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What's News

World-Wide

China's Xi is elevating trusted subordinates into party and government posts that command key levers of political power, galvanizing his authority as he prepares to extend his rule for another five years. **A1**

◆ **An explosion** at a detention camp in Russian-held territory in Ukraine killed numerous Ukrainian prisoners of war, according to Ukrainian and Russian authorities, who blamed each other for the attack. **A7**

◆ **The Biden administration** is divided over whether and how quickly to end the Remain in Mexico program, according to administration officials and others familiar with the matter. **A3**

◆ **The Education Department** will likely lose \$197 billion on loans it made over the past 25 years, a massive swing from its predicted \$114 billion in income, the GAO said. **A3**

◆ **The House passed** a bill to ban the sale of assault-style weapons, largely on party lines. The bill isn't likely to move forward in the Senate for a vote. **A3**

◆ **The Biden administration** said it would spend \$1.74 billion to buy 66 million doses of Moderna's updated Covid-19 vaccine as part of a fall booster campaign. **A3**

Business & Finance

◆ **Major stock indexes** rose Friday to end their best month since 2020, clawing back some of their losses from a dismal first half. The S&P 500 gained 9.1% in July, while the Dow rose 6.7%. The Nasdaq climbed 12% for the month. **A1**

◆ **The Federal Reserve's** preferred inflation gauge rose 6.8% in June from the year before, the sharpest rise since January 1982. Meanwhile wages and benefits rose 5.1% in the second quarter from a year earlier. **A1**

◆ **Exxon, Chevron and Shell**, the three largest Western oil companies, banked a record \$46 billion in collective profits in the second quarter. **A1**

◆ **Procter & Gamble** is predicting the slowest sales growth in years as consumer belt-tightening is beginning to hit household staples. **B1**

◆ **The FAA has signed** off on a Boeing plan aimed at addressing problems with the 787 Dreamliner, a major step before the company restarts deliveries of the aircraft. **B3**

◆ **Ernst & Young's effort** to split its businesses has been slowed by a change in its U.S. leadership, as well as complications over its debts. **B12**

◆ **China Evergrande** sketched out the first contours of a long-awaited restructuring plan. **B13**

NOONAN

The Lonely Office Is Bad for America **A13**

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Death Toll Mounts in Flood-Ravaged Eastern Kentucky



DELUGE: Flash floods triggered by torrential rain in eastern Kentucky killed at least 16 people, including children, washed away homes and damaged roads and bridges. Above, floodwaters inundated structures in Breathitt County on Friday. **A3**

Soaring Fuel Prices Catapult Oil Giants to Record Profits

By COLLIN EATON

Exxon Mobil Corp., Chevron Corp. and Shell PLC, the three largest Western oil companies, banked a record \$46 billion in collective profits in the second quarter, fueled by the highest energy prices in over a decade and lucrative oil-refining margins.

Exxon, the largest U.S. oil company, said Friday its second-quarter profit rose to

\$17.9 billion, its highest ever and nearly four times as much as the year-earlier period, citing rising oil and fuel production, higher energy prices and cost cuts. Chevron also posted a record profit Friday of \$11.6 billion, up from \$3.1 billion a year earlier.

The companies are reaping the benefits of record fuel-making margins following the shutdown of 3 million barrels a day of global refining capacity since the onset of the pandemic in 2020. Exxon Chief Executive Darren Woods said that while refining margins have moderated recently, it's a situation that could take years to fix until additional capacity comes online.

"Demand recovers, and we don't have the capacity to meet that, which has led to record, record refining margins," Mr. Woods said. "This will be a few-year price environment."

On Thursday, Shell reported its second consecutive record quarterly profit, hitting \$16.7 billion on a net current-cost-of-supplies basis, a figure similar to net income that U.S. oil companies report.

The companies' results mark a significant turnaround for an industry that hemorrhaged cash and saw scores of companies file for bankruptcy following the worldwide oil-price crash in 2014. **Please turn to page A6**

Allies Get Key Posts To Bolster Xi's Power

By CHUN HAN WONG

Chinese leader Xi Jinping is elevating trusted subordinates into party and government posts that command major levers of political power, galvanizing his authority as he prepares to extend his rule for another five years.

Poised to claim a third term as Communist Party chief at a twice-a-decade party congress this fall, Mr. Xi has assigned associates to senior roles overseeing law enforcement and propaganda in recent weeks, clearing their paths toward higher office. Some vocal Xi supporters won promotion, while one prominent ally retained his position in the face of public anger over his recent performance. Others out of favor with Mr. Xi have been eased into less-important roles.

The Chinese leader also stepped up a broad propaganda drive in recent months to celebrate his decade in power. Top lieutenants have sung Mr. Xi's praises with rising fervor, calling on party members to swear loyalty to his *lingxiu*—a revolutionary title that means "leader" and is most closely associated with Mao Zedong, whom the party honors as its *weida lingxiu*, or "great leader."

Officials and state media increasingly have hailed Mr. Xi as *renmin lingxiu*, or the "people's leader," and party insiders say this designation could be **Please turn to page A8**

◆ **China's leaders aren't** sweating slow growth..... **A8**

EXCHANGE



A NEW ENERGY CRISIS
America faces different causes and needs different solutions this time. **B1**

'Wagatha Christie' Verdict Settles Favorite Case of the U.K. Tabloids

One soccer wife drew a libel suit from another when ferreting out a gossip leak

By JAMES HOOKWAY

LONDON—It was the trial that seemed to have it all. Libel lawyers in black gowns and wig poring over WhatsApp messages beginning with "babes" and "hun." One of soccer's biggest names on the witness stand. The size and shape of a pop singer's private bits.

Now, 2½ years since it began, the verdict is in on the tweet that rocked the world, or at least the part of it that

Inflation, Slowdown Point to Bumpy Economic Transition

By SARAH CHANEY CAMBON

The U.S. economy is enduring a rocky transition from an exceptionally strong recovery to a steep slowdown, data this past week showed, as rising inflation and interest rates weigh on consumers and businesses.

Economic growth surged last year, as consumers unleashed spending and businesses recovered from the short, deep pandemic recession of early 2020. But that robust growth is grinding to an abrupt halt as households, companies and policy makers face deep challenges, with four-decade-high inflation chief among them.

The Federal Reserve's preferred inflation gauge rose 6.8% in June from the year before, the sharpest rise since January 1982, the Commerce Department said Friday. Meanwhile, wages and benefits rose 5.1% in the second quarter from a year earlier, the Labor Department said Friday. That was the fastest rate of increase on records back to 2001—led by better pay for private-sector workers—yet still wasn't able to keep up with the pace of inflation.

A tight labor market could continue to exert upward pressure on consumer prices, a more closely watched measure of which rose 9.1% in June from

a year earlier.

The Fed is briskly raising interest rates in an attempt to slow the economy and inflation, lifting its benchmark rate to a range between 2.25% and 2.5% on Wednesday.

Those interest-rate increases have already dented the housing market and appear to be filtering more broadly into the economy. A steep decline in residential investment, a pullback in business spending and weaker inventory restocking contributed to U.S. gross domestic product **Please turn to page A4**

◆ **Manchin deal, recession fears** create crosswinds for Biden **A4**

East Jerusalem Plans Spark Opportunity, Ire

Israel invests in area after years of neglect, with backlash from many Palestinians

By DOV LIEBER

JERUSALEM—On a cold morning in January, the Jerusalem municipality began work on building a school for children with special needs in a largely Arab neighborhood in East Jerusalem. The school is part of a quality-of-life campaign that is providing desperately needed services in East Jerusalem. It's also sparking tensions in a portion of the city that Palestinians have long claimed as the capital

of a future state.

The building process began with Israeli police forcibly removing a Palestinian family that had lived on the plot for decades. Two days earlier, the family patriarch, Mahmoud Salahiya, had climbed onto his roof and threatened to set himself on fire if police proceeded.

He didn't follow through on his threat, and his plea failed—police razed his home. "You destroyed a family," said Mr. Salahiya of the municipality. **Please turn to page A10**



Global equities stage a comeback

◆ Tech groups lead July rally ◆ Solid US and Europe gains ◆ Negative news priced in

NAOMI ROVNIK — LONDON

KATE DUGUID — NEW YORK
Global stocks have rebounded from a dreadful first half of 2022 as easing rate rise expectations and upbeat earnings this month from big tech groups fuelled a broad rally.

The FTSE All-World index of developed and emerging market shares jumped more than 6 per cent in July, with sentiment lifted by resilient quarterly updates from America's tech groups this week that signalled that the dominant US equity sector could withstand an economic slowdown.

The strong performance in July is a contrast to the first six months of the

year, when the global stock index slumped about 20 per cent, dragged lower by the worst first-half performance in the \$44tn US equity markets in more than 50 years.

"The tech earnings season has been a bit better than the market feared," said Baylee Wakefield, multi-asset fund manager at Aviva Investors.

"Investors are also betting that much of the negative [economic] news has been priced in, that the Federal Reserve could become less aggressive in tightening monetary policy, and there's enthusiasm in equity markets for slower inflation and fewer rate hikes."

Shares in Amazon were up 12 per cent

by lunchtime in New York on Friday — leaving them up 29 per cent in July — after the e-commerce group beat analysts' quarterly revenue forecasts and gave an upbeat outlook for the rest of the year because of the performance of its cloud-computing business.

Microsoft, Apple and Google parent Alphabet all also issued more confident outlooks than investors had expected, lifting the US tech sector that has an outsize weighting in global markets.

The blue-chip S&P 500 is up more than 8 per cent this month, with 86 per cent of the stocks listed on the index rising since the end of June, according to FactSet data. Across the Atlantic,



Amazon shares rose 29 per cent in July after it beat analysts' forecasts and gave an upbeat outlook for the rest of the year

Europe's Stoxx 600 has gained about 8 per cent.

The Fed, the world's most influential central bank, has sharply lifted interest rates. On Thursday, however, data showed the US economy had contracted for a second consecutive quarter, sparking hopes that the worst inflationary cycle for four decades would moderate and that the Fed may slow its policy tightening.

"Investors have been more worried about inflation and what that does to interest rates than they have about anything else," said Rebecca Chesworth, senior equities strategist at State Street's SPDR ETF business.

Food crisis Kyiv readies grain exports

Ukraine's president Volodymyr Zelenskyy visiting the port of Chornomorsk near Odessa yesterday to watch grain being loaded into a Turkish ship.

Ukraine is trying to restart exports from its Black Sea ports after the UN and Ankara brokered a deal to lift Moscow's blockade of Kyiv's commercial sea routes, and insurers agreed to cover the cargoes. More than 80 vessels have been marooned in Ukrainian waters since the Russian invasion in February.

The return of large-scale grain exports to world markets would help alleviate a global food crisis.

Reports & analysis page 2
Notebook page 8



Ukrainian Presidential Press Office via AP



Kuwaiti wealth fund faces heat over UK dismissal

The Kuwait Investment Authority, one of the Gulf's most powerful sovereign wealth funds, is facing scrutiny after abruptly sacking the head of its London investment division. The departure of Saleh al-Ahmed exposed the challenges the fund faces as it attempts to modernise, according to current and former staff. The KIA has become embroiled in a string of legal battles amid rising tensions between London and its head office.

Factionalism takes toll — PAGE 14

Boston Consulting in nepotism claims after London jaunt for kids of top staff

KADHIM SHUBBER AND
MICHAEL O'DWYER — LONDON

Staff in Boston Consulting Group's London office have complained about "nepotism" after the children of dozens of top partners flew in from across the world for an exclusive week-long work-experience programme.

The US-based consultancy ran the programme this month for about 30 children of the firm's managing directors and partners, triggering an internal row over BCG's commitment to social mobility and tackling climate change.

"They received office tours, dinners and stuff that wouldn't normally be given to [job] candidates. They basically made it a bit of a holiday for the partners' kids who came over," one BCG employee told the Financial Times.

The children were participating in

BCG's "Bruce Henderson Summer Programme", named after the firm's founder. The daughter of one partner based in France who attended wrote on LinkedIn that she had learned about "strategic consulting basics" and presented a project to "a panel of senior consultants".

Three BCG staff members worked for two months to prepare the programme, which would have cost external clients well over £1mn, according to the BCG employee. "It's caused a lot of internal disquiet... and concerns were simply overruled," the employee said.

BCG, which employs 25,000 people, said that the programme "has been in place for many years and is designed to help children have a broad educational and professional experience."

"Parents cover the primary costs, such as travel. Participants stay in col-

lege dorms, and the programme is focused on education." Consultants who worked on the programme had volunteered their time, BCG added.

Staff writing anonymously in a private group on the Fishbowl app complained the programme was inconsistent with the firm's public positions. One called it "super nepotism", noting: "Our recruiting programme aimed at the same age group is oversubscribed 40:1."

Someone describing themselves as a senior partner defended the firm, saying: "We are paying our own way if we want our children to go."

But another employee wrote: "Let's advertise it and see what the public response is? Join BCG to babysit the bosses' kids!"

"Shocking use of resources," wrote a respondent who said they had worked on the events.

Battle for the future of chess Inside the game's elite

LIFE & ARTS



Markets have chosen to tune out the Fed's gloomy side

Katie Martin

THE LONG VIEW



Football owes women more

LIFE & ARTS



A helping hand for insects High-tech garden gadgets

HOUSE & HOME



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World Markets											
STOCK MARKETS			CURRENCIES			GOVERNMENT BONDS					
	Jul 29	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Jul 29	Prev	Yield (%)	Jul 29	Prev	Diff (bp)	
S&P 500	4106.57	4072.43	0.84	\$/£	1.020	1.016	US 2 yr	2.88	2.89	-0.01	
Nasdaq Composite	12291.21	12162.59	1.06	\$/€	1.217	1.213	US 10 yr	2.63	2.69	-0.06	
Dow Jones Ind	32663.39	32529.63	0.41	\$/¥	0.838	0.837	US 30 yr	2.97	3.00	-0.03	
FTSE100	7222.27	7191.06	1.20	€/¥	133.650	134.545	UK 2 yr	1.90	1.87	0.03	
Euro Stoxx 50	3707.31	3682.20	1.31	W/¥	162.539	163.204	UK 10 yr	1.86	1.86	0.00	
FTSE MIB	7423.43	7345.25	1.06	\$/HK\$	0.971	0.971	UK 30 yr	2.40	2.44	-0.04	
FTSE All-Share	4107.01	4061.26	1.13				JPY 2 yr	-0.09	-0.08	-0.01	
CAC 40	6448.50	6399.21	1.72				JPY 10 yr	0.18	0.20	-0.03	
Nikkei 225	13484.05	13262.11	1.52				JPY 30 yr	1.20	1.21	-0.01	
Hong Kong	27801.64	27815.48	-0.05				GER 2 yr	0.26	0.23	0.03	
Hang Seng	20156.51	20022.68	2.26				GER 10 yr	0.81	0.83	-0.02	
MSCI World	2709.82	2675.06	1.30				GER 30 yr	1.67	1.11	-0.04	
MSCI EM	997.61	989.09	0.79								
MSCI ACWI	620.42	622.69	-1.24								
FT Mibexx 2500	5292.78	5271.90	1.26								
FT Mibexx 5000	41370.83	40960.26	1.25								

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AP



Mandi, a teacher in Ohio, felt a growing desperation after the shooting in Uvalde, Texas. "We just feel helpless," she said.

Armed. And Ready to Teach Kindergarten.

As More School Workers Carry Guns, Training Attracts Scrutiny

By SARAH MEYER

RITTMAN, Ohio — Mandi, a kindergarten teacher in Ohio, had already done what she could to secure her classroom against a gunman.

She positioned a bookcase by the doorway, in case she needed a barricade. She kept district-issued emergency supplies: wasp spray, to aim at an attacker, and a tube sock, to hold a heavy object and hurl at an assailant.

But after 19 children and two teachers were killed in Uvalde, Texas, she felt a growing desperation. Her school is in an older building, with no automatic locks on classroom doors and no police officers on campus.

"We just feel helpless," she said. "It's not enough."

She decided she needed something far more powerful: a 9-millimeter pistol.

So she signed up for training that would allow her to carry a gun in school. Like others in this article, she asked to be identified by her first name, because of school district rules that restrict information about employees carrying firearms.

A decade ago, it was extremely rare for everyday school employees to carry guns. Today, after a seemingly endless series of mass shootings, the strategy has become a leading solution promoted by Republicans and gun rights advocates, who say that allowing teachers, principals and superintendents to be armed gives schools a fighting chance in case of attack.

At least 29 states allow individuals other than police or security officials to carry guns on school grounds, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures. As of 2018, the last year for which statistics were available, federal survey data estimated that 2.6 percent of public schools had armed faculty.

The count has likely grown. In Florida, more than 1,300 school staff members serve as armed guardians in 45 school districts, out of 74 in the state, according to state officials. The program was created after a gunman killed 17 people at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Fla., in 2018.

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A Sudden Shift In Winds Tests Biden's Appeal

Hailing Recent Wins to
Sway Gloomy Voters

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — President Biden and his top advisers have tried for months to press forward amid a seemingly endless drumbeat of dispiriting news: rising inflation, high gas prices, a crumbling agenda, a dangerously slowing economy and a plummeting approval rating, even among Democrats.

But Mr. Biden has finally caught a series of breaks. Gas prices, which peaked above \$5 a gallon, have fallen every day for more than six weeks and are now closer to \$4. After a yearlong debate, Democrats and Republicans in Congress passed legislation this past week to invest \$280 billion in areas like semiconductor manufacturing and scientific research to bolster competition with China.

And in a surprise turnabout, Senator Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, a Democrat who had single-handedly held up Mr. Biden's boldest proposals, agreed to a deal that puts the president in a position to make good on promises to lower drug prices, confront climate change and make corporations pay higher taxes.

"The work of the government can be slow and frustrating and sometimes even infuriating," Mr. Biden said at the White House on Thursday, reflecting the impatience and anger among his allies and the weariness of his own staff. "Then the hard work of hours and days and months from people who refuse to give up pays off. History is made. Lives are changed."

Even for a president who has become used to the highs and lows of governing, it was a moment of triumph.

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COVID RETURNS President Biden again tested positive on Saturday, the White House said. PAGE 17

KREMLIN IS LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR ANNEXATION

A PROPAGANDA BLITZ

'Referendum' Planned in
Occupied Ukraine —
West Sees a Sham

This article is by Anton Troianovski, Valerie Hopkins, Marc Santora and Michael Schwartz.

They have handed out Russian passports, cellphone numbers and set-top boxes for watching Russian television. They have replaced Ukrainian currency with the ruble, rerouted the internet through Russian servers and arrested hundreds who have resisted assimilation.

In ways big and small, the occupying authorities on territory won by Moscow's forces are using fear and indoctrination to compel Ukrainians to adopt a Russian way of life. "We are one people," blue-white-and-red billboards say. "We are with Russia."

They count the next act in President Vladimir V. Putin's 21st-century version of a war of conquest: the grass-roots "referendum."

Russia-appointed administrators in towns, villages and cities like Kherson in Ukraine's south are setting the stage for a vote as early as September that the Kremlin will present as a popular desire in the region to become part of Russia. They are recruiting pro-Russia locals for new "election commissions" and promoting to Ukrainian civilians the putative benefits of joining their country; they are even reportedly printing the ballots already.

Any referendum would be totally illegitimate, Ukrainian and Western officials say, but it would carry ominous consequences. Analysts both in Moscow and Ukraine expect that it would serve as a prelude to Mr. Putin's official annexation.

Continued on Page 8

Polish Priest's War on Abortion Means Fighting for the Mothers

By KATRIN BENNHOLD and MONIKA PRONCZUK

SZCZECIN, Poland — Abortion has been banned in Poland for 29 years, but that has done little to prevent women from finding access to the procedure, making the Rev. Tomasz Kancelarczyk a busy man.

The Roman Catholic priest plays ultrasound audio of what he describes as fetal heartbeats in his sermons to dissuade women considering an abortion. He has threatened teenage girls with telling their parents if they have an abortion. And he used to hector couples as they waited at the hospital for abortions on account of fetal abnormalities, which were permitted until the law was further tightened last year.

But Father Kancelarczyk's most effective tool, he acknowledges, may actually be something

the state has mostly neglected: helping single mothers by providing them with shelter, supermarket vouchers, baby clothes and, if need be, lawyers to go after violent partners.

"Sometimes I am overwhelmed by the number of these cases," Father Kancelarczyk, 54, said during a recent visit to his Little Feet House, a shelter he runs in a nearby village for single women, some pregnant, some with children, all with difficulties. "There should be 200 or 300 houses like this in Poland. There is a vacuum."

As strict abortion bans proliferate in some American states, Poland offers a laboratory, of sorts, for how such bans ripple through societies. And one thing evident in Poland is that the state, if determined to be the state, is

Continued on Page 9



The Rev. Tomasz Kancelarczyk in Syrkowice, Poland, with residents of the Little Feet House, a shelter for single women who may be pregnant or already have children, some with difficulties.

Pizza Ovens, Firepits and Regret: Liquidators Manage Fallout of the Retail Bubble

By MICHAEL CORKERY

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — Once upon a time, when parents were scrambling to occupy their children during pandemic lockdowns, bicycles were hard to find. But today, in a giant warehouse in northeastern Pennsylvania, there are shiny new Huffys and Schwinn's available at big discounts.

The same goes for patio furniture, garden hoses and portable pizza ovens. There are home spas,

Rachael Ray's nonstick pans and a backyard firepit, which promises to make "memories every day."

The warehouse is run by Liquidators Services, a company that collects surplus and returned goods from major retailers like Target and Amazon and resells them, often for cents on the dollar. The facility opened last November and is operating at exceptionally high volumes for this time of year.

The warehouse offers a window into a reckoning across the retail

industry and the broader economy: After a two-year binge of consumer spending — fueled by government checks and the ease of e-commerce — a nasty hangover is taking hold.

With consumers cutting down on discretionary purchases because of high inflation, retailers are now stuck with more inventory than they need. While overall spending rebounded last month, some major retailers say shoppers are buying less clothing, gardening equipment and electronics

and focusing instead on basics like food and gas.

Adding to that glut are all the things people bought during the pandemic — often online — and then returned. In 2021, shoppers returned an average of 16.6 percent of their purchases, up from 10.6 percent in 2020 and more than double the rate in 2019, according to an analysis by the National Retail Federation, a trade group, and Appriss Retail, a software and analytics firm.

Last year's returns, which re-

tailors are not always able to resell themselves, totaled \$761 billion in lost sales. That, the retail federation noted, is more than the annual budget for the U.S. Department of Defense.

It's becoming clear that retailers badly miscalculated supply and demand. Part of their miscalculation was caused by supply chain delays, which prompted companies to secure products far in advance. Then, there is the natural

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INTERNATIONAL 4-10

Latin America's Shift Left

Several new leaders in the region who won by promising political change are facing an immediate test in the form of inflation and growing poverty. PAGE 4

Canada's Strict Condom Ruling

A high court said reneging, without a partner's consent, on a pledge to wear a condom during sex is a crime. PAGE 6

ARTS & LEISURE

Ukraine and Universal Art

In time of war, music and painting can help us to empathize and to grasp the enormity of what is happening. PAGE 10



NATIONAL 11-19

Tainted Water at Trailer Park

Residents are getting sick but they have nowhere else to go. PAGE 11

METROPOLITAN

When Fido Needs a Lawyer

A pit bull on death row? A dog lawyer sees booming business. PAGE 1

SPORTS 23-25

'The Long-Stick Game'

Indigenous lacrosse players celebrate their heritage, trying to shed the sport's "frat-boy persona" and hoping to compete in the 2028 Olympics. PAGE 23

THE NEW YORK TIMES FOR KIDS

Staying Cool and Hot Issues

This edition balances the summer fun of Coney Island with the serious topics that confront young people every day, like gun violence and mental health.

SUNDAY OPINION

Paul Krugman

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SUNDAY STYLES

Powwow Season in Full Bloom

The regalia of dancers in a summer of traditional celebrations transforms year by year to showcase a lifetime. PAGE 1

The Long Fall of a Club Kid

Daniel Auster was depicted as a child in his father's books. He died a heroin addict accused of homicide. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Tracked Down on Twitch

The intimacy of the video game streaming platform makes it especially ripe for stalkers, threats and deluded fans. How Diddy Kitten, Gassy Mexican and other stars protect themselves. PAGE 1

Counterpoint to Recession Talk

The economy seems shaky, the Federal Reserve is cautious and consumers aren't happy. So then why and how did corporations report an outstanding quarter of earnings? PAGE 1



0 354 753 6



ZABIH KHAN, 27, keeps his 4-year-old brother, Mojib, entertained on a trip to a park in San Diego. The brothers fled Afghanistan last August, but their parents and siblings did not get out.

COLUMN ONE

Stranger in a strange land struggles as brother's keeper

How do you make sure a 4-year-old boy is happy when he's nearly 8,000 miles away from home — and his parents?

How do you shield him from the violence that continues to take his family and friends? How do you start over in a new country as his mother, not his older brother?

Zabih Khan's life has revolved around those questions since he fled Afghanistan with his baby brother, Mojib, in tow. The eldest brother of nine siblings, only he and Mojib, the youngest child, were able to escape their country last August as U.S. troops departed and the country fell to the Taliban.

Their family, members of the persecuted Hazara ethnic minority, had

An Afghan refugee plays roles of mother, father and sibling to make a life

By **Brittney Mejia**

REPORTING FROM SAN DIEGO

gotten separated at the Kabul airport. Zabih reached Qatar three days later. He called his parents. His mother, Zakia, had just one wish, the one thing she could not have. Her baby, then 3-year-old Mojib.

Nearly a year has passed since Zakia last held her little boy.

As part of Operation Allies Welcome, the U.S. has allowed more than 80,000 Afghans to enter the country since the takeover. Their experiences are all different. But Zabih and his brother illustrate a painful truth about life as refugees: Hardship doesn't end on arriving in America. It simply changes.

Zabih, 27, has struggled to balance jobs with child care. To save enough to pay rent and buy a car. To keep Mojib from crying for [See Brothers, A12]

Going inside with the coronavirus fight

Cleaning up indoor air has become a passion for not just scientists but citizens as well.

By **Emily Albert Reyes**

The glowing box, pulsing with rainbow light, looks as if it was dropped into this Studio City living room from a warehouse rave.

It came, in fact, from the garage, where Alex LeVine has been tinkering with fans, filters and tape, trying to bring a bit of fun to a simple tool to prevent the spread of COVID-19. The mesmerizing device uses fans and filters

to pull contaminants — including smoke, dog dander and the unwelcome coronavirus — out of indoor air.

It can also flash in time to the sounds of Phil Collins. "In the Air Tonight," of course.

"People aren't embracing any of the other things that can avert disaster in this pandemic," said LeVine, a 49-year-old cannabis company executive with an electrical engineering degree who started building trippy do-it-yourself filtration boxes as a hobby. "Maybe I can create a way to clean the air that people want in the middle of the room."

As the pandemic drags [See Fight, A10]

Athlete's life was on the line

An ex-UCLA football player who attempted suicide hopes to help others. **SPORTS, D1**

A changed tenor at the opera

Three Black artists quit Long Beach group over "racial tokenism." **CALENDAR, E4**

Biden tests positive again

President returns to isolation with a rare "rebound" COVID case. **NATION, A9**

Weather

Partly sunny. L.A. Basin: 87/66. **B10**



Arms dealer's notorious past

U.S. faces risks in swap of Russian for WNBA star

By **Tracy Wilkinson**

WASHINGTON — Viktor Bout has long been the type of shadowy figure who inhabits spy novels, a convicted arms dealer who commanded a billion-dollar operation of aircraft fleets to supply weapons to notorious dictators, drug lords and armies fighting wars — and sometimes one another.

Bout, a mustachioed Russian national and former Soviet army officer, was an equal-opportunity smuggler whose deliveries are alleged to be responsible for the deaths of thousands of Africans, Afghans and others.



APICHART WEERAWONG AP

VIKTOR BOUT in 2010. One U.S. official calls Bout a "real criminal" but still supports a prisoner trade with Russia.

And in the years before his 2008 arrest and imprisonment, first in Thailand and later in the U.S., the "Merchant of Death" — a moniker he was given three decades ago by a British lawmaker — is believed to have become part of Russian President Vladimir Putin's inner circle.

Today, his possible release from U.S. custody is at the center of a potentially risky trade with Moscow to free WNBA star Brittney Griner and another U.S. citizen, both of whom Washington considers to be unlawfully detained in Russia.

Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken announced [See Swap, A6]

APICHART WEERAWONG AP

BUSINESS INSIDE: Strawberry-picking robots? A startup thinks the time may be ripe. **A15**



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Gaetz heard on hot mic assuring a pardon

Recording of lawmaker, Stone offers unguarded view of Trump confidants

BY JON SWAINE
AND DALTON BENNETT

As Roger Stone prepared to stand trial in 2019, complaining he was under pressure from federal prosecutors to incriminate Donald Trump, a close ally of the president repeatedly assured Stone that “the boss” would likely grant him clemency if he were convicted, a recording shows.

At an event at a Trump property that October, Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) predicted that Stone would be found guilty at his trial in Washington the following month but would not “do a day” in prison. Gaetz was apparently unaware they were being recorded by documentary filmmakers following Stone, whom special counsel Robert S. Mueller III had charged with obstruction of a congressional investigation.

“The boss still has a very favorable view of you,” said Gaetz, stressing that the president had “said it directly.” He also said, “I don’t think the big guy can let you go down for this.”

Gaetz at one point told Stone he was working on getting him a pardon but was hesitant to say more backstage at the event, in which speakers were being filmed for online broadcast. “Since there are many, many recording devices around right now, I do not feel in a position to speak freely about the work I’ve already done on that subject,” Gaetz said.

The lawmaker also told Stone during their conversation that Stone was mentioned “a lot” in redacted portions of Mueller’s report, appearing to refer to portions that the Justice Department

SEE GAETZ ON A9

PKCapitol: Republican trio who impeached Trump face voters. A4



PHOTOS BY RAFAEL VILELA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

THE AMAZON, UNDONE

Destroy the rainforest, get elected

Accusations of environmental misdeeds carry little political cost in Brazil, including for this mayor

BY TERRENCE MCCOY

Terrence McCoy, who covers Brazil for The Washington Post, visited a remote, illegally built town within Indigenous territory for this story.

SÃO FÉLIX DO XINGU, BRAZIL — Word was spreading across the Indigenous territory: The land invaders were preparing to attack. Remote villagers said they were surrounded by armed horsemen. Authorities warned of violence. A neighboring tribe said that “blood could be spilled at any moment.” And in one bitterly disputed stretch, a slight man stood before a wooden house, fearing that such a moment had arrived.

Kawore Parakanã, a leader of the Parakanã people, had ventured miles into the jungle in May with three warriors to track the invasions that have made this Indigenous land in Pará state one of the



Amazon’s most deforested. Up ahead lay an illegal clearing. Beyond it was a wooden shack. Outside the dwelling, a chain saw coughed awake.

“Kawore,” one of the warriors said, “someone is home.”

They considered their options. One was to fight, to take back the land. But they had traveled unarmed, and Kawore believed they’d be killed. Another was to seek help — but from whom? He couldn’t go to Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, who says restrictions within Indigenous territory have impeded the country’s economic development. He couldn’t go to the surrounding communities, populated by newcomers who eye his territory with avarice.

But most of all, he couldn’t go to the mayor, one of the most powerful and feared men in the Amazon, known by some as “the god of São Félix.”

SEE BRAZIL ON A14

TOP: An aerial view of São Félix do Xingu in Brazil’s Pará state. ABOVE: Mayor João Cleber Torres — “the god of São Félix” — leads the city, which covers an area larger than South Carolina. He has been accused of deforestation and killings.

Young guns

Should 18-year-olds be able to buy semiautomatic rifles? In Georgia, two men try to decide.

BY STEPHANIE MCCRUMMEN

RINGGOLD, GA. — It was a summer weekend in Northwest Georgia, and two young men were getting together to talk about how to be good guys with guns.

Evan Honeycutt was 18, saving up for a semiautomatic rifle, and the one his teenage brain was dreaming of was an AR-10. His cousin Skylar Honeycutt was 23 and had some questions about that.

Only a few weeks had passed since a young man with a semiautomatic rifle killed 10 people in a grocery store in Buffalo and another young man with a semiautomatic rifle killed 21 people at an elementary school in Uvalde, Tex., and among the concerns raised by mass shootings in America was whether anyone should have easy access to a semiautomatic rifle such as an AR-10, much less an 18-year-old.

Skylar watched as Evan pulled up to the house and headed to the door. It had been a while since they’d spent time together. In Skylar’s mind, his cousin still existed somewhere between being the

SEE GUNS ON A12



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Skylar Honeycutt, 23, holds the first gun he ever owned, a Henry rifle with lever action, in Ringgold, Ga. He’s with his cousin Evan Honeycutt, 18, who wants an AR-10 rifle.

Ky. braces for more rain as search for survivors goes on

BY RICK CHILDRESS
AND MARIA SACCHETTI

HINDMAN, KY. — The death toll in Eastern Kentucky has risen to 25 people, including several children, as search-and-rescue teams continue scouring communities in the Appalachian foothills for survivors of devastating floods.

Kentucky Gov. Andy Beshear (D) said on Saturday that rescue crews were scrambling to take advantage of the drier weather and ebbing floodwaters to locate the

missing and whisk survivors to shelters ahead of more rainstorms later Sunday. But he warned of hazardous conditions, downed power lines and cellphone blackouts in many areas, and said the number of deaths will almost certainly rise.

Some have lost almost everyone in their households, the governor said during a news conference.

Among the dead were four young siblings ages 1 to 8 in Knott County, population 14,000. They

SEE KENTUCKY ON A8

Big companies see softening in consumers’ will to spend

BY GERRIT DE VYNCK,
RACHEL LERMAN
AND CAROLINE O’DONOVAN

In recent days, executives from the biggest tech, retail and consumer products companies all attempted to address questions about the state of the economy, which has teetered on the brink of a recession.

It’s complicated. In Silicon Valley, profits at tech companies like Google and Apple

generally beat expectations, but executives said there are signs of some niche slowing in consumer spending. Consumer products giant Procter & Gamble said it is expecting a tougher 2023, although it’s still raising prices. Mastercard said spending was steady among the wealthy but slowing among lower-income

SEE ECONOMY ON A20

Trader Joe’s: Workers in Hadley, Mass., are the first to unionize. A20

LA NACION
REVISTALA VIDA PARALELA
DE LOS RECITALES

Las claves del furor por las entradas a conciertos, que se agotan en horas.

LA ECONOMÍA
ARGENTINA PIERDE
PESO EN LA REGIÓN

—economía del domingo

El país tuvo un retroceso relativo en América Latina; incluso en años de bonanza, la actividad avanzó más lentamente que la de los vecinos.

LA SELECCIÓN
FEMENINA DE FÚTBOL,
AL MUNDIAL 2023

—deportes

Venció a Paraguay 3 a 1, con dos goles en los minutos finales, y salió tercera en la Copa América; el triunfo le garantizó el acceso al torneo global.

LA NACION

DOMINGO 31 DE JULIO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Massa le anticipó al campo
que habrá medidas para el
sector entre los anuncios

NUEVA ETAPA. Se lo dijo al titular de la Rural, pero le advirtió que no bajarán las retenciones

Nuevas conversaciones con el presidente Alberto Fernández, reuniones con su equipo de asesores y un mensaje clave para descomprimir la presión con el campo. Así se consumió el sábado del ministro designado de Economía, Sergio Massa, quien en su movimiento más claro le anticipó al titular de la Sociedad

Rural Argentina, Nicolás Pino, que entre las medidas que anunciará el miércoles habrá una señal para el sector. Sin embargo, le aclaró que no bajarán las retenciones.

El futuro funcionario también se encargó de hacer difundir el mensaje de que no analiza una devaluación. Página 12

EL ESCENARIO

Asamblea legislativa
de entrecasaMartín Rodríguez Yebra
Página 16

EL ESCENARIO

Un Maquiavelo de
cabotajeJorge Fernández Díaz
Página 38

MENSAJE. Nicolás Pino, presidente de la Sociedad Rural, le pidió al ministro designado de Economía, Sergio Massa, que "esté a la altura de la difícil situación" y criticó las retenciones. Fue al abrir la exposición de Palermo, donde no hubo funcionarios nacionales; si asistieron Larreta y el gobernador Valdés. Página 20

EL ANÁLISIS

Después de
Massa, ya no
habrá nadaJoaquín Morales Solá
—LA NACION—

Mira el viernes frío y día-fano desde la ventana de su oficina en la Casa de Gobierno. Luego, asesta una conclusión fulminante sobre la decisión del Presidente de encaramar a Sergio Massa como superministro de Economía: "El mandato de Alberto Fernández terminó", dice ese viejo amigo presidencial. ¿Por qué? "Massa se llevará la gloria y los votos si tiene éxito, o se llevará puesto al Gobierno si no lo tiene", contesta. ¿Y Massa? se le pregunta. Continúa en la página 39

EL ANÁLISIS

El terremoto
que se llevó
a BatakisJosé Del Río
—LA NACION—

Silvina Batakis se enteró en el aeropuerto. Había terminado su primera visita a Estados Unidos, en la que les prometió a los inversores cohesión y ajuste (claro que con una narrativa menos directa), les habló de largo plazo y les aseguró que ella venía en representación de todas las patas de la coalición gobernante. Contaba—según afirmó—con el respaldo de Alberto Fernández y de Cristina Kirchner. Continúa en la página 18

Socios. Los documentos que prueban
el vínculo entre Cristina y Lázaro BáezDiego Cabot
ENVIADO ESPECIAL

EL CALAFATE.— El 11 de julio de 2008, Cristina Kirchner inauguraba un frigorífico en Merlo. Estaba a poco de perder la votación en el Con-

greso por la resolución 125. Lejos de Olivos y de aquellos días intensos, en Río Gallegos empezaban los negocios conjuntos entre la entonces presidenta y el constructor Lázaro Báez. Pasaron 14 años y aquellos socios comerciales se convirtieron

en dos de los principales acusados en la llamada causa Vialidad. La sociedad entre ambos, siempre eje de sospechas, queda probada en documentos a los que accedió LA NACION sobre la transacción de un lote en Santa Cruz. Continúa en la página 26

"La puerta está abierta, se
puede cambiar de papa"

GIRA. Francisco habló sobre una posible renuncia

ROMA (De nuestra correspondencia).— "Se puede cambiar de papa. La puerta está abierta, es una opción normal". Con esas palabras, Francisco volvió ayer a referirse a la posibilidad de renunciar al papa-

do, aunque aclaró que no considera esa posibilidad por ahora. El Pontífice habló en el vuelo de regreso a Roma tras su gira por Canadá, en la que se movió en silla de ruedas y mostró limitaciones físicas. Página 9

Equilíbrio B5

Em busca do feminino

Pressão social por terem traços femininos causa disforia de gênero em mulheres trans e faz com que recorram a cirurgias e procedimentos faciais; elas relatam despreparo médico

Ilustrada C1

Em 'Renaissance', Beyoncé evoca calor da balada e faz pop pronto para o futuro

Folhinha C10

Com 'Pluft' e 'Liga dos Superpets', cinema é boa opção para fim de férias

Oscar Vilhena Vieira

A reconstrução do tecido democrático

A movimentação em torno da "Carta às Brasileiras e Brasileiros" e do "Manifesto em Defesa da Democracia e da Justiça aponta para uma recomposição do tecido democrático brasileiro, esgarçado pela polarização. Cotidiano B4



Bruna Andrade, que fez feminização cirúrgica. Karline Xavier/Folhapress

73% veem corrupção no governo Bolsonaro, mostra Datafolha

Problema que serviu de tema a presidente em 2018 é visto como menor do que saúde, economia, educação e violência

Para 73% dos brasileiros, há corrupção no governo Jair Bolsonaro (PL), mostra pesquisa Datafolha feita na quarta (27) e na quinta-feira (28). A maioria, contudo, considera a questão menos relevante do que saúde, educação, violência, miséria e outras pautas econômicas. A margem de erro é de dois pontos a mais ou a menos.

A saúde é prioridade para 20% dos entrevistados. A corrupção, que na época do impeachment de Dilma Rousseff (PT) encabeçava as preocupações de 37%, teve agora 3% das menções. O discurso do combate aos desvios catapultou Bolsonaro em 2018. Hoje, 43% dos que dizem votar nele veem o problema em sua gestão.

Acusações de uso de recursos públicos federais para beneficiar aliados, como as investigadas no Ministério da Educação e na estatal Codevasf, têm se sucedido. Para 47%, o governo atual é ruim ou péssimo. Política A4

52% afirmam nunca confiar em nada do que diz o presidente A4

Articulador esperava lançar protesto com 300 adesões

Ao ser procurado para envolver a Faculdade de Direito da USP na articulação de uma carta pela democracia, seu atual diretor, Celso Campilongo, disse que poderia hospedar o manifesto no site da instituição. Pensou que "seria bom ter umas 200, 300 assinaturas na largada", fazendo volume.

A "Carta às brasileiras e aos brasileiros em defesa do Estado democrático de Direito", chegou ao site Estado de Direito Já! com pouco mais de 3.000 signatários; dois dias depois, passava de 300 mil adesões. "Veja como pensei pequeno", diz o diretor, fazendo graça de si. Política A10

Após ironias, presidente tuíta sua própria carta pela democracia

Política A10

Muita fumaça, fogo nenhum, diz Hang sobre carta

Mercado A24



Eduardo Anizelli/Folhapress

NAS FÉRIAS, FALTA DE MERENDA ESCOLAR AGRAVA INSEGURANÇA ALIMENTAR ENTRE FAMÍLIAS DE BAIXA RENDA

Kelly Aline Duarte da Silva da Conceição, com seus filhos, no bairro do Engenho Novo, zona norte do Rio; pais pulam refeições e recorrem a doações para alimentar crianças Cotidiano B2

EDITORIAIS A2

Riscos da letargia
Sobre temores causados pela varíola dos macacos.

Perseguição na Funai
Acerca de ações da direção do órgão contra servidores.

Com 6 meses de Caixa, Guimarães gerava denúncias

A Caixa Econômica Federal recebeu sete denúncias internas contra Pedro Guimarães antes de ele ser demitido, há um mês. A primeira foi em julho de 2019, apenas seis meses após ele assumir o comando do banco. Mercado A19

Brasil tem 1ª morte por varíola dos macacos e acende alerta

A vítima, um homem de 41 anos de MG, tinha comorbidades e baixa imunidade. Para especialistas, óbito aponta necessidade de esforços de contenção da doença. B1

Consórcio que tem Folha promoverá debate eleitoral

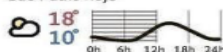
O consórcio de imprensa, que inclui Folha, UOL, g1, O Estado de S. Paulo, O Globo e Valor, promove debate em 14 de setembro. Antes, Folha, UOL, e as redes de TV Cultura e Bandeirantes fazem encontro em 28 de agosto. Política A11

PM liberta família mantida em cativeiro há 17 anos pelo pai

B4

ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



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Paraguay tiene visibilidad para inversiones y eso atrae posibilidad de negocios

Empresarios: Tras Gafilat hay que fortalecer la Justicia

Líderes de gremios sostienen que tras superar examen sobre blanqueo de capitales y la mejora de la calificación de Moody's se abren oportunidades, pero falta garantizar la seguridad jurídica.

PÁGINAS 14 y 15

Se mueven las fichas en internas de ANR
Oficialismo calcula pasos tras sanción de EEUU y cartismo reagrupa fuerzas

PÁGINA 4

La ANDE sufre multimillonario perjuicio por la minería de las criptomonedas

PÁGINA 16

Ex funcionarios de Yacyretá reclaman unas siderales indemnizaciones

PÁGINA 6

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Invisibles. El escándalo del ingreso de José Intrián al país hace recordar que, además de Migraciones, también la Policía es ineficiente para cumplir los mandatos de la Justicia.

Policía no ve a prófugos famosos

PÁGINA 56

Ex mandatario fue extraditado a EEUU
Ahora piden la incautación de los bienes de aliado del ex presidente hondureño

PÁGINA 52

DOMINGO

Jorge Querey, senador y titular de la CBI
"Paraguay se está convirtiendo en el centro del lavado de dinero en la región" PÁGINAS 10 y 11

Botánico albergaría uno de los mejores planetarios del mundo

PÁGINA 25

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LE FIGARO

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

L'ÉTÉ
DU FIGAROÉCRIVAINS ET INTELLECTUELS
DANS LA GUERRE
RÉGIS DEBRAY,
À L'OMBRE
DE CHE GUEVARA PAGE 17LE TOUR DE FRANCE
DES VIGNOBLES
DE THOMAS JEFFERSON
UN CHAMPAGNE DÉLICAT
COMME LE SOUVENIR
PAGE 12LES CHEFS QUI FONT
VIVRE LEUR VILLAGELA
GRENOUILLÈRE
FAIT BONDIR
L'IMAGE DE LA
MADELAINE-
SOUS-
MONTREUIL
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le satisfecit
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pointée du doigt
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l'interdiction
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Air France-KLM
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Les géants
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affectés eux aussi
par la crise PAGE 26CHAMPS
LIBRES* Les tribunes de
Xavier Patier et de
David Brunat
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FIGARO NONRéponses à la question
de vendredi :
Approuvez-vous la
stratégie de la droite de
voter l'essentiel des
amendements proposés
par le gouvernement ?OUI
64%NON
36%

TOTAL DES VOTANTS : 135 507

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sur lefigaro.frAffaire McKinsey :
approuvez-vous le
plafonnement du montant
des missions de conseil
pour l'État ?AGENCE GAMMA - HAMZA DIENAT /
CHAMPAGNE DELAMOTTE

Port d'armes, wokisme, avortement, racisme, covid

Les États-Unis à l'heure de la grande fracture

Joe Biden devait tourner la page de l'ère Trump. Deux ans après son élection, l'Amérique est divisée comme jamais par les débats philosophiques, éthiques ou sociétaux qui la traversent.

Aux États-Unis, conservateurs et progressistes ont pratiquement cessé de débattre. Sur l'avortement, les armes à feu, la sexualité, l'immigration, le port du masque

ou le climat, les deux camps paraissent irréconciliables. Une Amérique est formée par les États républicains, concentrés dans le Sud, le Midwest et les Rocheuses. Par

les campagnes et les petites villes aussi. Une autre Amérique est dirigée par les démocrates sur la côte Pacifique et dans le Nord-Est, sur l'Atlantique. Et généralement aussi

dans les grandes métropoles. Des mouvements de population confortent dorénavant ces deux blocs, lesquels observent des lois de plus en plus différentes ou refusent

d'appliquer celles de l'État fédéral qui ne leur conviennent pas. Au point de remettre en cause l'unité législative d'un pays-continent. PAGES 2, 3 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

Reportage : comment la police forme ses réservistes



Ils sont élagueurs, épiciers ou opticiens et forment la première promotion de la réserve opérationnelle de la police. Au centre de formation de Lognes (Seine-et-Marne), ils apprennent les techniques du métier avant d'aller sur le terrain. PAGE 6

Le retour des touristes en France soutient la croissance

L'économie française enchaîne les chiffres rassurants. Après la bonne tenue du marché de l'emploi en début de semaine, la croissance a affiché ce vendredi sa résilience. Au deuxième trimestre, l'activité a progressé de 0,5 %, soit deux fois plus vite que prévu, éloignant le risque de récession qui couvait après le repli de 0,2 % en début d'année. Le retour des touristes étrangers a favorisé ce rebond, compensant le recul de la consommation des ménages, entravée par une inflation galopante. PAGE 22

ÉDITORIAL par Patrick Saint-Paul psaintpaul@lefigaro.fr

États désunis

Joe Biden s'était fixé un objectif. Après l'ouragan Trump, le vieux président démocrate voulait « réparer » les États-Unis et œuvrer à la réconciliation d'un pays fracturé. À mi-mandat, un constat s'impose : il a échoué. Les débats fiévreux provoqués outre-Atlantique par la décision de la Cour suprême de ne plus garantir aux femmes le droit à l'avortement ne sont que la dernière illustration des profondes divisions qui traversent la plus ancienne démocratie contemporaine. Deux pays de plus en plus irréconciliables cohabitent au sein d'États d'Amérique désunis. On croyait refermées depuis longtemps les plaies de la guerre de Sécession et de la ségrégation. En réalité, la défiance du Dixieland, l'Amérique des anciens États confédérés, ne s'est jamais éteinte. « Les choses anciennes ne sont pas oubliées », chantait Elvis Presley dans son *American Trilogy*. Face à l'insolente Amérique progressiste, une forme de nostalgie bouillait en silence. Les laissés-pour-compte, les Blancs des États républicains du Sud, mais aussi du Midwest, n'allaient plus voter. À mesure qu'ils semblaient dans la précarité, la colère montait. Donald Trump n'a pas provoqué la fracture. Il l'a exploitée.

Il a été l'incarnation de cette Amérique conservatrice qui n'avait plus foi dans son gouvernement fédéral ni dans la sacro-sainte Constitution. Lors des événements du 6 janvier 2021, en refusant d'admettre sa défaite, il a ouvert une brèche. En proclamant que l'Amérique progressiste n'avait plus le droit de congédier la sienne, il remettait en cause le principe de l'alternance, fondement de la démocratie.

Les deux Amérique cohabitent de plus en plus mal

Que ce soit au sujet de l'avortement, des armes à feu, des nouvelles théories du genre, de la sexualité ou de la race, de l'immigration, du port du masque ou de l'écologie, tout dialogue est devenu impossible entre conservateurs et progressistes depuis ce jour tragique. Au point que certains Américains s'interrogent : ne vaudrait-il pas mieux que la sécession culturelle se solde par une sécession tout court, pour éviter une guerre civile ? L'Occident espère encore un sursaut. Un tel effondrement galvaniserait le contre-modèle autocratique de Xi et de Poutine. ■

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