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ROE V. WADE OVERTURNED

Statehouses become next battlegrounds as local-level laws kick in, mobilizing both sides after landmark ruling

The Supreme Court's decision overturning *Roe v. Wade* establishes new political battlegrounds for abortion across the 50 states, many of which could see lengthy clashes over restricting or protecting access to the procedure.

By Laura Kusisto,
Catherine Lucey
and Jennifer Calfas

By eliminating a federal constitutional right to an abortion, the high court's ruling returns the issue to the states, and about half of them, mostly led by Republicans, have been poised to ban many or most abortions if *Roe* was wiped away. Some of those prohibitions took effect right away, while others may take time as state officials sort out both practical and legal details.

Other Democratic-led states are moving to protect access to the procedure, in some cases preparing for visitors from states where abortion will be unavailable. And in politically diverse states with divided government, clashes over the path forward on abortion policy could continue for years.

"This is going to put abortion toward the center of our politics for the foreseeable future," said Steven Greene, a political-science professor at North Carolina State University.

Minutes after the Supreme Court announced its decision, Missouri Attorney General Eric Schmitt, a Republican, said he issued an opinion allowing implementation of a state abortion ban, previously adopted by the legislature, that was

Please turn to page A4



Emotions ran high outside the Supreme Court on Friday, with antiabortion activists, at left, and abortion-rights demonstrators, at right, reacting to the decision eliminating the constitutional right to an abortion nearly 50 years after *Roe v. Wade*.



Supreme Court ends constitutional right to abortion after nearly 50 years and allows states to ban the procedure

By BRENT KENDALL
AND JESS BRAVIN

WASHINGTON—The Supreme Court eliminated the constitutional right to an abortion, overturning the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision and leaving the question of abortion's legality to the states.

The court's decision upheld a law from Mississippi that bans abortion after 15 weeks of pregnancy, about two months earlier than what has been allowed under Supreme Court precedent dating back to *Roe*.

In doing so, the court's conservative majority said the *Roe* decision was egregiously wrong in recognizing a constitutional right to an abortion, an error the court perpetuated in the decades since.

"The Constitution makes no reference to abortion, and no such right is implicitly protected by any constitutional provision," Justice Samuel Alito wrote for the court.

"It is time to heed the Constitution and return the issue of abortion to the people's elected representatives," he wrote in his opinion in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*.

The ruling, one of the most consequential in modern memory, marked a rare instance in which the court reversed itself to eliminate a constitutional right that it had previously recognized.

The court voted 6-3 to side with Mississippi, but 5-4 on the broader question of whether to overrule *Roe*.

Almost half the states have laws in place or at the ready to curtail or outlaw abortion, while others have laws that

Please turn to page A4

Decision Marks Culmination Of Long Conservative Push

By JESS BRAVIN

WASHINGTON—The overturning of *Roe v. Wade* was 50 years in the making—the culmination of a conservative judicial movement that rejected the interpretation of constitutional rights underpinning that 1973 Supreme Court decision.

It took far longer than many conservatives expected. The majority opinion in

Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization, first disclosed in draft version by an extraordinary leak in May, declared that *Roe* and later abortion-rights precedents have no basis in the Constitution. "The Constitution makes no reference to abortion, and no such right is implicitly protected by any constitutional provision," Justice Samuel Alito wrote for the court, joined by Justices Clarence Thomas, Neil Gor-

such, Brett Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett.

Even as a young lawyer, Justice Alito had looked for ways to push back on the reasoning behind *Roe* going back to the 1980s, when he worked in the Reagan Justice Department. In a May 1985 memo, he sketched out opportunities "to advance the goals of bringing about the eventual overruling of *Roe v. Wade*."

Former Attorney General Ed-

win Meese III championed the conservative jurisprudence during the Reagan years and promoted the young lawyers—Justice Alito among them—who would rise to influence through successive Republican administrations. "It really has been a matter of pretty clear record for a long time that [Roe] was wrong," he said.

Because the Constitution doesn't expressly grant women

Please turn to page A6

For women, a seismic shift in the reproductive landscape **A5**

Ruling creates new challenges for employers and health insurers **A5**

Decision elicits strong responses from a range of U.S. leaders **A7**

Democrats focus on abortion fight in midterm elections **A7**



Russian missiles hit a factory in Ukraine's Donetsk region.

Ukraine Makes Strategic Retreat in Donbas

By YAROSLAV TROFIMOV

Ukraine ordered its troops to withdraw from their remaining foothold in the city of Severodonetsk to avoid encirclement, the regional governor said, ending a battle that lasted nearly two months and giving Russia a small but symbolically important victory in the grinding war for control of eastern Ukraine's Donbas area.

Hard to defend and separated from the rest of Ukrainian-held territory by a river, Severodonetsk, a city of just over 100,000 people before the war, had limited strategic value by itself. It holds, however, political significance for both sides because of its status as the administrative center of Ukrainian-controlled parts of Luhansk, one of the two regions that make up Donbas.

Most of Severodonetsk was already held by Russian troops in recent weeks, with Ukrainian defenders holed up in the sprawling Azot industrial plant on the northern bank of Siverskiy Donets River. Weeks of brutal street battles and artillery exchanges in Severodonetsk mean that Russia has ended up capturing a largely depopulated and uninhabitable wasteland at a huge cost in lives and equipment.

Four out of every five buildings in Severodonetsk have been damaged beyond repair by Russian shelling and airstrikes, and all the vital infrastruc-

ture in the city has been destroyed, said Serhiy Haidai, the head of Ukraine's military administration for Luhansk who announced the withdrawal orders on Friday. Most of the city's residents have fled to safer parts of Ukraine or Europe in recent months. Hundreds of local civilians are believed to have been killed.

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◆ Officials look to remedy food shortages caused by war... **A8**

What's News

Business & Finance

A federal appeals court granted Juul a temporary stay of the FDA's order for the company to pull its e-cigarettes off the U.S. market. **A1**

◆ U.S. stocks surged, with the S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow adding 3.1%, 3.3% and 2.7%, respectively. All three indexes notched gains for the week. **B1**

◆ EY laid out more details of a plan to split up the firm in an internal webcast with partners this week. **B1**

◆ Spirit Airlines said its board determined that a new, sweetened offer from Frontier is superior to an offer from JetBlue. **B3**

◆ Cadillac plans to price a future electric sedan at around \$300,000, according to people familiar with the matter. **B3**

◆ Zendesk agreed to be acquired by a group of buyout firms for \$10.2 billion. **B2**

◆ Chevron is planning to sell its current headquarters in California and is offering to cover costs for some employees to relocate to Texas. **B3**

◆ Crypto exchange FTX is in talks to acquire a stake in BlockFi, a crypto lender that FTX gave a \$250 million credit line this week. **B10**

◆ West Virginia Gov. Justice struck a deal to resolve debts that have hung over his business empire since the collapse of Greensill. **B18**

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World-Wide

◆ The Supreme Court eliminated the constitutional right to an abortion, overturning the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision and leaving the question of abortion's legality to the states. **A1, A4-7**

◆ Ukraine ordered its troops to withdraw from their remaining foothold in the city of Severodonetsk, giving Russia a small but symbolically important victory. **A1**

◆ The House passed the widest firearms legislation in decades, clearing the way for signature by the president. **A3**

◆ The CDC recommended the use of Moderna's Covid-19 vaccine in children ages 6 to 17 years. **A3**

◆ Boris Johnson's ruling Conservative Party lost two seats in the U.K. Parliament, dealing a fresh blow to his leadership. **A8**

◆ Inflation in Japan remained above the Bank of Japan's target for a second successive month. **A9**

◆ China cybersecurity investigators said they launched a probe of the operator of the country's biggest academic database. **A9**

NOONAN
Trump and Biden Both
Face Rejection **A13**

Juul Labs Wins Stay Of FDA Vaping Ban

A federal appeals court granted Juul Labs Inc. a temporary stay of the Food and Drug Administration's order for the vaping company to pull its e-cigarettes off the U.S. market.

By Jennifer Maloney,
Andrew Scurreia
and Alex Harring

A panel of judges from the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit on Friday afternoon granted Juul's request to delay the FDA's ban, according to court documents. The temporary stay gives the court time to hear arguments and wasn't a ruling on the merits of the case, the judges wrote.

In addition to fighting the FDA's order, Juul has been working with its legal advisers on options that include a possible bankruptcy filing if the

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EXCHANGE



HOME STRETCH

The 'ridiculous and disheartening' tales of what it takes to buy your first home now. **B1**



Summer books

FT writers and critics pick their best reads

LIFE & ARTS

Hot money

The secret world of porn

LIFE & ARTS



Investors on recession watch

Merryn Somerset Webb

OPINION



'Vice-signalling'

Darker side of political stunts

LIFE & ARTS



Tao of tofu

Soya is not just for vegans

LIFE & ARTS



Top US court scraps Roe vs Wade in heavy blow to abortion rights

◆ Majority decision ◆ 1973 ruling axed ◆ Biden laments 'sad day' ◆ States' bans expected

JAMES POLITI AND STEFANIA PALMA — WASHINGTON

The US Supreme Court has struck down Roe vs Wade, the legal decision that has enshrined the constitutional right to an abortion for nearly 50 years, in a historic ruling by the court's conservative majority that will shake up American society, politics and jurisprudence.

The justices of the Supreme Court upheld a state law in Mississippi banning abortion after 15 weeks. They also went further, saying the Roe ruling of 1973 was incorrectly decided. The court's three liberal justices dissented.

Abortion in America
Cover story
in Life & Arts

The ruling, which was one of the most anticipated in years after a draft of the court's decision was published by Politico in May, is a victory for anti-abortion advocates who have crusaded against Roe for decades.

But abortion-rights supporters fear it will result in widespread bans on the procedure in many Republican-led states, with protests expected in several big cities throughout the weekend.

Speaking from the White House yesterday, President Joe Biden said it was a "sad day for the court and for the country", adding that "the health and life of women of this nation are now at risk".

The majority opinion said the US constitution "does not prohibit the citizens of each state from regulating or prohib-



Abortion rights demonstrators outside the US Supreme Court yesterday — Ting Sherry/Reuters

iting abortion", adding that Roe and a subsequent decision that confirmed it, Planned Parenthood vs Casey, "arrogated that authority".

Dissenting judges argued there was no new justification to overturn Roe or Casey. "Today the court says that from the very moment of fertilisation, a woman has no rights to speak of," they wrote.

The ruling has raised fears that other rights could also be in peril, from contraception to same-sex marriage.

Chief justice John Roberts agreed with the ruling but supported a narrower decision that would have kept Roe. He argued that the Supreme Court should instead discard the rule allowing the termination of a pregnancy until a foetus is deemed "viable". He wrote: "None of this, however, requires that we also take the dramatic step of altogether eliminating the abortion right."

Lynn Fitch, the Mississippi attorney-general, hailed the ruling as "a great day for the American people", while Mitch McConnell, the Senate's top Republican, called it "courageous and correct".

The opinion was made possible by the appointment of three conservative judges during the presidency of Donald Trump.

The ruling comes less than five months before mid-term elections. With polls showing most Americans opposed to overturning Roe, Democrats hope the ruling will attract moderate swing voters who see Republican views as increasingly extreme.

FT View page 8

Kyiv orders retreat from Severodonetsk as Russian troops tighten grip on east

ROMAN GLEARCHYK — KYIV
JOHN PAUL KATHBORNE — LONDON

Ukraine has ordered its troops to withdraw from the embattled city of Severodonetsk, the main focus of Russia's assault in the east of the country, after withstanding months of relentless attack and artillery bombardment.

Serhiy Hayday, regional governor of the eastern Luhansk region, said Ukrainian forces had received "a command to withdraw to new positions, to new fortified regions, and from there to conduct normal battle operations". In televised comments, he added: "Unfortunately... it will be necessary to withdraw."

Senior officials had no immediate comment on the decision to pull back from Severodonetsk, the provincial capital of the Luhansk region, which is already more than 90 per cent occupied

by Russian forces. Alongside the nearby town of Lysychansk, it is the only remaining city in the province not yet controlled by Russian troops.

The setback contrasts with Kyiv's progress off the battlefield. On Thursday, President Volodymyr Zelenskyy celebrated "victory" after the EU gave Ukraine membership candidate status. The US also announced another \$450m of military aid, taking its total security assistance to Ukraine this year to more than \$6bn.

The fall of Severodonetsk caps months of heavy artillery-led fighting and underlines Russia's slow but steady advance in the eastern Donbas region, where Moscow has refocused its military efforts following a near routing of its troops in their attempt to take the capital in the early days of the war.

Catgunned by Russian artillery at a

ratio of 10:1, according to Kyiv, Ukrainian troops in Donbas were taking heavy casualties, with about 100 troops killed in action daily, and morale was suffering as they were pounded by Russian shells.

Still, analysts at the Institute for the Study of War said that while the retreat meant a loss of terrain for Ukraine, it was not a "major turning point" nor a "decisive Russian victory".

Russian forces now control about a fifth of Ukrainian territory in total, with the Kremlin believing it can grind down the country and that western political support will also eventually fade.

But mobilising more Russian troops remains a problem. Kyiv has launched daring behind-the-lines strikes on Russian infrastructure, including a drone strike this week on an oil refinery.

Norma Cohen page 8

Russia heads for default page 10



Armed rebels threaten to overwhelm Myanmar junta

Myanmar's military, once among Asia's strongest, has been worn down in its struggle with the resistance movement to the point where the junta's survival is in question. The People's Defence Force, born of the coup against Aung San Suu Kyi's government, is gaining manpower and weaponry while the army struggles to find recruits. If the opposition can organise on strategic lines, there is a real possibility of this regime falling, says one conflict expert.

Better weapons — PAGE 3

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Jun 24	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Jun 24	Prev	%Chg	Yield (%)	Jun 24	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	3884.84	3795.73	2.35	\$/£	1.055	1.053	0.2%	US 2 yr	3.05	2.96	0.09
Nasdaq Composite	11489.10	11232.19	2.25	\$/€	1.225	1.227	-0.2%	US 10 yr	3.12	3.05	0.08
Dow Jones Ind	31323.85	30677.36	2.11	€/£	0.858	0.858	0%	US 30 yr	3.25	3.18	0.08
FTSE 100	1622.86	1540.36	5.26	\$/¥	125.225	124.465	0.6%	UK 2 yr	2.61	2.60	0.01
Euro Stoxx 50	3508.89	3436.29	2.09	€/¥	166.185	165.036	0.7%	UK 10 yr	2.30	2.31	-0.01
FTSE 100	17119.86	17029.45	0.58	\$/¥	1.007	1.009	-0.2%	UK 30 yr	2.54	2.57	-0.03
FTSE All-Share	3675.87	3674.68	0.03	€/¥	1.174	1.174	0%	JPN 2 yr	-0.68	-0.69	0.01
CAC 40	6073.35	5983.33	1.5%	\$/¥	1.174	1.174	0%	JPN 10 yr	0.23	0.23	0.00
Sensex	13118.13	12912.58	1.5%	\$/¥	1.174	1.174	0%	JPN 30 yr	1.24	1.22	0.02
Nikkei	26491.87	26771.25	-1.2%	\$/¥	1.174	1.174	0%	GER 2 yr	0.79	0.80	-0.01
Hang Seng	21719.86	21723.07	-0.01%	\$/¥	1.174	1.174	0%	GER 10 yr	1.44	1.43	0.01
MSCI World	2549.85	2537.26	0.48	\$/¥	1.174	1.174	0%	GER 30 yr	1.88	1.88	0.01
MSCI EM	695.34	693.59	0.25	\$/¥	1.174	1.174	0%				
MSCI ACWI	596.99	594.43	0.43	\$/¥	1.174	1.174	0%				
FT Worldvies 2500	4528.26	4575.99	-1.07	\$/¥	1.174	1.174	0%				
FT Worldvies 5000	38402.80	38076.73	1.07	\$/¥	1.174	1.174	0%				

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NATION FACES CHANGED ABORTION LANDSCAPE



Demonstrators at the Supreme Court on Friday. In the new and shifting post-Roe world, abortion was banned in at least nine states.

Making Inquiry On Jan. 6 Riot Into Potent TV

This article is by **Michael S. Schmidt, Lube Broadwater and Maggie Haberman.**

The typical congressional hearing features a pileup of long-winded statements — what some might consider bloviating. There are harsh partisan exchanges that can obscure the substance at hand. Visual presentations tend to involve an easel. The television audience is largely on C-SPAN.

But the congressional hearing has been utterly, if perhaps temporarily, redefined over the past month by the House select committee investigating President Donald J. Trump's efforts to hold on to power.

The five sessions the panel has produced so far this month resemble a tightly scripted television series. Each episode has a defined story with a beginning, middle and end. Heroes and villains are clearly identified. Only a few of the committee members speak at any given hearing, and those who do often read from teleprompters.

The answers to the questions are known before they are asked. There is no grandstanding or partisan rancor.

Earlier this month, the committee postponed its third scheduled hearing for a reason far different from those that have typically troubled the tradition-bound elected officials and aides of Capitol Hill. Their writers and producers needed more time to sharpen their scripts and cut better video clips, people involved in the decision said. When that hearing finally occurred on Thursday, the members — with the cable networks all carrying it live — wove together videos of depositions, audio from interviews and other material to document in detail how Mr. Trump tried to pressure the Justice Department into aiding his schemes.

"For the first time since Trump
Continued on Page 24

Roe's Fall Started in 2010 With G.O.P. Wave

By **KATE ZERNIKE**

The beginning of the end of Roe v. Wade arrived on election night in November 2010.

That night, control of statehouses across the country flipped from Democrat to Republican, almost to the number: Democrats had controlled 27 state legislatures going in and ended up with 16; Republicans started with 14 and ended up controlling 25. Republicans swept not only the South but Democratic strongholds in the Midwest, picking up more seats nationwide than either party had in four decades. By the time the votes had been counted, they held their biggest margin since the Great Depression.

There had been a time, in the 15 years after Roe, when Republicans were as likely as Democrats to support an absolute right to legal abortion, and sometimes even more so. But 2010 swept in a different breed of Republican, powered by Tea Party supporters, that looked in a new conservatism. While Tea Party-backed candidates had campaigned on fiscal discipline and promised indifference to social issues, once in office they found it difficult to cut state budgets. And a well-established network was waiting with model anti-abortion laws.

In legislative sessions starting the following January, Republican-led states passed a record number of restrictions: 92, or nearly three times as many as the previous high, set in 2005.

The three years following the 2010 elections would result in 205 anti-abortion laws across the

Sweep of Statehouses Launched Hundreds of Restrictions

country, more than in the entire previous decade.

"A watershed year in the defense of life," Charmaine Yeost, at the time president of the anti-abortion group Americans United for Life, proclaimed when the sessions were over, noting that 70 of the laws — restrictions on abortion pills and hurdles for women getting abortions and clinics providing them — had adopted the group's model legislation. "And that is just the beginning."

"It was a massacre," said Beth Shipp, then the political director of NARAL Pro-Choice America, which had been founded before Roe to push for abortion rights.

In the fraught and much disputed language of pregnancy, the elections of 2010 were the quickening of the anti-abortion movement. The movement started out weak but gained power in the new wave. Abortion rights groups, meanwhile, were weakened in the states. The ensuing debates in

Continued on Page 19

Patients and States Turn Focus to Pills

By **PAM BELLUCK**

In the hours after the Supreme Court released its decision overturning the legal right to abortion in the United States, nearly 100 requests for appointments flowed into Just the Pill, a nonprofit organization that arranges for patients to obtain abortion pills in several states.

That was about four times the usual daily number of appointment requests for the organization, and many came from patients in Texas and other states that quickly halted abortions after the court ruling.

Abortion pills, already used in more than half of recent abortions in the U.S., are becoming even more sought-after in the aftermath of Roe v. Wade being overturned, and they will likely be at the center of the legal battles that are expected to unfold as about half the states ban abortion and others take steps to increase access.

The method, known as medication abortion, is authorized by the Food and Drug Administration for use in the first 10 weeks of pregnancy. It involves taking two different drugs, 24 to 48 hours apart, to stop the development of a pregnancy and then to cause contractions similar to a miscarriage to expel the fetus, a process that usually causes bleeding similar to a heavy period.

Many patients choose medication abortion because it is less expensive, less invasive and affords more privacy than surgical abortions — the pills can be received by mail and taken at home, or anywhere, after an initial consultation with a doctor by video, phone, in person or even just by filling out an online form.

The patient must participate in the consultation from a state that allows abortion, even if it simply involves being on the phone in a car just over the border. The IP address of the computer or phone they use allows the clinic to identify where they are.

Continued on Page 19

Praise and Protests as Clinics Shutter

By **JULIE BOSMAN**

Americans awakened on Saturday to a new and rapidly shifting reality where abortion, a basic legal right for nearly a half-century, was outlawed in some states and permitted in others, and where initial bursts of elation and shock after the declaration that Roe v. Wade had been overturned gave way to action.

Demonstrations and spontaneous celebrations erupted in dozens of cities across the country. While abortion opponents cheered a long-fought victory, outraged protesters thronged by the thousands in Chicago, Dallas, New York and Louisville, Ky., condemning the Supreme Court and vowing that they would resist the decision.

Legal experts confronted a new and changing landscape of abortion laws. In the newly redrawn map of the United States that was taking shape on Saturday, abortion was banned in at least nine states, prompting vows of swift enforcement from officials in conservative states. Prosecutors in liberal states and counties responded with defiance, saying they would not violate their own values by pursuing criminal cases against doctors who had performed abortions.

But in many states, they would have little to prosecute: Across the United States, doctors immediately halted procedures and canceled scheduled weekend appointments, even as patients were sitting in waiting rooms at abortion clinics. Women scrambled to find a legal reality, abruptly making plans to cross state lines into places where abortion was still allowed — traveling from Missouri to Illinois, from Wisconsin to Minnesota.

Americans said they were steeling themselves for a fight in the wake of the court's decision, whether that meant pushing for still more restrictions on abortion or working to elect politicians in the midterm elections who favor

Continued on Page 19

MAPPING ACCESS Until now, nearly all American women lived within a few hours' drive of a clinic. Those trips are likely to get longer. **PAGE 22**

TILTED BATTLEGROUND The abortion fight shifts to state legislatures, where gerrymandering has given Republicans an advantage. **PAGE 17**

SLOW BURN Throughout his career, Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. showed tactical acumen in his long pursuit of overturning Roe v. Wade. **PAGE 23**

Allied Commandos in Ukraine Secretly Funnel Aid to Troops

This article is by **Eric Schmitt, Julian E. Barnes and Helene Cooper.**

WASHINGTON — As Russian troops press ahead with a grinding campaign to seize eastern Ukraine, the nation's ability to resist the onslaught depends more than ever on help from the United States and its allies — including a stealthy network of commandos and spies rushing to provide weapons, intelligence and training, according to U.S. and European officials.

Much of this work happens outside Ukraine, at bases in Germany, France and Britain, for example. But even as the Biden administration has declared it will not deploy American troops to Ukraine, some C.I.A. personnel have continued to operate in the country secretly, mostly in the capital, Kyiv, directing much of the massive amounts of intelligence the United States is sharing with

Ukrainian forces, according to current and former officials.

At the same time, a few dozen commandos from other NATO countries, including Britain, France, Canada and Lithuania, also have been working inside Ukraine. The United States withdrew its own 150 military instructors before the war began in February, but commandos from these allies either remained or have gone in and out of the country since then, training and advising Ukrainian troops and providing an on-the-ground conduit for weapons and other aid, three U.S. officials said.

Few other details have emerged about what the C.I.A. personnel or the commandos are doing, but their presence in the country — on top of the diplomatic staff who returned after Russia gave up its siege of Kyiv — hints at the scale of the secretive effort to assist Ukraine that is underway and the

Continued on Page 7



FINNABAR O'REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Taking Fire Deep Underground

As if their work thousands of feet beneath the ground weren't dangerous enough, coal miners in eastern Ukraine now have to concern themselves with Russian bombs falling from the sky. **PAGE 6.**

SPORTS 30-33

Rare No-Hitter vs. Yankees

Three Astros pitchers combined to achieve the feat against a team that has been held to no hits in a game seven times in 120 seasons. **PAGE 33**

SPORTS

A Champion Tries Again

Ahead of her 21st Wimbledon appearance, Serena Williams discussed coming back from a tough injury, but steered away from politics. **PAGE 31**

ARTS & LEISURE

An Opera Star's Troubles

The Russian soprano Anna Netrebko has seen her career fall into disarray because of her ties to the country's president, Vladimir V. Putin. **PAGE 12**

METROPOLITAN

The Battle of the Beach

A struggle characterized as rich versus poor plays out in a legal case over a strip of Hamptons sand that has long attracted truck owners. **PAGE 1**

SUNDAY REVIEW

Maureen Dowd

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Regent
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INTIMIDAD Imágenes sexuales que destruyen y matan

P34

EL PAÍS SEMANAL Chanel pide paso: "No soy un títere"



SÁNCHEZ ANUNCIA LAS MEDIDAS DEL DECRETO ANTICRISIS

Cheque de 200 euros para rentas bajas e impuesto a las energéticas

PSOE y UP acuerdan 'in extremis' destinar 9.000 millones contra la inflación

Las pensiones no contributivas aumentarán un 15% y se rebajará el abono transporte

Núñez Feijóo le acusa de copiar al PP tras el "varapalo" en Andalucía

CARLOS E. CUÉ, Madrid
El PSOE y Unidas Podemos acordaron ayer *in extremis* una batería de medidas para aplacar los efectos de la galopante inflación que castiga a los ciudadanos por

la guerra en Ucrania. El presidente del Gobierno, Pedro Sánchez, anunció una inyección de 9.000 millones para dar, hasta final de año, una ayuda de 200 euros a familias con ingresos bajos, incre-

mentar en un 15% las pensiones no contributivas y de invalidez, reducir el IVA a la electricidad del 10% al 5% y financiar descuentos en el abono transporte. Sánchez informó también de un impuesto

a los beneficios extraordinarios de las empresas de energía. El líder del PP, Alberto Núñez Feijóo, le afeó copiar al PP tras el "varapalo" de Andalucía".

PÁGINAS 18 Y 19

EDITORIAL EN LA PÁGINA 14

Marruecos cifra en 23 los muertos en la frontera con Melilla

"Todo era sangre, piel desgarrada, pies rotos, manos rotas..."

LAURA J. VARO, Nador
"Todo era sangre, piel desgarrada, pies rotos, manos rotas...". Vecinos de Nador (Marruecos) describen una multitud de cuerpos amontonados y heridos tras el choque entre la policía marroquí y migrantes en el intento de salto masivo a la valla de Melilla del pasado viernes.

PÁGINAS 24 Y 25



DAVID EXPÓSITO

La vida sin reposo de Neli: 12 horas limpiando casas por 1.200 euros

El día a día de Neli Ayala, de 42 años, consiste en una carrera contra reloj. Es una de las 370.000 empleadas de hogar que se beneficia-

rán de la reforma que otorgará más derechos al sector. Neli limpia, cada jornada, dos casas y una oficina situadas en tres puntos distintos de

Madrid. Emplea cuatro horas en desplazarse. Sale a las ocho de su casa. Regresa a las 22.45. Gana, al mes, 1.200 euros.

PÁGINAS 50 Y 51

MARC MURTRA
Presidente de Indra

"Ni hay interferencias, ni habrá injerencias mientras sea presidente"

P47

La sentencia sobre el aborto agrava en EE UU la polarización

IKER SEISDEDOS, Washington
La derogación del derecho constitucional al aborto en EE UU ha agravado la polarización. El mapa está partido en cuatro: los nueve Estados que se han apresurado a criminalizar la interrupción del embarazo, los que lo harán en breve, los que dependen de quién gane en los comicios, y los que defenderán este derecho.

PÁGINAS 30 Y 31

CONSECUENCIAS DE LA GUERRA EN UCRANIA

La OTAN lanzará en Madrid el mayor refuerzo militar desde la Guerra Fría

Los aliados desplegarán miles de soldados en Europa Oriental

P2

Balance de fuerzas en el mundo tras la invasión de Ucrania

P4 Y 5

El corte del gas ruso aboca a Europa a retornar al carbón

P48 Y 49

JOSÉ MANUEL ALBARES Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores

"Las mayores amenazas para los españoles vienen del Este"

P3

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A WOMAN RECEIVES an abortion at an Albuquerque clinic Thursday, a day before the U.S. Supreme Court reversed Roe vs. Wade. New Mexico is one of six states that allow the procedure during late-term pregnancy.

GINA FERRAZZI Los Angeles Times

UNITED STATES OF CALIFORNIA

How a Californian's illegal abortion paved way for Roe

By Brittney Mejia

BIGFORK, Mont. — The college student lay down on an operating table, her legs trembling in the stirrups. The doctor warned her to remain absolutely silent.

She was 22, terrified of needles but prepared to go through with the medical procedure no matter what. Her future depended on it.

"I don't think I was particularly afraid," she said. "I had that strong determination. This was the right thing for me to do."

"This" was an illegal abortion. The year was 1966, the place, California, and Cheryl Bryant was out of options. She had plans to graduate college and become a

teacher, and her boyfriend, Clifton Palmer, to be a school psychologist. They were "poor as church mice," she recalled, and couldn't afford a baby.

The couple's search for a way out would ultimately lead to the arrest and conviction of Dr. Leon P. Belous for conspiracy to commit an abortion. To their testimony in front of a grand jury. And to a battle that would wind its way up to the state Supreme Court.

Cheryl could never have anticipated that the legal fight over her abortion would help lay the groundwork for Roe vs. Wade. Or that the U.S. Supreme Court would cite that California case in handing down its landmark 1973 decision [See Abortion, A6]



CHERYL PALMER, seen at her Montana farm, got an abortion as a college student in 1966.

IRFAN KHAN Los Angeles Times

State brings up rear in school bus access

Education officials want lawmakers to fund the vehicles for all districts.

BY MACKENZIE MAYS

SACRAMENTO — When the COVID-19 pandemic shut down rural Del Norte County schools, it was the buses that brought students a shred of normalcy.

Teachers and staff boarded the yellow vehicles and helped deliver brown bags of free meals and school supplies. They drove along winding, dilapidated back roads known for landslides,

as concerns grew about students who had been shut out of classrooms.

"That school bus is a lifeline," said Jeff Harris, superintendent of schools in Del Norte County, the northwestern corner of California. Del Norte, flush with redwood forests, is home to more than 4,000 K-12 students, a majority of whom qualify for free or reduced-price meals.

When district finances were tight in 2019, school officials considered making cuts to transportation services. But they ultimately backed off as community sentiment became clear: Buses are a necessity.

[See Bus, A14]

'Crisis' summits pile on pressure
G-7 and NATO are united, but key issues may curtail Biden's ambitions. **WORLD, A4**

Russians target key stronghold
Kremlin's forces and separatists try to blockade Lyssyohansk, leader says. **WORLD, A3**

Grant boosts VA housing efforts
Nonprofit's donation filled financing gap in the plan to build 1,700 units. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Weather
Sunny and hot. **L.A. Basin: 90/67. B12**

Weather
Sunny and hot. **L.A. Basin: 90/67. B12**

Weather
Sunny and hot. **L.A. Basin: 90/67. B12**

Weather
Sunny and hot. **L.A. Basin: 90/67. B12**

Weather
Sunny and hot. **L.A. Basin: 90/67. B12**

Making of a Trump devotee

A California lawyer's path to Jan. 6 notoriety

BY MELANIE MASON

The theme of the third congressional hearing on the Jan. 6 insurrection was unmistakable: John Eastman was not just a peripheral figure in the panel's investigation, but a main character. If Eastman was tuning in, though, the proceedings may have struck him as something else — a bizarre episode of "This Is Your Life."

On the dais was the panel's vice chair, Republican Rep. Liz Cheney of Wyoming, with whom he attended University of Chicago Law School. Another alum, Greg Jacob, was at the



JOHN EASTMAN'S assistant says he'd grown angrier before he allied himself with Trump.

J. MARTIN ASSOCIATED PRESS

witness table, detailing Eastman's relentless attempts to persuade Jacob's boss at the time, Vice President Mike Pence, to unilaterally block the counting of the electoral votes that would cement Joe Biden's victory.

Offering testimony at Jacob's trial was retired federal Judge J. Michael Luttig, a foundational figure in Eastman's early legal life. Eastman's clerkship with Luttig led to yet more longstanding friendships — with Texas GOP Sen. Ted Cruz and Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and his wife, Ginni — that are fodder in the investigation.

[See Eastman, A12]

THE FUTURE OF ABORTION

New Mexico brace for rise in patients

Doctors expect more people from conservative states now that Roe has been overturned

BY EMILY BAUMGAERTNER

ALBUQUERQUE — The parking lot to the abortion clinic in this desert city was crowded recently with cars from out of state: four from Texas. Two from Oklahoma, and others from Arizona, Louisiana and Iowa. Pillows and blankets were scattered across backseats to ease the journey home, which for many would come by day's end.

In one car, a young man in a Nirvana T-shirt rubbed his palms together and stared off into the sky. In another, a pregnant woman handed an infant to her partner and climbed out into the dry 103-degree heat. She walked past four security cameras, around a wrought-iron fence and through a double-dead-bolt door.

They had driven here — others arrive by plane and Greyhound bus — like many before them. New Mexico, one of six states that allow late-term abortions, has for years been overwhelmed by travelers from swaths of the country where the procedure is forbidden. But the Supreme Court's ruling Friday on a Mississippi law to ban most abortions after 15 weeks, reversing the landmark 1973 Roe vs. Wade ruling, has New Mexico's abortion providers bracing for a new influx of patients from conservative states.

"Oh, my gosh, the magnitude for us is going to be tremendous," said Dr. Lisa Hoffer, the clinical vice chair of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at the University of New Mexico. "This ripples far beyond New Mexico, and they're going to be coming to us."

The court's ruling is drawing this state deeper into an intensifying culture war that has shaped American politics and challenged a woman's right to abortion for decades. As many states, most controlled by Republican legislatures, have restricted access over the years, New Mexico and others, including Colorado and Illinois, have become safe if at times tense havens for those seeking to end their pregnancies.

[See New Mexico, A8]

ANALYSIS

SUPREME COURT PUSHES FURTHER RIGHT

BY DAVID G. SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — This is not the Supreme Court most Americans have known.

Since Chief Justice Earl Warren retired in 1969, ending an era of liberal activism, the high court has been dominated by moderates.

They included Lewis Powell, a soft-spoken Southern lawyer appointed by President Nixon, and Sandra Day O'Connor and Anthony M. Kennedy, both appointed by President Reagan.

They were not scholars and did not espouse an ideology or a methodology for deciding cases. But they brought wisdom and practical experience to deciding the hardest issues, and in O'Connor's case, political know-how as well. She had been the Republican leader of the Arizona Senate before becoming a judge, and she knew how to forge a compromise.

Year after year, they kept [See Court, A9]

Why resistance is vital amid repression

While Roe makes headlines, the far right presses its pernicious plans, Anita Chabria writes. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Many fear rollback of LGBTQ rights

Participants at the OC Pride parade say conservative lawmakers will target the community. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

ing who
he wants John
Davidson is the
superstar that time
forgot **ARTS & STYLE**



Dave Eggers
Author investigates
after book was to
be banned in South
Dakota **OUTLOOK**



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Improbable conditions led to deal on gun law

Expertise, experience and mettle yield landmark legislation

BY MIKE DEBONIS

Sen. John Cornyn had just left a convention center stage in Houston, where he had been mercilessly booed by conservative activists furious at his leading role in the most serious gun-law talks on Capitol Hill in a generation, when the Texas Republican picked up his phone and sent a message.

The day before, Cornyn had stormed out of a key bargaining session inside the Capitol, telling reporters, "I'm done." And video clips of the Houston jeers were already bouncing around social media, leading many observers to conclude that the talks — launched in the wake of the May 24 massacre inside a Texas elementary school — were on the brink of collapse.

But Cornyn made clear in that text message to Sen. Kyrsten Sinema (D-Ariz.) that there was nothing to worry about: "We both know that when we're doing what's right, it doesn't matter what other people think," he wrote, according to Sinema.

The exchange underscored the improbable confluence of circumstances that, within a month's time, produced the most significant federal legislation to address gun violence in nearly three decades — the Bipartisan Safer Communities Act, which passed the Senate on Thursday, the House on Friday and was signed by President Biden on Saturday morning.

The breakthrough was pushed along by a core group of negotiators — Sens. Cornyn, Sinema, Chris Murphy (D-Conn.) and Thom Tillis (R-N.C.) — who seized the moment and used a distinctive combination of policy expertise, legislative experience and political courage to push past obstacles that had repeatedly stymied previous attempts at compromise. The deal succeeded even though it is an election year, in spite of a largely hands-off approach from congressional leaders and an unpopular president, and despite an oppressive history of failure dating back nearly a decade.

"It came together very quickly, and I think it's because we all have this common desire to help address the fact that folks across our

SEE GUNS ON A24

After Roe, a GOP push to go further



Abortion rights supporters attend a rally in front of the U.S. Supreme Court a day after *Roe v. Wade* was overturned. Protests continued across the nation for a second day as many states moved swiftly to issue abortion bans and expand restrictions.

ROBERTO SCHMIDT/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

Lawmakers mapping next battles in states and Congress

BY CAROLINE KITCHENER

On the heels of their greatest victory, antiabortion activists are eager to capitalize on their momentum by enshrining constitutional abortion bans, pushing Congress to pass a national prohibition, blocking abortion pills, and limiting people's ability to get abortions across state lines.

At the National Association of Christian Lawmakers conference in Branson, Mo., on Friday, several dozen state legislators from across the country brainstormed ideas — all in agreement that their wildly successful movement would not end with *Roe v. Wade*.

"It's not over," said Oklahoma state Rep. Todd Russ (R), who attended the conference. At this point, Russ said, the ideas are like "popcorn in a popcorn popper."

"There are all kinds going around."

The Supreme Court decision has already transformed America, immediately ending abortion care in eight states, with many more states poised to ban the procedure in the coming weeks and months.

SEE ABORTION ON A10

Emboldened Supreme Court majority takes big swings right off the bench

BY ROBERT BARNES

At the end of the first full Supreme Court term with Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. and Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. in place, liberal Justice Stephen G. Breyer said he was amazed —

and not in a particularly good way — what President George W. Bush's nominees to the bench had accomplished. "It is not often that so few have so quickly changed so much," Breyer said in June 2007 as he dissented from a decision striking school integration programs in two cities.

But it was nothing like this past week. With the three nominees of President Donald Trump in each majority, the Supreme Court put a conservative shine on a greater role for religion in public life, the Second Amendment's protection of gun rights against legislatures' concerns of violence and then the biggest of them all: the long-awaited overturning of *Roe v. Wade*'s guaran-

tee of a fundamental right to abortion.

A Supreme Court conservative majority remaking the court's jurisprudence on a number of fronts showed that it is willing to defy public opinion, demonstrations and even death threats in the boldest manner possible: declaring that decision granting a constitutional right to abortion relied on by generations of American women was "egregiously wrong from the start."

Breyer, now at the end of his nearly 30-year career on the court, remarked on the acceleration of change at the end of a dissent Friday he wrote with his liberal colleagues.

"A new and bare majority of this Court — acting at practically the first moment possible — overrules *Roe* and *Casey*," Breyer and Justices Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan wrote, referring to *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, the 1992 case that affirmed the right to abortion. "It converts a series of dissenting opinions expressing

SEE COURT ON A9

I feel angry
I feel marvelous
I feel betrayed



Post readers weigh in with a range of reactions. **A13**

More coverage

Some in Mississippi have misgivings over ruling. **A8**
Florida may be epicenter of state-by-state fight. **A8**

Ruling sets up tensions over competing state laws. **A10**
U.S. is one of few nations to curtail access. **A12**

Decision draws swift reaction from world leaders. **A12**
Abortion rights supporters return to Supreme Court. **C1**

Many Americans fearful that wave of repeals could be on horizon

BY KARIN BRULLIARD

Amy Martin was 14 years old when *Roe v. Wade* was decided, establishing a right to abortion that she took for granted for nearly five decades. Martin was 56 when the Supreme Court legalized same-sex marriage in 2015, a right she took advantage of when she married her partner of 30 years this month.

And when the court overturned that first decision on Friday, with Justice Clarence Thomas writing in his opinion that the court should next reexamine cases granting LGBTQ rights, Martin found herself seized with new terror that the second one could also fall.

"What if gay marriage is the next thing?" said Martin, 63, who recently retired from her job at a Cleveland law office, and whose health-care benefits came from her wife's policy. "The fabric of our country and what it's been based on, it's fraying."

As the implications of the court's abortion decision contin-

ued to reverberate across a divided country on Saturday, many of whose who decried the ruling expressed mounting worry that it would simply restrict abortion access. Instead, they said they saw in the ruling a watershed that could trigger the repeal of a host of other protections — for racial and ethnic minorities, gay people and others — that were established on similar legal grounds as *Roe*. That possibility was not just paranoid speculation, they noted: It was spelled out by several Supreme Court justices on Friday.

In interviews, many Americans described alarm that a nation proud of its hard-won expansion of protections for people never acknowledged by its White, male founders had begun to feel more like an unfamiliar land where established rights may melt away in its highest court. The prospect was all the more disturbing, some said, because polls have found a majority of Americans support abortion

SEE CONSTITUTION ON A11

Russia will soon exhaust its combat capabilities, Western experts say

BY LIZ SLY

The Russian military will soon exhaust its combat capabilities and be forced to bring its offensive in Ukraine's eastern Donbas region to a grinding halt, according to Western intelligence predictions and military experts.

"There will come a time when the tiny advances Russia is making become unsustainable in light of the costs and they will need a significant pause to regenerate capability," said a senior Western official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive issue.

The assessments come despite continued Russian advances against outgunned Ukrainian forces, including the capture on Friday of the city of Severodonetsk, the biggest urban center taken by Russia in the east since

launching the latest Donbas offensive nearly three months ago.

The Russians are now closing in on the adjacent city of Lysychansk, on the opposite bank of the Donets River. Its capture would give Russia almost complete control of the Luhansk oblast, one of two oblasts, or provinces, that make up the Donbas region. Control of Donbas is the publicly declared goal of Russia's "special military operation," although the multifront invasion launched in February made it clear that Moscow's original ambitions were far broader.

Capturing Lysychansk presents a challenge because it stands on higher ground and the Donets River impedes Russian

SEE UKRAINE ON A23

New claims: Ukraine says missiles were launched from Belarus. **A21**



SERGEI GRITS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mass shooting stuns Norway

Two women embrace as they lay flowers at the scene of a shooting in Oslo. A gunman opened fire on an LGBTQ nightclub early Saturday, killing two people and leaving 10 seriously wounded during the capital's annual Pride festival in what the Norwegian security service called "extreme Islamist terror." Authorities raised the terror threat to its highest level, and a parade was canceled. **Story, A27**

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el berlinés

Criptomonedas: el negocio que coloniza Tierra del Fuego

El auge provoca una inédita demanda energética

TEXTO NICOLÁS CASSESE » ENVIADO ESPECIAL



Las granjas de criptomonedas absorben la energía de Río Grande y Ushuaia

YA HAY QUE BAJAR LA APP PARA EL PAGO DEL ESTACIONAMIENTO

—sociedad

Sacan los parquímetros y desde el miércoles empieza a funcionar el nuevo sistema en la ciudad; hay que tener la aplicación en el celular. Página 27

LA NACION

DOMINGO 26 DE JUNIO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Crecen los subsidios y las importaciones de energía: peligran las metas económicas

SEGUNDO SEMESTRE. Un nuevo aumento de gastos pone en riesgo el cumplimiento del acuerdo con el FMI; fuerte impacto en las reservas

El aumento de subsidios a la energía y de las importaciones en ese sector pone en riesgo el cumplimiento de dos de las tres metas anuales acordadas con el Fondo Monetario Internacional (FMI), además de afectar las reservas del Banco Central.

Los subsidios crecieron 60% en mayo, respecto del mismo mes de 2021, y 130% en lo que va de este año, con transferencias por \$572.982 millones. Y se importaron US\$1601 millones en combustibles y lubricantes, un 227% más que en 2021. Página 12

El Fondo reclamó al Gobierno evitar subas discrecionales

Rafael Mathus Ruiz
Página 13

EL ESCENARIO

El capitán entregado de un barco a la deriva

Jorge Liotti
—LA NACION—

La reunión de gobernadores de anteaño en el Chaco había sido convocada originalmente para discutir el futuro de la Hidrovía y solo estaba prevista la presencia de los mandatarios del norte. Folclore septentrional. Pero en la semana intervino Cristina Kirchner, que a falta de lapicera tiene el don de la interpelación, y a través de Jorge Capitanich y Axel Kicillof forjó un segundo capítulo. Continúa en la página 16

EL ANÁLISIS

Espionaje y terrorismo en un país muy frágil

Joaquín Morales Solá
—LA NACION—

En Turquía, hace unos diez días, el gobierno de ese país detuvo a ocho iraníes integrantes de una célula que preparaba atentados contra ciudadanos israelíes en Estambul. Luego, el ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Israel dijo, en Turquía, que los informes de inteligencia eran "irrefutables" en cuanto al criminal propósito de esa red iraní. Continúa en la página 39



Los enfrentamientos entre defensores y detractores del aborto continuaron ayer frente a la Corte Suprema, en Washington ALEX WONG/APP

El fallo sobre el aborto polariza más a EE.UU. y altera la campaña

GIRO HISTÓRICO. La decisión de la Corte movilizó a republicanos y demócratas; protestas en todo el país

WASHINGTON (De nuestro corresponsal).— Los norteamericanos amanecieron ayer en una nación partida más aún de lo que ya estaba por el fallo con el que la Corte Suprema revocó, anteayer, la protección constitucional del aborto. La decisión de los jueves conmocionó las calles de Estados Unidos, que ayer se llenaron de manifestaciones a favor y en con-

tra de la interrupción voluntaria del embarazo. La sentencia, que dio de baja el histórico fallo de "Roe vs. Wade", de 1973, se metió además de lleno en la campaña para las elecciones legislativas de noviembre. Si bien la celebraron, los republicanos temen que la determinación de la Corte movilice como nunca a los demócratas en los comicios. Página 3

Investigan sugestivos mensajes de tripulantes del avión

SOSPECHAS. Habrían pedido borrar archivos antes de entregar sus celulares. Página 22

Detectan una red detrás de las estafas en Tinder

PRÓFUGO. Buscan al líder, que tendría vínculos con extremistas. Página 33

EL HILO DEL MUNDO

Patria grande, segunda temporada

Inés Capdevila
—LA NACION—

Página 8

La Ciudad

El adiós al
parquímetro
y la llegada
de la app

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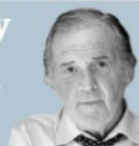
Estacionamiento.
Retiran los parquímetros
y el nuevo sistema
arranca el miércoles.



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Cristina
arremete por
"la platita"



Carlin
La serie más
ingeniosa
del mundo



El bombero Pérez
Un héroe en las
alturas de Recoleta

P. 47

Clarín

Un toque de atención para
la solución argentina de los
problemas argentinos

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Segmentación de usuarios

La suba de luz y gas para los que pierdan subsidios llegará en septiembre

Esta semana ya habilitarían el formulario para los usuarios que gestionen mantener los subsidios. Y para las facturas con aumento que se aplicarán desde septiembre, prorratearán los

consumos de julio y agosto. Estiman que un consumo medio de luz, que hoy está en \$ 2.000 mensuales subiría a \$ 3.500. Pero las empresas calculan que la suba será mucho mayor. P. 26

El informe del FMI

Luces rojas por la deuda y advertencia por subsidios

EL ROL DE LA AFI

Investigan la flexibilización de controles que permitió la entrada del avión

La Justicia -en la causa por el avión venezolano iraní- se encontró con medidas de los últimos dos años que relajaron los controles para prevenir atentados. Una de las más graves fue la decisión de la AFI de no entregar información a la Justicia sobre extranjeros que piden ciudadanía. P. 8



Sin incidentes. Volvieron los bombos, pero ahora promovidos y autorizados.

JUANO TESONE

Con bombos en las plateas, River siguió festejando

Con un 2-1 ante Lanús en el Monumental, el equipo de Gallardo acentuó su recuperación. El club le entregó bombos a 400 socios, acompañados por 50 músicos profesionales, para que alentaran y le quitaran protagonismo a los barrabravas. P. 58

AVALANCHA EN MELILLA

Dramático cruce de migrantes a España: hay 37 muertos

Intentaban pasar desde Marruecos. La Policía española frenó el paso de dos mil personas. P. 34



Desesperación. Huida desde África.

Del Editor

Ricardo Kirschbaum

Macri trajo a Cristina
y Cristina quiere
a Macri enfrente

P. 3



Isabel Teixeira, atriz de 'Pantanal' *Marlene Bergamo/Folhapress*

ilus
trís
sima
epa
sn!!

Para 4 em 10, governo incita ilegalidade na Amazônia

49% acham que gestão Bolsonaro fez menos que podia por Bruno e Dom, diz Datafolha

Aproximadamente 4 em 10 brasileiros pensam que o governo de Jair Bolsonaro (PL) mais incentiva do que combate ilegalidades na Amazônia, como a presença de pescadores irregulares e a invasão de terras indígenas.

Pesquisa Datafolha feita na quarta (22) e quinta (23) mostra que fica entre 39% e 43% a parcela que tem essa opinião. Uma fatia que vai de 31% a 35% considera que a gestão federal mais repressiva de que estimula essas ações.

Para 49%, o governo fez menos do que poderia para investigar os assassinatos de Bruno Pereira e de Dom Phillips no Amazonas. Na avaliação de 47%, o caso vai prejudicar severamente a imagem do Brasil no exterior.

Segundo o instituto, 44% acham que as mortes trarão prejuízo a iniciativas de preservação. **Política A4 e A6**

Desmame acelera sob receio de mais rigor em 2023, dizem analistas B4

MÔNICA BERGAMO
De carreira sólida no teatro, Isabel Teixeira celebra popularidade de Maria Bruaca **C2**

Viver é cada vez melhor para Gil, 80

Gilberto Gil completa 80 anos e, à Folha, rememora a carreira e reafirma sua fé no Brasil. Elogia FHC, Lula e Ciro e assina artigo em que defende a união entre ciência e cultura. **C4 e C7**

Equilíbrio B6

Terapeutas e negritude

Pessoas negras precisam de psicólogos negros? Não, mas é indicado

Esporte B7

Ex-xodó de Tite, Everton Cebolinha se vê distante da Copa do Mundo

Revelações sobre 6 de Janeiro não abatem Trump

Cinco audiências públicas com os resultados das investigações sobre a invasão do Capitólio em janeiro de 2021 não enfraqueceram o ex-presidente republicano Donald Trump. O percentual dos que veem crime nos seus atos segue o mesmo de abril, antes das sessões. **Mundo A15**

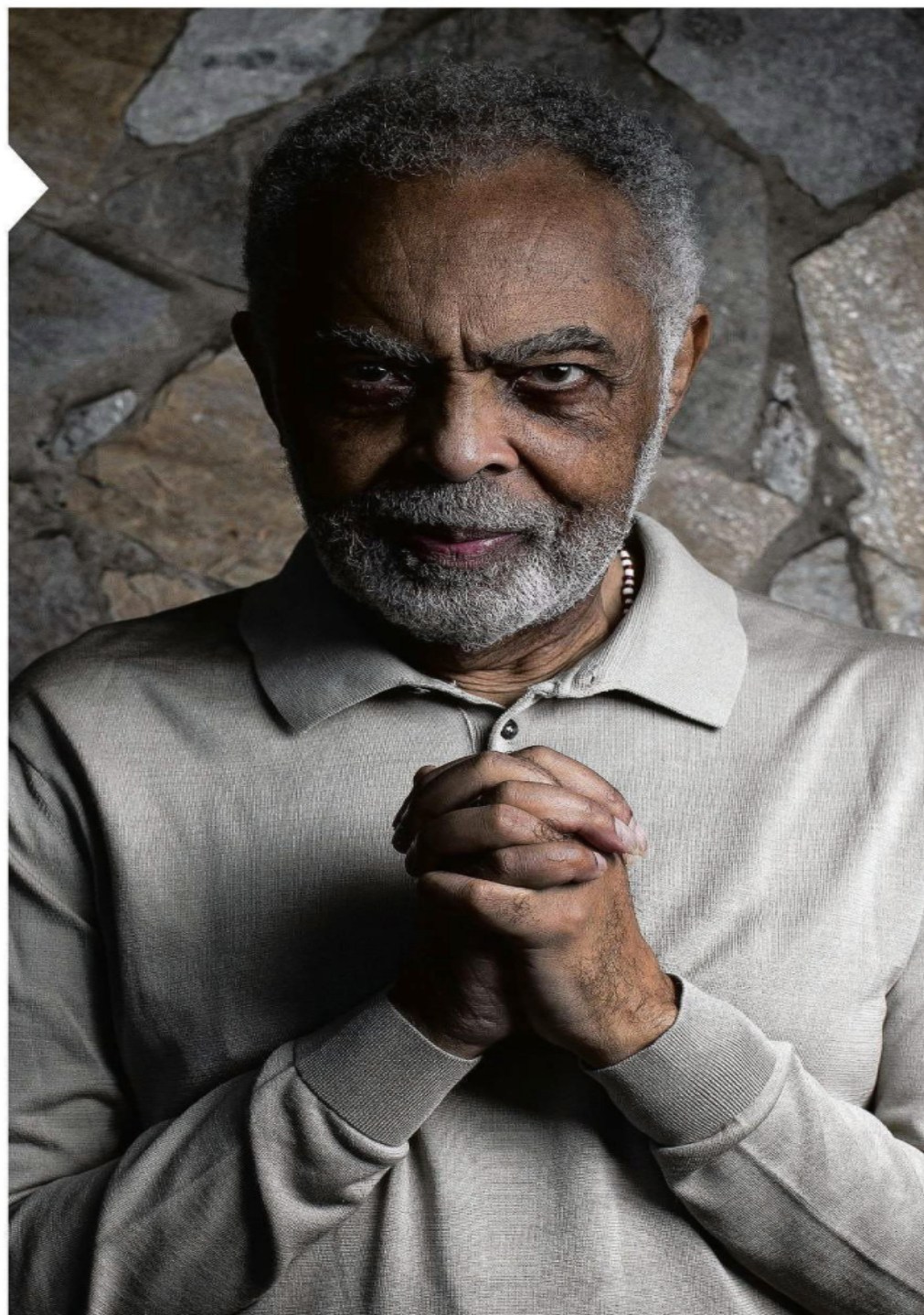
Ex-premiê Netanyahu prepara volta em Israel

Ruína da coalizão que governa o país desde 2021 pode dar a 'Bibi', acusado de corrupção, nova chance nas urnas. Seu partido lidera pesquisas. **Mundo A13**

EDITORIAIS A2

Redes sem lei
Sobre danos da desinformação nas mídias sociais.

Cerco às estatais
Acerca de ofensiva de centrão e PT para mudar lei.



Gilberto Gil, que completa 80 anos neste domingo, em seu estúdio no Rio de Janeiro *Eduardo Anizelli/Folhapress*

PF enfrenta nova crise após prisão de ministro

Os desdobramentos da operação envolvendo o ex-ministro Milton Ribeiro arrastam, pela segunda vez no governo Bolsonaro, a Polícia Federal para uma investigação sobre interferência política e expõem tensões internas no órgão.

A própria PF investiga, em paralelo ao Supremo Tribunal Federal, as suspeitas sobre interferência indevida do governo no caso. **Poder A8**

Janio de Freitas Candidatura deve ser suspensa

A interferência no caso Milton Ribeiro é um chamado ao Tribunal Superior Eleitoral para suspender o registro da candidatura Bolsonaro até que o STF defina os rumos processuais. Isso independe da responsabilização do presidente. **Política A8**

Moradias em favela em SP disparam durante pandemia

A capital paulista registrou aumento de 6.000 domicílios em áreas de favela de 2019 a 2022. O total se mantinha estável desde 2017, mas, com ações de despejo e reintegrações de posse subindo 70% de 2020 a 2021, hoje são 397.054 lares nessa situação, segundo a Prefeitura. **Cotidiano B1**

Renda de mais pobres não paga 2 pratos feitos no mês

Em 2021, os 5% mais pobres (cerca de 10 milhões) viram a renda per capita mensal cair a R\$ 39, segundo a Pnad Contínua. **A20**

ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



Fonte: www.climatepro.com.br

Ni la acuciante realidad económica hace frenar el festín con el gasto estatal

Políticos arman arteros golpes al Presupuesto en año electoral

Iniciativas legislativas buscan aprobar más sueldos, extras y contrataciones. Empeorará el agujero fiscal en G. 161.000 millones. Además está la antojadiza indemnización en Itaipú.

PÁGINA 12

Cigarrillos, terrorismo y mucha polémica
Informe especial: Paso del avión iraní por Paraguay dejó gran estela de dudas

PÁGINAS 4 y 5

Buenos precios y rendimientos agrícolas harán que PIB 2022 caiga menos

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El país corre peligro de ser sometido por el PCC, advierte diario inglés

PÁGINA 2

Santiago Peña, precandidato a presidente
"Yo no soy abogado ni trabajo en empresas del ex presidente Cartes"

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DOMINGO

Aborto y armas: Contradicciones made in USA

PÁGINA 48 a la 50

Mario Toñáñez deja bien en alto el guaraní

PÁGINA 30

Libertad celebra la 22

Torneo Apertura. El Guma consiguió su vigesimosegundo título anticipadamente al ganar 1-0 a Cerro Porteño, que sufrió tres expulsiones en la complementaria.

PÁGINAS 63 y 64



ETIOS MÁS POR DESCUBRIR

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ENQUÊTE
LES GRANDES ÉCOLES FACE
AUX REVENDICATIONS DE LA
« GÉNÉRATION CLIMAT » PAGES 8 ET 9



BIARRITZ
LA NOUVELLE VAGUE
DES JEUNES CHEFS
DE LA CÔTE BASQUE PAGE 28

PARLEMENT

• Portée par les oppositions, la jeunesse veut entrer dans une nouvelle ère
• Entre le RN et la Nupes, la bataille pour la présidence de la commission des finances

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Séisme : le pays compte ses morts

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AUTOMOBILE

Un entretien avec Luca de Meo, directeur général de Renault

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BOURSE

Le CAC 40 bien armé pour faire face à la défiance des marchés

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ENCHÈRES

Vente du fonds photographique de Dora Maar

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CHAMPS LIBRES

- Le « Belem », un fabuleux défi au temps d'une « cathédrale de toile »
- Un entretien avec Étienne Ollion
- La tribune de Jean-Jacques Urvoas
- La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté
- L'analyse de François-Xavier Bourmaud

PAGES 15 À 17

FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de vendredi :
Union européenne : approuvez-vous l'octroi du statut de candidat à l'Ukraine et à la Moldavie ?

OUI 46% NON 54%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 192 567

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr

Élisabeth Borne doit-elle demander la confiance à l'Assemblée nationale après son discours de politique générale ?

MARINE BRUSSON-CAPTURE D'ÉCRAN
YOUTUBE/AGROPARISTECH

L'incontrôlable envolée de la dette publique française

Elle s'est encore accrue de 90 milliards au premier trimestre pour atteindre 2 900 milliards d'euros. La hausse des taux d'intérêt va renchérir son coût pour les finances publiques.

Mesures d'urgence instaurées au cœur de la pandémie pour soutenir l'économie, financement d'un plan de relance pour préparer le rebond des entreprises, dis-

positif exceptionnel pour atténuer le choc de l'inflation, paquet en préparation pour préserver le pouvoir d'achat... Depuis deux ans, le gouvernement ne lésine pas

sur la dépense publique. Résultat, la dette pourrait franchir cette année la barre des 3 000 milliards d'euros. Or, la remontée des taux d'intérêt, passés de 0 à plus de 2 %

en quelques semaines, va considérablement en alourdir le coût pour les finances publiques. Parallèlement, la conjoncture continue de se dégrader sous l'effet de l'in-

flation, attendue cette année à 5,5 %. Selon les prévisions de l'Insee, la croissance pourrait plafonner à 2,3 % en 2022, et le pouvoir d'achat des ménages reculer de 1 %.

→ LA FORTE REMONTÉE DES TAUX D'INTÉRÊT VA UN PEU PLUS PLOMBER LES FINANCES PUBLIQUES → LE POUVOIR D'ACHAT DES FRANÇAIS FORTEMENT TOUCHÉ PAR L'INFLATION ET LA GUERRE EN UKRAÏNE PAGES 20 ET 21



ALEXIS ROSENFELD / DIVERGENCE

L'Europe veut mieux protéger ses aires marines en Méditerranée

Faute de contrôles, de nombreuses zones officiellement sanctuarisées peinent à devenir des havres de biodiversité. Des outils existent pourtant pour rendre leur gestion plus efficace, en associant les pêcheurs locaux. PAGE 10

La Cour suprême américaine abroge le droit à l'avortement

« Nous considérons que la Constitution ne confère pas un droit à l'avortement. » Dans une décision lourde de conséquences, six des neuf juges de la Cour suprême américaine ont renversé vendredi la jurisprudence établie depuis un demi-siècle, qui légalisait l'IVG au nom du droit des femmes à disposer de leur corps. Ils laissent aux États une entière liberté pour légiférer sur la question, ce qui annonce une vague d'interdictions en terres républicaines.

PAGE 4 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

ÉDITORIAL par Philippe Gélie pgelie@lefigaro.fr

Le pouvoir des juges

Ce n'est pas dans les bruyantes auditions parlementaires sur l'assaut du 6 janvier 2021 contre le Capitole qu'il faut chercher le véritable héritage de la présidence de Donald Trump. Celui-ci vient d'éclater dans deux décisions retentissantes de la Cour suprême : jeudi, un renforcement considérable du droit individuel d'être armé et, vendredi, l'abrogation du droit constitutionnel à l'avortement. Ce dernier séisme représente une victoire majeure du conservatisme religieux américain, l'aboutissement d'un projet de longue haleine dont l'ancien locataire de la Maison-Blanche – pourtant un drôle de paroissien – s'était fait l'agent obligé en vertu d'un pacte conclu avec la droite chrétienne.

Le président Joe Biden et la majorité du Congrès ont beau être démocrates, le pouvoir que détiennent aux États-Unis neuf juges nommés à vie supplante le leur. Trump avait pu en désigner trois, les sélectionnant sur leur doctrine « originaliste » (une lecture littérale de la Constitution) et leurs convictions « pro-vie ». But ultime : renverser la jurisprudence Roe vs Wade de 1973, qui reconnaissait aux femmes un droit constitutionnel à disposer de leur corps. Après un demi-siècle, ce droit de

« choisir » est effacé, presque fatalement, par une Cour majoritairement républicaine (six contre trois), où siègent six catholiques, dont cinq proches des évangéliques.

Cela va creuser davantage le fossé déjà abyssal entre les « deux Amériques », conservatrice et libérale. Pour celle qui triomphe aujourd'hui, l'avortement s'assimile à un assassinat dès la conception, mais on doit pouvoir être armé sans raison dans la rue puisque c'est un droit constitutionnel. Dans plus de la moitié des cinquante États, l'IVG va instantanément devenir illégale ou être soumise à de dures restrictions.

Le thème des élections de mi-mandat est tout trouvé

À travers le Sud, elle sera hors de portée pour les femmes qui n'ont pas les moyens d'aller jusqu'en Californie ou en Nouvelle-Angleterre. Le thème central de la campagne pour les législatives de mi-mandat est tout trouvé : « Les droits des femmes seront sur le bulletin de vote en novembre », dit la présidente de la Chambre, Nancy Pelosi. Dans une Amérique où les camps politiques sont incapables de forger des compromis, les juges ont le dernier mot. ■

HUDITCH & KEY

SOLDES
DU 22 JUIN AU 19 JUILLET 2022



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Summer books

FT writers and critics pick their best reads

LIFE & ARTS

Top US court scraps Roe vs Wade in heavy blow to abortion rights

◆ Majority decision ◆ 1973 ruling axed ◆ Biden laments 'sad day' ◆ States' bans expected

JAMES POLITI AND STEFANIA PALMA — WASHINGTON

The US Supreme Court has struck down Roe vs Wade, the legal decision that has enshrined the constitutional right to an abortion for nearly 50 years, in a historic ruling by the court's conservative majority that will shake up American society, politics and jurisprudence.

The justices of the Supreme Court upheld a state law in Mississippi banning abortion after 15 weeks. They also went further, saying the Roe ruling of 1973 was incorrectly decided. The court's three liberal justices dissented.



Rolling back abortion in America
Life & Arts

The ruling, which was one of the most anticipated in years after a draft of the court's decision was published by Politico in May, is a victory for anti-abortion advocates who have crusaded against Roe for decades.

But abortion-rights supporters fear it will result in widespread bans on the procedure in many Republican-led states, with protests expected in several big cities throughout the weekend.

Speaking from the White House yesterday, President Joe Biden said it was a "sad day for the court and for the country", adding that "the health and life of women of this nation are now at risk".

The majority opinion said the US constitution "does not prohibit the citizens of each state from regulating or prohib-



Abortion rights demonstrators outside the US Supreme Court yesterday — Ting Sheng/Bloomberg

iting abortion", adding that Roe and a subsequent decision that confirmed it, Planned Parenthood vs Casey, "arrogated that authority".

Dissenting judges argued there was no new justification to overturn Roe or Casey. "Today the court says that from the very moment of fertilisation, a woman has no rights to speak of," they wrote.

The ruling has raised fears that other rights could also be in peril, from contraception to same-sex marriage.

Chief Justice John Roberts agreed with the ruling but supported a narrower decision that would have kept Roe. He argued that the Supreme Court should instead discard the rule allowing the termination of a pregnancy until a fetus is deemed "viable". He wrote: "None of this, however, requires that we also take the dramatic step of altogether eliminating the abortion right."

Lynn Fitch, the Mississippi attorney-general, hailed the ruling as "a great day for the American people", while Mitch McConnell, the Senate's top Republican, called it "courageous and correct".

The opinion was made possible by the appointment of three conservative judges during the presidency of Donald Trump.

The ruling comes less than five months before midterm elections. With polls showing most Americans opposed to overturning Roe, Democrats hope the ruling will attract moderate swing voters who see Republican views as increasingly extreme.

FT View page 10

Hot money

The secret world of porn

FT WEEKEND MAGAZINE



A wealth of managers

Choosing the right adviser

FT MONEY



'Vice-signalling'

Darker side of political stunts

FT WEEKEND MAGAZINE



London 2012's legacy

The Olympic Park 10 years on

HOUSE & HOME



Wimbledon stays calm and carries on amid Russia row

Wimbledon will be an exhibition event this year after the ruling bodies of tennis stripped The Championships of its ranking status in response to a ban on Russian players by the All England Club, including top men's player Daniil Medvedev. But its place as the most eminent tournament makes it easier to carry on. Other stars will attend. "What most of us see is grass, strawberries and champagne; Downton Abbey with tennis balls; one sport expert says.

Player ban — PAGE 2

Johnson faces fresh crisis as Tories lose two by-elections and their party chair

JASMINE CAMERON-CHILLESHE — LONDON
JIM PICKARD — KIGALI

Boris Johnson's leadership was plunged into fresh crisis yesterday after two parliamentary by-election defeats for the Tories prompted the shock resignation of party chair Oliver Dowden.

Dowden said the Tories could not continue with "business as usual", while former Conservative leader Lord Michael Howard called for the prime minister to step down.

But Johnson vowed to fight on after the party lost by-elections in Wakefield in West Yorkshire and Tiverton and Honiton in Devon.

"When people find life tough they send messages to politicians and politicians have to respond and that's what we are doing," he said on the sidelines of a Commonwealth summit in Rwanda.

Johnson put the defeats down to the cost of living crisis, rather than controversy about the "partygate" scandal. "We will keep going, addressing the concerns of people until we get through this patch," he said.

But Howard told the BBC: "The party, and more importantly the country, would be better off under new leadership. Members of the cabinet should very carefully consider their positions."

In Tiverton, the Liberal Democrats' Richard Foord overturned a Tory majority of 24,239, winning by 6,144 votes. It marked the biggest Tory majority overturned in a by-election on record.

Labour won Wakefield after Simon Lightwood triumphed by 4,925.

Sir Keir Starmer, Labour leader, said his party's victory in Wakefield was "a clear judgment on a Conservative party that has run out of energy and ideas".

The by-elections were triggered by the resignations of disgraced Tory MPs and came after months of negative headlines for Johnson over partygate. Dowden said: "Our supporters are distressed and disappointed by recent events, and I share their feelings."

Johnson, who survived a vote of no confidence by Tory MPs this month, has tried to reset his premiership through policy initiatives, including help for families hit by soaring energy bills.

Under Tory rules overseen by the 1922 committee of backbench MPs, Johnson should not face another vote on his leadership for a year. But Tory MP Andrew Bridgen said he would stand in elections to the 1922 executive in coming days on a manifesto of changing the rules to allow another no-confidence vote in Johnson this year.

Crumbling support base page 3

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Jun 24	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Jun 24	Prev	%Chg	Yield (%)	Jun 24	Prev	Chg (bps)
S&P 500	3884.84	3795.73	2.35	\$/£	1.055	1.053	0.19	US 2 yr	3.05	2.99	0.06
Nasdaq Composite	11489.10	11232.19	2.29	\$/€	1.229	1.227	0.16	US 10 yr	3.12	3.05	0.08
Dow Jones Ind	31323.65	30677.36	2.11	\$/¥	0.858	0.858	0.00	US 30 yr	3.25	3.18	0.08
FTSEurofirst 300	1622.86	1580.86	2.66	€/¥	135.230	134.405	0.61	UK 2 yr	2.01	2.00	0.01
Euro Stoxx 50	3538.89	3436.25	2.99	\$/HK\$	166.189	165.026	0.69	UK 10 yr	2.30	2.31	-0.01
FTSE 100	7208.81	7020.45	2.68	\$/KRW	1,007	1,003	0.39	UK 30 yr	2.54	2.57	-0.03
FTSE All-Share	3075.07	2974.68	3.38	\$/INR	104.75	104.75	0.00	JPY 2 yr	-0.08	-0.09	0.01
CAC 40	6073.35	5883.33	3.23	\$/BRL	5.26	5.26	0.00	JPY 10 yr	0.23	0.23	0.00
Xetra Dax	12118.13	12012.59	0.88	\$/AUD	1.52	1.52	0.00	JPY 30 yr	1.24	1.22	0.02
Nikkei	26491.97	26171.25	1.23	\$/NZD	1.61	1.61	0.00	GER 2 yr	0.79	0.80	-0.01
Hang Seng	21719.06	21273.67	2.09	\$/SGD	1.34	1.34	0.00	GER 10 yr	1.44	1.43	0.01
MSCI World	2549.05	2537.26	0.46	\$/HKD	7.75	7.75	0.00	GER 30 yr	1.68	1.69	-0.01
MSCI EM	995.34	983.59	0.18	\$/CNY	6.31	6.31	0.00				
MSCI ACWI	656.89	644.43	0.43	\$/INR	104.75	104.75	0.00				
FT Mibex 2500	4526.75	4475.96	1.12	\$/RUB	94.12	94.12	0.00				
FT Mibex 5000	36482.60	36076.73	1.07	\$/TRY	24.75	24.75	0.00				

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