

## POLITICAL MEMO

### U.S. Surges, But Politics Hold Firm

Partisanship Immune  
to Signs of Recovery

By ALEXANDER BURNS

In another age, the events of this season would have been nearly certain to produce a major shift in American politics — or at least a meaningful, discernible one.

Over a period of weeks, the coronavirus death rate plunged and the country considerably eased public health restrictions. President Biden announced a bipartisan deal late last month to spend hundreds of billions of dollars rebuilding the country's worn infrastructure — the most significant aisle-crossing legislative agreement in a generation, if it holds together. The Congressional Budget Office estimated on Thursday that the economy was on track to regain all of the jobs it lost during the pandemic by the middle of 2022.

And in a blow to Mr. Biden's fractious opposition, Donald J. Trump — the dominant figure in Republican politics — faced an embarrassing legal setback just as he was resuming a schedule of campaign-style events. The Manhattan district attorney's office charged his company, the Trump Organization, and its chief financial officer with "sweeping and audacious" financial crimes.

Not long ago, such a sequence of developments might have tested the partisan boundaries of American politics, startling voters into reconsidering their assumptions about the current president, his predecessor, the two major parties and what government can do for the American people.

These days, it is hard to imagine that such a political turning point is at hand.

"I think we're open to small moves; I'm not sure we're open to big moves," said Mark Mellish.

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### Farmer's Family Owned Slaves. How to Aton?

By KIM SEVERSON

DIRT TOWN VALLEY, Ga. — Just before people started to take the pandemic seriously, Stacie Marshall slipped into the back of a conference room in Athens, Ga., and joined two dozen Black farmers in a marketing seminar called "Collards Aren't the New Kale."

She stood out, and not just because she was one of only two white people in the room. Ms. Marshall, 41, still had the long blond hair and good looks that won her the Miss Chattahoochee County title in 1988. The win came with scholarship money that got her to a tiny Baptist college and a life away from the small Appalachian valley where her family has farmed for more than 200 years.

Leading the seminar was Matthew Raiford, 53, a tall, magnetic Gullah Geechee chef and organic farmer who works the coastal Georgia land his forebears secured a decade after they were emancipated from slavery.

He asked if there were questions. Ms. Marshall raised her hand, ignored the knot in her stomach and told her story: She was in line to inherit 300 acres, which would make her the first woman in her family to own a farm. She had big plans for the fading commercial cattle operation and its overgrown fields. She

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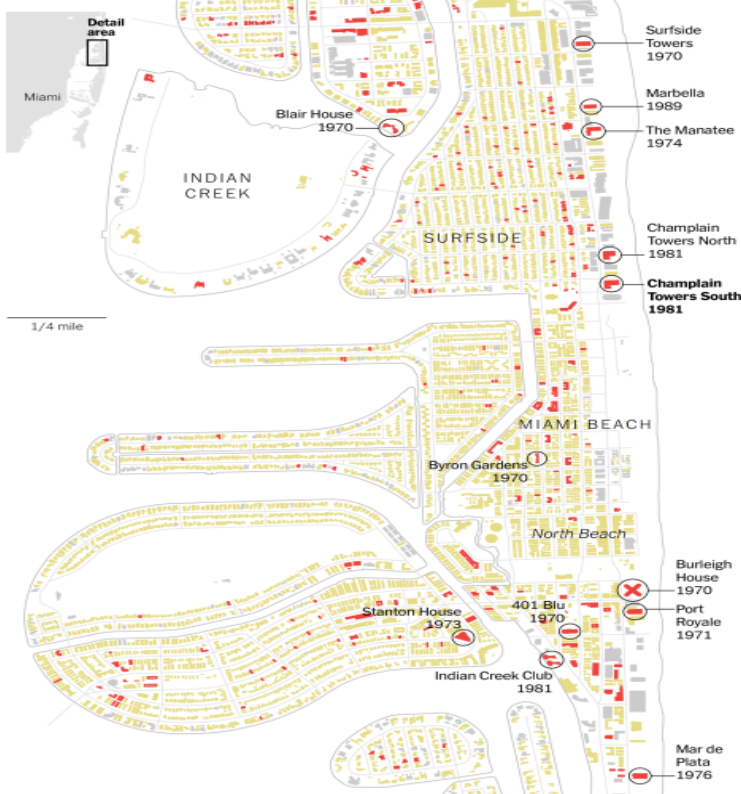
### Concern Over 1970s and '80s High-Rises

The collapse of the 40-year-old, 13-story Champlain Towers South has focused intense scrutiny on high-rise buildings of the same era.

#### Date of construction

- Before 1970
- 1970-1989
- 1990 and later

Buildings built in the '70s and '80s that are taller than 9 stories.



Sources: Miami-Dade County Open Data Hub, Emporis

### Despite Doubts, a Frenzied Hunt for Diamonds

By JOHN ELIGON

KWAHLATHI, South Africa — Sbusiso Molefe stretched the pickaxe high above his head and hacked into the clumpy black dirt around his feet. He took a few more vigorous whacks into the edges of the shallow crater he had dug at the bottom of a hillside, before scooping up a handful of loose dirt and shaking it in search of the sparkle of a gem.

The rumor that a herdsman had found clear stones resembling diamonds in the soil of a grassy, tree-filled slope last month lured thousands of South Africans to KwaHlathi, a sleepy village in the eastern province of KwaZulu-Natal where cattle roam freely.

Coming by taxi and by car, many from hours away, they dreamed of a turn of luck in a country whose persistent struggles with joblessness have reached new heights amid the pandemic.

No one who came seemed the least deterred by the widespread skepticism that the stones were really diamonds.

Two days of strenuous digging had yielded four stones for Mr.

Molefe, 41, who conceded that he had no clue whether they were actually diamonds.

"I'm feeling desperate," he said. "We are just hoping. If they are real diamonds, it means we are winning."

The diamond rush has completely transformed KwaHlathi, where the chief estimates that 4,000 families reside.

Cattle once grazed on the digging field, which sits on traditional

land owned by the chief and was until recently covered with Sweet thorn trees and grass. Now, it looks like a bare, cratered moon — a treacherous terrain of holes, many of them the size of graves.

The chief said he was none too happy about what the diggers were doing to the land, but he understood their plight and did not intervene.

Mr. Molefe came here after

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Searching for precious stones in KwaHlathi, South Africa.

JONG SILVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Lax Enforcement of Rules Lets Towers Skirt Scrutiny

### Florida Condo Collapse Prompts New Look at Handling of Safety Compliance

This article is by Michael LaForgia, Adam Playford and Lazaro Gamio.

Out of the smoke and cinders of a city convulsed by race riots and an immigration crisis, the towers kept rising, each new development remaking Miami's skyline in the early 1980s and marking an ambitious bet that the battered community would turn itself around.

Over the next 40 years, high-rises like Champlain Towers, in the sleepy, beachfront enclave of Surferside, stood witness to Miami's remarkable rebound, luxurious, multistory symbols of endurance — of booms and busts but also the harsh South Florida elements: scorching sun and driving rains, battering winds and slashing saltwater.

Florida's high-rise building regulations have long been among the strictest in the nation. But after parts of Champlain Towers South tumbled down on June 24, killing at least 24 people and leaving 121 unaccounted for, evidence has mounted that those rules have been enforced unevenly by local governments, and sometimes not at all.

Miami-Dade County officials said last week that they were prioritizing reviews of 24 multistory buildings that either had failed major structural or electrical inspections required after 40 years or had not submitted the reports in the first place. But the county's own records show that 17 of those cases had been open for a year or more. Two cases were against properties owned by the county itself. The oldest case had sat unresolved since 2008.

In the tiny town of Bay Harbor Islands, two teardrops of land in Biscayne Bay that lie just north and west of Surferside, more than a dozen multistory structures or

large commercial buildings that had been scheduled to turn in inspection reports had not submitted them as of last week, records show. One property appeared to be more than seven years late in filing.

The city of North Miami Beach had tried and failed for years to bring a 10-story condo building within its borders, Crestview Towers, into compliance with the 40-year recertification requirements. When the building's condo association finally submitted the re-



An emergency crew inspecting a Champlain Towers balcony.

quired paperwork last week, about nine years late, it documented critical safety concerns, a city spokesman said. Officials evacuated the building on Friday. Meanwhile, the same local governments were pursuing a haphazard approach to identifying other potentially unsafe buildings across the region, with the age and height criteria that would prompt added scrutiny varying from one place to the next. At least one local government, the village of Key Biscayne, was opting to conduct no extra inspections at all, an official there said.

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**DISTRESS OVER DEMOLITION** The remainder of the building was demolished Sunday, and its residents lost everything they left behind. PAGE A17

### Beating Heat Gets Tougher For Campers

By JOHN SCHWARTZ

Jill Laidlaw has worked for 37 years at Camp Cavell in Lexington, Mich., a little spot of paradise on Lake Huron. But she has seen trouble in paradise: climate change.

Temperatures in Michigan have risen by two to three degrees, on average, in the last century, and Ms. Laidlaw said she had seen the effects of that warming in many ways, from hotter days and warmer nights to stronger rainstorms, harmful algae blooms in the region's lakes and an explosion of ticks. And increasingly common bans on any kind of burning have even restricted one of the most beloved aspects of summer camp, she said: "We've had 'flash-light campfires' the last few summers."

Climate change, which affects many aspects of children's lives, is upending the camp experience, as well. After more than a year of pandemic isolation and disrupted schools and social lives, the 26 million children who typically attend day and sleep-away camps are ready to get back to summer fun. But the stewards of many of those camps say that the effects of climate change — not to mention the continuing coronavirus precautions that many camps are dealing with — are making it harder to provide the carefree experiences

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### What You Can Learn From Oval Office Art

The works in the White House's nerve center tell a story about its occupants' views of history. Pages A9-13.

#### INTERNATIONAL A4-7

##### Vaccinating Rome's Neediest

Nearly 900 people, including the homeless, showed up for music, free espresso and cornetti, and inoculations. PAGE A5

##### Pontiff Undergoes Surgery

The colon procedure is the first time that Francis has been admitted to a hospital since becoming pope. PAGE A4



#### BUSINESS B1-5

##### Tech That China Can't Buy

A \$150 million chip-making tool from a Dutch company has become a lever in the U.S.-Chinese struggle. It also shows how entrenched the global supply chain has become. PAGE B1

##### A Shift in Sports Journalism

The rise of social media and of a widening array of new outlets is changing the power balance among sports stars and the journalists who cover them, Ben Smith writes. PAGE B1

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##### Lindsay Crouse

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#### SPORTSMONDAY D1-6

##### ESPN in Turmoil Over Video

In leaked comments, a white reporter suggested a Black colleague had gotten a top job because the network was "feeling pressure" on diversity. PAGE D1

##### Reimagining the Olympics

Readers still saw intrinsic value in the Games, but they had a consensus on what needed changing, starting at the top. Sports of The Times. PAGE D1

##### Salvaging a Split in the Bronx

The Yankees gave up six runs to the Mets in the seventh inning to lose, 10-5, and feel the fans' wrath, before winning the second game by 4-2. PAGE D3

#### ARTS C1-6

##### A Better Branch

The Stavros Niarchos Foundation Library in Manhattan is building new services and technology. PAGE C1

##### Lydia Lunch's Rebellion

"Good luck figuring me out," the 62-year-old artist said. A new documentary tries to do exactly that. PAGE C1



#### NATIONAL A8-20

##### Biden's 4th of July Event

A White House dinner celebrated the nation's headway against the virus, but it was still far from a victory pronouncement. PAGE A8

#### OBITUARIES B6-7

##### The 'Mother of the Telenovela'

Delia Fiallo, a Cuban-born television writer who created more than 40 shows, was 96. PAGE B7



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## A big switch for rail industry

Trains powered by batteries could be a climate game changer. Is everybody aboard?

BY RALPH VARTABEDIAN

Colossal freight locomotives are a fixture of the American landscape, but their 4,400-horsepower engines collectively burn 3.5 billion gallons of diesel annually, at a time when railroads and other fossil fuel users face pressure to reduce pollution and greenhouse gas emissions.

With little fanfare, however, the industry has begun operating locomotives that run on stored electrical power, moving toward a future in which toy shops are not the only source of battery-powered trains. American passenger lines could also be transformed by the technology, though California rail officials say it will not work for the state's bullet train.

In a just-completed test, BNSF ran a freight train from Barstow to Stockton with an experimental battery locomotive, coupled with two diesel locomotives, and achieved an 11% reduction in fuel consumption, along with similar reductions in emissions of nitrogen oxides, small particulates and greenhouse gases. An upgraded future operational version is expected to improve fuel efficiency by 30%.

The test was a "defining moment for freight rail," accelerating the industry to eventual zero-emission locomotives. [See Switch, A5]



SAMUEL CORUM Getty Images

### LIGHTING THE WAY ON THE FOURTH

People watch fireworks from the National Mall in Washington. "America is coming back together," said President Biden, framing the holiday as a milestone in the U.S. response to the pandemic. **NATION, A5**

## Voting red in a purple district

Rep. Mike Garcia is under scrutiny before his 2022 election.

BY SEEMA MEHTA

As Rep. Mike Garcia reflected on his first year in office, he highlighted stands that many Californians would favor: Urging the repeal of a Trump-era tax measure that hurts residents in high-tax states. Fighting against federal

funding for the state's troubled high-speed rail project. Helping military spouses maintain professional licenses when they move.

"One year in, and we are just getting started. California is home, and it's too good to give up on," Garcia wrote in a May article in Santa Clara's the Signal newspaper. "We owe it to our children to make sure that they have the same incredible opportunities and assured security that this nation and this state afforded us."

The congressman, whose

district includes northern Los Angeles County, omitted other parts of his record: Voting against the certification of electoral votes in Pennsylvania and Arizona that helped cement Joe Biden's presidential victory. Opposing the impeachment of President Trump for his role in the Jan. 6 insurrection. Standing against legalizing Dreamers and reauthorizing the Violence Against Women Act. Cosponsoring legislation that would effectively ban all abortion and some forms of birth control.

Garcia, who won his seat by 333 votes in November, is up for reelection next year in what is expected to be among the most contested congressional races in the nation. Millions of dollars will probably be spent on the race because it will be key to determining which party controls the House.

Garcia's portrayal of his record reflects the dichotomy he is straddling as he tries to keep his GOP base united and energized while not alienating the growing [See Garcia, A6]

## Delta is now state's No. 1 variant

The highly infectious strain accounted for more than a third of California coronavirus cases last month.

BY RONG-GONG LIN II AND LUKE MONEY

Delta has become California's most identified variant of the coronavirus, a troubling development that underscores its danger to unvaccinated populations.

New data released by the California Department of Public Health say 35.6% of coronavirus variants analyzed in June have been identified as the highly infectious Delta, which was first identified in India. That's a dramatic increase from May, when Delta accounted for just 5.6% of analyzed coronavirus cases in California and was the fourth-most identified variant.

Delta is now more widespread than the previous dominant variant, Alpha, which was first identified in the United Kingdom and accounted for 34.3% of analyzed coronavirus cases in June. Alpha was the state's most widespread variant in April and May, outpacing the California variant, now known as Epsilon, which currently occurs in less than 2% of analyzed cases.

The rapid rise of Delta is prompting some public health officials to issue new warnings, urging more caution at a time when vaccinated people are putting away their masks and getting back to normal life.

Although those who have been fully vaccinated are believed to have high levels of protection, there is growing concern about the virus spreading among people who have not been inoculated.

Coronavirus cases and hospitalizations have been ticking up in Los Angeles County, where some 4 million people, including 1.3 million who are not yet eligible, have not received a single dose of vaccine.

Delta might be twice as contagious as the initial variants of the coronavirus that spread rapidly around the globe last year.

"The rapid increase in the Delta variant suggests that this strain is more easily transmitted between people [See Delta, A6]



NATHAN HOWARD Getty Images  
**AMMON BUNDY**, who wants to wrest ownership of federal land for state control, laughs with a supporter while grilling burgers at a campaign event in Boise, Idaho.

## Candidate Bundy's answer for housing

Anti-government activist running for governor of Idaho sets sights on federal land.

BY ANITA CHABRIA AND HAILEY BRANSON-POTTS

MERIDIAN, Idaho — When Ammon Bundy announced his run for governor of Idaho during a recent barbecue, he cooked up quarter-pound "Bundy burgers" made from a cow that his father unlawfully grazed on federal lands, part of a rebellion that triggered an armed standoff with authorities in 2014.

The sizzling patties conveyed that Bundy, despite pursuing something so mainstream as running for office, remains the defiant anti-government militant who has earned folk-hero status with the far right.

He's still focused on radically reducing federal land ownership in the West, property that belongs to the U.S. public but is coveted by ranchers, farmers, developers and others.

"When you lose control of the land, you lose control of [See Bundy, A7]

### COLUMN ONE

## The legacy of the poet laureate of Long Beach State

Gerald Locklin helped shape literature and create poetry hub

BY JOHN PENNER

**A** Cal State Long Beach classroom, 1985 or so. Gerald Locklin looks every bit his nickname "Bear," with bushy salt-and-pepper hair and beard, thick glasses, rumpled polo shirt, jeans and Birkenstocks with socks. He leans heavily on the lectern, and opens class the way he always did, asking in his Rochester accent, "What's haaappening?"

A conversation would commence. See any good movies? Concerts? How about that Lakers game? It would segue into talk about the stories students were writing. Maybe a Locklin lecture, covering a sweep of literary history from Beowulf to Barthelme, to give context to a new work being studied, in a [See Locklin, A12]

## Defunding police ends school patrol

After pressure from student activists, Pomona Unified decides to instead rely on proctors trained in de-escalation methods. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

## Streaky Dodgers win 9th straight, sweep Nationals

Albert Pujols' pinch-hit run-scoring single in the seventh inning and stellar relief work combine for a successful formula. **SPORTS, D1**

**Weather** Some clouds, then sun. L.A. Basin: 83/63. **B6**

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.



CAROLYN COLE Los Angeles Times

### HARRIS VISITS FIREFIGHTERS

The vice president walks with Capt. Leo Byrne at Los Angeles Fire Department's Station 19 in Brentwood, where she thanked the crew. **CALIFORNIA, B1**



# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

K M2 V1 V2 V3 V4



Mostly sunny 89/73 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny, hot 96/76 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, JULY 5, 2021 • B2

## Uncertainty looms after Trump firm is indicted

Questions about whether evidence in tax case could lead to further charges

BY DAVID A. FARENTHOLD, JONATHAN O'CONNELL, SHAYNA JACOBS AND JOSH DAWSEY

In prosecutors' telling, the Trump Organization provided a road map for its own indictment. In documents filed in the New York Supreme Court last week, prosecutors claimed that the company had spent 15 years paying its chief financial officer "off the books," giving him cars, an apartment, tuition payments and cash that were hidden from income tax authorities.

But at the same time, according to allegations included in the indictment, the Trump Organization also was keeping internal spreadsheets that tallied the payments that were being hidden.

Prosecutors treated the spreadsheets as the accounting equivalent of a confession. They said the ledgers themselves showed the size of the fraud, estimating that the CFO alone had avoided paying more than \$900,000 in taxes. And that concealment, they said, showed that the Trump Organization knew it was wrong.

There is no clearer example of a company that should be held to criminal account," Carey Dunne, a prosecutor with the office of the

SEE TRUMP ON A5

## A little love for lobsters? U.K. debates sentence bill.

BY WILLIAM BOOTH

LONDON — How does a lobster feel when it's dropped into the boiling pot? The British Parliament wants to know.

Is an octopus sad, sometimes? Does the squid learn its lessons? The bee feel joy? The earthworm anxiety? The peers in the House of Lords are currently debating the matter.

These questions arise because Prime Minister Boris Johnson is trying to make good on his electoral pledge to enshrine into law the idea that animals are "sentient beings," meaning the government would be obligated to not only safeguard creatures' physical well-being but also take into account their feelings — of pleasure, pain and more.

The Animal Welfare (Sentience) Bill is a potentially sweeping piece of legislation that could require all arms of government — not just the agriculture ministry — to consider animal sentience when forming policy and writing regulations.

The implications could be moral and profound, supporters hope

SEE ANIMALS ON A10



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Crowds watch the fireworks display on the National Mall in D.C. With public health restrictions relaxed as the threat of the coronavirus fades, much of the Mall — and the rest of the capital — has begun to look the way it did before the pandemic.

## Relief and revelry in D.C.

Freed from most covid restrictions, crowds flock to the capital on Independence Day

BY DAN ROSENZWEIG ZIFF, JASMINE HILTON, KARINA ELWOOD AND JOHN WOODROW COX

Thousands of Americans poured into the nation's capital Sunday, welcomed beneath a firework-lit sky by a city eager to host an Independence Day that resembled some version of a normal one.

In a moment when the pandemic is finally easing, the day began with maskless actors dressed as George and Martha Washington welcoming maskless tourists to Constitution Avenue and ended on a packed National Mall with rockets glaring red over cheering citizens no longer required to stand six feet apart — the way that July Fourths

in D.C. are meant to be. In between, children waved flags along parade routes, house-parties chugged bottles of light beer, immigrants became citizens at Mount Vernon and a man took a knee in front of Abraham Lincoln's marble statue to ask his girlfriend to marry him.

"We can feel it," Jeff Litten said. "The city is reawakening." He was one of about 10 congressional staffers and National Institutes of Health employees who'd planted four American flags in the ground near the Washington Monument, where they'd decided to throw a "dad party": Hawaiian shirts, corn hole, a mini portable grill.

They'd stayed connected during the pandemic over Zoom and were elated

to finally celebrate something together, in person, along with thousands of other revelers.

There was perhaps no more symbolic sign of D.C.'s inching toward the ordinary than the 6:30 a.m. reopening of the long-shuttered plaza in front of America's most important home.

"Mama, that's the White House?" said 10-year-old Zoey Gaines, as she turned around to her trailing mom, Sara. "Oh my God!"

Zoey — and hundreds of other people crowded along the new high black fence around 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue — was getting a closer look at the executive mansion than any members of the public have had in more than a year.

SEE CELEBRATION ON A6

Cheers, caution: This weekend, President Biden celebrated the Fourth and urged vaccinations. A8

## Rest of Surfside condo is leveled

RESCUE EFFORT POISED TO EXPAND

Demolition comes as storm bears down

BY REIS THERIAULT AND BRITTANY SHAMMAS

Nearly 11 days after a large swath of a South Florida condominium suddenly collapsed, burying dozens and devastating the tight-knit town of Surfside, demolition crews on Sunday detonated the remaining portion of the building — which officials said was unstable and potentially dangerous with Tropical Storm Elsa bearing down on the region.

What was left of Champlain Towers South had hampered authorities' massive search-and-rescue effort for days, at one point leading them to pause for 15 hours. Demolition was initially thought to be weeks away — until the increasingly urgent forecasts that said Elsa could lash the area with strong winds and heavy rain.

Officials worried that the squalls would topple the remaining building onto the debris pile, further burying potential survivors and bodies. So at 10:30 p.m. Sunday, an emergency team activated strategically placed charges and brought the structure down in a cloud of dust, an eerily familiar

SEE CONDO ON A10

## Scientists forge ahead on hunt for next vaccines

BY CAROLYN Y. JOHNSON

FORT COLLINS, COLO. — As the United States begins to relax and revert to normal this summer, Izabela Ragan won't stop working. For the next seven months, the scientist will drive from her home in the Rocky Mountains to a warren of secure biocontainment laboratories nestled next to the foothills to test an experimental coronavirus vaccine.

The laborious experiments at Colorado State University are physically and mentally taxing — some people compare the fatigue and exhaustion of working "behind the bars" of a biosecurity level-3 laboratory to a hangover. Ragan gowns up every day of the week, donning two layers of gloves, scrubs, a Tyvek suit and a noisy respirator that purifies the air she breathes. There are no food or water breaks, or texts or checking her phone in idle moments.

Even as vaccine supplies outstrip demand in the United States, the scientific quest for coronavirus shots has scarcely eased. In dozens of academic institutions, government laboratories and

SEE VIRUS ON A9

## IN THE NEWS



ALESSANDRA TARANTINO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Surgery for Pope Francis** The Vatican said he responded well to a procedure for a potential narrowing of his large intestine. A14

**Biden agenda** Democrats need to work quickly to fulfill sweeping infrastructure, tax, climate and social policy measures. A8

### THE NATION

**Vanita Gupta**, as associate attorney general, is leading the Biden administration's efforts to hold police accountable while supporting departments amid a spike in violent crime. A2  
**In this dangerously** hot summer, researchers are sounding the alarm about a vulnerable community that has been historically disregarded: those who live in substandard, old mobile homes. A3

### THE WORLD

**Activists and politicians** swept up by a Chi-

nese national security law in Hong Kong are trying to break through the silence from behind bars. A12  
**A Philippine military** transport crashed as it attempted to land in the south of the country, killing dozens. A14

### THE REGION

**As Maryland gears up** for the decennial redistricting process, the lone Republican in its congressional delegation says Democrats have him in their sights. B1  
**College students in** Virginia are challenging campus marijuana pol-

icies, claiming they are outdated in a state that is legalizing the drug. B1

### THE WEEK AHEAD

**MONDAY**  
**A Chinese crackdown** in the Xinjiang region is the subject of a protest march in Washington.

**TUESDAY**  
**Homeland Security** Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas meets with Guatemalan officials.

**WEDNESDAY**  
**The Federal Reserve's** Federal Open Market Committee releases minutes from its June 16 meeting.  
**New York** holds a parade to thank essential

workers for their coronavirus response.

### THURSDAY

**Jobless claims** for the week ended July 3 are estimated at 353,000.  
**The finals of the 93rd** Scripps National Spelling Bee are held in Reunion, Fla.

### FRIDAY

**The annual retreat** for the National Republican Congressional Committee is held in Farmington, Pa., through July 11.  
**New Jersey Gov. Phil** Murphy (D) discusses the coronavirus, state tourism and school reopenings in an online interview with The Washington Post.

## INSIDE



### STYLE

**10 best TV shows** It's been a long first half of the year. Shows like "Hacks," "Girls5eva" and "High on the Hog" helped us get through. C1

### American Dream

Roger Bennett's memoir, "(Re)Born in the USA," traces an offbeat journey from obsession in the U.K. to proud citizenship in the U.S. C1

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## El Papa fue sometido a una cirugía programada

La intervención fue por una "estenosis diverticular sintomática del colon" y se hizo en el Hospital Gemelli, de Roma; el Pontífice reaccionó bien y quedó internado. **Página 10**



## SCALONI, EL TÉCNICO QUE NADIE ESPERABA Y AHORA MUCHOS VALORAN

—deportes

LA MIRADA DE Juan Pablo Varsky sobre la actualidad de la selección de la Copa América **Página 4**

## TINELLI DA UN GIRO Y APUESTA A UNA FÓRMULA EMOTIVA

—espectáculos

Los magros resultados del rating obligan al conductor de *ShowMatch* a probar nuevos contenidos: historias conmovedoras en lugar de humor

# LA NACION

LUNES 5 DE JULIO DE 2021 | LANACION.COM.AR

## Las aerolíneas alertan que los varados podrían tardar hasta cinco meses en volver

**VUELOS.** Exigen una reunión con Cafiero y advierten sobre el impacto de extender la restricción

**María Julieta Rumi**  
LA NACION

La Cámara de Compañías Aéreas en Argentina (Jurca) advirtió ayer que el retorno de muchos argentinos que están varados en el exterior podría demorarse hasta cinco meses en aquellos destinos que solo tienen un

vuelo aprobado hasta el 12 de julio, y si se mantiene el cupo de ingreso de 600 pasajeros diarios.

La entidad también reclamó que el jefe de Gabinete, Santiago Cafiero, se reúna con el sector para programar los vuelos que permitan el retorno de los argentinos, entre otros pedidos.

El Gobierno mantuvieron su postura e insistieron en que las empresas deberían reunirse con el ministro de Transporte, Alexis Guerrero. El miércoles pasado, la IATA canceló una reunión con esa cartera y reclamó la presencia de Cafiero, porque, señaló, es "el principal responsable de la toma de decisiones". **Continúa en la página 2**

## Insfrán cierra Formosa con una barrera económica

Cobra \$5000 cada vez que se quiera entrar a la provincia. **Página 3**

## Larreta negocia para encolumnar a Pro detrás de Santilli

**PROVINCIA.** Busca acordar con Jorge Macri una lista de unidad contra Manes

Luego de llegar a un acuerdo para que Patricia Bullrich desista de competir en la ciudad y allanar el camino para María Eugenia Vidal, el jefe de gobierno porteño, Horacio Rodríguez Larreta, buscará sellar esta semana la unidad de Pro en la provincia para competir en la interna con el radical Facundo Manes. Para eso se reunirá con Jorge Macri, quien todavía resiste un acuerdo con Diego Santilli en las listas bonaerenses. **Página 12**

## Festejos en EE.UU. por la "independencia del Covid"

WASHINGTON (De nuestro corresponsal).— Alentado por los altos niveles de vacunación, el presidente Joe Biden celebró ayer, 4 de julio, la "independencia del Covid-19", pero advirtió sobre los riesgos de la variante delta. **Página 7**



GETTY IMAGES

## EL ESCENARIO

La oposición, ante 240 horas cruciales

**Claudio Jacquelin**

—LA NACION—

**Página 14**

## Macri: "Quieren dañarme a través de mis hijos"

**CORREO.** Mauricio Macri dijo que el kirchnerismo busca "venganza" a través de la causa del Correo Argentino. Y acusó a Carlos Zannini, procurador del Tesoro, de actuar contra los intereses del Estado y perseguir la quiebra de la firma. "Buscan dañarme y apuntan a mis hijos", dijo en una carta. **Página 16**

## EL PULSO DEL CONSUMO

## Las tres etapas de 2021

**Guillermo Oliveto**

—PARA LA NACION—

**Página 21**

## Cambios en la salud. Menos bronquiolitis y más trastornos por el estrés entre los chicos

**Evangelina Himittian**  
LA NACION

El trabajo de la pediatra Celeste Celano no se parece mucho al que tenía dos o tres años atrás. A esta altura del año, su consultorio so-

lía estar abarrotado de chicos con gripe o bronquiolitis. Sin embargo, ahora las razones de las visitas dieron un giro copernicano. Ya no llegan chicos con resfriados, dolor de garganta ni fiebre. "Más del 60% de las consultas que recibo están rela-

cionadas con patologías generadas por la pandemia", explica. Chicos con dolor de cabeza sin causa orgánica, con trastornos alimentarios o angustias que se transforman en insomnio, u otros que tartamudean. **Continúa en la página 4**

## Caótico inicio de la Asamblea Constituyente en Chile

**TENSIÓN.** Hubo reclamos e incidentes; la presidirá una mapuche. **Página 9**



## ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Edvaldo Vieira Empresa deve reconhecer racismo para poder avançar

Raro negro a liderar uma grande empresa no Brasil, o presidente da Amil, Edvaldo Vieira, afirma que é preciso reconhecer a questão do racismo como primeiro passo para promover uma maior inclusão profissional de pretos e pardos. Ele conta como foi vítima de preconceito. **A14**

**Ilustrada B9**  
Onda de reality show sobre super-ricos inunda streaming e TV na pandemia

**MPME A20**  
Casais contam como intimidade ajuda ou atrapalha na hora de gerir um negócio

**Esporte B7**  
Voluntário brasileiro vê Olimpíada como símbolo de uma vida nova no Japão

# Justiça Militar só puniu um oficial-general em 10 anos

Levantamento mostra que 20 processos com altas patentes foram arquivados

Levantamento feito pela Folha mostra que apenas um oficial-general foi punido pelo STM (Superior Tribunal Militar) na última década. No período, ao menos 20 processos com militares dessa graduação, topo da hierarquia nas três Forças Armadas, foram arquivados.

Esta lista inclui Augusto Heleno, ministro do Gabinete de Segurança Institucional, dois integrantes da cúpula do Exército e dois ex-auxiliares do governo do presidente Jair Bolsonaro. De 8 denúncias feitas à corte pelo Ministério Público Militar, 3 foram acatadas.

A condenação foi do contra-almirante Jorge Nerle Vellame, por lesão corporal culposa (sem intenção). Ele pegou dois anos de detenção em 2015, e a sentença foi extinta em 2018. Também houve ao menos 13 inquéritos que nem chegaram ao tribunal superior.

O STM e a Promotoria militar negam existir impunidade ou corporativismo na análise de tais casos. O tribunal ressalta que, nos casos citados, os integrantes civis votaram pela absolvição. A reportagem não localizou a defesa do almirante condenado. **Poder A9**

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## ENSAIO ILUSTRA COTIDIANO DA PANDEMIA EM SEIS CIDADES DO MUNDO

A pedido da Folha, fotógrafos registraram a pandemia na quase recuperada Jerusalém **1**, em Manaus **2**, no epicentro de 2020 Milão **3**, e em Mumbai **4**, Porto Alegre **5** e São Paulo **6**

## Municípios ricos avançam mais na vacinação no país

Cidades ricas, com melhor Índice de Desenvolvimento Humano, têm avançado de forma mais rápida na vacinação contra a Covid-19. Redes de saúde melhores, calendários eficientes e conscientização são fatores para isso. **Saúde B1**

### População com 18 anos ou mais\*

	ao menos uma dose	totalmente vacinada
Brasil	48,0%	16,8%
MS	62,7%	28,5%
RS	54,7%	21,6%
ES	54,9%	19,5%

### Totalmente vacinada



### Números da pandemia

	Casos	Óbitos
Total	18,8 mil	524,5 mil
Méd. móvel	49,9 mil	1.562
Variação**	-31,9%	-24,3%
Em 24 h	25,8 mil	776

### Brasil

Estável  
Dados das 20h de 4 de jul. \*Ao menos uma dose; tomou dose única ou 1ª dose. \*\*Totalmente vacinada: tomou dose única ou 2ª dose. \*\*Em relação a 14 dias

## Marcus Melo Falar em fraude eleitoral é ameaça

Contestação eleitoral adquiriu visibilidade após o ataque ao Capitólio. Aqui, Bolsonaro emula Donald Trump, mas as chances de derrota do presidente em 2022 abrem a possibilidade de uma grande crise institucional. **Opinião A2**

## PC chinês, 100, quer influência por 'soft power'

Centenário, o Partido Comunista da China busca ampliar sua influência por meio do chamado "soft power", a promoção de valores baseada em atitudes consideradas mais empáticas pela comunidade internacional. **Mundo A10**

## Bolsonaro liga os protestos contra si a atos de violência

O presidente Jair Bolsonaro associou os atos contra seu governo aos episódios isolados de depredação ocorridos sábado em São Paulo. Ele ironizou os organizadores das manifestações e provocou o STF e a CPI da Covid. **Poder A7**

## ONG apadrinhou venda de vacina com aval político

A ONG evangélica Senah (Secretaria Nacional de Assuntos Humanitários) tinha apoio no Congresso para intermediar contato do PM e vendedor de vacinas Luiz Paulo Domingueti Pereira com o Ministério da Saúde. **Poder A4**

## Com dinheiro curto, Guedes pede escolhas do presidente

Com o aperto orçamentário, a equipe econômica quer saber quais são as prioridades do governo Jair Bolsonaro para 2022. O ministro Paulo Guedes está pressionado a implementar os planos do chefe para tentar a reeleição, como a ampliação do Bolsa Família e mais obras. Do jeito que estão, incluindo a ideia de reajustes para o funcionalismo, as promessas furam o teto de gastos. **Mercado A15**

## Papa Francisco, 84, passa bem após fazer cirurgia já agendada

O papa Francisco, 84, foi internado no domingo (4) para realizar uma cirurgia prevista para tratar de uma doença no intestino que é comum em idosos. Segundo o Vaticano, a operação foi bem-sucedida. **Mundo A11**

## Cargueiro militar cai e mata ao menos 47 nas Filipinas

Mundo A10

## Lei de proteção de dados já embasa 600 sentenças

Mercado A18



Más de 76.000 vacunados en dos días tras la flexibilización de certificados

## 165 políticos recibieron dosis como pacientes “encamados”

● Otros 46 funcionarios fueron inoculados por estar inmovilizados

● En el grupo están ex ediles, intendentes y ex legisladores

● 37 se beneficiaron con la política del frasco abierto

PÁGINAS 2 y 3

Desde Embajada de EEUU insisten en el combate a la corrupción

PÁGINA 7

BCP admite que la informalidad es obstáculo en lucha antilavado

PÁGINA 10

Abdo tendrá otra prueba de fuego por nuevo paquete de préstamos

PÁGINA 6

**Ciudad joven, pero con viejos problemas**



**Eslogan.** Como Ciudad Joven y Feliz se ufana Fernando de la Mora, ahora con los años adolece de las mismas deficiencias que las viejas urbes y que deben ser resueltas por los intendentes.

PÁGINA 15

Comunidad de Puentesño se encuentra acojonada por la muerte de Jorge Ríos

## Reunión de alto nivel en Diputados tras desenlace fatal de secuestro

PÁGINAS 4 y 40

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**ISABELLE HUPPERT**  
ADMIRABLE DANS « LA CERISAIE »  
DE TCHEKHOV, LA COMÉDIENNE OUVRE  
LE FESTIVAL D'AVIGNON **PAGE 27**



**JACQUES JULLIARD**  
« FAUSSE DROITISATION  
ET VRAIES MENACES »  
**PAGE 14**

**RN**  
Marine Le Pen et le  
RN se questionnent  
sur l'abstention  
**PAGE 5**

**VIOLENCES  
CONJUGALES**  
Colère et stupeur  
après la mort  
de Sandra **PAGE 9**

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La vaccination  
obligatoire  
des soignants  
se rapproche **PAGE 10**

**TOUR DE FRANCE**  
Tadej Pogacar  
à l'heure  
du soupçon **PAGE 11**

**SÉCURITÉ**  
Une cyberattaque  
massive au  
rançongiciel heurte  
les États-Unis  
de plein fouet **PAGE 19**

**COMMERCE**  
De nombreux défis  
attendent  
le nouveau patron  
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**PORTRAIT**  
Nadia Nadim,  
de réfugiée à star  
du football **PAGE 34**

**CHAMPS LIBRES**  
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Paris est sous  
le feu de  
la concurrence  
• La chronique  
de Nicolas  
Baverez  
• La tribune  
d'Édouard  
Tétreau  
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**FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question  
de samedi :**  
Pensez-vous que  
Marine Le Pen sera au  
second tour de l'élection  
présidentielle de 2022 ?

**OUI 45% NON 55%**  
**TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 209 531**

**Votez aujourd'hui  
sur lefigaro.fr**  
Présidentielle : la droite  
doit-elle organiser une  
primaire ouverte pour  
choisir son candidat ?

FABIEN CLAIREFOND-ÉDOUARD ELIAS /  
H&K-JEAN-FRANÇOIS MONIER/AFP

## Vingt ans après, les Américains abandonnent l'Afghanistan



Arrivés en 2001 dans la foulée des attentats du 11 Septembre, les militaires américains battent retraite sans gloire. Leur départ a commencé en mai dernier sur le camp Antonik (photo). Et, vendredi, ils ont quitté en catimini leur base aérienne de Bagram, près de Kaboul. Cet abandon annonce l'imminent retour au pouvoir des talibans. **PAGES 6 ET 7**

**ÉDITORIAL** par Yves Thérard yththread@lefigaro.fr

## Une chance et un atout

Les sondages ne font pas une élection, mais ils donnent une orientation. À dix mois de la présidentielle, la droite peut espérer. Contrairement à la gauche, qui est encaimée, elle a désormais le vent dans le dos. À elle de profiter de cet élan sans faire de fausses manœuvres ; d'affirmer son ambition sans afficher ses divisions. À l'horizon, la victoire est accessible. La droite a une chance et un atout. Sa chance est d'avoir plusieurs candidats possibles. Sélectionner le meilleur exige de ne pas confondre vitesse et précipitation. Certes, Xavier Bertrand paraît avoir une longueur d'avance, mais il n'écrase pas le match. Une méthode sera présentée ce mardi. Elle devrait prévoir l'organisation d'une primaire ouverte à l'automne. Si, d'ici là, aucun prétendant ne s'est réellement détaché dans les études d'opinion, pourquoi ne s'y soumettrait-elle pas ? Le précédent de 2016, qui avait qualifié François Fillon, est resté comme un très mauvais souvenir. À tort. Ce n'est pas la primaire qui a « tué » la droite l'année suivante, mais bien plus les affaires qui ont accablé son candidat.

L'atout de la droite tient, lui, dans ses idées. Celles-ci sont connues, claires et raisonnables. Aussi bien sur le front régalién que sur le terrain économique. Ce qui est loin d'être le cas de celles de ses adversaires potentiels. Entre écologie décroissante et soumission islamo-gauchiste, la gauche n'en finit pas de chercher le chemin de sa réinvention.

À dix mois de la présidentielle, la droite peut espérer

Macron, pour ce qui le concerne, a usé le « en même temps » jusqu'à la corde. Et, en dehors de lui, bien peu sont capables de définir avec cohérence ce qui se cache derrière cet exercice d'équilibriste.

Les Français, dit-on, ne veulent pas rejouer le face-à-face Macron-Le Pen. À la droite donc de s'imposer à la table des finalistes. Elle en a les moyens. Il lui suffit simplement de n'être pas trop bête... ■

# Présidentielle : la droite s'installe dans la bataille

Un sondage Ifop pour « Le Figaro » et LCI place Xavier Bertrand en principal adversaire à droite d'Emmanuel Macron et de Marine Le Pen en vue de 2022.

La droite s'immisce dans le duel annoncé entre Emmanuel Macron et Marine Le Pen, donnés toujours en tête des intentions de vote pour 2022. C'est Xavier Bertrand qui tire le mieux son épingle du jeu. Dans le sondage Ifop pour Le Figaro et LCI, le président des Hauts-de-France, dans la foulée de sa réélection aux ré-

gionales, enregistre une progression de 3 points au premier tour, à 18 %. Valérie Pécresse, elle aussi en progression, est donnée à 14 % tandis que Laurent Wauquiez passe à 13 %. Et dans un second tour, aujourd'hui improbable, Bertrand l'emporterait sur Macron par 52 % contre 48.

→ LES PRÉTENDANTS  
À L'ÉLYSÉE AU DÉFI  
DE L'ABSTENTION

→ À DROITE, TROIS TÉNORS  
MAIS UN SEUL SIÈGE

→ FRANÇOIS BAYROU :  
« IL FAUT REFUSER  
LES FONDAMENTAUX  
QUI ONT FAIT LA VICTOIRE  
DE 2017 »

PAGES 2 À 5 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



## Aidées par l'État, les entreprises françaises sont prêtes pour la reprise

Pendant la crise du Covid, l'État a déployé tout un arsenal d'aides : fonds de solidarité, prêts garantis par l'État (PGE), activité partielle (pour leurs salariés), reports de cotisations, etc. Ce dispositif a aidé

les entreprises françaises à surmonter les difficultés. Résultat, deux tiers d'entre elles déclarent ne rencontrer aucun problème de trésorerie et s'approprient à investir et à embaucher de nouveau. **PAGE 18**



Photo : © Laurent Foray / www.mnuty.com  
L'ABUS D'ALCOOL EST DANGEREUX POUR LA SANTÉ. À CONSOMMER AVEC MODÉRATION.



**Mae Martin**  
**'Strangers**  
**feel like**  
**they really**  
**know me'**

→ G2



**Fast learner** How Raducanu became tennis's new star → Sport



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# Backlash from scientists as Johnson prepares to lift all Covid restrictions

**Aubrey Allegretti**  
**Linda Geddes**

Boris Johnson will today announce that the lifting of most remaining Covid-19 restrictions in England will go ahead on 19 July amid a backlash from government scientific advisers who warned that doing so would be like building new "variant factories".

Despite cases having risen to their highest level since January 2021, the prime minister is poised to press

ahead with the final stage of unlocking in two weeks.

In a Downing Street press conference, he is expected to announce that, with 86% of adults in the UK having had at least a first jab, the government will move from relying on legal curbs to control people's behaviour to letting individuals make their own decisions.

Changes to be announced include allowing fully vaccinated adults to travel to amber-list countries without having to self-isolate when they

return; making the wearing of masks voluntary, apart from in hospitals and other healthcare settings; and not requiring fully vaccinated adults to self-isolate if they have come into contact with an infected person.

The school "bubbles" system, which has forced hundreds of thousands of pupils to quarantine at home if someone in their bubble tested positive, is also expected to be dropped, while pub and restaurant customers may no longer have to scan a NHS QR code upon arrival.

**'Allowing community transmission to surge is like building new "variant factories" at a very fast rate'**

**Prof Susan Michie**  
 UCL

The different approach to tackling Covid was supported by the new health secretary, Sajid Javid, who said over the weekend that it would be impossible to eradicate the disease and the country would have to "find ways to cope with it", as with flu.

He also said the health arguments for opening up were "compelling" but admitted that "dangerous new variants" might emerge against which current vaccines were ineffective.

As well as announcing that nightclubs can reopen

**Time to make a splash**  
**England get set for the semi-finals**  
 News and Sport →



PHOTOGRAPH: ELLIE KEOGH/THE PACEY

## Protests at ministers' NHS 'power grab' in bill

**Denis Campbell**  
**Aubrey Allegretti**

The health secretary, Sajid Javid, will spark a political row this week by announcing plans to seize greater control of the NHS in England, despite warnings that the "power grab" will lead to ministers being blamed for delays in treatment and closure of local hospital units.

The prime minister has told Javid to lay the long-awaited health and care bill before parliament despite the new secretary of state's own misgivings and concerns among hospital bosses and doctors' leaders.

Anxiety is also growing among Conservative MPs that the bill, which involves the biggest shake-up of the NHS in a decade, could become a damaging political drama, make people question Tory handling of the NHS and prove a gift to Labour, which last week called for the bill to be scrapped.

Javid is expected to lay the bill before parliament tomorrow after the prime minister overruled his plea to delay its

6 →