

## Russia Seizes A Prized City From Ukraine

**Eastern Province Now  
in Moscow's Hands**

This article is by **Thomas Gibbons-Neff, Kamila Hrabchuk and Vivian Yee.**

The last major city held by Ukraine in the heavily contested eastern province of Luhansk has fallen, military officials on both sides said Sunday, giving Moscow a milestone victory in its campaign to capture the Donbas, the mineral-rich region bordering Russia that has long been in President Vladimir V. Putin's sights.

The industrial city of Lysychansk, on a rise overlooking the Siverskyi Donets River, had held out for a week after Russia seized control of Sievierodonetsk, its twin city across the river. But as Russia inundated Lysychansk with artillery fire and strangled its supply lines, building on months of bombardment and weeks of ferocious street fighting that reduced both cities to grayed-out husks, Ukrainian defenders were forced to retreat.

That left Russian soldiers posing for pictures outside Lysychansk City Hall, chanting, "Lysychansk is ours" and waving the flag of the Donetsk People's Republic — the pro-Moscow separatist state that Mr. Putin claimed to be protecting when his forces invaded Ukraine, a video posted on Twitter on Sunday showed.

Western military analysts had expressed little doubt that Moscow would eventually prevail in the twin cities, but with their loss undeniable, pressure redoubled on the United States and its allies to get the more powerful weapons they have promised Ukraine to the front. For nations in the West, however, the next phase of the war will prove to be a test not just of military logistics but of solidarity. As the conflict drags on, their own citizens are feeling the economic pain, and unity among the allies may be hard to sustain.

Russia now faces new challenges of its own. It controls more than a fifth of Ukraine — much of it cities in name only, skeletal remains emptied of people after months of shelling — but it will need to replenish depleted forces and ammunition as it wages what promises to be a fierce, drawn-out ground war.

On Sunday, Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, denied that Lysychansk was completely in Russian hands. At a news conference with Australia's prime minister, who was visiting Kyiv, Mr. Zelensky said fighting was taking place on the outskirts of the city.

But videos posted on social media appeared to show Russian troops in the city center, and residents who fled the region in recent days said the bulk of the Ukrainian forces in Lysychansk left on Friday.

Hours after Russia's military proclaimed victory in the city, the Ukrainian military acknowledged that it had pulled out its forces there. "The continuation of the defense of the city would lead to fatal consequences," it said in a statement on Facebook. "In order to

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**STRIKES KILL CIVILIANS** Russian barracks on a hill and other residential areas in Sloviansk, Ukraine, left at least six people dead.

## U.S. Veterans Are Giving Ukraine a Quiet Assist

By **DAVE PHILIPPS**

A democracy came under attack. The United States saw a threat to an ally and also to the entire world order, but it feared that sending troops could spark a nuclear war. So, instead, it supplied weapons. And a small number of American Special Operations trainers started quietly working with the local military.

That was the situation in South Vietnam in 1961, a few years before full-blown U.S. military involvement, when the American presence was limited to a military "advisory group."

It is also the situation in Ukraine today. As a bloody con-

**Providing Training and  
Advice Unsanctioned  
by the Pentagon**

flict churns on, small teams of American Special Operations veterans are training Ukrainian soldiers near the front lines and, in some cases, helping to plan combat missions.

There is a notable difference, though. In Vietnam, the trainers were active-duty troops under the control of the Pentagon. In Ukraine, where the United States has avoided sending any troops,

the trainers are civilian volunteers, supported by online donations and operating entirely on their own.

"This is why I became a Green Beret," said Perry Blackburn Jr., a retired Army Special Forces lieutenant colonel who spent 34 years in uniform in Iraq, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Egypt, Somalia and Jordan. He is now in Ukraine as a civilian doing what he once did in the military: training local forces to fight a common enemy.

"To not use my talents in a real time of need would be a waste," said Mr. Blackburn, 60, who was one of a handful of Special Forces soldiers who rode into Afghan-

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**Fleeing Bullets in a Copenhagen Mall**

A gunman opened fire in Denmark's largest shopping center, killing at least three. Page A11.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

## Trump Intent Out in Open

By **PETER BAKER**

WASHINGTON — He was not speaking metaphorically. It was not an offhand comment. President Donald J. Trump had every intention of joining a mob of supporters he knew to be armed and dangerous as it marched to the Capitol. And there had even been talk of marching into the House chamber himself to disrupt Congress from ratifying his election defeat.

For a year and a half, Mr. Trump has been shielded by obfuscations and mischaracterizations, benefiting from uncertainty about what he was thinking on Jan. 6, 2021. If he truly believed the election had been stolen, if he genuinely expected the gathering at the Capitol would be a peaceful protest, the argument went, then could he be held accountable, much less indicted, for the mayhem that ensued?

But for a man who famously avoids leaving email or other trails of evidence of his unspoken motives, any doubts about what was really going through Mr. Trump's mind on that day of violence seemed to have been eviscerated by testimony presented in recent weeks by the House committee investigating the Capitol attack — especially the dramatic appearance last week of a 26-year-old former White House aide who offered a chilling portrait of a president willing to do almost anything to hang onto power.

More than perhaps any insider account that has emerged, the recollections of the aide, Cassidy Hutchinson, demolished the

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## STRATEGIC SHIFT IN BID TO REGAIN ABORTION RIGHTS

**STATE AND LOCAL FOCUS**

**Legal and Political Fight  
Borrows From Tactics  
of Opponents**

By **KATE ZERNIKE**

Trying to recover from their staggering loss in the Supreme Court, abortion rights groups have mounted a multilevel legal and political attack aimed at blocking and reversing any bans in courts and at ballot boxes across the country.

In the week since the court overturned Roe v. Wade, litigators for abortion rights groups have rolled out a wave of lawsuits in nearly a dozen states to hold off bans triggered by the court's decision, with the promise of more suits to come. They are aiming to prove that provisions in state constitutions establish a right to abortion that the Supreme Court's decision said did not exist in the U.S. Constitution.

Advocates of abortion rights are also working to defeat ballot initiatives that would strip away a constitutional right to abortion, and to pass those that would establish one, in states where abortion access is contingent on who controls the governor's mansion or the state house.

And after years of complaints that Democrats neglected state and local elections, Democratic-aligned groups are campaigning to reverse slim Republican majorities in some state legislatures, and to elect abortion rights supporters to positions from county commissioners to state Supreme Court justices that can have influence over the enforcement of abortion restrictions.

"You want all the belt and suspenders that you can have," said Nancy Northup, president of the Center for Reproductive Rights, which litigated Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization, the case the Supreme Court used to overturn Roe. While the Supreme Court said it wanted to end five decades of bitter debate on abortion, its decision has set up a new fight, one that promises to be long and equally bitter.

Although abortion rights supporters say their strategy is promising, the path ahead is slow and not at all certain. Polls show that Americans overwhelmingly say that the decision to have an abortion should be made by women and their doctors rather than state legislatures. But Republican-controlled state legislatures have passed hundreds of restrictions on abortion over the last decade, and legislative districts are heavily gerrymandered to protect Republican incumbents. Litigation in state courts will be decided by judges who in many cases have been appointed by anti-abortion governors.

Abortion rights groups say their cases relying on state constitutions offer a viable path forward to establish Roe-like protections in states. Even in conservative

Continued on Page A17

## Blind to Red Flags, I.R.S. Certified Fake Charities

This article is by **David A. Fahrenthold, Troy Closson and Julie Tate.**

The "American Cancer Society of Michigan," state authorities say, was a fake charity. And not even a good fake.

It was not in Michigan, for one thing. When the group applied to the Internal Revenue Service to become a tax-exempt nonprofit in 2020, it listed its address as a rented mailbox on Staten Island.

**76 Groups at a Mailbox  
on Staten Island**

It was not the American Cancer Society, either. In fact, the real American Cancer Society had already warned the I.R.S. that the leader of the sound-alike group, Ian Hosang, was running a fraud.

The I.R.S. approved the group anyway. Soon after, it also ap-

proved another operation run by Mr. Hosang: "The United Way of Ohio," which was also registered to the Staten Island address.

Mr. Hosang, 63, is now accused by prosecutors in New York of operating a long-running charity fraud that has astounded nonprofit regulators and watchdogs — and raised concerns about the I.R.S.'s ability to serve as gatekeeper for the American charity system.

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## Murky Path From Russian Propagandist to Jan. 6

By **MIKE MCINTIRE**

In security footage from Jan. 6, it is easy to overlook the thin man wearing a red Trump hat who filters into the U.S. Capitol Building to record the mayhem with his phone.

He blends in with the mob, seemingly unexceptional by the chaotic standards of that day. But what he did afterward was far from routine.

Within 24 hours, the man,

**American Is in Moscow  
as 'Political Refugee'**

Charles Bausman, gave his recordings and commentary to a Russian television producer for a propaganda video. He then decamped to Moscow, where, appearing on a far-right television network owned by a sanctioned oligarch, he recently accused

American media of covering up for neo-Nazis in Ukraine.

"We must understand that in the West," Mr. Bausman told Russian viewers, "we are already in a situation of total lies."

For Mr. Bausman — an American alumnus of Phillips Exeter Academy and Wesleyan University who speaks fluent Russian — it was the latest chapter in a strange odyssey. Once a financial executive who voted for President

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NATIONAL A12-17

**Yellowstone Weighs New Path**  
The country's oldest national park, battered by floods, is assessing whether to rebuild in the same places. PAGE A12

**Akron Police Release Video**

A Black man killed last week during a traffic stop was shot over 60 times, the police chief said Sunday. PAGE A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

**Tensions in Northern Ireland**  
Brexit and so-called legacy legislation are reviving sensitive issues of Catholics and Protestant identity that civic leaders have sought to dampen. PAGE A10

**London to Hear Bells Again**

A five-year restoration of the landmark tower that houses Big Ben has been completed. PAGE A4

OBITUARIES D7-8

**Innovative Stage Director**

Peter Brook left an indelible mark with plays, musicals, opera and a relentless curiosity. He was 97. PAGE D8



SPORTS D1-6

**A Bike Race of Extremes**  
In the 2,700-mile Tour Divide, cyclists cope with floods, fires, mudslides and other effects of climate change. PAGE D1

**The Long, Indefinite Goodbye**

Competitive drive and a changing sports business kept athletes like Serena and Venus Williams going. PAGE D1

BUSINESS B1-6

**No Longer Just a Novelty**

With the technology improving and costs falling, 3-D printing, which has been around since the 1980s, could finally be poised to play a major role in manufacturing. PAGE B1

**Hacking Crypto During Covid**

The isolated country of North Korea continues to find ways to evade sanctions and generate income while operating on the fringes of the world's financial system. PAGE B1

OPINION A18-19

**Pamela Paul**

PAGE A19



ARTS C1-6

**Aquatic Artist**  
A show at the Met takes a look at the Indigenous struggle to keep control of the use of water and land. Above, a Santa Clara Pueblo corn dancer. PAGE C1



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## Almond growers feel the squeeze

As drought drives up water and other costs in California, a port bottleneck strands a billion pounds of nuts.

By LOUIS SAHAGÚN

MANTECA, Calif. — Almond producer David Phippen didn't need to hear the latest predictions from agriculture economists to know that his industry was on the verge of losing its premier position in the global market.

He saw it coming during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, when oceanic carriers discovered they could make twice as many annual round trips and higher profit margins — by sending empty containers back to Asia to pick up more goods for export instead of waiting in port here to be loaded with his almonds. Almond exports are down by about 13% this year, industry officials said.

"It's all about money," Phippen, 72, said, shaking his head in frustration on a recent hot and sticky morning. "After years of prospering together, foreign shipping vessels have decided to stop servicing us."

Now, the powerhouse almond industry is in a pickle. Roughly 7,600 California farms produce 82% of the world's almonds. But they don't get paid until their product gets delivered in robust markets like the European Union, China, India and the United Arab Emirates.

As a result, the prospect of harvesting 2.8 billion pounds this year — just shy of the 2.9 billion pounds in 2021 and the record 3.1 billion pounds in 2020 — has industry leaders both excited and worried. That's because about 1.3 billion pounds of unsold almonds are still sitting in piles at processing and packing facilities.

The problem comes at a [See Almonds, A6]



TAM NGUYEN, who grew up in Vietnam and came to the U.S. to look for his white father, sleeps in his car.

Photographs by BRIAN VAN DER BRUG, Los Angeles Times

## Shame adds to despair of Little Saigon's homeless

In the Vietnamese community's culture of achievement, the poorest struggle with their position as outliers

By Anh Do

The bargain buyers drifted out of a popular Little Saigon fruit shop with tote bags full of pale-brown longan and hairy, red rambutan, barely glancing at the dirt-smeared face of Duc Tran.

He hovered near a door, hinting to passersby that he was thirsty with a drinking gesture and a finger to his throat. In Vietnamese, he asked for "tien mua mi" — money for a bowl of noodles.

Tran was a car salesman until chasing the high of methamphetamine took over his life.

For the last five years or so, he has been roaming outside the fabric stores and takeout eateries of Little Saigon in Westminster.

He is part of a ragtag group, many of whom lived through the devastation of the Vietnam War and came to the U.S. as refugees in their teens. They have converged on Little [See Vietnamese, A6]



OLIVER NGUYEN, 28, lives on the streets of Little Saigon and hopes to make it as a singer. He tackles odd jobs to earn money.



LUZ ESTRELLA Cuevas Remolino says her children don't know their father is dead. Her mother is at right at Cuevas' Tuxtepec home in Mexico's Oaxaca state.

## Oaxacan brothers' hopeful journey comes to hellish end

Family prays, mourns after smugglers' trailer is found

By LEILA MILLER

TUXTEPEC, Mexico — One day last month, two brothers in this Oaxacan municipality of 160,000 abruptly told their wives that they would be leaving for the United States within the week.

Mariano and Begai San-

tiago Hipólito, both in their early 30s, were frustrated with their jobs as construction workers, an occupation where on a good week they might each make about \$300.

They said they planned to travel to Georgia and return a few years later with enough money to better support their children. Their wives said they urged them

to stay, reminding them of the tightknit evangelical community they'd leave behind. But the brothers were adamant.

"He told me, I'm only going for two years, the time will go by quickly," said Luz Estrella Cuevas Remolino, Mariano's wife. "I'll be back to be with you." [See Migrants, A4]

## In mines, Russian shelling is feared — but not heard

Artillery barrages batter Ukraine's coal industry and endanger workers underground.

By NABIH BULOS

TORETSK, Ukraine — When a 155-millimeter rocket plows into the ground and you're 2,000 feet under it, you hear nothing — you barely even feel it. Which was

why Andriy Podhornay was surprised when his manager came on the walkie-talkie and told the crew in the bowels of the St. Matrona Moskovskaya mine that a Russian artillery strike had just hit. They started moving — fast.

"We were eating when he called us. We immediately went up," said Podhornay, a wiry 32-year-old with a weathered face.

"No one wants to risk getting trapped down there."

When he got to the surface, he found the elevator tower wreathed in black smoke and a large crater next to it. He quickly joined the others to inspect for damage, taking a moment to pick up shell fragments.

The attack last month was the first to strike the mine's compound, but hardly the first to have battered this landscape. Toretsk, a city with a prewar [See Ukraine, A4]

## Reparations elevate U.S.

Admitting wrongdoing, then fixing it, is the truest form of patriotism, writes Erika D. Smith. CALIFORNIA, B1

## Dodgers unable to sweep Padres

San Diego staged a four-run rally in the ninth inning against two of L.A.'s better relievers to win 4-2. SPORTS, D1

Weather Partly sunny. L.A. Basin: 78/62. B6



PHIL MASTURZO, Akron Beacon Journal

## FATAL POLICE SHOOTING

Two women cry after viewing police body-camera footage of the death of Jaylan Walker, 25, who was killed by officers in Akron, Ohio. NATION, A5

**BUSINESS INSIDE:** Companies vow to help staff access abortions. How will that work? A7



# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington



Mostly sunny 88/73 • Tomorrow: T-storm 87/76 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

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## GOP needs support of women for next move

Any antiabortion law could hinge on a growing House conference

BY MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR

After serving in Congress for almost a decade, Rep. Ann Wagner (R-Mo.) finally sees the opportunity to move antiabortion legislation that she has proposed one step closer to becoming law. Rep. Jackie Walorski (R-Ind.) is hoping to advance her legislation that would increase reporting about abortion pills, while also beginning to look at what other regulations can be used on such drugs.

And freshman Rep. Julia Letlow (R-La.) reminded colleagues last week that the Supreme Court ruling overturning the right to an abortion means that Republicans should go beyond protecting the unborn by also proposing policies that support women and their families.

After last week's Supreme Court ruling, some Republican leaders immediately called for codifying a nationwide ban on abortion, arguing that it was the logical next step in the right's multi-decade quest to outlaw abortion. But if Republicans retake the House in this year's midterm elections, they are

SEE GOP ON A6

**Democrats counter Roe ruling:** Decision both creates rallying cry and reveals divergences. A6

## Akron police release video of officers' fatal barrage

BY ANDREA SIMAKIS, BRITTANY SHAMMAS, PRAVEENA SOMASUNDARAM AND KIM BELLWARE

AKRON, OHIO — Police on Sunday released body-camera footage showing officers firing dozens of rounds at a Black man who left his car while fleeing a traffic stop one week ago, a killing that has sparked outrage, investigations and demands for accountability.

Akron Police Chief Stephen Mylett said he did not know the exact number of rounds fired at the victim, 25-year-old Mylett. But, Mylett added, the medical examiner's report indicates more than 60 wounds on Walker's body.

The police chief described the footage, which was blurred to ensure Walker, as "difficult to watch" and "shocking." He said he would reserve judgment until hearing from the officers involved. Evidence indicates that Walker had fired a gun during the car chase, Mylett said.

"When an officer makes the most critical decision in his or her life as a police officer, when they fire an ATM at another

SEE AKRON ON A2

*"I made good money — last year I made almost \$100,000 — and I can't believe this happened to me. But with prices the way they are, it can literally happen to anybody."*

Josanne English, who was evicted after losing her job. She and her partner sent their kids to stay with relatives and moved into their SUV.



MANISH SRIVASTAVA/THE WASHINGTON POST

Sabrina Barger-Turner and her older son, Aiden Turner, 13, in her car in Maryland. She has been living in hotels with her two sons since her lease was terminated in 2020, after she struggled to pay her rent on time, and sometimes she's had to sleep in her car.

BY ABHIA BHATTARAI AND RACHEL SEGEL

The sheriffs arrived at 6 a.m. in early June to tell Josanne English what she already knew: She was being evicted.

She'd lost her job as a project manager near Sacramento in April, then fell behind on rent as \$6-a-gallon gas and higher costs for food and utilities depleted her monthly budget. By the time she lost her home two months later, she owed \$9,160 in rent and late fees, and her bank account was nearing zero.

She received \$1,300 in housing

## As inflation grows, so does housing crisis

Skyrocketing costs for rent, gas and food are driving more people out of their homes

assistance from the county, but that didn't go very far in an area where the average asking rent has ballooned to nearly \$2,800 a month. After a week in a hotel, English and her partner sent their three children to live with relatives while they slept in their Hyundai SUV and showered at the gym.

"I made good money — last year I made almost \$100,000 — and I can't believe this happened to me," she said. "But with prices the way they are, it can literally happen to anybody."

Rising housing costs, combined with persistent inflation for basic

SEE INFLATION ON A12

## THE FORGOTTEN DEAD

### Died in a penthouse. Buried on an island of the poor.

The largest U.S. public cemetery, created for the destitute, now serves a surprising range of people

BY MARY JORDAN

NEW YORK — Valerie Griffith's final journey began on a battered ferry, a floating hearse bound for a most unusual island.

Nobody lives on Hart Island, a scruffy one-mile slice of land in Long Island Sound that New York's tabloids call "Forgotten Island," "Haunted Island" and "Isle of Tears."

For 150 years, it's been known as the place where the city buries its penniless — not art collectors like Griffith.

But on Dec. 7, 2020, Griffith's coffin arrived at Hart Island's dock and was loaded onto a truck for a quick drive to a trench the size of a tennis court. There, on a cold and wet morning, gravediggers lowered her simple wooden coffin into the muddy ground. No relative or friend was present and there was no mention of her remarkable life: how the English-born Griffith had helped the U.S. military during World War II, exposed antisemitism in the United States and married an American spy.

Griffith was simply No. 14 in plot No. 414. Into the same grave, workers stacked 136 more coffins, three deep.

SEE HART ISLAND ON A4



JOHANNES EBBEL/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

A burial trench, at center, on Hart Island in the Bronx in April 2020. The island serves as New York's potter's field, where the city buries its penniless.

## Russia controls key city in east

### POSSIBLE TURNING POINT IN REGION

Ukraine says forces withdrew to save lives

BY ANNABELLE TIMSIT, VICTORIA BISSETT, ANNABELLE C. CHAPMAN AND NICK MIROFF

Russia claimed control Sunday over the key city of Lysychansk, the last major Ukrainian foothold in the Luhansk region — signaling a potential turning point in Moscow's campaign to take all of eastern Ukraine. Ukrainian officials said their forces had withdrawn from Lysychansk after fierce fighting to preserve lives from the Russians' relentless assault.

The slow Russian advance across the region it has targeted since the invasion began in February has been facilitated by overwhelming artillery power that has leveled cities and towns and left a trail of wounded and dead prompting comparisons with the devastation of World War I in Europe.

Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu said in a statement that Russian troops and pro-Kremlin separatists of the self-declared Luhansk People's Republic

SEE LUHANSK ON A10

## Some seek a recalibration of Ukraine assessments

BY DAN LAMOTHE AND KAROUN DEMIRJIAN

The shifting nature of the war in Ukraine has prompted a split among analysts and U.S. lawmakers, with some questioning whether American officials have portrayed the crisis in overly rosy terms while others say the government in Kyiv can win with more help from the West.

The growing conjecture comes more than four months after Russia's invasion and its failure to seize the capital. Russian President Vladimir Putin has since narrowed the objectives, focusing on capturing the industrial Donbas region in eastern Ukraine while launching thousands of artillery rounds each day at outgunned Ukrainian forces.

President Biden speaking Thursday at a summit of NATO leaders, said the United States is "rallying the world to stand with Ukraine" and pledged to support the cause "as long as it takes." Biden said he did not know "how it's going to end, but it will not end with a Russian defeat of Ukraine in Ukraine."

U.S. officials acknowledge that

SEE UKRAINE ON A10

## IN THE NEWS



PHILIP DESORMES/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

**Blue on the river** Owners of Cairo's ornate houseboats are agast over an order that the homes must be towed or demolished. A8

**Secret Service** The Jan. 6 hearings have depicted an agency with dueling identities: gutsy heroes and Trump loyalists. A3

**THE NATION** Mensa's youngest member in the United States is a 2-year-old fan of "Chicka Chicka Boom Boom" and "Blippi." A2

**The House** committee investigating the Jan. 6, 2021, insurrection could make multiple criminal referrals of former president Donald Trump, Vice Chair Liz Cheney (R-Wyo.) said. A3

**In Colorado**, a hippie-tinted gathering of the Rainbow Family has drawn thousands but set off conflicts with environmental groups worried about harm to a national forest. A16

**THE WORLD** Barriers to abortion in Canada make it an unlikely haven for Americans. A9

**For volunteers** from Taiwan, the war in Ukraine is a chance to bring battlefield experience back home — where a debate is raging over the nation's military readiness. A11

**THE ECONOMY** The Help Desk explains how to spot major red flags in corporate privacy policies. A13

**THE REGION** D.C.-area officials are moving to support local

abortion clinics with funding and more leeway ahead of an expected surge in demand. B1

**Ahead of polls** opening for early voting in Maryland this week, a survey shows that a majority of likely voters have not decided who they want to replace outgoing Gov. Larry Hogan (R). B1

### THE WEEK AHEAD

**MONDAY** Independence Day, a federal holiday, is observed.

**TUESDAY** President Biden awards the Medal of Honor to four Vietnam War veterans. Vice President Harris

speaks at a National Education Association meeting in Chicago.

**WEDNESDAY** Biden travels to Cleveland to deliver remarks on his economic agenda.

**THURSDAY** Biden awards the Presidential Medal of Freedom to 17 people, including Simone Biles and Denzel Washington.

**Jobless claims** are estimated at 230,000.

**FRIDAY** The Nebraska Republican Party holds a convention through Saturday, with speakers including Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin.

## INSIDE



**STYLE** The scoop on goop Gross but fun artificial slime, which seeped into the lives of Americans nearly a half-century ago, is having a moment. C1

**An appreciation** No one in theater advocated the erasure of rules and the devising of new ones quite like Peter Brook, critic Peter Marks writes. C1

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## deportes

## Milagro en Silverstone

### El halo de seguridad salvó otra vida en la F.1

Tras un espectacular accidente, el chino Guanyu Zhou salió ileso en la carrera donde ganó Sainz.



## 1925-2022 PETER BROOK. EL GRAN RENOVADOR DEL TEATRO

—espectáculos

Murió a los 97 años el célebre creador inglés, maestro de maestros y uno de los directores más influyentes del siglo XX.

# LA NACION

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## LA CRISIS EN EL GOBIERNO

## Silvina Batakis va a Economía con el aval de Cristina Kirchner

El Presidente habló con su vice al final de un día de reuniones frenéticas, en las que se descartó que Massa asumiera el control del área económica; la reemplazante de Guzmán trabajó con Scioli y era funcionaria de Wado de Pedro

Alberto Fernández cerró el día más dramático de su gestión con la confirmación de Silvina Batakis como ministra de Economía en reemplazo del renunciante Martín Guzmán. Una tensa conversación telefónica entre el Presidente y Cristina Kirchner terminó por desatar el nudo que tuvo al país sin conducción económica durante más de 24 horas.

La vicepresidenta dio el aval a Batakis, que se desempeñaba como secretaria de Provincias bajo el mando del camporista Wado de Pedro. Fue la ideóloga de la quita de coparticipación a la ciudad de Buenos Aires que Fernández decretó en 2020. En la anterior etapa kirchnerista había sido ministra de Daniel Scioli en la provincia de Buenos Aires.

Sergio Massa, que pasó casi todo el día en la residencia de Olivos, finalmente no asumirá el control del área económica, como se había especulado. Al cierre de esta edición, fuentes de la Casa Rosada señalaban que el de Batakis será, por el momento, el único cambio ministerial. Se descartó también decretar un feriado cambiario para hoy. Massa promueve una reconfiguración amplia del gabinete, como parte de un acuerdo del que participen todos los sectores del oficialismo.

El diálogo entre el Presidente y su vice, después de semanas de máxima tensión entre ellos, se destrabó después de una gestión que hizo Estela de Carlotto. Según fuentes consultadas, fue un diálogo áspero que está lejos de significar un pacto de gobernabilidad. **Página 2**

### Massa se quedó fuera del gabinete

Mariano Spezzapria  
Página 6

### El Presidente entregó la economía, pero evitó una rendición total

Santiago Dapelo  
Página 8

### Esperan una suba en los dólares libres

María Julieta Rumi. **Página 10**



Silvina Batakis, en abril, durante un encuentro regional en Salta

ARCHIVO

## QUIÉN ES LA NUEVA MINISTRA

#### Funcionaria de Scioli

Silvina Batakis, de 53 años, fue ministra de Economía de la provincia entre 2011 y 2015. Hasta ayer, era la secretaria de Provincias del Ministerio del Interior, que encabeza Wado de Pedro.

#### La coparticipación

Como funcionaria de Alberto Fernández y Wado de Pedro, la sucesora de Martín Guzmán fue quien encabezó la batalla con la Ciudad por los fondos de la coparticipación.

#### Cercana al kirchnerismo

Fanática de Boca, nacida en Tierra del Fuego y una economista egresada de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata, a Batakis siempre se la consideró más cercana al kirchnerismo.

## EL ANÁLISIS

## El alto el fuego de un presidente más débil

Claudio Jacquelin

—LA NACION—

El futuro sigue siendo una incommensurable incógnita. La tregua en la cima del poder es solo eso. Un alto el fuego que no saldó las diferencias más profundas, personales ni políticas. Apenas un paracaídas remendado, abierto en medio de la caída libre. Alberto Fernández es hoy un presidente aún más débil que ayer y el Gobierno, una ruina en proceso incierto de reconstrucción sobre cimientos inestables, con mayor incidencia del críscamporismo de lo que pretendía el Presidente hasta unas horas antes de la definición. **Continúa en la página 4**

## EL ESCENARIO

## Una señal sin mirar a los mercados

Diego Cabot

—LA NACION—

El Presidente tenía que dar una señal al momento de reemplazar a Martín Guzmán. Y, finalmente, la dio. El tema es que no fue para tranquilizar a los mercados, sino que parece destinada a satisfacer al ala dura del oficialismo. **Continúa en la página 8**



# FOLHA DE S. PAULO

DESDE 1921



UM JORNAL A SERVIÇO DA DEMOCRACIA

ANO 102 \* Nº 34.060

SEGUNDA-FEIRA, 4 DE JULHO DE 2022

R\$ 5,00

## Assim vivemos a pandemia



Fotos: Eduardo Knapp/Folhapress

## SÃO PAULO, PALCO DE TODOS OS ELEMENTOS DA CRISE DA COVID-19

Das ruas desertas na quarentena, passando pela crise econômica até a esperança de dias melhores, a maior metrópole da América Latina vivenciou todos os elementos da pandemia.

Vinte e Cinco de Março, a rua, costuma ser um formigueiro. Acontece que em vinte e quatro de março, a data, o Estado de São Paulo decretou restrições severas, relata Antonio Prata.

Durante esses dois anos não nos despedimos, não velamos, não enteramos nossos mortos. Além de restarem inúmeras perguntas para as quais ainda não temos respostas. Saúde B4 e B5

## Ambiente tem dados piores após mudança no ministério

Um ano depois da saída de Salles, incêndios e alertas de desmate estão em alta; pasta diz que há conquistas

Depois de um ano no comando do Meio Ambiente, o ministro Joaquim Leite exibe números piores que os de seu antecessor, Ricardo Salles, de perfil mais polêmico e alvo de investigações que correm na Justiça.

A quantidade de incêndios na Amazônia e no cerrado, por exemplo, está 20% maior neste ano em relação ao mesmo período de 2021, segundo informações do Inpe (Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas Espaciais).

Em maio deste ano, a Amazônia brasileira registrou o maior número desde 2004, enquanto o cerrado também teve recorde.

O desmatamento na Mata Atlântica atingiu em 2022 nível 66% superior ao do ano passado, segundo a organização SOS Mata Atlântica. Alertas de desmate na Amazônia mostraram cifras históricas em abril deste ano.

Além disso, normas assinadas por Salles e criticadas por ambientalistas também foram mantidas por Leite, como a flexibilização de regras que facilitou a comercialização de madeira ilegal.

Em resposta à Folha, o ministério afirmou que a gestão tem conquistas como a parceria com o Ministério da Justiça contra os crimes ambientais. Ambiente B1

## Eleição pode ter recorde de debate, mas sem favoritos

A eleição presidencial de outubro pode ter recorde de debates, com dez eventos no 1º turno, mas os favoritos ameaçam não ir. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) quer pool de emissoras, e Jair Bolsonaro (PL) sinaliza que só irá em eventual 2º turno. Política A4

## Em vitória de peso na guerra, Rússia conquista Lugansk

A Rússia afirmou neste domingo (3) ter tomado o controle do Donbass, no leste do país. Após tentar negar a importante vitória russa, o presidente ucraniano, Volodimir Zelenski, prometeu retomar a província "com ajuda de armas ocidentais". Mundo A10

## ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Frances Haugen Facebook não prioriza Brasil no combate a fake news A12

**Auxílio Brasil ampliado reforça distorções**  
Especialistas apontam que, com Auxílio Brasil de R\$ 600, o governo dobra a aposta em um desenho pouco eficiente. Mercado A16

**Mathias Alencastro Bolsonaro hoje é líder descartável, mostra português**

Mundo A11

## Esporte B7

Corinthians se guia por Libertadores 2012

## Ilustrada C1

Ana Maria Braga festeja 32 anos no ar

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**Alívio no emprego**  
Sobre melhora do mercado de trabalho brasileiro.

**Violência desigual**  
A respeito de clivagens sociais, raciais e regionais.

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**FOLHA**



O embaixador Sérgio Paulo Rouanet

Monica Imbuzeiro/Globo

**Rouanet, da lei de incentivo cultural, morre aos 88**

Ilustrada C4

**Morre Paulo Cunha, 82, do Grupo Ultra A17**

**O adeus ao diretor Peter Brook, aos 97 anos C4**

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Asunción y los municipios que la rodean siguen en un estado deplorable

## Los nuevos intendentes no han mejorado sus ciudades

RODRIGO VILLAMAYOR



**Abandono.** Calles con agua servida a raudales, baches, acumulación de basura, olores fétidos, contaminados son algunos de los problemas que no reciben una respuesta eficaz.

A un año de haber asumido sus cargos los nuevos intendentes, no se nota que haya habido un cambio en la imagen de las ciudades; al contrario, todo continúa igual.

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Rescata las tradiciones locales

**Primer videojuego de factura paraguaya llega a las consolas del PS4**

PÁGINA 37

Juicio por corrupción en el Indert

**Tribunal suma contra Soler delitos de extorsión y tráfico de influencia**

PÁGINA 37

Abierta violación del Código de Ética

**En últimas internas de la ANR votaron 30 jueces y no fueron sancionados**

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**Los feminicidios dejaron 29 niños huérfanos en el primer semestre**

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**Transferencias bancarias ya pueden realizarse las 24 horas todos los días**

PÁGINA 8

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**JACQUES JULLIARD**  
« LA FRANCE A BESOIN  
D'UNE SOCIAL-DÉMOCRATIE »  
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Comment surmonter sa panique au volant  
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Macron et Borne à l'heure des choix  
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Les pharaons, icônes tous azimuts  
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**PORTRAIT**  
La « plume » du président, Jonathan Guémas, quitte l'Élysée  
PAGE 39

**CHAMPS LIBRES**  
• Ces vivants dans l'enfer de la mort administrative  
• Venezuela : à qui profite l'or du sang ?  
• La chronique de Nicolas Baverez  
• La tribune de Patrice Franceschi  
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**FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question de samedi :**  
Jugez-vous positif le bilan d'Emmanuel Macron à la tête du Conseil de l'Union européenne ?

**OUI 40% NON 60%**  
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 78 450

**Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr**  
Les Républicains doivent-ils voter la confiance à Elisabeth Borne si elle la demande ?

ILLUSTRATION FABIEN CLAIREFOND ; JEAN-CHRISTOPHE MARMARA / LE FIGARO

## Les Républicains s'installent dans l'opposition à Macron

Résolus à incarner une alternative de droite, les députés LR posent leurs conditions pour soutenir les réformes indispensables, et n'entendent pas voter la confiance à Elisabeth Borne.

Les cadres LR s'affichent majoritairement et clairement dans l'opposition, même si certains à droite enjoignent à leur parti de sceller une alliance avec Emmanuel Macron. Pour la plupart des élus Républicains, pas question de s'en-

gager dans une coalition avec les macronistes. LR se dit prêt à accompagner les réformes indispensables, mais sans renoncer à ses exigences. Olivier Marleix, le nouveau patron des députés LR, a écrit une lettre en ce sens à Élisabeth Borne, rappelant que le soutien à certains textes ne se ferait pas sans la reprise des idées et propositions de son camp. Les Républicains ont beau ne compter que 62 députés à l'Assemblée nationale, ils ont bien l'intention de s'im-

poser comme les interlocuteurs incontournables du pouvoir. Selon Marleix, si la première ministre demande la confiance après son discours de politique générale, mercredi, ils choisiront entre l'abstention et le vote contre.

ser comme les interlocuteurs incontournables du pouvoir. Selon Marleix, si la première ministre demande la confiance après son discours de politique générale, mercredi, ils choisiront entre l'abstention et le vote contre.

→ **POUVOIR D'ACHAT : LA DROITE POSE SES CONDITIONS SUR LA TABLE DE BORNE**  
→ **UN PARTI CALÉ SUR L'ACTUALITÉ PARLEMENTAIRE**  
→ **LA DROITE, PRISONNIÈRE ET VICTIME DE SES « NI-NI »**  
PAGES 2 À 4 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



Avortement, armes, religion, écologie : le renversement en cascade de jurisprudences établies déplace l'affrontement des « deux Amérique » sur le terrain du droit. Qui sont les neuf juges suprêmes qui arbitrent tant d'enjeux de société ? PAGE 6

**ÉDITORIAL** par Vincent Trémolet de Villers vtremolet@lefigaro.fr

### La fable du « en même temps »

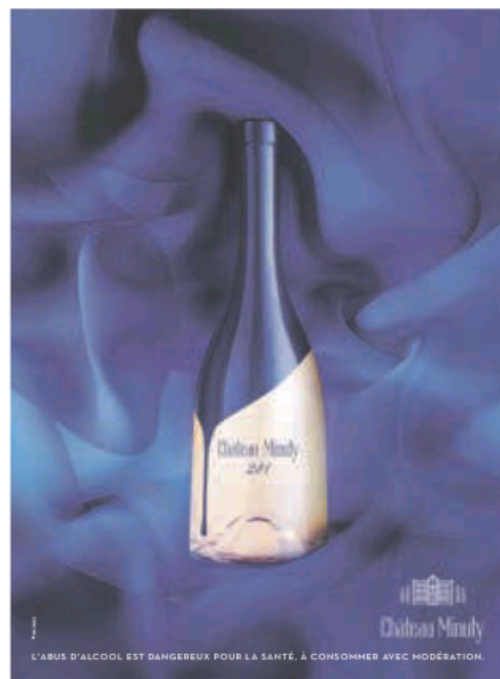
Comme la Chauve-Souris de la fable, cela fait cinq ans qu'Emmanuel Macron se tourne vers la droite pour lui lancer, en un sourire enjôleur, « Je suis Oiseau ; voyez mes ailes », avant de revenir à gauche pour s'exclamer « Je suis Souris, vivent les Rats ! ». D'abord le charme a opéré, il s'est usé à force de caricature - retraite à 65 ans avant le premier tour, planification écologique avant le second - pour devenir aujourd'hui absolument inaudible. On cherche désespérément depuis la réélection d'Emmanuel Macron le moindre signe envoyé aux électeurs de droite. Première ministre venue du centre gauche, une figure du « wokisme de salon » (Pierre-André Taguieff) à l'Éducation nationale, diversion sociétale à la François Hollande avec l'inscription du droit à l'IVG dans la Constitution, milliards dépensés dans la plus grande légalité. La droite, elle-même, à l'ombre de Macron, devient de gauche. C'est la morale du fiasco du Stade de France, lorsque Gerald Darmanin, dans une suite de dénégations coûteuses, a endossé la rhétorique « vivre ensemble » que même Éric Dupond-Moretti n'ose plus employer. Le ministre de

l'Intérieur a depuis rectifié son discours, mais le mal est fait : le pouvoir a accusé des supporters britanniques pacifiques pour ne pas reconnaître que des centaines de délinquants ont transformé les abords du Stade de France en un effroyable chaos.

Édouard Philippe, Bruno Le Maire tentent, vaille que vaille, de faire entendre une mélodie douce aux oreilles de leurs anciens électeurs, mais tout est assourdi par le torrent des déficits, la suspension du pouvoir, les jeux parlementaires et le silence oppressant d'un chef de l'État dont on ne connaît ni la majorité ni le cap. Une impression de délitement - hôpital, école, transports - renforce, et plus encore à droite, le climat de défiance. Devant les clins d'œil, les promesses, les signaux discrets, comment ne pas songer à l'adage rendu immortel par le film des Nuls *La Cité de la peur* : « On peut tromper une personne mille fois, on peut tromper mille personnes une fois, mais on ne peut pas tromper mille personnes mille fois. » ■

### Pouvoir d'achat : le projet de l'exécutif critiqué par la gauche et la droite

Une première batterie de mesures pour lutter contre l'inflation doit être présentée cette semaine par le gouvernement : suppression de la redevance télé, triplement de la prime Macron, aides aux plus modestes... Un exercice d'équilibriste, compliqué par la situation tendue des finances publiques et par les revendications des oppositions appelant à plus d'engagements. PAGE 24



L'ABUS D'ALCOOL EST DANGEREUX POUR LA SANTÉ, À CONSOMMER AVEC MODÉRATION.



# Wimbledon

## Norrie is through, Watson is out

➔ Sport



## Last post Is the British stamp facing a sticky end? ➔ G2



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# The Guardian

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# Revealed: children of lone parents hardest hit by era of Tory austerity

Half of the 3.1m children of UK single parents now in poverty, figures show

**Exclusive**  
**Richard Partington**  
Economics correspondent

Half of all children in lone-parent families are now living in relative poverty, according to exclusive research that shows how a decade of

austerity-driven cuts to benefits has left single parents among the most exposed to soaring inflation.

In the first of a series of reports from the frontline of the cost of living crisis, the Guardian reports today on the impact of cuts to state support by successive Conservative governments, which have left women raising children alone in a much weaker position to cope with the shocks of the pandemic and rising prices of basics such as food and heating.

A majority of the 1.8 million lone-parent families in Britain – almost

nine in 10 – are headed by women. Together, they are raising 3.1 million children – over a fifth of all children.

Research shared exclusively with the Guardian by the Institute for Fiscal Studies sets out the scale of the crisis. It shows relative poverty for children in lone-parent families has risen at a significantly faster rate compared with other households.

Relative poverty is defined as having an income of less than 60% of the national median, adjusted for household size. For single parents, this measure of poverty rose by nine

*'It is no surprise ... after the effects of years of benefit cuts'*

**Alison Garnham**  
Child Poverty Action Group

percentage points between 2013-14 and 2019-20 to reach 49% at the onset of the global health emergency.

In contrast, the rate for children in two-parent families rose by only two

percentage points to reach 25%. The former Labour prime minister Tony Blair warned that a "painful cost of living squeeze" was hitting families and that progress in tackling child poverty was severely undermined by sweeping benefit cuts imposed over the past decade.

Eradicating child poverty by 2020 had been a key commitment made by Blair during his first term in government at the turn of the millennium. However, the study from the IFS suggests progress was reversed under the Conservatives

10 ➔

## PM accused of failure to heed 'abuse' warnings

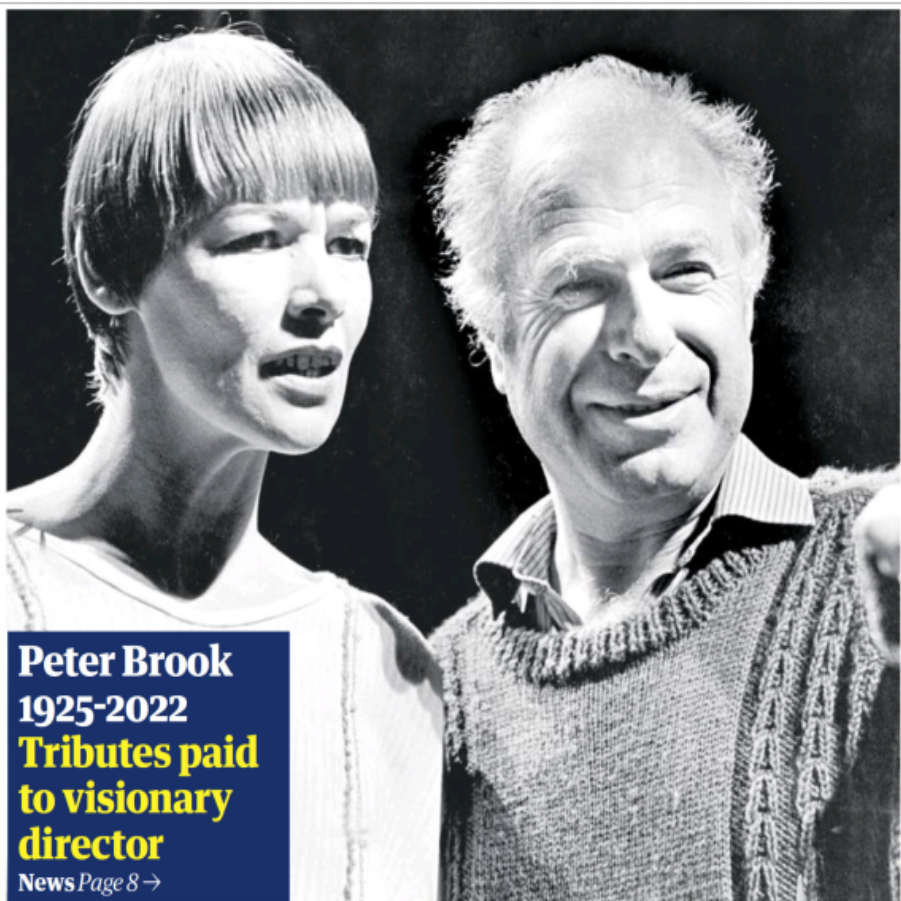
**Rowena Mason**  
**Rajeev Syal**

Boris Johnson is facing a backlash over the promotion of his ally Chris Pincher as a group of Conservative parliamentary staffers accuse the prime minister of a "failure to act on warnings" of alleged sexual misconduct by his MPs.

As fresh claims emerged about Pincher, who resigned as deputy chief whip over allegations that he groped two men in a London club, No 10 continued to insist that Johnson was unaware of any "specific" warnings until last week.

However, a whips' office source acknowledged yesterday that a "matter" relating to Pincher had in fact been reported to them during the February reshuffle. The source had previously denied receiving any complaints or warnings – formal or informal – about his conduct.

Johnson is likely to face questions about what he knew about allegations concerning Pincher in parliament this week after



**Peter Brook**  
**1925-2022**  
**Tributes paid to visionary director**  
News Page 8 ➔

Glenda Jackson and Peter Brook during rehearsals for Antony and Cleopatra at the Royal Shakespeare theatre, 1978

## Three dead after gun attack in Danish mall

**Jennifer Rankin**

Three people were shot dead at a busy Copenhagen shopping centre yesterday, in what Danish police said could be a terrorist incident.

Officers said that more people were wounded, including three in a critical condition.

Copenhagen police chief inspector, Søren Thomassen, said authorities had no indication that there was more than one shooter. He said the suspect in custody was a 22-year-old Danish man and that "terrorism" could not be ruled out as a motive. He had a rifle and ammunition when he was arrested. He has been charged with manslaughter and will be questioned in front of a judge today.

"We know that there are

2 ➔

