



WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND

Why Ugly
Shoes Sell
OFF DUTY



DOW JONES | News Corp ***** SATURDAY/SUNDAY, AUGUST 21 - 22, 2021 - VOL. CCLXXVIII NO. 44 WSJ.com ★★★★★ \$5.00

What's News

World-Wide

Biden promised to evacuate every American who wants to leave Afghanistan and said he would seek to extract Afghan allies, but he cautioned that the mission is dangerous and didn't rule out losses, following days of chaos at Kabul's international airport. **A1, A7, A8**

◆ **The FDA is expected** next week to grant full approval of the Covid-19 vaccine from Pfizer and partner BioNTech, according to people familiar with the planning. **A2**

◆ **A group of property managers** and real-estate agents asked the Supreme Court to block the Biden administration's new eviction moratorium after a federal appeals court rejected their challenge. **A5**

◆ **A California judge said** a ballot measure that allowed Uber and Lyft to bypass a state law that sought to reclassify their drivers as employees was unconstitutional. **A3**

◆ **The Biden administration** has decided it won't nominate acting FDA Commissioner Woodcock to lead the agency on a permanent basis, according to people familiar with the situation. **A5**

◆ **U.S. business groups sued** to block parts of a federal rule requiring insurers and employers to disclose prices they pay for health-care services and drugs. **B10**

Business & Finance

◆ **Topps was forced** to cancel plans to go public via a SPAC a day after Major League Baseball and the players association struck exclusive trading-card agreements with a new company. **A1**

◆ **Chinese stocks were hit** by a fresh wave of selling, capping off a tumultuous week that saw China regulators step up their scrutiny of internet-technology firms. **A1**

◆ **U.S. stocks rose** Friday, but the Dow, S&P 500 and Nasdaq posted declines of 1.1%, 0.6% and 0.7%, respectively, for the week. **B11**

◆ **Asset managers** are jockeying to create the first U.S. bitcoin ETF after the SEC's Gensler earlier this month signaled a path to approval. **B1**

◆ **GM is expanding** its safety recall of the Chevy Bolt to include newer models, a move that will cost an additional \$1 billion to remedy a problem that has increased the risk of battery fires. **B3**

◆ **Ackman disclosed** plans to unwind Pershing Square Tontine Holdings, his \$4 billion SPAC, in the face of a lawsuit questioning the vehicle's legality. **B11**

◆ **The U.K. government** said it is considering an in-depth probe of Nvidia's proposed takeover of Arm, citing antitrust concerns. **B3**

NOONAN
What Biden
Can Still Save
In Afghanistan **A13**

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In May, patrons felt secure enough to enjoy a Kabul café. As the U.S. pulled out troops, though, the Taliban advanced. Afghan President Ghani told parliament Aug. 2 that he had a plan to counter Taliban gains, but 13 days later the insurgents seized control of the capital. The ensuing chaos left President Biden to defend the U.S. response for a second time this week on Friday.

Calm, Then Panic, as Taliban Gained

With insurgents closing in, there was little urgency in Washington and Kabul

Afghan President Ashraf Ghani, a former World Bank technocrat and author of the book "Fixing Failed States," gathered officials on Saturday, Aug. 7, for a conference on improving relations be-

By **Yaroslav Trofimov,**
Vivian Salama
and **Dion Nissenbaum**

tween the attorney general's office and local officials. He spent much of the rest of the day on the emerald-green lawn of the presidential palace, reading a book, according to a palace official. By then, the Afghan state was col-

lapsing. The number of local districts under Kabul's control was diminishing almost by the hour. Kunduz, the biggest city in the northeast, fell the following night. Within 24 hours, other provincial capitals followed, many without a fight. Taliban fighters seized bases full of U.S.-supplied arms and turned them on a demoralized Afghan army unable to resupply troops with weapons, food or water. President Biden was at his home in Wilmington, Del., where he played a round of golf at the Fieldstone Golf Club and then held a virtual meeting with Team USA to congratulate them on their performance at the Tokyo Olym-

pics. The White House said he was briefed on Afghanistan in between. The U.S. Embassy on Sunday, Aug. 8, said Americans should leave Afghanistan on the first available flight. Afghans who knew they would be hunted down in a Taliban takeover talked of fleeing. Yet plenty of spaces remained on outbound flights. The thinking was that the insurgents wouldn't attack Kabul before the U.S. military withdrawal slated for Aug. 31. *Please turn to page A9*

◆ More coverage of the Afghanistan crisis appears on pages A7 and A8.

New 'Jeopardy!' Host Quits



Mike Richards stepped down after a wave of controversies, just nine days after being named as a successor to Alex Trebek. **B1**

Topps Co. Loses Its Grip On Card Market—and SPAC

For more than 70 years, Topps Co. handled every curveball that came its way in maintaining control of the baseball-

By **Miriam Gottfried,**
Andrew Beaton
and **Juliet Chung**

card market by relying on its deep historical relationships with Major League Baseball and its players.

But with one industry-rattling deal this week, Topps has

suddenly lost its grip on the business it long dominated—and on Friday was forced to cancel imminent plans to go public via a special-purpose acquisition company.

A breakdown in the baseball relationships that were central to Topps's longtime success was at the heart of the abrupt change of fortune.

Topps on Thursday was blindsided as its longtime business partners—MLB and the Major League Baseball

Players Association—struck exclusive trading-card agreements with a new company controlled by online sports-merchandise retailer Fanatics Inc., people familiar with the matter said. The NBA and unions representing players in the National Basketball Association and the National Football League were also part of *Please turn to page A2*

◆ Ackman plans to return funds to SPAC investors. **B11**

Crackdown Sinks China Shares

By **CHONG KOH PING**

Chinese stocks were hit by a fresh wave of selling Friday, wrapping up a tumultuous week that saw regulators step up scrutiny of internet-technology companies, showing again that Beijing's corporate crackdown is far from over.

Several state-media commentaries and articles also suggested regulators plan to get tough on more industries, sparking selloffs in online pharmacy operators and companies that make expensive liquor.

The Hong Kong-listed shares of e-commerce behemoth Alibaba Group Holding Ltd. fell 2.6% Friday to post a decline of 14% for the week, ending well below the price they debuted at in November 2019. The sell-off took the market capitalization of the company founded by billionaire Jack Ma to about \$440 billion, around half its peak roughly 10 months ago. Shares of Meituan, a food-delivery giant that is also one of China's most valuable companies, dropped 4.5%, finishing the week down 17%.

Hong Kong's flagship Hang Seng Index fell 1.8% Friday to end the week down nearly 6%. In mainland China, the CSI 300 Index, made up of the largest stocks listed in Shanghai and Shenzhen, did slightly better, losing 3.6% for the week.

Investors have struggled to digest a flurry of draft regulations, comments from Chinese officials and commentaries in state media in recent days. Taken together, they paint a cloudy outlook for the companies that are likely to be af-

Please turn to page A2

Latest Duck-Hunting Flap Is Over Artwork

Government proposal about waterfowl depictions on licenses ruffles feathers

By **KATY STECH FEREK**

WASHINGTON—There are people who love ducks. And people who love to hunt ducks. Both groups are waterfowl fans, but sometimes agendas clash. Feathers are ruffled. This time, it's over artistic differences.

Waterfowl hunters and others who buy hunting licenses known as Federal Duck Stamps

are arguing about their imagery. The stamps are collected by non-hunters, often conservationists, bird watchers and wildlife photographers who like the duck-themed artwork.

A rule instituted during the Trump administration requires the new hunting stamps to show waterfowl and depict hunting. Some say the rule *Please turn to page A6*

REVIEW

What Went Wrong in Afghanistan? **C1**



The last days of the 'New Afghanistan'

LIFE & ARTS

Biden's foreign policy fiasco

BIG READ

Taliban leader Abdul Ghani Baradar

PERSON IN THE NEWS

An Afghan woman on a truck at the border with Iran seeks entry to the country after fleeing when the Taliban took over — AFP Photo/Mohammad Reda/Contrasto

Kabul chaos thwarts evacuation as Washington blame game starts

● Violence at Taliban's airport checkpoints ● Biden pledges to get 'every American home'

ANDREW ENGLAND
AND HELEN WARRELL — LONDON
KATRINA MANSON — WASHINGTON
STEPHANIE FINDLAY — NEW DELHI

President Joe Biden said the US was working with the Taliban to ensure safe passage for those fleeing Afghanistan as efforts yesterday by the US and Nato to evacuate thousands of Afghans from Kabul airport were being thwarted by violence around the Islamist militant group's checkpoints.

A blame game meanwhile erupted in Washington over who was responsible for the chaos. The White House, US intelligence officials, diplomats and the Pentagon have pointed fingers at each

other, in public and via damaging leaks, following inaccurate assessments of the prospects of a rapid Taliban takeover.

Evacuating vulnerable Afghans is the priority but the US and Nato allies have struggled to get people into Kabul airport. "The paradox is we have more planes than passengers," said Jens Stoltenberg, Nato secretary-general. A person briefed on the operations said Qatar had been co-ordinating between Nato, the UN, the UK, and in some cases the US, and the Taliban to move Afghans who worked for western militaries and organisations through checkpoints manned by the Islamists.

But Qatari officials halted their opera-

tions yesterday because of safety fears, the person said, adding that it took one convoy almost 12 hours to reach the airport the previous day amid gunfire. "No one can get into the airport," the person said, adding it was almost impossible for Afghans to get through airport checkpoints without a diplomatic escort.

UK officials admitted that it was taking people 24-48 hours to get through Taliban checkpoints within Kabul and to reach the airport hotel being used as a processing centre for evacuees.

British special forces have been travelling outside the airport into Kabul to collect UK nationals and Afghans, according to two people briefed on the

Inside

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● John Dizard Page 12
● Joshua Chaffin, Life & Arts Page 18

operation. But US officials have said the Biden administration had not prepared for an evacuation of citizens with Kabul under Taliban control and many are frustrated over the lack of planning.

Biden said the US was "in constant contact" with the Taliban to assure safe passage for evacuees. He said 13,000 people had been flown out since August 14. "To any American who wants to come home, we will get you home," he said in a TV address.

He said he had spoken to Boris Johnson, Emmanuel Macron and Angela Merkel in recent days and agreed to convene the G7 next week "to co-ordinate a united approach on Afghanistan".

Running costs

The £15,000 ultra-marathon
LIFE & ARTS



Senior movers

Decluttering for downsizers
HOUSE & HOME



Belarusian Olympic defector has lunch with the FT

LIFE & ARTS



Basque beauty The attraction of Biarritz's wild coast

HOUSE & HOME



Pandemic brings curtain down on the IPO roadshow

The globe-spanning IPO roadshow will never be the same again. Coronavirus has put an end to the hefty lunches, marketing gimmicks and \$1m jet bills. Even a no-frills tour could rack up hundreds of thousands of dollars and bankers say it is quicker as well as cheaper to do deals on video. While some would prefer to press the flesh of a management team before handing them large sums of money, 'no one wants to go back', says one banker.

Analysis — PAGE 11

Nvidia's snoop for Arm raises 'serious concerns', says UK antitrust watchdog

KATE BEIOLEY — LONDON

The UK competition watchdog has recommended an in-depth investigation into Nvidia's planned \$54bn takeover of British chip designer Arm, saying it had "serious competition concerns" over the deal.

The Competition and Markets Authority yesterday published the findings of a report to the government in which it said the deal could "stifle innovation across a number of markets".

Nvidia, the US chipmaker, struck a deal with SoftBank, the Japanese investment conglomerate, to buy Arm last September for \$40bn in shares and cash. The deal is now worth \$54.3bn after a rise in Nvidia's share price.

But the deal faces regulatory hurdles across the world and Nvidia has recently admitted it will not complete the deal

within its original 18-month timeframe. Jensen Huang, Nvidia chief executive, has said he remained "confident" it would close by the end of 2022.

The UK has already referred the deal for a national security review and the EU is likely to open an in-depth investigation shortly, said people with knowledge of the matter.

Nvidia has only recently begun to seek clearance in China, where Arm remains locked in a dispute with the head of its Arm China joint venture.

The CMA said it had received submissions from Nvidia customers and competitors complaining over the proposed deal.

It concluded that since Arm's designs are widely licensed to other chipmakers, the deal could give Nvidia the ability to hurt rivals by restricting access to Arm technology. Nvidia denies that.

Nvidia offered a "set of behavioural remedies" to appease the regulator, but the CMA said it did not believe any such measure would "address the competition concerns" it had identified. It said innovation could suffer in a wide range of areas, including data centres, gaming, the "internet of things" and autonomous vehicles.

Oliver Dowden, the UK culture secretary, must now decide whether to open an in-depth probe based on national security and competition concerns, or hand back control to the competition watchdog to take it forward as a normal "phase two" merger investigation.

Nvidia said it looked forward to addressing the CMA's views and resolving government concerns. "We remain confident that this transaction will be beneficial to Arm, its licensees, competition and the UK," it added.

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Aug 20	prev	%chg		Aug 20	prev	%chg		price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4621.56	4606.30	0.36	\$ per £	1.168	1.168	0.00	US Gov 10 yr	149.57	1.25	0.01
Nasdaq Composite	14641.25	14541.39	0.68	£ per \$	1.362	1.362	0.00	UK Gov 10 yr	105.52	0.52	-0.02
Dow Jones Ind	35036.86	34884.12	0.59	€ per \$	0.958	0.958	0.00	Ger Gov 10 yr	117.32	0.01	0.00
FTSE 100	1807.45	1801.17	0.35	¥ per \$	109.805	109.725	0.07	Japan Gov 10 yr	116.34	1.87	0.00
Euro Stoxx 50	4144.21	4124.71	0.47	\$ per €	1.092	1.092	0.00	US Gov 30 yr	105.80	-0.76	0.00
FTSE 250	7057.90	7056.86	0.01	SFR per €	1.072	1.073	-0.01	Ger Gov 2 yr	105.80	-0.76	0.00
FTSE All-Share	4092.53	4084.14	0.45	€ per \$	0.958	0.958	0.00				
CAC 40	6626.11	6605.89	0.31	COMMODITIES					price	prev	chg
Xetra Dax	15800.04	15765.81	0.22		Aug 20	prev	%chg	Fed Funds Eff	0.10	0.08	0.02
Nikkei	27013.29	27281.17	-0.98	Oil WTI \$	62.83	63.50	-1.17	US 3m Bill	0.08	0.07	-0.01
Hang Seng	26489.72	25316.33	-4.84	Oil Brent \$	66.46	66.46	-1.23	Euro Libor 3m	-0.56	-0.56	0.00
MSCI World \$	3903.22	3819.01	-4.45	Gold \$	1782.05	1783.45	-0.08	UK 3m	0.07	0.07	0.00
MSCI EM \$	1232.41	1281.88	-2.31								
MSCI ACWI \$	719.88	724.93	-0.70								

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No: 40,792 ★

Printed in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin, Frankfurt, Milan, Madrid, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul, Dubai





Afghans outside the Kabul airport on Saturday as a C-17 transport plane took off. U.S. officials fear the airport could become a target.

AFGHANS DESCRIBE 'TERROR' AS HOPES OF ESCAPING FADE

**Miscue After Miscue,
Exit Plan Unravels**

This article is by Michael D. Shear, David E. Sanger, Helene Cooper, Eric Schmitt, Julian E. Barnes and Lara Jakes.

WASHINGTON — The nation's top national security officials assembled at the Pentagon early on April 24 for a secret meeting to plan the final withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan. It was two weeks after President Biden had announced the exit over the objection of his generals, but now they were carrying out his orders.

In a secure room in the building's "extreme basement," two floors below ground level, Defense Secretary Lloyd J. Austin III and Gen. Mark A. Milley, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, met with top White House and intelligence officials. Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken joined by video conference. After four hours, two things were clear.

First, Pentagon officials said they could pull out the remaining 3,500 American troops, almost all deployed at Bagram Air Base, by July 4 — two months earlier than the Sept. 11 deadline Mr. Biden had set. The plan would mean closing the airfield that was the American military hub in Afghanistan, but Defense Department officials did not want a dwindling, vulnerable force and the risks of service members dying in a war declared lost.

Second, State Department officials said they would keep the American Embassy open, with more than 1,400 remaining Americans protected by 650 Marines and soldiers. An intelligence assessment presented at the meeting estimated that Afghan forces could hold off the Taliban for one to two years. There was brief talk of an emergency evacuation plan — helicopters would ferry Americans to the civilian airport in Kabul, the capital — but no one raised, let alone imagined, what

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**Child, 2, Is Crushed
at Airport Gate**

By DAVID ZUCCHINO

On Saturday morning, a former interpreter for an American company in Kabul plunged into a mass of humanity outside a gate at the Kabul airport with her family in tow.

Even as she was jostled and elbowed by people in the throng, she pushed ahead, desperate to secure a flight out of the country for everyone accompanying her — her husband, 2-year-old daughter, disabled parents, three sisters and a cousin.

Then the crowd surged. The entire family was slammed to the ground. People trampled them where they lay, the woman recalled just hours later.

She remembered someone smashing her cellphone and someone else kicking her in the head. She couldn't breathe, so she tried to tear off her abaya, a robe-like dress.

As she struggled to her feet, she said, she searched for her toddler. The girl was dead, trampled to death by the mob.

"I felt pure terror," the woman said in a telephone interview from Kabul. "I couldn't save her."

In the six days since the Taliban seized power in Afghanistan, Afghans have negotiated a terrifying new reality after enduring 20 years of war and suicide bombings. Their world has been upended, and something as prosaic as a trip to the airport now incurs terror. Just stepping outside the front door can be jarring and disorienting.

With the situation increasingly chaotic, the U.S. embassy warned American citizens to stay away from the airport, citing "potential security threats outside the gates."

Across the country, Afghans who served the American military effort in Afghanistan, or the American-backed former government, are in hiding, many of them

Continued on Page 9

Before Cuomo, Strife Brewed At Time's Up

This article is by Jodi Kantor, Arya Sundaram, Melena Ryzik and Cara Buckley.

Nearly four years ago, moving with resolve after the global #MeToo explosion, some of the country's most famous women formed a new charity, Time's Up, to fight sexual harassment in the workplace. Their collective power, funds and aspirations offered the promise of real progress.

Now the organization is in an "existential crisis," its vice chairwoman told the staff. A group of abuse victims said they felt betrayed. Some board members are privately questioning whether Time's Up will survive.

The turmoil was set off by the sexual harassment allegations against Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of New York, a Time's Up ally, and revelations that his office had relied on the counsel of the group's leaders as the accusations emerged.

Time's Up was built on a bold premise: Ultra-connected women would pool their access and influence to push for gender equity. But even before the allegations against Mr. Cuomo, confusion and controversy had been building inside the group over its leadership's ties — and help — to those in power, according to interviews with dozens of current and former board members, employees and other advocates, as well as a review of internal documents.

Some of them feared that the high-level connections at the heart of the group's strategy compromised its credibility, or made the powerful more of a priority than the ordinary women Time's Up was meant to help.

"We have, obviously, a broken-trust moment and a real examination, after three and a half years, of whether this is the right way to work," Tina Tchen, the chief executive, said in an interview. She and others are wondering whether the group's model can still be tenable. "I'm open to the answer."

Where to draw the line has come up again and again. In spring 2020, Ms. Tchen, an Obama

Continued on Page 18

As Delta Rises, Nurse Shortfall Imperils Patients

By ANDREW JACOBS

Cyndy O'Brien, an emergency room nurse at Ocean Springs Hospital on the Gulf Coast of Mississippi, could not believe her eyes as she arrived for work. There were people sprawled out in their cars gasping for air as three ambulances with gravely ill patients idled in the parking lot. Just inside the front doors, a crush of anxious people jostled to get the attention of an overwhelmed triage nurse.

"It's like a war zone," said Ms. O'Brien, who is the patient care coordinator at Singing River, a small health system near the Alabama border that includes Ocean Springs. "We are just barraged with patients and have nowhere to

**Fighting Off Pandemic
Burns Out Workers,
Prompting Exodus**

put them."

The bottleneck, however, has little to do with a lack of space. Nearly 30 percent of Singing River's 500 beds are empty. With 169 unfilled nursing positions, administrators must keep the beds empty.

Nursing shortages have long vexed hospitals. But in the year and half since its ferocious debut in the United States, the coronavirus pandemic has stretched the

nation's nurses as never before, testing their skills and stamina as desperately ill patients with a poorly understood malady flooded emergency rooms. They remained steadfast amid a calamitous shortage of personal protective equipment; spurred by a sense of duty, they flocked from across the country to the newest hot zones, sometimes working as volunteers. More than 1,200 of them have died from the virus.

Now, as the highly contagious Delta variant pummels the United States, bedside nurses, the workhorse of a well-oiled hospital, are depleted and traumatized, their ranks thinned by early retirements or career shifts that traded the emergency room for less

Continued on Page 21



Valerie Kiper treated Debra Collingsru, a coronavirus patient, last Sunday in Ocean Springs, Miss.

Link to Drug Trade in Haiti Assassination Inquiry

By MARIA ABI-HABIB

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — The commander in charge of guarding the Haitian president's home quickly became a suspect in the assassination of President Jovenel Moïse last month when his security team inexplicably melted away, enabling hit men to enter the residence with little re-

sistance and kill the president in his own bedroom.

But current and former officials say that the commander, Dimitri Hérad, was already a suspect in a separate case that the United States Drug Enforcement Administration has pursued for years: the disappearance of hundreds, if not thousands, of pounds of cocaine and heroin that were whisked away by corrupt officials

hours before law enforcement agents showed up to seize them.

Now, some international officials assisting with the investigation into the president's assassination say they are examining whether those criminal networks help explain the killing. Haitian officials, including the country's prime minister, have acknowledged that the official explanation

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WARNING The U.S. told Americans to avoid Kabul's airport. **PAGE 9**
NEWS ANALYSIS A war almost certainly doomed from the start. **PAGE 6**

New Wave of Refugees Faces A Much Chillier U.S. Welcome

By MIRIAM JORDAN

It was the end of a decades-long American military engagement overseas, and thousands of U.S. allies were clamoring to board the last planes leaving for, they hoped, eventual resettlement in the United States. Their capital had fallen. Deadly reprisals for those who stayed behind were almost certain.

It was 1975, the tumultuous backdrop was Southeast Asia, and Washington largely opened America's doors, letting in some 300,000 refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia over the next four years. Joseph R. Biden Jr., then a young senator from Delaware, co-sponsored landmark legislation that won unanimous passage in the Senate and was signed into law in 1980, divorcing refugee admissions from U.S. foreign policy and generally expanding the number allowed into the country each year.

Now, as similar scenes of chaos and desperation unfold in Kabul



South Vietnamese refugees fleeing to Da Nang in 1975.

with the conclusion of America's 20-year war in Afghanistan, most analysts say there is little chance the country will repeat the extensive refugee resettlement effort that accompanied the end of the war in Vietnam.

Decades of lukewarm public sentiment over refugees, a toxic political stalemate over immigration and contemporary concerns

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INTERNATIONAL 4-15

A 'Chief Heat Officer'

Eleni Myrivilis has been tasked with finding ways to help Athens cope with ever-hotter heat waves that are expected in years to come.

PAGE 4

NATIONAL 16-22

A Complicated Caucus

The Congressional Black Caucus remains publicly united. But in private, an influx of members who think differently has challenged the status quo.

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NATIONAL

Bracing for Hurricane Henri

As the storm neared the Northeast, New York City closed beaches and Boston placed flood barriers around a vulnerable subway station.

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SUNDAY BUSINESS

Interview With Groot

To keep mesmerizing children and parents, Disney's theme-park robots are becoming more realistic, like the Marvel character Groot.

PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Viet Thanh Nguyen

PAGE 4



Second home ownership for 1/8 the cost

pacaso.com



MEMBERS OF the British and U.S. armed forces help evacuate families Saturday in Kabul, Afghanistan. The Taliban, which commanded the capital last week, now faces pressure to show the world that it can govern.

British Ministry of Defense

Under Taliban, Afghanistan's coffers dry up

As militants take power, the U.S. may use funding as pressure point

By NABIH BULOS

DUBAI, United Arab Emirates — With the Taliban cementing its grip over Afghanistan, the country faces an economic cataclysm as world powers and international financial institutions move to withhold or freeze billions of dollars in assets and aid from a government run by a pariah movement.

The militant group's blitz into the Afghan capital, Kabul, leaves it in charge of a war-stressed state heavily reliant on outside dollars that over the last two decades have covered three quarters of government

spending. Some of that may be in jeopardy as the Taliban is subject to a bevy of sanctions from the U.S., European Union and the United Nations.

Without that money — Kabul received \$4.2 billion in development assistance in 2019 — the government is all but bankrupt. The Taliban is facing enormous pressure to show Afghans and the world that, beyond upholding the tenets of Islam, it can pay civil servants, buy fuel, pick up garbage, run hospitals and develop a country more modernized and transformed from when the group first ruled between 1996 and 2001.

[See Afghanistan, A4]

BACK IN KABUL: Taliban leader's arrival signals group is moving to formalize government. **WORLD, A3**

‘What was it all for?’ ponders a town of Marines

By JAWEED KALEEM

OCEANSIDE, Calif. — For 61 years, Johnny Gomez has sat U.S. Marines in his tan, leather swivel chair at the Esquire Barber Shop for the “high and tight,” faded on the back and sides, short the top and finished off with a straight razor. Little has changed but the price — still a bargain at \$10.

Usually, customers shuffle in and out quietly, checking an errand off the to-do list in this seaside town next

to Marine Corps Base Camp Pendleton, a place where the military is life, replete with uniform resale stores, shooting ranges and shops offering custom name tape, all geared toward those in active service and veterans who have stayed on.

They’ve come to Esquire after the Korean War — well before Gomez buzzed his first head — where the U.S. lost more than 35,000 troops. It was the same after Vietnam, when the U.S. reeling after 58,000 American

[See Marines, A8]

BEFORE BOY’S DEATH, MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

Agency failed to act on removal order amid errors and claims of bias

By MATT HAMILTON, GARRETT THEROLF AND DANIEL LEMPRES

Maggie Hernandez dialed Los Angeles County’s child abuse hotline on a spring afternoon in 2019.

She said her niece’s son, Noah Cuatro, was losing weight and had thinning hair.

During an overnight stay with a relative, Noah had night terrors and complained that his butt was hurting, perhaps a sign of a rash or sex abuse, she said. Above all, Noah had changed from an exuberant boy to a fearful one.

“And when a child changes their, you know, their demeanor, I feel like something is going on,” Hernandez told the hotline. “He’s 4,” she said. “Nobody’s going to advocate for him.”

The call was the latest source of alarm for Susan Johnson, the Department of Children and Family Services caseworker tracking Noah. More than two years earlier, DCFS



NOAH CUATRO died at 4.

records show, his parents’ neglect led to the point where he was starving, weighing just 17 pounds and unable to walk. Authorities took Noah away then, but a commissioner had recently sent him back to his parents.

The call culminated in Johnson’s securing a Juvenile Court order to again take Noah away and put him in protective custody. DCFS had 10 days to get Noah out and seen by a doctor, even if it required barging into the home with police. Carrying out that removal order could have saved Noah’s life.

Instead, DCFS ignored the order and kept Noah with his parents. He died less than two months later, on July 6, 2019. He was a month shy of his fifth birthday. His parents, Ursula Juarez and Jose Cuatro, now stand accused of murdering and torturing him.

[See Noah, A10]

CALIFORNIA RECALL ELECTION

Legal debate aside, a rival with fewer votes could oust Newsom

By MAURA DOLAN

For weeks, legal scholars have debated whether the recall election of Gov. Gavin Newsom could be found unconstitutional if Newsom failed to realize a “no recall” majority of the ballots cast and was ousted by a candidate who received fewer votes than he did.

Although it’s impossible to predict how courts will rule, many experts say the current recall process has long survived legal challenges, and probably would again, even if a fringe candidate won on Sept. 14 and became governor with a minority of overall votes.

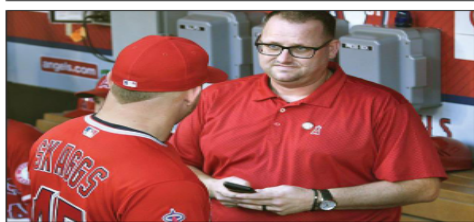
That view is based on court decisions on election law, especially rulings stemming from the recall election of Gov. Gray Davis, when voters removed Davis in

2003 and replaced him with Arnold Schwarzenegger, a popular actor who went on to win reelection.

In that case, more people voted for Schwarzenegger than Davis so the candidate with the most votes won. Even so, California’s recall scheme permits a candidate with fewer votes to prevail over an incumbent, as was demonstrated by the state’s last successful recall of an elected legislator.

In 2008, voters recalled Sen. Josh Newman (D-Fullerton). On the recall question, 41.9% voted to retain Newman. On the second ballot question, in which voters are asked to select a successor, a Republican won with only 33.8% of the vote. An incumbent who faces a recall is not permitted to be named as a successor candidate on the second part of the ballot.

[See Recall, A12]



JOHN MCCOY/Getty Images

MIKE TROUT, in a Tyler Skaggs jersey, talks in 2019 to Eric Kay, who faces trial in Skaggs’ fatal overdose.

Ex-Angels staffer gave others drugs, feds say

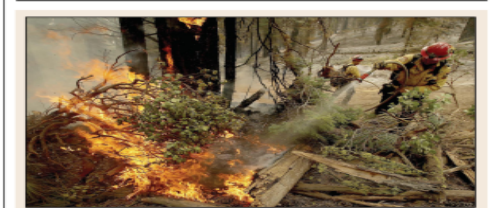
By NATHAN FENNO

Federal prosecutors plan to present testimony from “approximately” five Major League Baseball players who allege they received oxycodone from a former Angels employee who faces trial in the fatal overdose of pitcher Tyler Skaggs, according to a court filing late Friday.

The filing, which outlines some of the evidence prosecutors will introduce at the trial, accuses former Angels communications director Eric Kay of being the “singular source” who supplied oxycodone to the players in amounts of “two to three pills while others would ask for up to 20 pills.”

“The evidence will also demonstrate that Kay often

[See Kay, A14]



LUIS SINCO/Los Angeles Times

FIRES RAGE ACROSS STATE

Crews and residents grapple with another intense wildfire season as the Dixie and Caldor blazes pose major threats. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Who’s out as host of ‘Jeopardy!’?

Executive producer Mike Richards steps down over reports of improper comments. **CALIFORNIA, B2**

Lambda variant bears watching

Even as Delta rages, a new strain shows “massive spread” in South America. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

The quest for a legal food cart

Sidewalk vendors struggle with permit requirements. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Weather:

Turning sunny. L.A. Basin: 78/64. **B10**

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leaving The troops
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the "forever war"
grinds on **OUTLOOK**



Homer's odyssey A
moment in a boy's
memory becomes
a quixotic quest for
a man **SPORTS**

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The Washington Post

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JOSHUA LOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Once again, Haiti looks to rebuild

BY ANTHONY FAIOLA,
WIDLORE MERANCOURT
AND AMANDA COLETTA

CAMP-PERRIN, HAITI — Classrooms for 400 students lie crushed under a collapsed roof, a smattering of desks broken like matchsticks. Chunks of the Pepto-pink health center slammed into the administration office. In the debris field that was the Evangelical Baptist School of Picot, a white crib in a day care is the single item still standing in place.

Tuition was \$200 a year, a tidy sum for the land tillers, tradesmen and teachers that populate nearby farming communities. In a hard country where any edge helps, parents made the sacrifice to give their children a

In the aftermath of a
ruinous earthquake, the
impoverished nation faces
an all-too-familiar task

People ride a motorbike past the
destroyed Eglise de Dieu — Church
of God — in Camp-Perrin, Haiti.
Many buildings in the south of Haiti
were damaged or destroyed by a 7.2-
magnitude earthquake on Aug. 14.

fighting chance. Like most schools in Haiti — where public services were wanting even before last weekend's massive earthquake — Evangelical Baptist was private.

It was also uninsured.
One of the hundreds of schools destroyed or badly damaged when the earth shook, it is now emblematic of a disaster that took 2,389 lives and counting and so much more.

It robbed communities across Haiti's largely rural south of their futures: their schools and hospitals — which, in Haiti, can take serious politicking and decades to secure. Their churches and temples — Catholic, Protestant, Vodou — which so often provided for people when the government

SEE HAITI ON A24

Pentagon hints at more rescues amid new threat

SECURITY FEARS, BOTTLENECK IN KABUL

Taliban's top political leader returns to the capital

BY KAROUN DEMIRJIAN,
DAN LAMOTHE
AND JOHN HUDSON

The Pentagon on Saturday strongly hinted that U.S. troops may stage further operations outside the Kabul airport to help evacuate stranded American citizens and Afghans who aided the war effort, as the threat of violence in the capital grows amid the return of the Taliban's top political leader and increased concern about potential attacks by the Islamic State.

The signal that U.S. troops could undertake enhanced efforts to rescue people outside the airport came as the Biden administration scrambles to fly thousands of people per day out of Afghanistan, and amid signs there were

still significant bottlenecks to doing so.

All gates at the Kabul airport were closed on Saturday, as crowds continued to swell inside and the U.S. government struggled to process people quickly enough to alleviate the issues, said three U.S. officials familiar with the issue, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the precarious and evolving situation.

"Look, without getting predictive here, we have troops in a very dynamic environment, a very perilous mission, and they understand that — and they also understand why they're there, they're there to help people," Pentagon spokesman John Kirby said, after indicating there had been no U.S. military operations outside the

SEE AFGHANISTAN ON A11

Americans debate what's proper in Afghanistan

Widespread support for
pullout, but violence left
behind causes alarm

BY MARC FISHER,
NATALIE POMPILIO
AND RANDY LUDLOW

Larry and Phil Peters don't agree on much. Larry's a Democrat, and his brother is a Republican. But over lunch at Harvest Moon Craft Kitchen in Canal Winchester, Ohio, outside Columbus, they found common ground on the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan after two decades of war: It was past time to get out.

The brothers believe the United States stayed too long, spent too much and has now left an ugly mess.

Americans don't share many positions these days, but in polling and dozens of interviews

across the country, they mostly come together about U.S. involvement in a divided, war-scarred country. President Biden, they say, was right to pull out U.S. troops — though they don't like the violent scene left behind.

"It's sad as hell," said Larry, 71, a semiretired psychologist from Connecticut. He feels sorry for the Afghan people, but "after all the blood and money we poured in, it's pretty clear, in retrospect: We didn't get anything done."

The failure to plan for an orderly escape of Afghans who helped U.S. forces has created "a terrible, awful situation," agreed Phil, 64, a retired high school teacher in

SEE DEBATE ON A20

'America First Lite': Withdrawal puts Biden Doctrine into focus. **A10**

Taliban's tech: Militants captured stocks of U.S. guns, vehicles. **A22**

Afghans displaced: Thousands flee as Taliban takes control. **A23**

Exultant White House caught flat-footed by delta

BY ANNIE LINSKEY,
YASMEEN ABUTALEB
AND TYLER PAGER

Early last month, as the planned Fourth of July blowout at the White House approached, top health officials inside the Biden administration began calling each other with a flurry of anxious questions.

Would the president declare

victory too soon? Would the event be seen as beating a virus that was not yet defeated? And would the massive party, with 1,000 guests, contribute to the virus's spread?

While many in the White House had set their gaze on the present — eager to mark the progress that President Biden had made as coronavirus cases dipped below 12,000 per day for the first time since March 2020 — health

officials were focusing abroad, where a new variant, delta, had sent cases skyrocketing. Even at home, in lightly vaccinated communities across Missouri and Arkansas, health officials were nervously watching cases rise, driven by delta.

The fears prompted the health officials to relay their concerns to the White House — leading aides to pare back some of the more

boastful language in Biden's original speech, officials said.

Even so, in an address titled "Remarks by President Biden Celebrating Independence Day and Independence from COVID-19," Biden hit a triumphant note.

"Today, we're closer than ever to declaring our independence from a deadly virus," Biden said to a crowd of mostly unmasked

SEE VIRUS ON A6

BOOK EXCERPT

'I don't think we're going to make it'

The wildfire was everywhere in Paradise, Calif.
Could a bus driver and 22 kids find a way out?

BY LIZZIE JOHNSON

This story is adapted from "Paradise: One Town's Struggle to Survive an American Wildfire," which was published this past week by Penguin Random House.

The flames were just a mile from Ponderosa Elementary School when Kevin McKay opened the door of Bus 963 to about two dozen children, their eyes wide with fear.

It was 8:45 a.m. on Nov. 8, 2018, and the deadliest wildfire in California history was tearing toward Paradise, a working-class town in a region once again being devastated by conflagration.

The children being evacuated included the twin daughters of an

immigrant couple who owned a local Thai restaurant. The 10-year-old daughter of a bartender. A 7-year-old whose father was in nearby Tehama, painting the small-town mayor's front door.

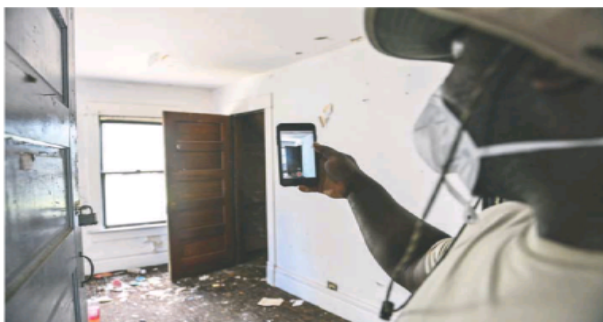
Their parents commuted to distant communities or worked low-wage jobs that they couldn't walk away from, even in an emergency. They weren't able to collect their sons and daughters as the wind-fueled Camp Fire advanced on their Northern California community of 26,000 with astonishing speed.

McKay, a part-time driver who made \$11 an hour, had to find a way to get the children and two of their teachers to safety. He knew that the few roads out of Paradise

SEE PARADISE ON A12

Peoria's dying south end draws odd land rush

Investors from across the U.S. have bought homes on a long-abandoned block, sight unseen



RICKY CARBOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Malkebu Moore, of Philadelphia, inspects the abandoned home on a run-down street in Peoria, Ill., that he had purchased earlier this year in an online auction.

BY GREG JAFFE

PEORIA, ILL. — A block that had once been home to more than 100 people was down to six who lived amid the ruins of another era. There were gaping holes in roofs and crumbling foundations. Some houses were so bad that even the squatters had quit on them, and now only raccoons and rodents sought them out for shelter.

And then, for reasons that no one in Peoria could fathom, people from all over America began snapping them up. By early summer, seven houses on this block of West Lincoln Avenue had sold to buyers from Los Angeles, San Diego, Long Island, Tacoma, Wash., and other far-off places.

Among them was Jayvon Michael Culver, a barber in Salt Lake City, where in the waning days of the pandemic the median price of a single-family home had raced past \$515,000, far more than Culver could ever afford to spend. With a few

SEE PEORIA ON A14

ARTS.....C1
BUSINESS.....C12
CLASSIFIEDS.....G20

CORRIGENDUMS.....INSERT
EDITORIALS/LETTERS.....A25
LOTTERIES.....C3

OUTLOOK.....B1
OBITUARIES.....C7
STOCKS.....G6

TRAVEL.....F1
WEATHER.....C12
WORLD NEWS.....A18

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el berlinés.

¿PODRÍA UN PASTOR SER PRESIDENTE EN LA ARGENTINA?

Furor y la polémica por la serie *El reino*; una mirada sobre el mundo evangélico.



Jorge Heine
"El mayor socio comercial de Sudamérica es China"

POR LUCIANA VÁZQUEZ

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ISABEL ALLENDE:
"LA JUVENTUD ESTÁ HARTA"

—revista

La escritora en español más leída del mundo habla de feminismo, vacunas, Chile, un planeta "insostenible" y la miniserie biográfica que la pone en boca de todos.

LA NACION

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Fuerte ajuste en el gasto de ayuda social, que ya está por debajo de la inflación

PLANES. Este año ya perdió casi dos puntos frente a los precios y se redujo un 53,6% respecto de 2020; es la razón de las últimas protestas

Pese a ser un año electoral, el ajuste llegó también a la asistencia social. Según la ejecución presupuestaria, los distintos programas englobados en el rubro Promoción y Asistencia Social subieron el 27,5%, casi dos puntos menos que la inflación acu-

mulada hasta ahora, del 29,1%. Sin embargo, el contraste más fuerte se da en la comparación con 2020. En el interanual el recorte de fondos fue de 53,6%, a partir de la no renovación de los principales programas que se instrumentaron durante la pandemia.

Esa merma en el suministro de partidas está detrás de las multitudinarias marchas de las organizaciones sociales, tanto las oficialistas como las opositoras, que se repitieron durante las últimas semanas. **Página 12**

EL ESCENARIO

La crisis más grave de la coalición gobernante

Jorge Liotti

—LA NACION—

Un presidente desconcertado, una vice enurecida, un gabinete sacudido y una militancia desencantada. El escándalo de Olivos provocó en el corazón de la coalición gobernante la crisis más grave que ha tenido en sus dos años de vida. Si no hubo consecuencias mayores fue solamente porque la campaña electoral los forzó a mostrarse unidos y sonrientes. **Continúa en la página 16**

EL ANÁLISIS

Un presidente debilitado por Cristina

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

A veces, las frases tienen un sentido distinto según quién las dice. Que dirigentes opositores digan —y repitan— que Alberto Fernández es un presidente débil no llama la atención. Hay pruebas irrefutables. El escándalo político que provocó una fiesta de cumpleaños clandestina en la residencia presidencial en medio de restricciones sociales muy severas que dictó el propio inquilino de esa casona. **Continúa en la página 39**



Importar gas en el país de Vaca Muerta

—economía

El Estado destinará este año \$1 billón para subsidiar tarifas congeladas y la compra de combustible. **Diego Cabot**

El jueves pasado, dos barcos amarrados en el puerto de Escobar procesaban el gas importado; solo en julio ingresaron 12 buques

RICARDO PRISTUPLUK

Pese a un amplio stock, solo el 25% tiene dos dosis

COVID-19. Hay 10 millones de vacunas disponibles, pero el Gobierno no explica el desfase del plan

Aunque hay un stock de casi 10 millones de vacunas disponibles, a ocho meses del inicio de la inoculación contra el coronavirus, solo el 25% de la población tiene

aplicado el esquema completo. El Ministerio de Salud de la Nación no respondió a las reiteradas consultas de LA NACION para explicar por qué sucede este desfase. **Página 26**

Afganistán. Otro fracaso que le marca límites a Occidente

La intervención de EE.UU. y sus aliados volvió a fallar como estrategia para reconstruir un Estado

WASHINGTON (De nuestro corresponsal).— La desastrosa salida de las potencias de Afganistán, tras el fulgurante triunfo talibán, volvió a evidenciar los límites de las

intervenciones militares de Estados Unidos y sus aliados como estrategia principal para reconstruir Estados fallidos, como pasó en Libia e Irak. **Página 4**

El fiscal del caso del festejo en Olivos, un equilibrista de los tribunales

PERFIL. Ramiro González, un ahijado de Servini que tiene causas claves. **Página 22**

tóquio 2020 Potência paraolímpica

Brasil tenta se manter no topo com recorde de atletas no exterior **Esporte B8 e B9**

ilustrada e sua sua

Morto há 40 anos, Glauber Rocha influenciou o cinema internacional **C6 e C7**

Celebridade literária, Hilda Hilst já foi voz agressiva ao mercado editorial **C4**

Para sociedade mais justa, pesquisadora fala em união entre bichos e humanos **C12**

Saiba o que dados dizem sobre delta em vários países

A variante delta do coronavírus ainda não é dominante no Brasil, mas já acende um alerta. Na Europa, por exemplo, ela se comportou de maneiras distintas entre os países. Já nos EUA parece expor uma pandemia de não imunizados. **Saúde B1**

Total da população vacinada

	ao menos uma dose*	totalmente vacinada**
Brasil	59,7%	25,9%
MS	71,0%	40,6%
SP	73,1%	32,4%
RS	65,0%	31,6%

Totalmente vacinada



Números da pandemia

	Casos	Óbitos
Total	20,6 mil	574,2 mil
Méd. móvel	29,4 mil	773
Varição***	-12,2%	-15,1%
Em 24 h	25,7 mil	585

Estágios



Brasil

Desacelerado
Tomou dose única ou 1ª dose
Tomou dose única ou 2ª dose
Em relação a 14 dias

Exaustão marca o emocional dos chefes da pandemia

Mercado A20



Andrey Garbe, atleta da natação classe S9, ouro e prata em mundiais **Ale Cabral/CPB/Divulgação**

Com 'custo Bolsonaro', retomada fica em xeque

Rumo errático do governo afasta investidor, pressiona dólar, aumenta custo de vida e alimenta pobreza

A instabilidade política alimentada diariamente pelo presidente Jair Bolsonaro está onerando a economia brasileira em diferentes frentes com o que analistas passaram a identificar como "custo Bolsonaro".

Esse ônus — que cresce conforme o presidente dá declarações golpistas, confronta outros Poderes e questiona o processo eleitoral — tem afastado investimentos estrangeiros, pressionado o dólar e alimentado a inflação e os juros, o que se reflete na dívida pública.

Essa combinação se retroalimenta e coloca em xeque a recuperação pós-pandemia, aumentando o número de miseráveis no país.

Tal quadro dificulta a reeleição de Bolsonaro, o que o leva a gastar mais em busca da popularidade perdida.

Os investimentos líquidos de estrangeiros acumulados em 12 meses caíram de quase US\$ 70 bilhões, há um ano, para US\$ 24 bilhões.

A inflação sofre pressão com o dólar a R\$ 5,40, turbinado por investidores que buscam na moeda proteção — um sobrepreço de 30% no cálculo do economista Livio Ribeiro (Ibre/FGV), segundo o qual a divisa deveria pairar em R\$ 4,20 dados os fundamentos da economia.

O contingente na extrema pobreza (renda mensal abaixo de R\$ 261) saltou de 5% da população (10,5 milhões) no segundo semestre de 2020 para 13% (27,4 milhões), mostram dados da FGV Social. No período, quase 32 milhões de pessoas caíram da classe C (renda domiciliar de R\$ 1.926 a R\$ 8.303). **Mercado A16**

Em 30 meses de mandato, maioria dos indicadores piora

A análise da evolução de indicadores nos 30 primeiros meses da gestão de Jair Bolsonaro mostra que o país não conseguiu avançar significativamente em nenhuma área e viu retrocesso nos campos social, econômico, ambiental e de saúde e educação, entre outros.

Dos indicadores analisados pela Folha, 63 tiveram piora, 28 melhoraram e 10 ficaram estáveis. Metade desse período transcorreu sob a pandemia, mas já era mais negativo do que positivo o saldo do primeiro ano de governo, antes da chegada da Covid. **Poder A4 a A7**



Eduardo Knapp/Folhapress

MALAFIA EXPANDIU SUA IGREJA EM MEIO À PANDEMIA

Assistente colhe ofertas na nova unidade da Assembleia de Deus Vitória em Cristo em Taboão da Serra (SP); pastor acelerou abertura de templos, ao custo de R\$ 1 milhão cada cotidiano **B5**

PAINEL

Líderes políticos afirmam não ver saída para a crise

Com a semana terminando, chefes partidários e ministros de cortes superiores avaliam que nem Bolsonaro nem o Supremo irá recuar. Quem esperava ser possível amortecer as tensões desanimou. **A4**

Fábio Zanini

No insucesso, sobra só o gogó

O desafio do presidente é reavivar o apoio da parte da direita que segue fiel. Com menos resultados para mostrar do que gostaria, terá de ser no gogó, o que explica a ladainha do voto eletrônico. O terço restante do governo mostrará se isso basta. **Opinião A2**

Presidente diz seguir Constituição ao pedir impeachment de Moraes

Poder A10

Em uma década, PUC-SP perde 37% dos alunos
Universidade completa 75 anos em melhor situação financeira, mas consideravelmente menor do que era antes. **B3**

Thyago Nogueira

Corpos em NY e Cabul são ligados por coincidências

Mundo A14

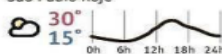
SP cria lista com 40 monumentos controversos

Cotidiano B4



ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



EDITORIAIS A2

Zelo e autonomia

Conduta de Augusto Aras mostra necessidade de reforço dos contrapesos à ação do procurador-geral da República.



Datos reveladores del auto de apertura del juicio por usura contra el luqueño

Víctimas famosas y muchos bienes en acusación a RGD

Al exponer el esquema denunciado, saltaron transferencias de casas de abogados y empresarios. Se presentaron 4.700 cheques, copias de 143 causas contra afectados y documentos de edificios.

PÁGINA 54

**Rarezas en contratación de estatales
Titular de Dinac ubicó
a un íntimo y nombró
al hijo de un senador**

PÁGINA 30

**Misma oferta electoral legislativa
Mientras buscan penar
no votar, en la ANR la
mayoría va por rekutu**

PÁGINAS 8 y 9

**Clave para la vuelta total a aulas
Los menores de 12
años recién se podrán
vacunar en el 2022**

PÁGINA 2



Clorinda: Paso libre para el contrabando

Illegal. El intendente de la vecina ciudad argentina es sindicado como contrabandista por la UIP y medios de su municipio.

PÁGINA 16



DOMINGO

**Pretenden abrir una
universidad para atacar
el crimen organizado**

PÁGINA 56

**Talibanes: Estudiantes
del Corán que quieren
revivir reino del terror**

PÁGINA 53

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

L'ÉTÉ
DU FIGARO



**L'ÉTÉ AVANT
LA PRÉSIDENTIELLE**
1987 : LA BATAILLE
CHIRAC-BARRE
SE PROFILE PAGE 20



LES DÉTROITS STRATÉGIQUES
À GIBRALTAR,
DES COLONNES
D'HERCULE TOUJOURS
STRATÉGIQUES PAGE 18

**LES BOUCLES
DU TEMPS**
RUÉE VERS
L'OS DANS
LE « JURASSIC
PARK »
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PAGE 13

**LES FEMMES
PIONNIÈRES**
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WALKER, FILLE
D'ESCLAVES
DEVENUE
MILLIONNAIRE
PAGE 25

JEUX D'ÉTÉ
PAGES 15 ET 16

PASSE SANITAIRE
Les maires face
à la grogne PAGE 5

DIPLOMATIE
Merkel à Moscou
pour faire ses
adieux à Poutine
PAGE 7

COVID-19
La situation
est dramatique
à Tahiti PAGE 9

ENDURANCE
Au Mans, Alpine
défie la montagne
Toyota PAGE 10

VOILE
La Voiltaire du
Figaro dans la ligne
de mire PAGE 11

**CHAMPS
LIBRES**

• La chronique
de Mathieu
Bock-Côté
• La tribune
de Rémi Brague
PAGE 19

**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question
de vendredi :**
Pensez-vous que
la multiplication des feux
de forêt est aggravée
par le réchauffement
climatique ?

NON 42% OUI 58%

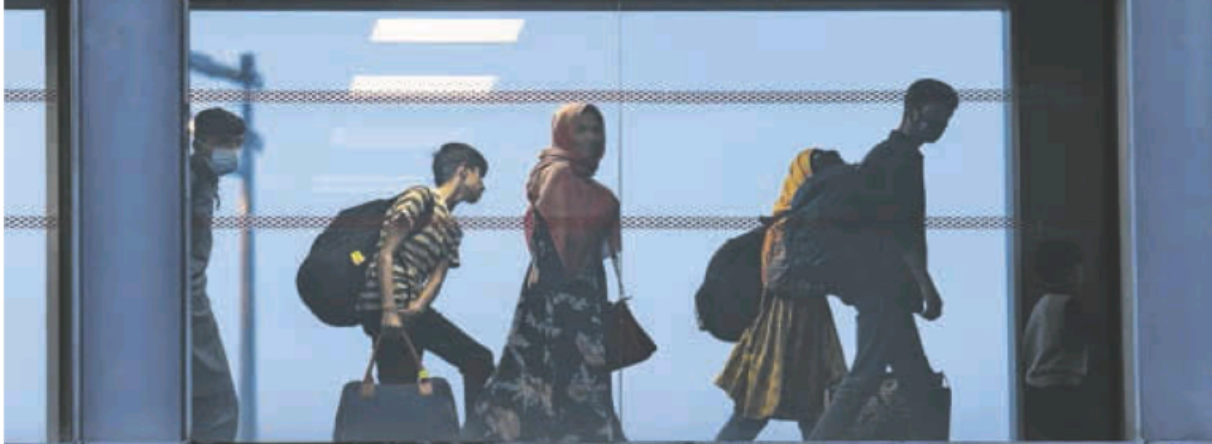
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 170 676

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les maires qui s'engagent
à accueillir des réfugiés
afghans dans leur ville ?

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LUX : 3 € - NL : 3,40 € - PORT. CONT : 3,30 € - MAR : 23 DH - TUN : 4,40 DT - ZONE CFA : 2,400 CFA ISSN 0182-5852

Réfugiés afghans : la France tente de s'organiser



Depuis la prise de Kaboul par les talibans, plusieurs ressortissants afghans sont arrivés dans notre pays, où 10 000 d'entre eux demandent déjà, tous les ans, le droit d'asile. PAGES 2 À 4 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

Après deux ans de crise, le transport aérien retrouve des couleurs

Longtemps cloués au sol par les mesures sanitaires, les avions reprennent lentement mais sûrement du service. En Europe, le trafic a doublé par rapport au mois de mai et at-

teint désormais 70 % de son niveau d'avant-crise, en 2019. Les vols long-courriers en direction de l'Asie et de l'Amérique tournent en revanche toujours au ralenti. PAGE 22



À Hongkong, la résistance au régime chinois s'active dans l'ombre

Subissant depuis plus d'un an la répression brutale de Pékin, les défenseurs de la démocratie sur l'île poursuivent leur mobilisation via des réseaux souterrains, comme le « cercle

jaune ». Le soutien aux artistes locaux lance aussi un défi à la culture officielle chinoise. L'inventivité domine, même si quelques-uns semblent tentés par la violence. PAGES 6 ET 7

ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thureau ythureau@lefigaro.fr

Une polémique biaisée

Les bons sentiments font rarement une bonne politique. La gauche n'a pas le monopole du cœur. Trop souvent, son émotion débordante flirte avec la démagogie et l'irresponsabilité. L'Afghanistan est sous la coupe des talibans, et nombre d'Afghans cherchent à fuir leur pays. Emmanuel Macron a tendu la main aux plus menacés d'entre eux et à ceux qui ont servi nos intérêts, mais il aurait eu le grand tort d'ajouter qu'il voulait protéger la France des flux migratoires clandestins. Immédiatement, les critiques ont fusé : indignité et déshonneur au pays des droits de l'homme. La ritournelle est connue.

Les belles âmes ont feint d'oublier que la France, depuis quelques années, est l'un des pays d'Europe qui accordent le plus volontiers l'asile aux Afghans : à environ 9 000 ressortissants par an. La Grande-Bretagne, qui dit aujourd'hui vouloir en accueillir 20 000 « à long terme » et qui s'est toujours opposée à l'entrée chez elle des migrants afghans en transit à Calais, n'a aucune leçon à donner. Pas plus que l'Allemagne, qui, refroidie par le précédent syrien de 2015, évoque le chiffre de 10 000 arrivées en plusieurs étapes.

La polémique est donc biaisée. Elle n'a pas lieu d'être. Plus juste serait de condamner l'incapacité des membres de l'Union européenne à s'entendre pour faire face à l'immigration irrégulière. Mais, comme cela semble décidément impossible, il serait plus que jamais nécessaire - et urgent - de ne pas dévoyer le droit d'asile en France. À force de recours administratifs et judiciaires multiples et variés, les procédures traînent en longueur. Résultat, les demandeurs inéligibles ou déboutés, soutenus par des associations militantes qui leur obtiennent droits sociaux et médicaux, finissent par être inexpulsables.

Cette politique a des effets désastreux dans l'opinion et pour les « vrais » réfugiés. Elle est bien plus le signe d'une impuissance publique, d'un manque de courage que d'une générosité assumée. Or, quand surgit une tragédie migratoire comme celle que vit à présent le peuple afghan, mieux vaut faire preuve d'une charité bien ordonnée pour éviter les désillusions de tous ordres. ■

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ARTS D'AFRIQUE ET D'OcéANIE



06 07 69 91 22
01 43 25 25 00
info@dulongbernard.fr
10 Rue Jacques Callot - 75006 Paris
Estimations gratuites sur demande

Bernard Dulong
Expert près la Cour
d'Appel de Paris
Membre CNE