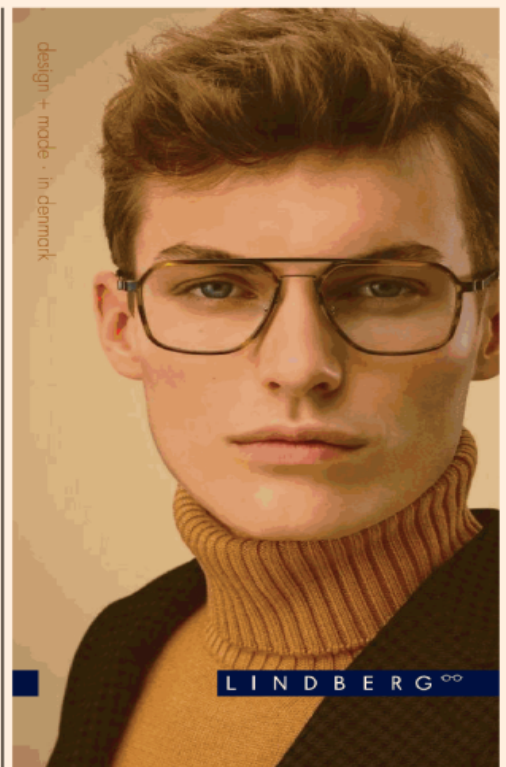
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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Jul 2	prev	%chg		Jul 2	prev	%chg		price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4328.31	4319.94	0.45	\$ per €	1.184	1.187	-0.25	US Gov 10 yr	147.44	1.44	0.00
Nasdaq Composite	14562.84	14522.30	0.48	£ per \$	1.328	1.328	0.00	UK Gov 10 yr	8.70	-0.01	-0.01
Dow Jones Ind	34740.36	34692.51	0.14	€ per \$	0.889	0.891	-0.22	Ger Gov 10 yr	-0.24	-0.03	-0.03
FTSE Eurofirst 300	1763.14	1759.63	0.20	¥ per \$	111.315	111.540	-0.20	Japan Gov 10 yr	117.03	0.04	-0.01
Euro Stoxx 50	4081.02	4078.89	0.05	\$ per €	153.430	153.702	-0.18	US Gov 30 yr	112.98	2.05	0.00
FTSE 100	7123.27	7125.16	-0.03	₹ per \$	1.094	1.097	-0.27	Ger Gov 2 yr	105.79	-0.67	-0.01
FTSE AEX-Share	4065.95	4062.45	0.09	₹ per \$	0.844	0.843	0.12				
CAC 40	6562.96	6567.93	-0.08	COMMODITIES					price	prev	chg
Xetra Dax	15650.09	15603.01	0.30		Jul 2	prev	%chg	Fed Funds Eff	0.06	0.07	-0.01
Nikkei	28783.28	28707.04	0.27	Oil WTI \$	74.94	75.23	-0.38	US 3m Bill	0.05	0.05	0.00
Hang Seng	29510.42	29627.86	-1.80	Oil Brent \$	78.91	79.54	-0.84	Euro Libor 3m	-0.55	-0.55	0.00
MSCI World \$	3628.26	3617.23	0.30	Gold \$	1781.50	1783.15	-1.04	UK 3m	0.08	0.08	0.00
MSCI EM \$	1368.22	1374.64	-0.47								
MSCI ACWI \$	721.82	719.97	0.26								

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LINDBERG

Late Edition

Today, partly sunny, afternoon thunderstorms, high 75. Tonight, evening showers, cloudy, low 67. Tomorrow, clouds, sunshine, warm, high 81. Weather map, Page 21.



WHAT WAS LEFT BEHIND Items from Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan have turned up in local stores. Clockwise from top left: A box of pastries; a gas mask; a medal; a used tourniquet; a friendship plaque; discarded combat boots; a mortar sight box.

The Salvaged Relics of a Very Long War

Shops Near Vacated Afghanistan Base Sell Vestiges of U.S. Presence

By THOMAS GIBBONS-NEFF

BAGRAM, Afghanistan — For almost 20 years, Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan was the anchor for America's war, its sprawling twin runways serving to launch bombing raids, journeys home, medical evacuations, mail runs and U.S.O. shows. But despite years of preparation for this moment, the Americans' departure from Bagram this past week was marked by little fanfare, seemingly as disjointed as the Afghan government's plan for what happens next.

For weeks, the Taliban have been carry-

ing out attacks across the country, killing members of the Afghan security forces and forcing hundreds of others to surrender. Throughout the country, warlords — power brokers from the civil-war era of the 1990s and newly minted militia commanders — are calling on Afghan civilians to join their makeshift armies in defending the country.

The convergence of government troops, Taliban fighters, warlords and citizen militias signals that the violence will almost certainly worsen. The U.S. military is expected to leave the country completely by

Sept. 11, as President Biden follows through on his promise to bring American forces home from the nation's longest foreign war.

At Bagram, the new tenants are the Afghan security forces who will inherit the conflict the United States built for them, along with fields of military equipment, vehicles and weapons that will long represent the war's grim legacy and the country's uncertain future.

To continue the fight, the United States has left behind its tan and green pickups

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Possible Flaw In Construction Spotted at Site

Fewer Steel Rods Seen
Than in Designs

This article is by James Glanz, Mike Baker and Anjali Singhvi.

Engineers who have visited or examined photos of the wreckage of the Champlain Towers South condominium complex have been struck by a possible flaw in its construction: Critical places near the base of the building appeared to use less steel reinforcement than called for in the project's original design drawings.

The observation is the first detail to emerge pointing to a potential problem in the quality of construction of the 13-story condo tower in Surfside, Fla., that collapsed last month, killing at least 24 and leaving up to 121 still unaccounted for.

Reached by phone, Allyn E. Kilsheimer, a forensic engineering expert hired by the town of Surfside to investigate the collapse, said the investigation was still in its early stages. But he confirmed there were signs that the amount of steel used to connect concrete slabs below a parking deck to the building's vertical columns might be less than what the project's initial plans specified.

"The bars might not be arranged like the original drawings call for," Mr. Kilsheimer said in an interview. He said he would need to inspect the rubble more closely to determine whether in fact the slab-to-column connections contained less steel than expected.

R. Shankar Nair, a member of the National Academy of Engineering and former chairman of the Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat, was among the other engineers who reviewed photographs and saw inconsistencies between the design and the steel that remained visible in the columns.

The investigation of the collapse could take months, so preliminary observations and findings could change. Some engineers said the possible shortfall in steel rebar in the relatively small part of the building they had examined should be seen not as a cause of the collapse, but it could potentially have been one of several factors that allowed whatever initiated the problem to accelerate

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BOARD SQUABBLES AT CONDOMINIUM DELAYED REPAIRS

COSTS WERE DAUNTING

How Spats and Standoffs
Ended in Mountain of
Rubble in Florida

This article is by Patricia Mazzei, Kimiko de Freytas-Tamura, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs, Alexandra E. Petri and Stephanie Saul.

SURFSIDE, Fla. — Elena Blasser kept her two-bedroom, two-bath condo in the Champlain Towers South as a beachside gathering place for family reunions. She adored the ocean and the small town of Surfside, Fla., because they reminded her of homes in Cuba and Puerto Rico.

She sank at least \$100,000 into renovations when she bought Penthouse 11 a little more than a decade ago. Then the complex's problems began. Hairline cracks in the pool deck. Newly painted walls that chipped easily. Water pooling in the garage. To pay for it all, the monthly maintenance fees and special assessments grew.

"We're paying those fees and where are they going?" Mr. Blasser, a 64-year-old former schoolteacher, kept telling her family and neighbors, according to her son Pablo Rodriguez.

Little did she know that the problems identified in the building were about to get much worse. A consultant's report commissioned in 2018 had identified serious problems of crumbling concrete and corroded rebar — problems that engineers warned had already led to "major structural damage."

Fixing it, the condo board eventually concluded, would cost an estimated \$15 million. Ms. Blasser would have to come up with another \$120,000 to pay her share.

Long before half of the Champlain Towers South crumbled to the ground on June 24, killing at least 24 people and leaving up to 121 unaccounted for — including Ms. Blasser and her mother, Elena Chavez, 88 — the rancor over how the building was run by its homeowners' association was an open secret known to the relatives and friends of the people who lived

Continued on Page 14

In Details of Tax Case, Echoes Of a Trump Business Tradition

By MIKE MCINTIRE and RUSS BUETTNER

Long before Donald J. Trump's company was accused of plotting detours around the tax code to compensate its chief financial officer with car-

peting, televisions and car leases, there were the \$16,135 boilers. The boilers were bought for that amount by Mr. Trump's father, Fred, in the 1990s for his numerous apartment buildings. But in a bit of financial alchemy that embodied the family ethos of paying as little tax as possible, the elder Mr. Trump used inflated invoices to pay the bill and the extra money was skimmed off for his children — all to avoid gift and inheritance taxes.

Echoes of the earlier scheme could be found in the indictment on Thursday of the Trump Organization and Allen H. Weisselberg, its chief financial officer, who first went to work for Fred Trump in the 1970s. While the amount of tax-free benefits that Mr. Weisselberg reportedly received is significant — \$1.76

million over 15 years — the way the company went about doing them out is strikingly small-bore and incremental.

In fact, the first criminal case against the former president's company features no grand schemes to launder money through Russia, hide millions offshore or commit other offenses commensurate with a self-described global business empire headquartered in a Fifth Avenue skyscraper. Rather, the details of the charges brought by a Manhattan grand jury have a rather low-rent feel that one might associate with a scrappy real-estate operation born in Brooklyn and Queens.

Which, of course, it is. The Trump Organization, for all the puffery of its leader, has always been essentially a family business, tightly controlled by Mr. Trump and a small number of relatives and trusted associates, including Mr. Weisselberg. Although the company has about

Continued on Page 17



Peter Treiber Jr., a Long Island farmer, said some people think only conservatives display the flag.

On July Fourth, Stars and Stripes and Division

By SARAH MASLIN NIER

SOUTHOLD, N.Y. — The American flag flies in paint on the side of Peter Treiber Jr.'s potato truck, a local landmark parked permanently on County Route 48, doing little more, he thought, than drawing attention to his family's farm. Until he tried to sell his produce. At a local greenmarket where

he sells things like wild bergamot, honey and sunflowers, he had trouble striking a deal until, he said, he let his liberal leanings slip out in conversation with a customer.

"She said, 'Oh, whew. You know, I wasn't so sure about you, I thought you were some flag-waving something-or-other,'" Mr. Treiber, 32, recalled the woman

saying and citing his potato truck display. "That's why she was apprehensive of interacting with me."

He paused and said: "It was a little sad to me. It shows the dichotomy of the country that a flag can mean that. That I had to think, 'Do I need to reconsider having that out there?'"

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Pandemic Wave Of Automation May Erase Jobs

By BEN CASSELMAN

When Kroger customers in Cincinnati shop online these days, their groceries may be picked out not by a worker in their local supermarket but by a robot in a nearby warehouse.

Gamers at Dave & Buster's in Dallas who want pretzel dogs can order and pay from their phones — no need to flag down a waiter. And in the drive-through lane at Checkers near Atlanta, requests for Big Buford burgers and Mother Cruncher chicken sandwiches may be fielded not by a cashier in a headset, but by a voice-recognition algorithm.

An increase in automation, especially in service industries, may prove to be an economic legacy of the pandemic. Businesses from factories to fast-food outlets to hotels turned to technology last year to keep operations running amid social distancing requirements and contagion fears. Now the outbreak is ebbing in the United

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China's 'Chilling' Millennials
A nascent movement that promotes "lying flat" over working hard has drawn scorn, censorship and warnings from the Beijing government. PAGE 4

Tigray's Leader Goes Home
Debetseion Gebremichael said he "didn't expect to make it back alive" to his war-torn region of Ethiopia. PAGE 8

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A Letter That Changed a Life
Emily Bazelon writes about the law. But could she help free an imprisoned young man who said he was innocent? PAGE 1



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Radnor High students in Pennsylvania vowed to change a team symbol they called racist. Alumni fought back. PAGE 1

Joy of F-U-L-F-I-L-L-M-E-N-T
How South Asian Americans came to love, and dominate, the Scripps National Spelling Bee. PAGE 1

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The arrival of Justice Amy Coney Barrett gave the Supreme Court a 6-to-3 conservative majority, leaving Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. with diminished clout to sway rulings. PAGE 16

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The new musical parody TV series "Schmigadoon!" is an affectionate sendup of Broadway shows. PAGE 12

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Milwaukee Ends a Drought
Despite missing their star Giannis Antetokounmpo, the Bucks beat the Atlanta Hawks to reach their first N.B.A. finals since 1974. PAGE 26

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Tuning In to Joe Rogan
With a Spotify deal estimated at \$100 million, he's gotten too big to cancel. What's the podcaster's appeal? PAGE 1



Florida families wait in anguish

With 121 still missing in the condo collapse, grief begins to take hold: 'It doesn't end.'

BY JENNY JARVIE

SURFSIDE, Fla. — When Pablo Rodriguez got the call in the early hours of June 24 that Champlain Towers South had collapsed, he had some hope that his mother and grandmother had survived.

Switching on the TV and looking at images of the pile of rubble, the 40-year-old attorney could see that portions of his mother's condominium building were still standing. Maybe her apartment hadn't fallen — maybe somehow she and his grandmother had found a way to escape.

Scrolling frantically on his cellphone for news as his wife, Vivian Lasaga, drove him across Miami, he found a video of the collapse that showed No. 1211, his mother's penthouse-floor apartment, with its patio lounge and pots of basil and parsley on the balcony, drop out of existence.

Seconds after it crashed to the ground, another stack of apartments to the east tumbled on top of it, collapsing into a flickering, smoking pile.

"It felt like my heart had [See Florida, A12]

Bridging a freeway to save cougars

BY LOUIS SAHAĞÚN

Architect Robert Rock is facing a Herculean task: Design a bridge that will allow mountain lions to cross safely over a stretch of the 101 Freeway that roars with the traffic of 300,000 vehicles each day.

On a recent morning, he stood on a hilltop and gazed at a vista of steep fire-stripped slopes, rocky arroyos, weedy humps and 125-degree grade shifts on both sides of the freeway at Liberty Canyon in the city of Agoura Hills.

The terrain was as challenging as could be. But Rock could see the future — cougars who would otherwise become roadkill crossing a proposed \$87-million bridge so that they could roam, find prey and mate.

"Mountain lions are [See Bridge, A11]



'I struggle knowing 600,000-plus Americans will not celebrate this July Fourth.'

DR. JERRY ABRAHAM, LOS ANGELES

A different Independence Day

TEXT BY GUSTAVO ARELLANO | PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAY L. CLENDENIN

BOOM. That's what pops into my mind when I think about July 4 — mostly because illegal fireworks light up my Santa Ana neighborhood with such brilliance that they make the ones at Disneyland seem as spectacular as a fading flashlight. ¶ This year, another type of explosion is preoccupying me — not the grand orations of our Founding Fathers but Frederick Douglass' 1852 jeremiad, "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" ¶ His answers weren't pretty. To a group of white people, he deemed the holiday a "sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless." ¶ Yet Douglass, a former slave, ended his speech on a surprising note: guarded hope. ¶ "While drawing encouragement from the Declaration of Independence, the great principles it contains, and the genius of American Institutions, my spirit is also cheered by the obvious tendencies of the age," he concluded. ¶ This lesser-known section came to mind after The Times interviewed 10 Southern Californians about what the Fourth of July means to them, in the wake of the hell year that was 2020.

[See Independence, A8]



'Each killing and each acquittal of officers involved raised questions about justice and freedom.'

MIYA IWATAKI, SOUTH PASADENA



WITH THE Taliban on the minds of many in Afghanistan, a man in a Kabul music shop watches at a window to see who is coming.

MARCUS YAM Los Angeles Times

COLUMN ONE

Afghan musicians dread being silenced once more

BY NABIH BULOS
REPORTING FROM
KABUL, AFGHANISTAN

The capital's morning rush hour is a discordant backdrop for the workshop of Izzatullah Neamat. But walk down an alley, sidestep a sewage canal, and there he is: ensconced in the rabble among dozens of *rubabs* — an ancient instrument that resembles a lute — that have become his life's work and family legacy.

Here on the outskirts of Khara-bat, the city's oldest quarter and the onetime home of its musicians and artists, the 40-year-old Neamat is a keeper of an Afghan tradition that was all but stamped out in the chaos of war and the harsh rule of religious extremists who — hearing sin instead of song — outlawed music and threatened with death its practitioners.

And it's set to happen again. U.S. and NATO forces plan to depart the country in as little as a few weeks, leaving behind an Afghan state that few believe [See Kabul, A4]

Trading big-city life for rural comfort

Inland communities ponder their future as the pandemic attracts families seeking more space and lower costs.

BY SARAH PARVINI

EL DORADO HILLS, Calif. — Rebecca Luke was itching to move her family out of the Bay Area, fed up with soaring property taxes, epic commuter crawls and home prices aimed at Silicon Valley venture capitalists.

As an executive assistant in the medical technology field, she needed to be close to her company's office in Emeryville, between Berkeley and Oakland. Her husband, Brian, had a little more flexibility because of the multiple-day shifts he spent living and working out of the Santa Clara County Fire Department.

But when the pandemic hit, and Luke began to work remotely from their Livermore home, she saw an opening to upgrade her family's quality of life.

Some of her husband's coworkers had been moving to a growing but still affordable Sacramento suburb called El Dorado Hills. In October, the couple packed up their then-7-month-old boy and drove to their new home.

Now, every time she takes a walk around her neighborhood, Luke knows that her family made the right choice.

"In the Bay Area, I couldn't take my son and pop him in the stroller and walk to the park or take a scenic walk. It was just very congested, always sitting in traffic," the 36-year-old said. "Here, I can pop him in the stroller and be at the park in five or 10 minutes. It's a different way of living. It's a simpler way."

Most Californians who moved in 2020 stayed in-state, many trading city life in the Bay Area or Los Angeles for suburban or rural communities. A growing number of families have moved inland over the last few years, data show, fueled by the hunt for more open [See Transplants, A6]

Vatican indicts 10 in London real estate deal

A once-powerful cardinal is among those facing embezzlement, fraud and other charges. **WORLD, A3**

Gas pipeline ruptures in Gulf of Mexico

The undersea incident sent balls of flame boiling up to the surface of the water. **WORLD, A3**

Angels' Ohtani surges to front of MVP race

With his bat and arm, the All-Star is doing things that baseball hasn't seen in a century. **SPORTS, D1**

Weather Coastal clouds. L.A. Basin: 83/63. **B10**

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The Washington Post

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Afghan interpreters pin hope on evacuation

Fearing for their lives, thousands left in limbo after helping U.S. troops

BY PAMELA CONSTABLE AND EZZATULLAH MEHRDAD

KABUL — The letters from his American military superiors glowed with superlatives. Abdul Rashid Shirzad, they wrote, was a “true hero” and a man of “great character and integrity” who had acted courageously under fire to save American lives during more than two years as a battlefield interpreter.

In short, the formal commendations from three Navy SEAL commanders said, Shirzad was an exemplary model of how such interpreters — hired to help U.S. forces understand Afghan society and communicate in dangerous conditions with Afghan officials, villagers and prisoners — should perform their job.

But in 2016, three years after his stint with U.S. Special Operations forces ended, Shirzad’s application for a Special Immigrant Visa to the United States was denied. The terse letter from the U.S. Embassy in Kabul said he had failed to provide “faithful and valuable service” and that his case “lacked sufficient documentation.” No explanation was provided. Stunned, he said he appealed but never heard back.

Today, Shirzad, 35, is one of thousands of former Afghan interpreters for the U.S. military and civilian agencies whose visa cases have been languishing in bureaucratic limbo. Now with U.S. forces

SEE INTERPRETERS ON A13

U.S. enters the Fourth with divided covid risk

BY FENIT NIRAPPIL, DAN KEATING, RYAN SLATTERY AND DAN DIAMOND

President Biden has pointed to July 4 as the day when Americans can mark independence from the coronavirus. But the United States has not fully snuffed out the threat from the virus — particularly in places where vaccination rates are low — as the delta variant threatens to undo the nation’s progress.

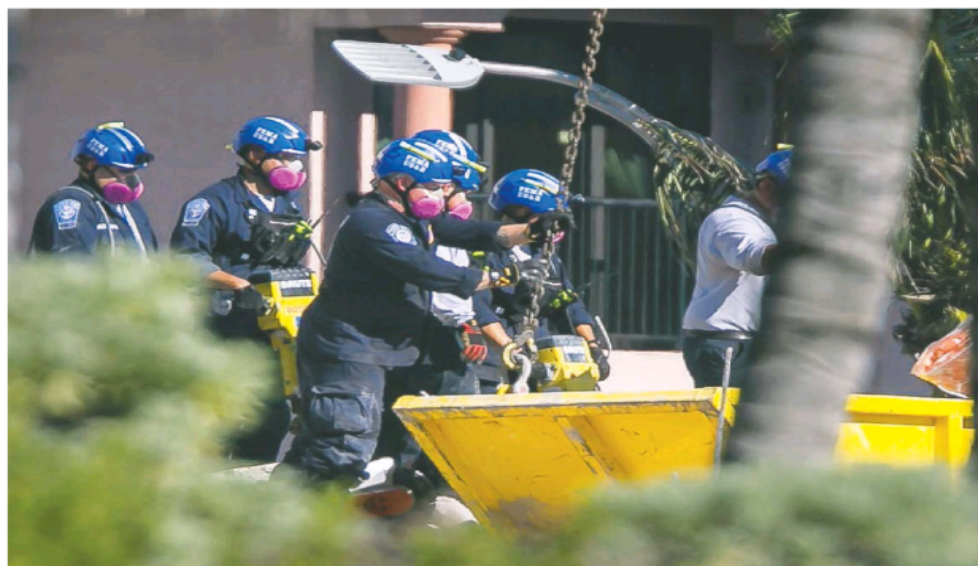
More than 2,000 counties representing over half of the American population have not met Biden’s goal of 70 percent of adults receiving at least one dose of a coronavirus vaccine by Independence Day, according to an analysis by The Washington Post. Those counties are seeing steeper increases in new cases and double the rate of tests coming back positive compared with counties that have met the president’s goal.

Most ominously, the highly transmissible delta variant is on the rise and represents a quarter of confirmed U.S. cases, posing a greater risk to pockets of unvaccinated communities than earlier virus variants. The White House launched a new initiative

SEE HOLIDAY ON A8

Mixed signals: As Biden hosts a multitude, some experts fret. **A13**

Post-ABC poll: 1 in 5 say they “definitely” won’t get vaccinated. **A6**



Rescue workers use jackhammers to chip through rubble as they continue to look for victims of the condo collapse in Surfside, Fla.

MATIAS J. OCHER/MIAMI HERALD/ASSOCIATED PRESS

For Surfside, uncertain future is nothing new

BY MICHAEL BRICE SADDLER, LORI ROZSA AND REBECCA TAN

SURFSIDE, FLA. — More than seven years before the collapse of Champlain Towers South rocked this small beachfront community, a battle waged over the fate of a hotel less than 30 yards away.

The Biltmore Terrace Hotel, designed by three of Miami’s most famed architects, became a community landmark soon after it was constructed in 1951. In 2014, a developer who wanted to build an upscale condo on the

site made a promise: He would restore the 10-story hotel as part of the project.

Instead, in a surprise to town leaders and residents, the developer demolished the hotel, which did not have protected status as a historic landmark. Kirk Paskal, of the North Shore Historic District Neighborhood Association, remembers 2015, when construction started on the luxury condominium complex now known as Eighty Seven Park, which at 18 stories looms over Champlain Towers South and

SEE SURFSIDE ON A10



A message of optimism adorns a container box at a home in Surfside after the collapse of Champlain Towers South.

OCTAVIO JONES FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



Friends escape crowds in Calanques National Park in the south of France. The park’s caretakers say the throngs of visitors threaten the site’s sensitive biological equilibrium.

Stay away from our park — really

CALANQUES NATIONAL PARK, FRANCE — In one of Europe’s most picturesque national parks, officials have embraced a surprising goal: They want to make the site appear less stunning.

Standing next to wind-bent pine trees reflected in the turquoise water of the Mediterranean on a recent day, Calanques National Park ranger Alain Vincent did his best to talk the place down. There are too many people

Faced with a surge of visitors, a French tourist attraction tries novel techniques to reduce crowds

BY RICK NOACK

and no trash cans, he said, indicating the beach packed with swimmers and sunbathers taking selfies with their dogs.

Every beautiful photo of this bay, Vincent said disapprovingly, is one too many.

As tourism professionals around the world eagerly await the return of visitors, Calanques, in southern France, has a different message: Please, most of you,

SEE TOURISM ON A15

Richardson’s ban brings scrutiny to doping rules

Suspensions for athletes who use marijuana have debated, political history

BY ADAM KILGORE AND RICK MAESE

Sha’Carri Richardson’s positive marijuana test left a marquee event of this month’s Tokyo Olympics without one of the United States’ most captivating athletes. It also represented a collision of Olympic bureaucracy, shifting attitudes toward cannabis internationally and domestically, and the unsettling endurance of criminal drug policies.

The suspension of Richardson, a magnetic athlete known for her technicolor hair, long fingernails and free-flowing interviews, left many U.S. fans saddened, stunned and confused. While some questioned why she would use a drug widely known to be on the list of banned substances, others wondered why a substance that a majority of Americans regard as harmless remains on that list alongside anabolic steroids and masking agents.

“I understand that the Olympics have the ability to sanction players based on conduct and for using performance-enhancing drugs, but there’s no evidence

that cannabis is performance-enhancing,” Arizona-based physician and marijuana researcher Sue Sisley said. “This seems genuinely unfair that we continue to punish athletes based on a test that should not even be done. Why do the Olympics continue to test for THC at all?”

Richardson, 27, did not violate any codes pertaining to fair play. After learning of her biological mother’s death and facing pressure to perform at the U.S. Olympic trials, Richardson said, she used marijuana in Oregon, where it is fully legalized. But the World Anti-Doping Agency lists THC as a substance of abuse alongside cocaine, heroin and MDMA/ecstasy. It tests athletes for substances of abuse only during competition, not during training.

“One of these days, we should probably either take it off the list entirely or say it’s there but the minimum sanction should be something like a warning, so you’re not losing any period of eligibility,” said International Olympic Committee member Dick Pound, one of the founders of WADA. “Frankly, I don’t think there’s evidence it’s performance-enhancing, and/or it’s a drug that masks the use of other drugs.”

The month-long suspension

SEE DOPING ON A6

Jerry Brewer: An outdated policy leaves Richardson in more pain. **D1**

“El Gobierno es campeón mundial de políticas anticrecimiento”

En una entrevista con LA NACIÓN, el expresidente del Banco Central Guido Sandleris reconoció errores en la gestión de Macri y lanzó críticas al gobierno actual. **Página 26**



¿CUÁNTO CUESTAN LAS VACUNAS? NÚMEROS DE UNA INVERSIÓN INÉDITA

—el berlinés

La enorme demanda mundial y la urgencia por la pandemia impulsaron una puntualidad en los pagos, infrecuente en el Estado argentino.

ESPORTS. MÁS FIGURAS SE SUMAN AL MUNDO GAMER

—revista

Es un fenómeno que bate récords; Juan Sebastián Verón, entre otros, se metió de lleno en las ligas de videojuegos internacionales.

LA NACIÓN

DOMINGO 4 DE JULIO DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

Definiciones en la oposición: Manes será candidato y se bajaron Bullrich y Carrió

ELECCIONES. La exministra de Seguridad le despejó el camino a Vidal en la ciudad, pero dijo que mantiene su mira en 2023; en la provincia, el neurólogo deberá enfrentar a Santilli

Fue un sábado a pura definición para la interna de Juntos por el Cambio en los dos distritos principales. En la ciudad de Buenos Aires, Patricia Bullrich anunció que declinaba su candidatura a diputada, lo cual en los hechos despeja el camino para el desembarco de María Eugenia Vidal. La exministra aclaró,

no obstante, que mantiene la mira en 2023.

Entanto, en la provincia de Buenos Aires, el neurólogo Facundo Manes oficializó su aterrizaje en la política como candidato de la UCR. Si bien desde Pro buscarán un acuerdo para una lista única, lo más probable es que termine enfrentando a Diego

Santilli, el postulante que impulsa Horacio Rodríguez Larreta. Como efecto inmediato, a las pocas horas, Elisa Carrió anunció que se bajaba de sus intenciones de integrar la lista de diputados. Lo hizo tras una visita a Santa Fe, donde estuvo junto a Rodríguez Larreta. Pidió que otros imiten su gesto. **Página 18**

EL ANÁLISIS

Madura un cambio de piel

Jorge Fernández Díaz
Página 38

EL ESCENARIO

Cristina y el virus alteran al Gobierno

Martín Rodríguez Yebra
—LA NACIÓN—

El clamoroso volantazo que puso fin a la cruzada soberana contra la vacuna de Pfizer es un reflejo de la combinación de esas dos fuerzas que condicionan la conducta presidencial. El temor a otra explosión de contagios por la variante delta trastocó las previsiones del oficialismo, confiado en que la tormenta de vacunas garantizaría cierta normalidad a la hora de votar. Continúa en la página 22

Sufrió y terminó a puro gol: la selección, semifinalista

deportes— Sufrió los embates de Ecuador en la segunda parte, pero terminó aliviada y con una goleada en el final. Con tantos de De Paul, Lautaro Martínez y Messi, la Argentina ganó por 3-0 y el martes jugará con Colombia por las semifinales de la Copa América.



NELSON ALMEIDA/AFIP

En Miami, encuentran los cuerpos de dos argentinas

EE.UU. SURFSIDE (AP).— El operativo de búsqueda a diez días del derrumbe del edificio Champlain Towers South, en Surfside, tuvo uno de sus capítulos más devastadores la noche del jueves pasado, cuando un veterano bombero de Miami, Enrique Arango, recuperó de entre los escombros el cuerpo de su propia hija, la argentina Stella Cattarossi, de siete años, según se informó ayer. La niña se encontraba en el departamento 501 junto a su madre, Graciela Cattarossi, cuyo cuerpo también fue encontrado. Ambas estaban con sus padres y abuelos, y su hermana y tía, Andrea, que siguen desaparecidos. **Página 12**

Por la variante delta, la tercera ola de contagios podría llegar a fin de mes

COVID. Así lo advierten funcionarios y expertos, que piden acelerar la vacunación

Con menos del 10% de los argentinos con el esquema completo de vacunación contra el coronavirus y la detección de la variante delta, potencialmente más contagiosa que el virus original identificado en Wuhan, se encienden las alar-

mas sanitarias en la Argentina. Se estima que la tercera ola de la pandemia podría desembarcar aquí a fines de este mes o a principios de agosto.

Aunque no hay circulación comunitaria de esta variante, ya se

detectó en cinco personas que volvieron del exterior. Expertos recomiendan acelerar la aplicación de las segundas dosis e incluso algunos ya plantean la necesidad de una tercera aplicación de refuerzo para enfrentar la delta. **Página 6**

EL ESCENARIO

Cuándo apretar el botón de alarma

Inés Capdevila

—LA NACIÓN—

La irrupción del coronavirus en 2020 unió a todos los países en un improvisado juego de ensayo y error para contener la pandemia. Ahora el surgimiento y la expansión

de la variante delta del Covid-19 desnudan las fortalezas y las debilidades que cada una de esas naciones acumuló a lo largo de un año y medio de pandemia. Continúa en la página 8



Bruno Santos/Folhapress



2



Fotos Eduardo Arizeli/Folhapress

Em dia de atos, São Paulo teve concentração maior que outras cidades, na av. Paulista 1, e acusação de propina de US\$ 1 por vacina foi tema 2; ao final, vândalos atacaram banco 3

Protestos pedem o impeachment de Bolsonaro pelo país

Com concentração maior em SP, manifestações incluíram as suspeitas de corrupção na compra de vacinas na pauta

Pela terceira vez desde 29 de maio, manifestantes foram às ruas por todo o país para pedir o impeachment do presidente Jair Bolsonaro.

As críticas ao manejo da pandemia, foram acrescidos protestos pelas suspeitas de corrupção em negociações para compras de vacinas.

Nas ruas, imagens de notas de dólar com sangue ou efígie de Bolsonaro surgiram, em referência à acusação de cobrança desse valor por dose como propina, feita por vendedor à Folha.

Houve atos nas 27 capitais, mas também em várias cidades médias do interior, em geral associadas a um apoio maior ao presidente.

A manifestação foi mais concentrada em São Paulo. No final, houve confronto entre policiais e alguns vândalos, que atacaram bancos A Secretaria da Segurança Pública do estado estimou em 5.500 pessoas o número de pessoas na Paulista.

O ato foi convocado às pressas, para aproveitar os novos itens da crise.

Além das denúncias de corrupção, em evidência pela CPI da Covid e por um inquérito que apura se Bolsonaro prevaricou, um superpedido de impeachment chegou à Câmara.

Na capital paulista, houve alguns militantes do PSDB, PSL e outros partidos no ato, dominado por movimentos à esquerda. Poder A8 e A9

Análise Igor Gielow
'Presidente genocida' agora também é 'corrupto' na pauta das ruas Poder A9

EDITORIAIS A2

Delibere, Arthur Lira

O presidente da Câmara deve deixar de lado o cinismo e dar alguma resposta aos pedidos de impeachment.

São gravíssimas as acusações contra o presidente Jair Bolsonaro que estão dormindo em seu gabinete.

Feitos da vacina

Sobre queda de mortes de sexagenários por Covid-19.

Elio Gaspari

'Nova política' de Bolsonaro é nova e pior

Dois anos após promessa de uma "nova política" com Jair Bolsonaro, chegou-se a algo muito pior. Tudo acabou no centrão, reforçado pelo primarismo das milícias. Poder A11

Exclusão racial no topo da pirâmide deverá crescer

A COR DA DESIGUALDADE

O Brasil assistirá à ampliação do abismo entre negros e brancos que compõem o topo da pirâmide de renda caso seja mantida a atual trajetória do Ifer (Índice Folha de Equilíbrio Racial).

Nos últimos anos, esse hiato aumentou em 14 das 27 unidades da Federação.

Em 2019, pretos e pardos eram 30,4% entre os 10% de brasileiros mais ricos. Num cenário em que -1 é a total subrepresentação de pretos e pardos e 1, a subrepresentação absoluta de brancos, o Ifer era -0,48. Sem mudanças, o índice chegará a -0,59 em 25 anos, projetam economistas. Mercado A22

ilus trada emis Spti snli

O rei do mundo cão

Apoiador fervoroso do presidente Jair Bolsonaro, apresentador Sikêra Jr. começou no rádio aos 14 e sonhou ser mistura de Silvio Santos e Chacrinha. Mas a fama veio com um programa sanguinolento, que perdeu patrocinadores depois de suas declarações homofóbicas. C4 e C5

Nascido há 150 anos, francês Proust marcou a cultura brasileira moderna C6

Enobrado com 'Faça a Coisa Certa', Spike Lee volta a Cannes consagrado C10

MÔNICA BERGAMO C2

Sou uma velha danada que teima em dar frutos, afirma Angela Ro Ro

Esporte B6

Teremos grande participação nos Jogos, diz chefe do Comitê Paraolímpico

ANÁLISE Jaime Spitzcovsky

Fantasma do fim do Partido Comunista da URSS preocupa Xi, que centraliza poder A14

Alta na luz leva a busca por mais geração própria

A possibilidade de fugir da conta de luz mais cara tem levado clientes residenciais a buscar a geração distribuída de energia, que hoje já conta até com aplicativo de celular. Distribuidoras e grandes consumidores questionam a legalidade das cooperativas de geração. Mercado A17

Para analistas, ESG não pode ser só 'departamento'

Mercado A26

População com 18 anos ou mais*

	ao menos uma dose	totalmente vacinada
Brasil	47,8%	16,8%
MS	61,4%	25,5%
RS	54,6%	21,6%
ES	54,7%	19,5%

Totalmente vacinada



Dados das 20h de 3 jul *Ao menos uma dose: tomou dose única ou 1ª dose. Totalmente vacinada: tomou dose única ou 2ª dose **Em relação a 14 dias

Pouca vacina pode explicar casos onde há Coronavac Imunizante leva a queda drástica de mortes e internações, mas novas infecções ainda são desafio. B1



Mizael Conrado, que já foi um dos melhores atletas paraolímpicos do mundo, hoje preside o CPB Karine Xavier/Folhapress

Após manifesto, grupo pela terceira via se esfacela

Três meses depois do lançamento do Manifesto pela Consciência Democrática, em 31 de março, o grupo formado por Ciro Gomes, João Dória, Luciano Huck, Luiz Henrique Mandetta, João Amoêdo e Eduardo Leite seguiu caminhos diferentes e já não está mais unido. Poder A7

ENTREVISTA

Cezar Peluso

Nada delusivo a perda da liberdade nem por um dia

A respeito das prisões de inocentes, tratadas em série da Folha, ex-presidente do STF diz que erros judiciais devem resultar em indenizações "nos limites do possível". "Não há nada no mundo que indenize a perda da liberdade nem por um dia, muito menos por anos". Cotidiano B4

Marilene Felinto

Cachorros que importam

A história aqui é principalmente sobre cachorros. Sobre a morte da minha pastora alemã. Sobre a domesticação interespecífica, a especial interação cão-humano, sobre natureza-cultura e coabitação, coevolução e sociabilidade incorporada entre espécies. Ilustrada Ilustríssima C7



Efectos positivos de mayor inmunización en economía no serán inmediatos

Vacunación récord, pero aún lejos de inmunidad de rebaño

Ayer vacunaron a 33.427 personas, pero todavía se necesita una mayor inmunización. Este mes llegan más de 2.000.000 de dosis. Borba plantea buscar a la gente

PÁGINAS 2, 3, 16 y 17

Vulnerables. El Ministerio de Salud inició la vacunación de personas con enfermedades de base y tras buen inicio la asistencia cayó por la tarde.



EFECTOS POSITIVOS



Las diligencias no pueden avanzar
Corrupción: Varios juicios sin sentencia por falta de copia de los expedientes

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Escuchas de la Fiscalía lo comprometen
Acusan a protegido de OGD de mediar con policías para liberar a delincuentes

PÁGINA 57

Cuerpo fue hallado en territorio brasileño
Hallan muerto a joven que fue secuestrado hace 6 días por banda criminal

PÁGINA 56

Hoy es el último día para visitar y comprar un vehículo en la Expo Rodados

PÁGINA 22

DOMINGO

Euclides Acevedo, canciller
“(Nuland) vino a sacudir la alfombra y a poner en el aire todas las bacterias”

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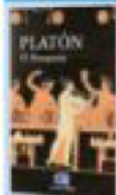


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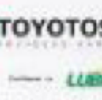
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IL Y A CENT ANS, LE COMBAT
DU SIÈCLE DU BOXEUR
GEORGES CARPENTIER **PAGE 15**

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Mattarella
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Quand l'Allemagne
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ANTITERRORISME
Au SNEAS,
ces discrets
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TOUR DE FRANCE
Le jour le plus long
de Primoz Roglic
PAGE 13

TRANSPORTS
Le rail engage
sa grande bascule
numérique
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THÉÂTRE
À Grignan,
fracassant
« Fracasse » **PAGE 31**

**CHAMPS
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**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**

Réponses à la question de vendredi :
Faut-il rendre payant les tests de dépistage Covid ?

NON 30% OUI 70%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 94 729

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr
Pensez-vous que Marine Le Pen sera au second tour de l'élection présidentielle de 2022 ?

© WALTER GROKE / ULLSTEIN BILD / ROGER-VIOLETTE - MATTEO CARASSALE

Le parti de Marine Le Pen en proie au doute avant 2022

Après l'échec aux régionales, les militants sont en plein désarroi, le congrès qui devait lancer la candidate pour la présidentielle sera celui des interrogations sur la stratégie du RN.

Marine Le Pen aura fort à faire au congrès du Rassemblement national, samedi et dimanche à Perpignan, pour redonner le moral aux troupes. Après l'échec aux élec-

tions régionales, les militants sont en plein désarroi, et ce congrès, qui devait lui servir de rampe de lancement pour la présidentielle de 2022, sera celui des doutes et

des interrogations quant à la stratégie du RN. Le parti de Marine Le Pen n'a ramené ni région ni département aux élections de dimanche dernier et a perdu 30 % de

ses élus. Le vœu de la candidate à l'Élysée était pourtant d'investir davantage de représentants dans le pays. Résultat, c'est la présidente du mouvement qui se retrouve

sur la sellette. Les militants s'interrogent sur le fonctionnement interne du parti, sur sa « normalisation », voire sur la lassitude des Français à l'égard de Marine Le Pen.

→ **SUSPENSE SUR LE « MATCH AMICAL » BARDELLA-ALLOT** → **ORBAN ET QUINZE ALLIÉS VISENT UNE « ALLIANCE » AU PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN**
→ **LES JEUNES AVEC MACRON « EN ORDRE DE MARCHÉ »** → **UN SOCLE ELECTORAL SOLIDE, MAIS LA MENACE DU DOUTE** **PAGES 2, 3 ET L'EDITORIAL**



**La multiplication
des fêtes improvisées
embarrasse
les forces de l'ordre**

Avec la recrudescence de ces attroupements massifs, baptisés « Projet X », souvent émaillés de débordements, les forces de sécurité vivent un dilemme : réprimer les violences tout en tolérant ces excès de fête. **PAGES 8 ET 9**

**Malgré
la crise,
la Bourse de
Paris atteint
des niveaux
records**

L'indice CAC40 a gagné plus de 17 % depuis le début de l'année et 75 % depuis son plancher de mars 2020, lorsque la pandémie s'est déclenchée. Il est désormais proche de son plus haut niveau atteint il y a plus de vingt ans. Cette euphorie boursière est alimentée par les plans de relance des gouvernements et par la politique monétaire des banques centrales, qui soutiennent massivement la reprise économique. **PAGES 20 ET 21**

ÉDITORIAL par Vincent Trémolet de Villers vtremolet@lefigaro.fr

Impasse du RN

Jusqu'ici, le Rassemblement national était le parti roi du premier tour. La liturgie était rodée : résultats spectaculaires, visages déconifés des adversaires, tremblements et République en danger. Suivaient la quinzaine antifasciste, ce mauvais théâtre dénoncé par Lionel Jospin, puis l'échec au second tour du candidat du RN. Aux élections régionales, les électeurs de Marine Le Pen se sont privés de ce maigre plaisir. Cette fois, la baudruche enfle si fort qu'elle creva. Depuis des semaines, le travail conjugué des sondages, des ministres, de la sphère médiatique plaçait le RN au sommet mais la vérité des urnes a rappelé une réalité brutale : c'est une force politique aussi puissante (elle oscille autour de 20 %) que stérile (elle échoue systématiquement à devenir une proposition majoritaire). Jusque-là, les électeurs défaits se consolaient dans les transgressions cathartiques. Mais désormais, le cri de rage contre la doxa se fait davantage par l'abstention que par le vote Le Pen. La fonction tribunitienne s'est effacée sans que la légitimité à gouverner n'ait avancé d'un pouce. Pile, tu perds tou-

jours, face, tu ne gagnes jamais. On comprend qu'à un tel jeu, le RN trouve de moins en moins de pratiquants. Reste tout ce qu'il nous dit du déséquilibre démocratique contemporain : par le mode de scrutin, des millions d'électeurs ne sont pas représentés ; par lâcheté, les maux qui frappent notre pays, abandonnés au Rassemblement national, n'apparaissent que sous une forme émotionnelle ou caricaturale. Aux sujets qui fâchent - insécurité, immigration, déclassement économique, affaiblissement moral, terrorisme - se substitue une confortable lutte contre le Front national... Il s'agit moins d'améliorer la vie des Français que de faire reculer un parti politique. Comment s'étonner ensuite du niveau affligeant de notre vie civique ? C'est la bonne nouvelle de ce scrutin : battre Marine Le Pen ne suffit plus à faire un programme. Il va donc falloir que ses adversaires se mettent à réfléchir, à travailler et peut-être même, sait-on jamais, à gouverner. ■

**Un symptôme
du déséquilibre
démocratique**

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