

What's News

Business & Finance

Celsius became a cryptocurrency lending giant on a pitch that it was less risky than a bank, with better returns for customers, but investor documents show it carried far more risk than a traditional bank. **A1**

◆ A British Virgin Islands court ordered the liquidation of Three Arrows after creditors sued the cryptocurrency hedge fund for failure to repay debts. **B1**

◆ Bed Bath & Beyond's board replaced CEO Tritton with an interim chief as the home-goods chain reported a plunge in sales and a wider net loss. **A1**

◆ The Fed's Powell said he was more concerned about the risk of failing to stamp out high inflation than he was about the possibility of raising rates too high and pushing the economy into a recession. **A2**

◆ Spirit Airlines is postponing a vote on a merger with Frontier that had been scheduled for Thursday to continue talks with Frontier and JetBlue, a rival suitor. **B1**

◆ U.S. stocks were little changed, with the Dow adding 0.3% and the S&P 500 and Nasdaq slipping 0.07% and 0.03%, respectively. **B10**

◆ Nexstar Media is close to a deal to acquire majority control of the CW Network from co-owners Warner Bros. Discovery and Paramount Global. **B1**

◆ Xerox said its CEO, Giovanni "John" Visentini, died on Tuesday "due to complications from an ongoing illness." Xerox's operations chief will serve as interim CEO. **B4**

World-Wide

◆ The U.S. plans to make its biggest military expansion in Europe since the Cold War, including its first permanent troop presence in Poland, as NATO prepares for two more members to join the alliance in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. **A1, A8-9**

◆ Biden met with the leaders of Japan and South Korea on the sidelines of the NATO summit and pledged deeper cooperation to counter North Korea's weapons provocations. **A8**

◆ The House panel investigating the attack on the Capitol said it has subpoenaed former White House counsel Pat Cipollone, seeking information regarding concerns he raised about Trump's action related to the Jan. 6, 2021, riot. **A1, A4**

◆ State court battles over the future of abortion access continued, as to expand, as abortion providers in Ohio and West Virginia filed legal challenges to state laws curtailing access to the procedure. **A3**

◆ The Supreme Court ruled 5-4 that Oklahoma can prosecute non-Native Americans in Indian country, clawing back part of its 2020 decision recognizing nearly half the state as a reservation. **A3**

◆ The highest-profile surviving participant of a 2015 terrorist attack that killed 130 people across Paris in a single night was sentenced to life in prison. **A20**

◆ An appeals court ordered a new trial for imprisoned insurance executive Greg Lindberg, who was convicted of attempted bribery. **A6**

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Migrant Death Toll Rises in Texas Tractor-Trailer Tragedy



REMEMBRANCE: A makeshift memorial expands at the site where officials on Monday found dozens of migrants dead in an abandoned truck. The number grew to 53 Wednesday. The past two years have been among the deadliest at the border. **A3**

Pitched as Safer Than a Bank, Crypto Giant Proved Riskier

By ELIOT BROWN
AND CAITLIN OSTROFF

Celsius Network LLC became a cryptocurrency lending giant on a pitch that it was less risky than a bank with better returns for customers.

But investor documents show the lender carried far more risk than a traditional bank.

The lender issued numerous large loans backed by little collateral, according to Celsius investor documents from 2021 reviewed by The Wall Street Journal. The documents show

that Celsius had little cushion in the event of a downturn and made investments that would be difficult to unwind quickly if customers raced to withdraw their money. Celsius didn't respond to requests for comment.

Celsius had \$19 billion of assets and about \$1 billion of equity as of last summer, before it raised new funds, according to Celsius investor documents from 2021 reviewed by the Journal. The median assets-to-equity ratio for all the North American banks in the S&P 500 Composite index was about 9:1, or about half that of

Celsius, according to data from FactSet.

For banks, that ratio is of great importance: Regulators look at it as an indicator of risk. For unregulated companies like Celsius, the ratio of 19:1 is particularly high given that some of its assets were investments in the extremely volatile crypto sector, said Eric Budish, an economist at the University of Chicago's business school who studies cryptocurrencies. Large banks often have ratios near Celsius's, but they hold much more stable assets and have access to central-

bank loans for ready cash.

"It's just a risky structure," Mr. Budish said of Celsius. "It strikes me as diversified as the same way that portfolios of mortgages were diversified in 2006," referring to a feature of the 2008 financial crisis. "It was all housing—here it's all crypto."

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- ◆ Three Arrows fund ordered by court to liquidate..... **B1**
- ◆ New York finance regulator remains upbeat on crypto. **B10**
- ◆ Heard on the Street: DeFi has an existential problem..... **B11**

Trump's Counsel Receives Jan. 6 Subpoena

WASHINGTON—The House committee investigating the attack on the Capitol said it has subpoenaed former White House counsel Pat Cipollone, seeking information regarding concerns he raised about Trump's action related to the Jan. 6, 2021, riot. **A1, A4**

By Sadie Gurman,
Alexa Cori
and Scott Patterson

The subpoena comes a day after former White House aide Cassidy Hutchinson said that Mr. Cipollone warned of legal dangers if Mr. Trump marched to the Capitol and that he tried to get the then-president to call off the mob after the riot had started.

In the committee's letter to Mr. Cipollone, it said he had information concerning Mr. Trump's "awareness and involvement in activities undertaken to subvert the outcome of the 2020 presidential election." Mr. Cipollone has spoken informally with the committee but hasn't testified under oath. He didn't respond to a request for comment.

The subpoena highlights the new paths the committee is exploring after Tuesday's testimony by Ms. Hutchinson, a former top aide to chief of staff Mark Meadows. Her testimony has heightened the potential legal jeopardy for Mr. Trump while also putting pressure on the House committee to corroborate contested details of

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◆ Meadows aide was regular presence in West Wing..... **A4**

INSIDE



PERSONAL JOURNAL
Airlines try new steps to speed up help for frustrated travelers. **A13**

BUSINESS & FINANCE
Ford shifts how it sells electric cars, sparking worries on dealers' lots. **B1**

If Inflation Hasn't Made You Crazy, Try Buying an I Bond

Some investors face weeks of red tape; 'cruel and unusual punishment'

By ANDREA FULLER
AND JASON ZWIG

This spring, Caren Bordowitz of Macomb, Ill., sacrificed vacation time, hauling herself to a bank almost halfway across the state.

Her mission? To buy a U.S. savings bond.

With the stock market sinking and inflation raging, a once-secure government bond is suddenly one of the hottest investments in the country. Nicknamed "I bonds," these instruments are backed by the U.S. government and protected against inflation. They are virtually risk-free, yet currently pay 9.62% annually. Some investors are so desperate to buy I bonds that they



Hard to get?

will put up with a weeks-long bureaucratic rigmarole that one likened to a "Bataan Death March."

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Preset Stock Sales Raise Insider-Trading Concerns

WSJ analysis shows executives benefit when plans begin quickly

By TOM MCGINTY AND MARK MAREMONT

As Plug Power Inc. shares soared to a 15-year high in January 2021, longtime Chief Executive Andrew Marsh unloaded some of his stock in a well-timed sale.

In his biggest-ever payday from selling the company's shares, Mr. Marsh netted \$36 million by selling about 40% of his holdings under an automatic trading plan.

The plan, it turned out, had been set up only the month before. And shortly after he sold, a string of negative company announcements sent the fuel-cell maker's shares plunging—down 60% over three months.

Prearranged trading plans, created by a regulation put in place two decades ago, have become a popular way for top executives and other company insiders to sell shares. Under the rule, corporate insiders can be shielded from allegations of trading on inside information as long as they sell using an automated trading plan set up when they didn't know about any impending news.

The rule allows these arranged trades to begin immediately.

A Wall Street Journal analysis of 75,000 prearranged stock sales by corporate insiders, using a comprehensive compilation of the data, shows that about a fifth of them

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Bed Bath & Beyond Sales Sink, CEO Exits

By SUZANNE KAPNER
AND DEAN SEAL

Bed Bath & Beyond Inc. said it is replacing its chief executive as quarterly sales dropped 25% and the company struggled to deal with high inflation and changes in customers' spending patterns.

When Mark Tritton took the helm of the company in 2019, he moved quickly to overhaul the home-goods chain by cleaning up crowded aisles, scaling back coupons and doing away with popular national brands in favor of new, private-label goods.

That strategy was repudiated on Wednesday, after the company reported another quarter of plunging sales that pushed its stock down further. The board replaced Mr. Tritton with Sue Gove, an independent director who is stepping in as interim chief executive officer while it searches for his successor, the company said.

The news came as Bed Bath & Beyond reported that sales for the three months to May 28 plunged by a quarter compared with the same period last year, while its net loss widened to \$358 million from \$51 million.

Bed Bath & Beyond's shares, down more than 55% this year and nearly 80% over the last 12 months, shed an additional 24% Wednesday.

The CEO change comes after Bed Bath & Beyond faced pressure from activist investor Ryan Cohen, the billionaire founder of the pet retailer Chewy Inc., to improve performance and explore strategic alternatives for its Buybuy Baby chain.

Under an agreement with Mr. Cohen, Bed Bath & Beyond named three directors to the board in March, with two overseeing a committee to review

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◆ Heard on the Street: Company is in perilous position..... **B11**

The activism bug

Japan catches a healthy dose of investor dissent — LEO LEWIS, PAGE 19

Murky waters

Exposé of how Russia smuggles grain across the Black Sea — BIG READ, PAGE 17



Credibility gap

A flip-flopping Fed raises risk of recession — MOHAMED EL-ERIAN PAGE 13

Central bank chiefs declare end to era of low inflation

- ◆ 'Some pain' likely from higher rates
- ◆ Action needed to quell rising prices

MARTIN ARNOLD — SINTRA
COLBY SMITH — WASHINGTON
CHRIS GILES — LONDON

The world's top central bankers have warned that the era of low inflation and interest rates has come to an end following the "massive geopolitical shock" of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the coronavirus pandemic.

Speaking at the European Central Bank's annual conference, Christine Lagarde, its president, Jay Powell, chair of the Federal Reserve, and Andrew Bailey, Bank of England governor, called for rapid action to curb inflation.

They said failing to raise interest rates quickly enough might allow high inflation to become embedded and ultimately require more drastic action by central banks to bring price growth back to more moderate levels.

"The process is highly likely to involve some pain but the worst pain would be from failing to address this high inflation and allowing it to become persistent," said Powell.

Speaking in Sintra, Portugal, the central bank bosses said the pandemic and the Ukraine war were reversing many of the factors that had spurred more than a decade of ultra-low inflation in most developed economies. They warned that the splintering of the global economy into competing blocs threatened to fracture supply chains, cut productivity, raise costs and reduce growth.

"I don't think that we're going to go back to that environment of low inflation," said Lagarde. "There are forces

that have been unleashed as a result of the pandemic [and] as a result of this massive geopolitical shock that are going to change the picture and the landscape within which we operate."

"Some would argue that the place where you manufacture [or] the place from which you provide services is going to be decided by different factors than just cost," the ECB president added, with whether certain locations were political "friends or foes" likely to be relevant.

Powell said those shifting dynamics would force a rethink on how the world's central banks operated, given that the low-inflation environment "seems to be gone now".

"We're living with different forces now and have to think about monetary policy in a very different way," he said. Forecasting inflation in this environment had become a much more challenging task, he added. "We understand better now how little we understand about inflation."

Bailey noted "a sea change" in the way economies worked. Covid-19 was "leaving a structural legacy on labour markets and the way they behave" in the UK, with lower employment and higher risks of excessive pay increases.

Lagarde said the Ukraine war was hitting Europe harder than most other regions in the form of higher energy and food prices, meaning the continent was "not in the same situation" as the US and other countries.

Mohamed El-Erian page 13

Nato summit Erdoğan and Biden find common cause as US stiffens defences



Susan Walsh/Pool/ANP via Getty Images

US president Joe Biden meets his Turkish counterpart Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the Nato summit in Madrid yesterday, hours after Ankara dropped its opposition to Sweden and Finland joining the alliance.

US officials insisted that Washington had not offered Turkey anything to win Ankara's backing for an expansion prompted

by Russia's invasion of Ukraine. But the move appeared to help the atmosphere between the countries, with the US indicating a new openness to selling Turkey upgraded F-16 fighter jets to modernise its fleet.

Biden opened the summit with a pledge to significantly increase US deployments in Europe "to defend every inch of allied territory" as part of

Nato's strategy for defending eastern Europe from Russian aggression.

The US will establish a base for its 5th Army in Poland, send 5,000 extra troops to Romania and increase rotational deployments in the Baltic states, the president said, to stiffen Nato's first line of defence.

Summit reports page 2
Jason Pack page 19

Briefing

◆ **UK ready to cut gas supplies to Europe**
Britain will cut off gas supplies to mainland Europe in the event of severe shortages in coming months, but there are warnings the plan will backfire if the UK needs to import gas next winter. — PAGE 2

◆ **EU bolsters fight against climate change**
Member states have agreed stronger policies to tackle climate change despite fears that Russia's invasion of Ukraine would undermine efforts to curb greenhouse gas emissions. — PAGE 2

◆ **Ambani twins set to inherit Reliance**

Mukesh Ambani, Asia's richest man, has promoted his twin children to head the telecoms and retail businesses at his Reliance Industries as he begins succession planning. — PAGE 6



◆ **Nickel billionaire hit with sanctions**

The UK has imposed sanctions including a travel ban on Vladimir Potanin, a billionaire banking and nickel oligarch who is close to Russia's President Vladimir Putin. — PAGE 4

◆ **Tight security for Xi's Hong Kong visit**

China's president Xi Jinping is due to visit Hong Kong today amid a security clampdown including a no-fly zone and the barring of some journalists from events marking 25 years since British rule ended. — PAGE 4

◆ **Ben & Jerry's Israel business sold**

Unilever has sold its Israeli Ben & Jerry's business as it tries to end a disagreement with the country after the ice-cream maker said it would stop sales in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. — PAGE 6

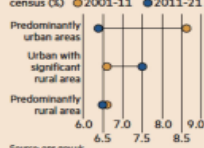
◆ **Australia locks down honey bees**

Australia has applied lessons learnt during Covid-19 to lock down honey bees in New South Wales in order to fight an outbreak of the varroa mite that has devastated bee populations worldwide. — PAGE 4

Datavatch

Urbanisation is slowing down

Change in population from previous census (C) 2001-11 2011-21



The rate of population increase in the UK's urban areas has slowed in the past 10 years to 6.4 per cent, from 8.6 per cent in the previous decade. Explanations may include housing costs and a shift to remote work in the pandemic.

Source: ons.gov.uk

Marxism majors prosper as 'Xi thought' rules from kindergarten to workplace

SUN YU — BEIJING

Chinese university graduates are struggling to find work in the country's worst labour market in years — unless they have a degree in Marxism.

Despite being China's ruling ideology, Marxism had been an obscure major. But it is enjoying a revival under President Xi Jinping, who has urged Communist party cadres to "remember the original mission" as he prepares for an unprecedented third term in power.

According to Yingliang, a job search website for graduates, there was a 20 per cent increase in openings requiring a Marxism degree in the second quarter — the peak hiring season — compared with the same period last year. Marxism experts are sought after by employers ranging from government departments to private companies.

Analysts said the popularity of Marxism graduates underscored Xi's efforts to strengthen ideological education as China's rivalry with the US intensified.

"The purpose of the major is to train thought police to brainwash the entire population," said Ming Xia, a political-science professor at the City University of New York.

Chinese Marxism degrees inculcate students in the philosophy as interpreted by Xi and his revolutionary idol, Mao Zedong. A master's in Marxism at a university in Henan includes a module on the "principle and methods of thought education" and 18 hours of study of Xi's speeches on education.

Xi's diktats have boosted demand for Marxism teachers and sparked a talent acquisition boom, with the number of university "ideology and politics" lecturers rising two-thirds since 2018.

Kindergartens and high schools are also hiring Marxism graduates, with directives requiring students as young as 10 to study "Xi Jinping thought".

"The study of Marxism and Xi Jinping thought must begin from an early age," said an official at PKU Haikou High School, which is affiliated with Peking University in Beijing.

Private companies are also hiring Marxism majors to show their allegiance to the party amid a crackdown on technology and property entrepreneurs such as Jack Ma, the founder of Alibaba.

"It helps to have someone who speaks the party's language work for us," said David Tong, the owner of a machine tool factory in the eastern city of Ningbo, near Shanghai. "The government will trust us more."

Additional reporting by Tom Mitchell in Singapore

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Jun 29	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Jun 29	Prev	%Chg	Yield (%)	Jun 29	Prev	Chg Bp
S&P 500	3819.24	3821.55	-0.06	\$/€	1.048	1.051	-0.30	US 2 yr	3.09	3.14	-0.05
Nasdaq Composite	11175.06	11181.54	-0.06	\$/£	1.212	1.220	-0.65	US 10 yr	3.11	3.20	-0.09
Dow Jones Ind	31028.57	30946.99	0.26	€/£	0.864	0.862	0.23	US 30 yr	3.23	3.31	-0.08
FTSEurofirst 300	1628.60	1629.20	-0.40	\$/¥	136.658	136.265	0.29	UK 2 yr	2.11	2.17	-0.07
Euro Stoxx 50	3512.43	3543.29	-0.04	€/¥	165.671	166.220	-0.33	UK 10 yr	2.38	2.46	-0.08
FTSE 100	7312.32	7323.41	-0.15	\$/HK\$	0.998	1.007	-0.90	UK 30 yr	2.67	2.71	-0.04
FTSE All-Share	6019.53	6035.24	-0.26					JPN 2 yr	-0.05	-0.06	0.01
CAC 40	6015.48	5998.02	0.29					JPN 10 yr	0.23	0.23	0.00
Sensex	13603.55	13512.62	0.67					JPN 30 yr	1.27	1.29	-0.02
Nikkei	28004.60	27949.47	0.02					GER 2 yr	0.82	0.94	-0.12
Hang Seng	21996.89	22418.97	-1.88					GER 10 yr	1.52	1.62	-0.11
MSCI World \$	2584.26	2623.20	-1.48					GER 30 yr	1.73	1.82	-0.09
MSCI ACWI \$	2328.07	2327.55	0.25								
MSCI AEM \$	606.71	614.59	-1.28								
FT Wilshire 5000	4965.82	5068.55	-2.03								
FT Wilshire EEM	38774.68	39574.61	-2.02								

Prices are latest for edition. Data provided by Morningstar

A Nikkei Company



How an insider put on show Trump's fury in Capitol riot

Memories of a pivotal moment in the Watergate scandal have been revived by a 25-year-old former White House aide who delivered shocking testimony on Donald Trump's actions during the attack on Congress by an armed mob on January 6 last year. Cassidy Hutchinson gave the investigating panel the most methodical inside account yet of Trump's intentions and mood that day. "We are all in her debt," said Liz Cheney, the panel's vice-chair. Dramatic testimony — PAGE 3

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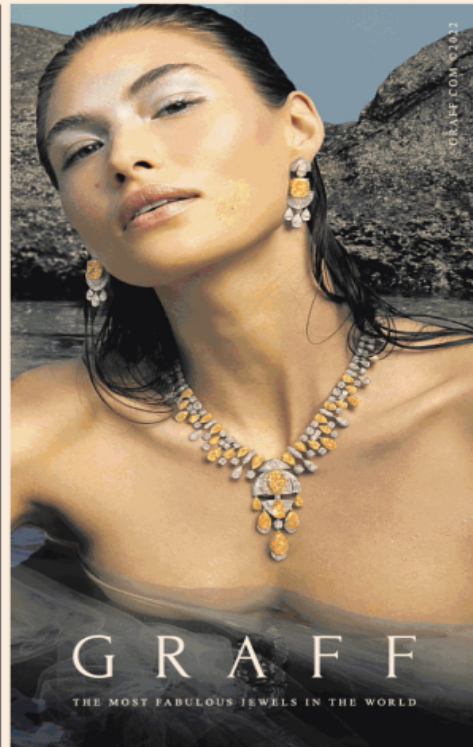
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OLIVIERO TOSCANI

Rifts Abound Over Enforcing Abortion Bans

Texas Group Pressured Police in First Salvo

By J. DAVID GOODMAN
and JACK HEALY

HOUSTON — Deep rifts have emerged among the hundreds of elected district attorneys who will be charged with enforcing the expanding restrictions on abortion, creating a Balkanized new legal system within states that are banning the procedure.

Dozens of Democratic prosecutors who represent liberal pockets in conservative states already have vowed to resist bans by refusing to bring charges against abortion providers. But in many rural areas and outlying suburbs, conservative prosecutors have said they will enforce their state bans.

An opening salvo came this week, just days after the Supreme Court struck down the right to abortion, when a prominent anti-abortion group in Texas urged the police and prosecutors in Dallas and Houston to open criminal investigations into three abortion clinics that the group said were preparing to violate the law by scheduling abortions.

"It is your duty to uphold the law and investigate crimes," the group, Texas Right to Life, said in its letter, in which it claimed to have phone recordings of clinic employees. "We urge you and your officers to investigate this abortion clinic."

The demand was quickly made moot when a judge temporarily blocked attempts to resurrect the state's long-dormant, century-old abortion law in the weeks before a new ban takes effect, but it marked the beginning of an explosive new battle over abortion in America: How prosecutors and the police will enforce laws that criminalize abortion in two dozen states, some of them carrying

Continued on Page A18

An Island of Access To Abortion

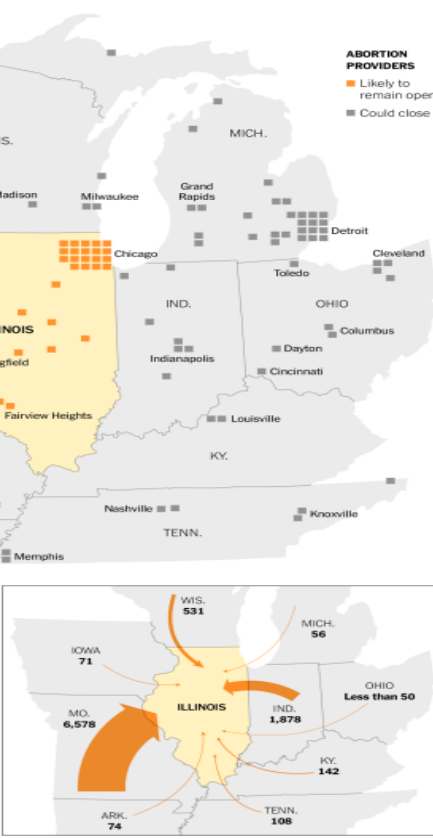
Illinois expects an influx of patients as neighboring states restrict the procedure after the reversal of Roe v. Wade. Page A18.

BANS ON ABORTION are in effect in Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri and Wisconsin. Ohio and Tennessee ban the procedure after six weeks.

UNCERTAIN Lawmakers in Iowa, Indiana and Michigan may also seek bans.

ABORTION PATIENTS WHO TRAVELED TO ILLINOIS IN 2020
There were roughly 50,000 abortions performed in Illinois in 2020. About one in five was for a patient from out of state.

Sources: Advancing New Standards in Reproductive Health, University of California, San Francisco; Illinois Dept. of Health (Note: Clinic locations unavailable for five providers in Michigan, two in Illinois and one in Iowa.)



ALLISON MCCANN AND BILL MARSH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

NATO Retools Its Mission For Moscow's Aggression

Responding to Putin's Invasion of Ukraine and Strategic 'Challenge' of Beijing

By STEVEN ERLANGER and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

MADRID — Faced with a newly aggressive Russia, NATO leaders on Wednesday outlined a muscular new vision that names Moscow as the military alliance's primary adversary but also, for the first time, declares China to be a strategic "challenge."

It was a fundamental shift for an alliance that was born in the Cold War but came to view a post-Soviet Russia as a potential ally, and did not focus on China at all. But that was before Feb. 24, when Russian forces poured across the border into Ukraine, and Chinese leaders pointedly did not join in the global condemnation that followed.

"The deepening strategic partnership between the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation and their mutually reinforcing attempts to undercut the rules-based international order run counter to our values and interests," NATO leaders said in a new mission statement issued during their summit in Madrid.

The announcement came on a day when a top U.S. intelligence official said victory in Ukraine was not yet in Russia's grasp, the two sides said they had exchanged more than 200 prisoners of war, and a Ukrainian official said, "There are battles everywhere."

In a flurry of steps at the summit in Madrid, which ends Thursday, President Biden and other NATO leaders sought to respond to President Vladimir V. Putin's resurgent and belligerent Russia. Just before publishing the mission statement, they extended formal membership invitations to the until-now nonaligned Nordic countries Finland and Sweden, paving the way for NATO's most significant enlargement in more than a decade.

"In a moment when Putin has

shattered peace in Europe and attacked the very tenets of the rules-based order, the United States and our allies — we're going to step up," Mr. Biden said. "We're stepping up."

The secretary-general of NATO, Jens Stoltenberg, announced that thousands of new troops would be deployed in eight countries on NATO's eastern flank. And Mr. Biden said that Washington would deploy an Army garrison headquarters and a field support battalion in Poland, the first U.S. forces permanently located on NATO's eastern flank.

China offered a chilly response to the new NATO moves. "We oppose certain elements claiming for NATO's involvement in Asia Pacific, or an Asia Pacific version of NATO based on military alliance," said China's ambassador to the United Nations, Zhang Jun. "The outdated Cold War script must not be reenacted in Asia Pacific. The turmoil in parts of the world must not be allowed in Asia Pacific."

For his part, Mr. Putin kept his attention in Central Asia, where

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KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
"We're stepping up," President Biden said of NATO's shift.

Brazilians Tap A Black Market In Abortion Pills

By STEPHANIE NOLEN

RIO DE JANEIRO — Last November, Xaiana, a 23-year-old college student in northern Brazil, began exchanging text messages with a drug dealer in the south of the country. Following the dealer's instructions, she transferred 1,500 reais (\$285), her living expenses for several months. Then, she waited three agonizing weeks for the arrival in the mail of a blister pack of eight unmarked white pills.

When she took them, they had the effect she was hoping for: She underwent a medication abortion at home with her boyfriend, ending an eight-week pregnancy.

But Xaiana kept bleeding for weeks, an unusual but not rare complication. "It was like a murder scene every time I had a shower," she said. She was afraid to get help because it is illegal for a woman in Brazil to use the drug, misoprostol, to trigger an abortion. If she went to a clinic, she feared, the staff might figure out she had induced the abortion and report her. The penalty for having an abortion in Brazil is up to three years in jail.

"It's the loneliest feeling I've ever felt in my life," she said, asking to be identified only by her first name out of fear of prosecution.

After seven weeks, she went to a women's clinic and admitted to having terminated a pregnancy. She was given a simple cauterization, and no one reported her.

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McKinsey's Sway Pervaded the Opioid Industry

By CHRIS HAMBY
and MICHAEL FORSYTHE

In patches of rural Appalachia and the Rust Belt, the health authorities were sounding alarms that a powerful painkiller called Opana had become the drug of choice among people abusing prescription pills.

It was twice as potent as OxyContin, the painkiller widely blamed for fueling the opioid crisis, and was relatively easy to dissolve and inject. By 2015, government investigations and scientific publications had linked its misuse to clusters of disease, including a rare and life-threatening blood disorder and an H.I.V. outbreak in Indiana.

Opana's manufacturer, the

Tips to Boost Sales and Handle Regulators

pharmaceutical company Endo, had scaled back promotion of the drug. But months later, the company abruptly changed course, refocusing resources on the drug by activating more sales representatives.

The push was known internally as the Sales Force Blitz — and it was conducted with consultants at McKinsey & Company, who had been hired by Endo to provide marketing advice about its chronic-pain medicines and other products.

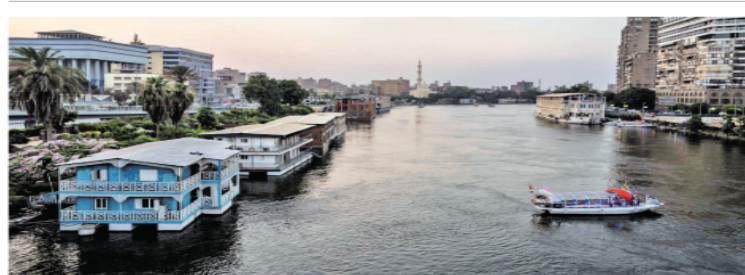
The untold story of McKinsey's

work for Endo was among the revelations found by The New York Times in a repository of more than 100,000 documents obtained by a coalition of state attorneys general in a legal settlement related to McKinsey's opioid work.

Much has been disclosed over the years about McKinsey's relationship with Purdue Pharma, including the consulting firm's recommendation that the drug maker "turbocharge" its sales of OxyContin. But The Times found that the firm played a far deeper and broader role in advising clients involved in the opioid crisis than was publicly disclosed.

The newly released McKinsey records include more than 15 years of emails, slide presenta-

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HEIBA KHANEM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Egypt Destroys Nile Houseboats

The settings for divas' debauched salons and famous films, they are suddenly vanishing. Page A8.

Aide's Testimony Reveals Friction Between Parallel Jan. 6 Inquiries

This article is by Glenn Thrush, Luke Broadwater and Michael S. Schmidt.

WASHINGTON — The explosive testimony of a former Trump White House aide on Tuesday may have increased the likelihood of new prosecutions stemming from the attack on the Capitol, but it also raised lingering conflicts between the Justice Department and congressional investigators.

The federal prosecutors working on the case watched the aide's appearance before the House committee investigating the Jan. 6, 2021, riot and were just as astonished by her account of for-

mer President Donald J. Trump's increasingly desperate bid to hold on to power as other viewers. The panel did not provide them with videos or transcripts of her taped interviews with committee members beforehand, according to several officials, leaving them feeling blindsided.

The testimony from the aide, Cassidy Hutchinson, who worked for Mr. Trump's final chief of staff, Mark Meadows, came at a critical moment in parallel investigations that will soon converge, and possibly collide, as the committee wraps up a public inquiry geared for maximum political effect and

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Truck With Doomed Migrants Slipped Past U.S. Checkpoint

This article is by James Dobbins, J. David Goodman and Miriam Jordan.

SAN ANTONIO — A tractor-trailer that ended up in San Antonio with more than 50 dead or dying migrants passed through a federal immigration checkpoint inside the United States without being inspected, a top Mexican official said on Wednesday.

The truck crossed the checkpoint, operated by the Border Patrol, shortly before 3 p.m. on Monday as it drove north along Interstate 35 from the border region, the official, Francisco Garduño Yáñez, the head of Mexico's National Institute of Migration, said

at a news conference that featured images of the truck and its driver at the checkpoint.

The Mexican official also said that the rig had driven by a Border Patrol station in the town of Coahuila; that station does not operate a highway checkpoint.

The truck stopped roughly three hours later along a desolate road just off the highway, with the people inside either dead or struggling to stay alive.

A young girl managed to climb out and cry for help.

"I didn't get her name or think to ask where she came from," said Roberto Quintero, who came upon

Continued on Page A20

ARTS C1-6

Orlando Museum Chief Fired

Aaron De Groff's ouster came after the art-sized 25 artists and curators at Basquiat as part of an inquiry. PAGE C1

Conan Gray Feels It All

The 23-year-old who got his start on YouTube is reintroducing himself with a new LP, "Superache." PAGE C1



NATIONAL A10-21

R. Kelly Sentenced to 30 Years

The prison term is the culmination of the R&B star's stunning downfall, after increasingly heinous accusations from women grew over decades. PAGE A20

Hunting for a Tiny Pest

Several new species of ticks, carrying frightening new diseases, have expanded their turf to New York. PAGE A10

SPORTS B11-13

A Soccer Power Is Shaken

The Premier League club Chelsea, which sold for billions, came with accusations of a toxic culture. PAGE B13

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Painful Quest for Justice

Ukrainian officials face daunting challenges in trying to prosecute Russian soldiers who raped women in occupied villages near Kyiv. PAGE A7

20 Convicted in Paris Rampage

The verdict capped a 10-month trial on the 2015 Islamic State terrorist spree that left 130 people dead. PAGE A5

OBITUARIES B14-15

Hero in the Fight for Iwo Jima

Hershel Williams, the last living recipient of the Medal of Honor for bravery during World War II, was 98. PAGE B14

THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

Fashionably Masculine

Though gender fluidity is here to stay, this was not the moment of the runway of Paris, Guy Trebay writes. PAGE D5

For Luxurious Tastes

Joey Wölfler, an owner of a winery, has been busy turning her rosés into symbols of a Hamptons lifestyle. PAGE D1



BUSINESS B1-10

High Rates Cool Home Sales

As the Fed tries to tame inflation, costly mortgages are pricing people out of the housing market. PAGE B1

Workers Want to Fight Back

As assaults at stores have increased, some retail employees are tired of fearing for their safety. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

Norman Eisen

PAGE A22



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Photographs by GENARO MOLINA, Los Angeles Times
MAURY BRYAN SAMANO, left, girlfriend Kenia Quintanilla and their daughter, Mia Samano, visit their South L.A. home, which was damaged when the LAPD botched the detonation of a fireworks cache in 2021.

A year after LAPD fireworks blast, families still shattered

Dozens 'fighting to go back home' remain housed in a hotel

BY BRITTONY MEJIA
 AND KEVIN RECTOR

Before Los Angeles police sent a blast wave through it, Paula Benítez de Rodríguez's life revolved around the squat, bubble-gum pink building she owns in South Los Angeles.

Benítez de Rodríguez, 73, had saved for years to purchase the building, and it anchored her American dream. The apartment where she lived with her daughter Maria del Carmen Rodríguez and a grandson was there, as was her *zapateria*, the shoe store where she worked seven days a week.

The building also had a second apartment for another daughter, 53-year-old Leticia Rodríguez, her son-in-law, her 27-year-old grandson, her grandson's girlfriend and her great-granddaughter. There was an additional space where another daughter, [See Explosion, A12]



LUISA BONILLA, left, and daughter Alisson Sotelo walk past homes damaged in the explosion. More than 80 residents were displaced.

Aridification could reshape western lands

California is at risk of profound effects as climate change exacerbates dryness.

BY HAYLEY SMITH

Unprecedented dryness across the western United States is meeting with increasingly warm temperatures to create climate conditions so extreme that the landscape of California could permanently and profoundly change, a growing number of scientists say.

The Golden State's great drying has already begun to reduce snowpack, worsen wildfires and dry out soils, and researchers say that trend will likely continue, along with the widespread loss of trees and other significant shifts.

Some say what's in store for the state could be akin to the conditions that drove people thousands of years ago to abandon thriving cities in the Southwest and other arid parts of the world as severe drought contributed to crop failures and the crumbling of social norms.

But unlike in those ancient civilizations, California's current transformation is being accelerated by carbon emissions and human-caused climate change, which is creating not only longer and more severe droughts, but also hotter ones. It's a process known as aridification, and many say it's here to stay.

"All the factors in the Southwest are leading to a drier and drier climate," said Jonathan Overpeck, co-author of a 2020 paper on aridification. "And because they are being driven by human-caused increases in greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, we expect this drying out to just get worse and worse until we stop."

Hundreds of years ago, the Ancestral Puebloans of what is now known as the Four Corners region of the American Southwest were a prosperous people known for their art and architecture. But sometime in the late 1200s, they abruptly abandoned their established home for reasons long considered to be a mystery.

Now, a growing body of evidence suggests that a prolonged period of dryness known as the Great Drought is to blame, at least partially. [See Aridification, A7]

BIDEN SENDING EUROPE MORE TROOPS

President commits to boosting U.S. forces, and NATO invites Nordic nations in.

BY ELI STOKOLS

MADRID — Reflecting NATO's determination to strengthen its defenses amid Russia's war in Ukraine, President Biden announced Wednesday that the U.S. would commit more troops to Europe as the transatlantic alliance formally invited Finland and Sweden to become members.

"NATO is strong and united," Biden said during a meeting with Jens Stoltenberg, the secretary general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, on the first full day of a summit here. "And the steps we're taking during this summit, we're going to further augment our collective strength."

Biden emphasized that the alliance was committed to defending "every inch" of territory under its charter's "sacrosanct" Article V, which deems an attack on a member nation to be an attack against all.

That protective umbrella is expected to cover Sweden and Finland in a historic expansion of the alliance after Turkey on Tuesday dropped its objections to the two countries joining. Once every member nation's parliament has ratified the expansion, which is expected to take several months, NATO's territory will include Finland's 800-mile border with Russia, more evidence, Biden said, that invading Ukraine has back- [See NATO, A7]



CASSIDY HUTCHINSON arrives to testify for the Jan. 6 committee Tuesday. Defenders of the former aide say her critics should respond under oath.

Hutchinson's detractors reach for steering wheel

After telling the Jan. 6 panel of Trump's rage, former White House aide is under fire.

BY NOLAN D. MCCASKILL
 AND FREDDY BREWSTER

WASHINGTON — In the hours after Cassidy Hutchinson delivered bombshell testimony to the Jan. 6 committee Tuesday, former President Trump and his allies rushed to attack the former White House staffer.

Hutchinson, who served

as an aide to then-White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows, told the panel that Trump was aware that some of his supporters were armed when he urged them to march to the Capitol. She also testified that Anthony Ornato, then the deputy White House chief of staff, told her the president was so "irate" that the Secret Service would not drive him to the Capitol that he reached for the steering wheel and lunged at an agent.

Trump and his allies have seized on media reports of unnamed Secret Service sources rejecting those statements to paint

Hutchinson's sworn testimony as unreliable. So far, though, none of the people who have disputed Hutchinson's story have done so under oath.

Now members of the Jan. 6 committee, Hutchinson's lawyer and several of Hutchinson's former Trump administration colleagues are challenging her critics to follow the 25-year-old's lead and testify before Congress under penalty of perjury.

"The lies and fabricated stories being told to the partisan Highly Unselect Committee, not only by the phony social climber who [See Witness, A6]

EV owners plug into flipping trend

High demand and low stock drive some to seek profits from their Teslas, other brands.

BY RONALD D. WHITE

Dennis Wang lost money on his first try, but then he learned from his mistakes.

On his second effort as an electric vehicle flipper, Wang made \$4,000. On his third, he hit what he considered the sweet spot, a \$7,000 profit. All the deals involved Teslas that Wang bought and resold, flipping them like tickets to a hot concert.

"I have a Model S currently that I'm probably go-

ing to sell within another three months, pending the market," Wang said. "I also have another Model Y and a Model X on order."

Buying and reselling stuff is as old as commerce itself, complete with cautionary tales and questionable legality. House flipping has become so alluring that multiple reality TV shows hype the process and personalities involved.

Now a new breed of flipper has emerged hoping zero emissions equal big profits. Helping them is an unusual confluence of factors plaguing EV manufacturers (supply chain problems, semiconductor shortages, unmet production goals, an emerg- [See EV flipping, A9]

Migrant death toll rises to 53

The suspected driver of a truck in Texas packed with people could face the death penalty.

NATION, A4

Eviction ban is ending in state

Tenant advocates say officials have not done enough to keep renters housed during the pandemic.

Weather
 Early clouds, then sun. L.A. Basin: 81/61. **B6**



R. KELLY SENTENCED

Jovante Cunningham, a victim of the R&B star, leaves court after the singer was given 30 years in prison for sex trafficking and more. **CALENDAR, E1**

LIZ CHENEY: GOP has stark choice on Trump, she tells crowd. **CALIFORNIA, B3**

BUSINESS INSIDE: More experts are predicting that Southland home prices will drop. **A8**

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington

Sunday 91/74 • Tomorrow: Sunny 93/76 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

THURSDAY, JUNE 30, 2022 • B2

Top lawyer faces Jan. 6 committee subpoena

Former White House counsel Pat Cipollone often seen as key insider

BY JACQUELINE ALEMANY AND JOSH DAWSEY

The House select committee investigating the Jan. 6, 2021, insurrection issued a subpoena Wednesday evening to former White House counsel Pat Cipollone after blockbuster testimony from a former aide identified the lawyer as having firsthand knowledge of potential criminal activity in the Trump White House.

The decision followed extensive negotiations between Cipollone and the committee, as well as sharply escalating pressure on him in recent days to come forward and testify. Committee members have come to believe that the former counsel's testimony could be critical to their investigation, given his proximity to Donald Trump and presence during key moments before, during and after the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol. The subpoena is likely

SEE JAN. 6 ON A8

Aide's testimony: A review of the basis for her explosive claims. A8

Groups eye cross-state travel limits for abortions

BY CAROLINE KITCHENER AND DEVLIN BARRETT

Several national antiabortion groups and their allies in Republican-led state legislatures are advancing plans to stop people in states where abortion is banned from seeking the procedure elsewhere, according to people involved in the discussions.

The idea has gained momentum in some corners of the anti-abortion movement in the days since the Supreme Court struck down its 49-year-old precedent protecting abortion rights nationwide, triggering abortion bans across much of the Southeast and Midwest.

The Thomas More Society, a conservative legal organization, is drafting model legislation for state lawmakers that would allow private citizens to sue anyone who helps a resident of a state that has banned abortion from terminating a pregnancy outside of that state. The language will borrow from the novel legal strategy behind a Texas abortion ban enacted last year in which private citizens could enforce the law through civil litigation.

The subject was much discussed at two national antiabortion conferences last weekend.

SEE ABORTION ON A7

Data privacy: Tech firms are silent on aiding prosecutions. A15



The Rev. Flaviano Villanueva talks to families of men whose bodies were exhumed June 10 at Bagbag Cemetery in Quezon City. After President Rodrigo Duterte steps down Thursday, his deadly drug war is likely to carry on under Ferdinand Marcos Jr.

Seeking truth among the dead

In the Philippines, exhumations take aim at Duterte's drug war, even as burials continue

BY MICHAEL E. MILLER AND REGINE CABATO

MANILA — The priest led the widow along the winding cemetery path, past children playing among the tombs and food vendors with radios blaring the morning news, to the place where Manila's poorest are buried. The "apartments," as Filipinos call them, are concrete boxes just big enough for a body and nothing more, stacked six levels high like condos in a city of the dead.

The Rev. Flaviano Villanueva guided the woman over uneven ground and broken glass to a



Gloria Sarmiento looks at partner Ronnie Montoya, killed in the drug war. His family says he was innocent.

grave half-obscured by undergrowth. Patricio Baran had been buried as he lived: on the bottom rung.

Villanueva made the sign of the cross and said a prayer. Then he sprinkled the grave with holy water and nodded at a young man holding a metal pole.

It was time. The young man began pounding on the grave next to a plaque that said "RIP." On the 43rd attempt, the pole punched through.

As Villanueva crouched over a black body bag and his bright

SEE PHILIPPINES ON A14

A hunt for the past in Nevada's disappearing lake

Rapid decline of largest U.S. reservoir leaves human remains, sunken ships among artifacts

BY JOSHUA PARTLOW

LAS VEGAS — They were just a couple of special-education teachers, freed up by Flag Day, out for what appeared to be a morning of bass fishing on Lake Mead.

Matt Blanchard and Shawn Rosen had settled into their 18-foot motorboat, put beers on ice and waited their turn at the last functioning boat launch on this rapidly disappearing body of water. It wasn't until the old Bayliner was chugging away that Rosen mentioned an ulterior motive for their mid-June excursion.

"We're hoping today's trip, besides finding fish, we can come across some barrels," Rosen said. "Every body's trying to find the barrels."

As the nation's largest reservoir has plummeted to about a quarter of its former size, barrels have taken on a grisly new significance. But the human remains discovered in a rusted-out barrel last month — suspected of being a decades-old mob execution — are

SEE LAKE MEAD ON A20



Faith Lippincott, 45, and her 10-year-old daughter, Addy, with a previously submerged boat on June 14 — one of numerous artifacts and oddities that have turned up at Lake Mead in Boulder City, Nev.

NATO, U.S. send message to Putin

BIDEN TO BOOST U.S. FORCES IN EUROPE

Bloc seeks to project grit as Ukraine war persists

BY ASHLEY PARKER AND EMILY RAUHALA

MADRID — Under pressure to find new ways to confront Russia as its deadly invasion of Ukraine drags into its fifth month, President Biden and his NATO allies on Wednesday announced a historic surge of forces along Europe's eastern flank and welcomed Finland and Sweden as soon-to-be members as they promised to defend "every inch" of NATO territory.

The muscular military announcements were intended to send "an unmistakable message" that NATO remains unified against Russia's growing belligerence, said Biden, standing alongside NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg on the second day of the NATO summit here.

"In a moment when [Russian President Vladimir] Putin has shattered peace in Europe and attacked the very, very tenets of rule-based order, the United States and our allies — we're going to step up," Biden said. "We're

SEE NATO ON A12

Ukrainian gains: Counteroffensive in the south shows progress. A10



At trial, R. Kelly was depicted as a star who used his status to control and sexually abuse people.

R. Kelly gets 30-year term after decades of allegations

BY SAMANTHA CHERY, TRAVIS M. ANDREWS AND HELENA ANDREWS-DYER

Former R&B star R. Kelly was sentenced to 30 years in prison on Wednesday for racketeering and sex trafficking, charges stemming from nearly 30 years of allegations that he physically and sexually abused women and minors.

It is a stunning fall for hitmaker Kelly, who won multiple Grammy Awards and released chart-topping music while dodging sexual misconduct allegations for decades. His is among the highest-profile cases to spring from the #MeToo movement, and the punishment handed down in a Brooklyn federal court is one of the harshest since the movement began. Film producer Harvey Weinstein was sentenced to 23 years for felony rape, and

IN THE NEWS



ELISABETH DE POURQUERES/FRANCE TELEVISIONS/REUTERS

Guilty verdict The surviving member of a terrorist group that carried out a 2015 rampage in Paris received life in prison. A11

Abortion in Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) indicated he would like to rein in abortion rights, if the political landscape shifts. B1

THE NATION The Supreme Court sided with Oklahoma officials in a case involving state prosecutions within Indian reservations. A2
Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson is set to be sworn in as the Supreme Court's first Black female justice at noon Thursday. A2
A Boy Scout helped aid injured passengers after Monday's Amtrak derailment near Mendon, Mo., and comforted a dying truck driver. A3
A Ukrainian-born former associate of Rudy Giuliani was sentenced

to 20 months in prison for defrauding investors and illegally making political donations. A9
A Colorado man visiting Yellowstone National Park was gored by a bison at Old Faithful in the second attack of its kind in the past month, park officials said. A9
House Speaker Nancy Pelosi received Holy Communion at the Vatican after a U.S. archbishop ordered it withheld because of her stance on abortion. A9

THE WORLD The brother of a slain Palestinian American

journalist has pressed the United States to hold Israel accountable for her killing. A11
The grisly killing of a Hindu tailor has raised fears of religious tensions in India tipping into large-scale bloodshed. A11

THE ECONOMY The crypto-focused hedge fund Three Arrows Capital plunged deeper into financial turmoil after it was ordered into liquidation following its failure to repay creditors. A15
The FTC is suing Walmart, alleging that the company should have done more to stop scammers from using its wire

transfer services. A16

THE REGION Montgomery County officials hope crime prevention and community engagement programs will curb youth violence this summer. B1
An acquaintance was arrested in the killing of a Fairfax City man who police said was shot as he slept. B1
The remains of a World War II soldier could belong to Spike Lee's lost cousin. B1
The father of Niyah Courtney, a 6-year-old killed last year in a drive-by shooting, got more than three years in prison for a drug conspiracy conviction. B3

INSIDE



LOCAL LIVING Growing, growing, gone.

How to ditch your water-hogging lawn and create a drought-tolerant yard.

STYLE Decades of sweet dreams
Nearly 40 years after the Eurythmics hit, Annie Lennox keeps her chin up in a world of anxiety. C1

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deportes

River cayó en Liniers

Vélez tomó ventaja en la serie por la Copa

Con un penal convertido por Janson, el Fortín ganó 1-0 ante un descolorido conjunto de Gallardo.



ORHAN PAMUK: VISIÓN DE UN NOBEL SOBRE LA ESTUPIDEZ HUMANA

—cultura

Además de su nueva novela *Las noches de la peste*, el escritor habla de su situación en Turquía, lo que le enseñó el feminismo y los gobiernos negacionistas. **Página 25**

RÉCORD DE PRESOS EN LAS CÁRCELES BONAERENSES

—seguridad

La cantidad de detenidos duplica la capacidad de alojamiento del sistema; más de 4500 procesados y condenados tienen prisión domiciliaria. **Página 26**

LA NACION

JUEVES 30 DE JUNIO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Fernández contra la Corte, abrazado a Milagro Sala

CORRUPCIÓN. Dijo que es víctima de una "persecución" y le reclamó al máximo tribunal que cambie la condena



JUJUY.- El presidente Alberto Fernández visitó ayer a la dirigente Milagro Sala, quien está internada en Jujuy mientras cumple prisión domiciliaria por asociación ilícita, fraude y extorsión. Fernández le exigió a la Corte, que tiene esa causa en estudio, que enmiende "esa barrabasada". El viaje provocó fuertes críticas. **Página 8**

Según el Presidente, hubo un "golpe de mercado"
Página 18

Por la escasez de gasoil y la presión impositiva, el campo convocó a un paro

PROTESTA. Será el 13 de julio con un cese de comercialización de granos y hacienda

En protesta por la falta de gasoil y sus sobrepagos, la presión impositiva en general, las retenciones y la brecha cambiaria, la Mesa de Enlace convocó a un paro de actividades para el 13 julio próximo.

La medida incluirá el cese de comercialización de granos y hacienda por 24 horas y el llamado a la

movilización de productores en distintos puntos del país, aunque sin la intención de cortar rutas, según expresó Jorge Chemes, presidente de Confederaciones Rurales Argentinas (CRA), una de las entidades que forman la Mesa de Enlace junto con

Coninagro, Federación Agraria y la Sociedad Rural Argentina.

Los ruralistas dijeron también que por las recientes medidas del Banco Central en relación con las importaciones se afectó el ingreso de fertilizantes, imprescindibles para la producción de granos. **Página 17**

EL ESCENARIO
Cristian Mira

Se colmó la paciencia del agro
Página 17

Aprender: la ciudad supera la media nacional en lengua y matemática

EDUCACIÓN. Es el resultado de la prueba que se tomó en diciembre a alumnos de 6° grado del primario

La ciudad de Buenos Aires confirmó ayer que los alumnos de 6° grado del nivel primario, de gestión pública y privada, tienen conocimientos de lengua y de matemática por encima de la media nacional, según se desprende de los resultados de las últimas pruebas Aprender, que se tomaron en diciembre último en todo el país. Aunque los estudiantes de es-

tratos socioeconómicos más bajos sintieron en el distrito los efectos del cierre de escuelas por la pandemia, los niveles de aprendizaje que están entre "avanzado y satisfactorio" son 17,6% y 17,5% mejores que sus pares del resto del país.

De todos modos, los alumnos de 6° grado bajaron su rendimiento en ambas asignaturas respecto de los resultados de 2018. **Página 23**

EL ESCENARIO

La crisis incuba nuevos dispositivos de poder

Carlos Pagni
—LA NACION—

Néstor Kirchner sacralizó un axioma entre los suyos: las pizarras de las casas de cambio deben estar quietas. La disparada del dólar era, para él, un indicador de inestabilidad política. Es lo que está pasando. Los productores agropecuarios se paralizan por falta de gasoil. La vicepresidenta indica al Presidente, en público, qué debe hacer con la política económica y, señalando como ejemplo al exintendente de Avellaneda Jorge Ferraresi, propone realizar movilizaciones populares contra quienes se quejan por las arbitrariedades del Estado. Continúa en la página 12

Piquetes: el camionero murió por un pedrazo

INVESTIGACIÓN. Las primeras conclusiones de la investigación de la muerte del camionero Guillermo Andrés Jara indican que no falleció por el choque del camión, sino por el pedrazo que recibió en el cráneo al intentar sortear un piquete en el que transportistas reclamaban por la falta de gasoil. **Página 18**

Kicillof le perdonó una multa millonaria a Baradel

PAROS. El gobernador bonaerense, Axel Kicillof, anuló una multa de 659 millones de pesos que se le había impuesto a Suteba, el gremio de Roberto Baradel, por eludir una conciliación obligatoria durante la gestión de Vidal. Kicillof reforzó así el vínculo con el sindicalista docente. **Página 11**

Flávia Boggio Bolsonaro odeia as mulheres

Somos 53% do eleitorado. Podemos tirar este presidente, que deixa milhões de nós vítimas da violência dos que pensam como ele. Quem é mulher não vota em Bolsonaro. Ilustrada C5

TJ mantém sentença contra presidente por ofender repórter

O Tribunal de Justiça de São Paulo manteve a condenação de Jair Bolsonaro (PL) e elevou a indenização a ser paga por ele por ofender, com insinuações sexuais, a honra da jornalista da Folha Patrícia Campos Mello. Política A13

Pacheco promete decisão sobre CPI na próxima semana

Política A6

Corrupção cai ao 2º plano do Planalto em pré-campanha

Diante do escândalo no MEC, Jair Bolsonaro (PL) passou a adaptar o discurso e admitir "casos isolados de corrupção" no governo, mas não "corrupção endêmica". Aliados pedem foco da pré-campanha em agenda positiva. Política A4

Brasileiros fazem doação menor e vão menos à igreja, aponta Datafolha B1

EDITORIAIS A2

A colheita de Putin
Acerca de ampliação da aliança militar ocidental.

Racionalizar a Justiça
Sobre proposta de emenda que limita recursos ao STJ.

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apresenta

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VILLAGE

Veja nas páginas A8 e A9.



Mulheres fazem manifestação contra Pedro Guimarães diante da sede da Caixa Econômica Federal, em Brasília. Gabriela BR6/Folhapress

Acusações de assédio sexual derrubam presidente da Caixa

Pedro Guimarães nega e fala em 'rancor político' em ano eleitoral; em seu lugar entra Daniella Marques

O presidente da Caixa, Pedro Guimarães, pediu demissão ontem, após ser acusado de assédio sexual por funcionárias. Em seu lugar entra Daniella Marques, atual secretária de Produtividade e Competitividade na Economia.

As denúncias vão de toques indesejados a convites inapropriados. A Folha uma funcionária relatou ter ficado em choque após ter sido puxada pelo pescoço e, em seguida, ouvido: "Estou com muita vontade de você".

Em carta, Guimarães nega as acusações e diz ser alvo de "rancor político em um ano eleitoral". Afirma, ainda, sempre ter se empenhado no "combate a toda forma de assédio, repelindo toda e qualquer forma de violência".

A presidente do TCU, Ana Arraes, determinou abertura de fiscalização na Caixa para verificar as políticas do banco contra assédio. Arraes declarou não haver ação coordenada sobre o tema na administração pública.

Jair Bolsonaro não se manifestou, mas o Planalto via o caso de Guimarães, um aliado próximo, como insustentável. A campanha do presidente tem buscado reduzir a forte rejeição no eleitorado feminino. Mercado A17 a A20



Reprodução

BOLSONARO RECEBE TUCKER CARLSON, DA FOX NEWS DOS EUA

Jornalista do canal conservador em visita a Bolsonaro; ao fundo, 'X' da Caixa e boneco de Nelson Piquet, criticado por chamar Lewis Hamilton de 'neguinho'; em entrevista a Carlson, presidente disse que, 'se a esquerda voltar, nunca mais deixará o poder no Brasil'. Política A10

Esporte B7

Brasil comemora 20 anos do penta enquanto Felipão ensaia renascimento

Ilustrada C1

Laurentino Gomes encerra trilogia sobre escravidão e celebra Lei de Cotas

Turismo C8

Com contratos mais flexíveis, aluguel de carro vira alternativa para turista no país

Otan se refunda para combater Rússia e diz que China é ameaça

Diante da invasão russa na Ucrânia, a Otan apresentou ontem uma revisão de sua doutrina que retoma o foco em combater Moscou com dissuasão militar. A China, antes tratada de forma secundária pela aliança ocidental, passa a ser vista como ameaça potencial.

Líderes da organização, os EUA vão aumentar sua presença bélica na Europa — terão, pela primeira vez no pós-Guerra Fria, um quartel-general de Exército, na Polónia. Ao todo, a Otan diz que aumentará de 40 mil para 300 mil seu efetivo de reação rápida. Mundo A14

Ex-presidente da Bolívia, Áñez recusa convite de asilo do Brasil A16

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Aponte a câmera para o QR code e assista



El oficialismo emitió comunicado instando a su bancada a apoyar la iniciativa

Maniobra de HC impide protocolo para la trazabilidad del tabaco

Una vez más dejaron sin quórum la sesión de la Cámara de Diputados cuando iban a tratar la aprobación del convenio para eliminar el comercio ilícito del producto en cuestión.

PÁGINA 2

Los de carrera siguen esperando

Vuelven las designaciones diplomáticas de tinte político en plena campaña

PÁGINA 8

El Ministerio de Educación no adelantará las vacaciones de invierno

PÁGINA 25

El Gobierno da hoy su propuesta a los camioneros sobre el precio del gasoil

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Hay riesgo de cortar gastos sensibles

Hacienda urge aprobación de préstamos para pagar deudas y a contratistas

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Policía detuvo a su hermano de madre

Adolescente murió por un disparo y no a causa de explosión de su vapeador

PÁGINA 50



Con un pie fuera de la Libertadores

Sin sorpresas. Cerro cayó 3-0 ante Palmeiras en La Nueva Olla en octavos, que lo deja al borde de la eliminación. Hoy juega Olimpia ante Goianiense. PÁGINA 54 a la 56

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PATRIMOINE
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FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question
de mardi :
Covid-19 : faut-il rétablir
le port obligatoire
du masque dans
les transports ?

OUI 61% NON 39%

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et de la Finlande
dans l'Otan ?

STEFANI REYNOLDS/AFP - THOMAS
GARNIER - WEGO - STOCK.ADOBE.COM

13 Novembre : un procès pour l'histoire

Après dix mois
de débats,
les vingt accusés
ont été condamnés
à des peines
allant de deux ans
d'emprisonnement
à la perpétuité.
Salah Abdeslam, lui,
a écopé de la perpétuité
incompressible.

PAGES 12, 13 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

Macron place Borne face au dilemme du vote de confiance

Vote de confiance ou pas ? Borne
a indiqué qu'elle « prendrait
(sa) décision à l'issue des consul-
tations » des présidents des
groupes de l'Assemblée. Cette

hésitation est loin de la « prise de
risque » chère à Macron. Qui a
souvent récompensé ceux qui
s'y frottaient et sanctionné ceux
qui s'y dérobaient. PAGE 2



Assaut du Capitole : Trump fragilisé par le témoignage d'une proche collaboratrice

Après la déposition de Cassidy
Hutchinson, assistante du se-
crétaire général de la Maison-
Blanche, devant le Congrès, il
sera difficile à l'ex-président

de plaider l'ignorance : il sa-
vait que ses supporters armés
allaient déferler sur le
Capitole et a même voulu
prendre leur tête. PAGE 11

ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thérard ythearad@lefigaro.fr

Coupable légèreté

Aux fanatismes idéologiques qui tuent
au nom d'une idéologie sectaire, un
pays démocratique a répondu
par la voix d'une justice républi-
caine. Lors d'un procès-fléuve
de neuf mois qui avait vocation à faire la
lumière sur les attentats du 13 novembre 2015.
Ce soir-là, 130 personnes ont été sauve-
ment assassinées à Saint-Denis, à des terras-
ses de cafés parisiennes et au Bataclan. Face
au deuil des familles, à la douleur physique et
mentale des 400 blessés, de quel secours sera
le verdict qui vient de tomber après des jours
et des jours de dépositions et de plaidoiries ?
Bien sûr, pour les victimes et leurs proches, il
y a eu ces paroles qui libèrent, ce sentiment
d'être moins seul, cette envie de parler pour
oublier, se reconstruire, chercher une fin au
cauchemar. Pour les autres, il y a eu ces récits
qui plongeaient dans le nu de la vie, mais
aussi cette possibilité d'en savoir plus sur le
pourquoi et le comment de ces carnages. La
clé était chez les accusés, sauf que les plus
importants de ces enragés sont morts ou dis-
parus. Et ceux qui étaient dans le box n'ont
eu que le mensonge ou le silence à la bouche.
De ce procès, qui restera pour l'histoire, on
retiendra donc les failles des pouvoirs publics

de l'époque, en France et en Belgique, où vi-
vaient beaucoup des terroristes. Sur ce front,
il n'est pas question de psychologie, mais
d'un froid constat qui permet de recenser les
ratés flagrants des services de renseigne-
ments et de sécurité. Des menaces pesaient
sur la salle du Bataclan depuis 2009. Atar,
Abaaoud, Abdeslam - le seul membre encore
vivant des commandos - et la plupart des as-
saillants du 13 Novem-
bre étaient connus de-
puis des années.
Quelques-uns avaient
même été appréhendés
avant d'être relâchés.
Faut de filatures et de
coopération entre ser-
vices, ils allaient et venaient pourtant libre-
ment entre l'Europe et le Levant. Cette légè-
reté était d'autant plus coupable que, dix
mois auparavant, avaient eu lieu les attaques
contre *Charlie Hebdo* et l'Hyper Cacher.

Depuis 2015, des mesures ont été prises en
France et en Europe pour renforcer la lutte
antiterroriste. Mais celle-ci ne peut être effi-
cace que si le mal est traité à la racine. Contre
cet islamisme rampant qui se diffuse dans
toute la société, beaucoup reste à faire. ■

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Tory privatisation linked to increase in NHS death rates

Andrew Gregory
Health editor

The privatisation of NHS care accelerated by Tory reforms a decade ago has corresponded with a decline in quality and "significantly increased" rates of death from treatable causes, the first study of its kind says.

The controversial shake-up of the health service in England in 2012 by the coalition government's health secretary at the time, Andrew

Lansley, forced local health bodies to tender out contracts for services. Billions of pounds in taxpayers' cash have since been handed to private companies to treat NHS patients, according to the landmark review.

It shows the growth in health contracts being tendered out to private firms has been associated with a drop in care quality and higher rates of treatable mortality - patient deaths considered avoidable with timely, effective healthcare. The analysis by Oxford University has been published

in The Lancet Public Health journal. "The privatisation of the NHS in England, through the outsourcing of services to for-profit companies, consistently increased [after 2012]," the study says. "Private sector outsourcing corresponded with significantly increased rates of treatable mortality, potentially as a result of a decline in the quality of healthcare services."

With a record 6.5 million patients now waiting for care, and private companies being lined up to help tackle the backlog, the research will

prompt new fears over the potential harms of increased outsourcing.

"Our study suggests that increased for-profit outsourcing from clinical commissioning groups [CCGs] in England might have adversely affected the quality of care delivered to patients and resulted in increased mortality rates," the authors said. "Our findings suggest that further privatisation of the NHS might lead to worse population health outcomes." The study examined the impact of the Health and

Rebels plot takeover to force PM from office

Aubrey Allegretti
Political correspondent

Boris Johnson is facing a fresh threat from Conservative rebels, who are planning a takeover of the powerful backbench committee that could force him from office.

Opponents of the prime minister, including some who were loyal to him as recently as last week, have set their sights on a "clean sweep" of the 1922 Committee amid a hardening of the mood against the prime minister.

The committee has the power to change the rules to allow a new no confidence vote in Johnson within 12 months, and as soon as this autumn. In a secret ballot to decide its executive members, which will be held within three weeks, rebels hope to seize all 18 positions up for grabs.

The contest will be viewed as a proxy vote on whether Johnson should face another confidence ballot, after this month's saw more than 40% of his MPs oppose him.

Opposition to Johnson has hardened in the past week after a disastrous double byelection loss, his open pursuit of a third term and a series of sleaze scandals.

Two previous supporters of the prime minister told the Guardian they would not back him in another confidence vote, while negotiations have begun to agree a unified slate that would ratchet up pressure on the prime minister to quit.

Several "pork pie plotters" - a group of Tory MPs elected in 2019 who met to discuss Johnson's demise in February - have recommenced talks. Other caucuses, such



Raducanu knocked out - but not everyone was there to see it

Emma Raducanu has crashed out of Wimbledon, losing in straight sets to Caroline Garcia of France. Defeat for the British No 1 came amid concern over empty Centre Court seats, with one guest with a hospitality ticket saying they enjoyed the 'ability to drop in and out of the tennis'. **News Page 6** →

Bataclan attack

Only survivor of gang that killed 130 in Paris is jailed

News Page 30 →