

What's News

Business & Finance

Saudi Arabia's national oil company posted a 90% jump in quarterly profit amid high oil prices, generating billions of dollars in cash that is infusing fresh momentum into the kingdom's economic makeover and strengthening its geopolitical power. **A1**

◆ **Stocks reached** another milestone in their comeback last week, with the Nasdaq rising more than 20% from its mid-June low to end its longest bear market since 2008. **B1**

◆ **Individual investors** have ramped up purchases of stocks and bullish call options, helping send meme stocks skyrocketing. **B1**

◆ **Many investors** are betting on both green energy and fossil fuel, a seemingly contradictory strategy also reflected in the climate bill. **B1**

◆ **Pension funds** that manage public workers' retirement savings were among those that invested in cryptocurrency over the past year and are now navigating the crash. **B1**

◆ **Global travel insurers** say they are selling more policies and at higher prices as travel rebounds from the pandemic, with take-up among young people particularly strong. **B3**

◆ **Americans are splurging** on summer travel and entertainment, after staying home in the early years of the pandemic. **B5**

◆ **DSV is pursuing** more business in the U.S. as the acquisition-focused freight forwarder consolidates its power among the world's largest supply-chain companies. **B4**

World-Wide

◆ **The FBI's search** of Trump's Mar-a-Lago property dealt with the Justice Department's most urgent priority, retrieving classified information. Investigators are now pursuing the next steps of the criminal investigation into the handling of national security material and presidential records. **A1, A4**

◆ **The suspect in** the stabbing attack on novelist Salman Rushdie had no prior criminal history and authorities said they have yet to determine a motive. **A3**

◆ **A group of U.S. lawmakers** flew to Taiwan to meet Taiwanese President Tsai, the latest development to raise questions about U.S. intentions regarding the island's relationship with China. **A8**

◆ **A Palestinian gunman** opened fire on a bus in Jerusalem's Old City, injuring at least eight people, including American citizens. **A8**

◆ **Japan's economy** recovered its pre-pandemic level in the April-June quarter thanks to strong consumer spending. **A18**

◆ **An international agreement** to restore Ukraine's Black Sea grain exports is showing early progress, with 18 ships moving to and from ports in Odessa. **A9**

◆ **Ukraine President Zelenskyy** accused Russia of using Europe's largest nuclear power plant to blackmail Kyiv and its allies. **A10**

◆ **Died: Anshu Jain**, former co-CEO of Deutsche Bank, 59. **B3...** Anne Heche, actress, 53. **A2**

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At Least 41 People Killed in Fire in Coptic Church in Egypt



MOURNING: A mother who lost three children in a fire Sunday at a Coptic church in the Egyptian city of Giza mourns at a funeral for the victims. Authorities put initial blame on an electrical failure in an air-conditioning unit. **A8**

U.S. Probe Enters Next Phase After Seizure of Trump Records

WASHINGTON—The FBI's search of former President Donald Trump's Mar-a-Lago property dealt with the Justice Department's most urgent priority, retrieving classified information.

By Aruna Viswanatha, Sadie Gurman and Alex Leary

orty in the months-long showdown, according to officials, which was retrieving classified information.

Investigators are now pursuing the next steps of the department's criminal investigation into the handling of

national security material and presidential records, a process that might take many months to play out and will be shaped by several factors.

They include what specifically investigators find in the seized documents; why they ended up at Mar-a-Lago; who accessed them at the Florida resort; and the actions of Mr. Trump and his lawyers as the two sides negotiated over the spring for the return of the records, according to people familiar with the inquiry.

While the investigation moves ahead inside the Justice

Department, the political ramifications of the unprecedented search of a former president's home last Monday are likely to reverberate in the public debate in Washington and beyond.

"The American public is operating without sufficient information," Arkansas Gov. Asa Hutchinson, a Republican, said Sunday on CNN. "I think we all have to take a deep breath and say we're going to have to wait to see the facts that come out."

Mr. Trump, a Republican, asserted on his social-media platform on Sunday that the Federal Bureau of Investigation

took material protected by attorney-client privilege and asked for the material back. The Justice Department has set up what is known as a "filter team," a separate group of agents and lawyers to review the materials and determine whether any of them are protected by such privilege before they will be provided to investigators, according to

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◆ Trump aides describe chaotic last days.....A4
◆ Magistrate judge filled role by chance.....A4

Behind Nuclear-Plant Battle: Who Gets the Power?

Amid safety crisis, Ukraine says Russia's plan is to divert electricity

By Joe Parkinson and Drew Hinshaw

The first sign of danger came when the dwindling crew of Ukrainian technicians running the Zaporizhzhia nuclear-power station noticed that officers from Russia's state atomic energy company had left the premises without explanation. It was Aug. 5, and Russian soldiers were patrolling the facility.

Then, at 2:40 p.m., explosions rocked an electrical switchboard, triggering the shutdown of one of only two remaining power lines running from the plant into southern Ukraine, according to plant workers. Outside, smoke billowed from a crater a few hundred yards from a substation; inside, technicians raced to check the backup diesel generators

that would be needed to cool nuclear fuel at risk of overheating in an accident.

It wasn't errant shelling likely to cause nuclear disaster, but a deliberate step in Russia's wider goal: stealing Zaporizhzhia's power by severing its connection to Ukraine's remaining territory, according to Ukrainian leaders, international nuclear-power experts and the plant's staff.

"What Russia is trying to do is the utility equivalent of annexation," said Suriya Jayanti, former energy chief at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv.

She said the expropriation of such a large

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◆ Kyiv accuses Moscow of nuclear blackmail....A10
◆ Grain-export accord shows initial success....A9

INSIDE



PERSONAL JOURNAL
More people are taking vacations with friends, and taking a break from their families. **A11**



SPORTS
Suspension means Padres have to make a playoff run without Tatis. **A14**

Ferocious Lions and Peaceful Cats Divide a Nation

A 21-foot-tall bronze statue leads India to rethink identity; 'a steroid-fed version'

By Shefali Anand

When Prime Minister Narendra Modi unveiled a bronze sculpture of India's national emblem last month featuring four lions, people immediately started asking: Are the big cats too fierce?

India's emblem, adopted in 1950, is modeled after a sculpture dating back more than 2,000 years to the reign of Emperor Ashoka, who famously renounced armed conquest to take up Buddhism and promote peace.

The new 21-foot-tall cast, weighing in at around 21,000 pounds, went atop a parliament building being built in New Delhi.



No pussycat

science and of modern politics in New Delhi. The fangs in particular put his teeth on edge.

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More U.S. Lawmakers Visit Taiwan



DELEGATION: Taiwan's vice minister of foreign affairs, Alexander Yui, right, welcomed Sen. Ed Markey (D, Mass.) as another group of lawmakers visited the island. **A8**

Summer Blockbusters Spur Theater Revival

By Erich Schwartzel

The U.S.'s movie theaters are enjoying a happy plot twist for a change.

The summer movie season is wrapping up with several blockbusters. Studio executives are signaling a commitment to the big screen. And the ravaged landscape of closed theater chains that many predicted two years ago hasn't come to fruition.

"There's no question that we're coming back—in relevance, and in actual behavior," said Jeff Goldstein, president of domestic distribution at Warner Bros.

Movies such as "Top Gun: Maverick," "Minions: The Rise of Gru" and "Jurassic World Dominion" have shown this summer that audiences will return to the auditorium for films they want to see. The enthusiasm for movies adds to the list of pre-pandemic experiences people are embracing, such as going to concerts, gambling in casinos and traveling aboard airplanes.

And studio chiefs are indicating to shareholders that they want to emphasize theatrical releases now that audiences are leaving the house, especially as streaming growth in the U.S. stalls.

The summer box office through Aug. 7 sold about \$3.03 billion worth of tickets, according to Comscore Inc., more than double last year's haul but about \$600 million behind the industry's seasons in 2018 and 2019.

The question is whether momentum will last for movies amid a looming movie shortage and inflation pressures on consumers.

The comeback of movies isn't the future many in Hollywood expected when Covid-19 threatened the existence of cinemas. When governments

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Michelle O'Neill

'I won't allow the unravelling of the Good Friday agreement' — PAGE 13

Cruelty free

Can human mini organs eliminate animal testing? — BIG READ, PAGE 15



Essential reading

15 titles vie for the top prize
BUSINESS BOOK OF THE YEAR, PAGE 12

US lawmakers call for Trump security threat assessment

- FBI search deepens partisan divide
- Ex-president declined to return papers

JAMES POLITI — WASHINGTON

US lawmakers yesterday demanded an assessment of the potential threat to national security posed by Donald Trump's hoarding of classified documents, as tensions in Washington mounted over the FBI's unprecedented search at the home of the former president.

Friday's release of the FBI search warrant used on August 8 has exacerbated the sharp partisan divides between Democrats and Republicans.

The warrant revealed that Trump was being investigated for serious violations of the law related to national defence, the mishandling of government material and obstruction of justice.

Democrats responded by focusing on the legal gravity of his behaviour but Republicans have been sceptical and critical of the search.

Adam Schiff, the top Democrat on the House intelligence committee, has asked the director of national intelligence to review the harm to American interests — formally known as a damage assessment. He said the "most disturbing" aspect of the situation was "the degree to which... it appears to be wilful, on the president's part — the keeping of these documents after the government was requesting them back".

Many Republicans rushed to Trump's side, attacking the Department of Justice, the FBI and US attorney-general Merrick Garland, and asking federal authorities to release the affidavit in support of the search warrant. Affidavits typically remain under wraps throughout a federal investigation and contain the rationale for asking a federal judge to approve a search.

"All Garland has to do is comply with the laws, provide this information to us, let us look," Mike Turner, the top Republican on the House intelligence committee, said on CNN. "We need to determine, is this a national security threat? And... was there abuse of discretion by attorney-general Garland?"

Mike Rounds, a Republican senator from South Dakota, told NBC it was "very important" that the justice department should "show that this was not just a fishing expedition".

Trump has maintained that the search was a politically motivated stunt, claiming to have declassified all the material before leaving office, though there is no record of such a step. According to the inventory of 45 items recovered by the FBI at Trump's Mar-a-Lago estate in Florida, 11 were described by the authorities as being top secret, secret, classified or confidential.

Yesterday the former president said the boxes retrieved by the FBI contained items protected by attorney-client privilege. "I respectfully request that these documents be immediately returned," he wrote on his Truth Social account.

The White House sought to distance itself from the search of Trump's property. "We do not interfere. We do not get briefed. We do not get involved," it said.

Trump in legal crosshairs page 4
FT View page 16
Oren Cass page 17

Rock bottom German supply chains threatened by Rhine's ultra-low levels



Water levels on the Rhine dropped further yesterday as dry conditions persisted, disrupting shipping. The river is a crucial trade artery. Germany urged to cut gas use, page 2
Hans-Joachim Kroll/Reuters

Briefing

► **EU urges halt to talk of Balkans war**
The EU has demanded that neighbours Serbia and Kosovo end talk of war as the bloc and Nato prepare to hold crisis talks between the rivals this week in a push to avert fresh conflict in the Balkans. — PAGE 2

► **Saudi Aramco breaks profits record**
The state oil major has beaten its quarterly profit record set in May, as high energy prices driven by the war in Ukraine deliver windfalls. However, it also warned that spare capacity was limited. — PAGE 6

► **US delegation travels to Taiwan**
A group of US lawmakers seeking to 'reaffirm the United States' support for Taiwan' has arrived on the island less than two weeks after Nancy Pelosi's visit there inflamed tensions with China. — PAGE 4

► **Zalando says it can avoid big job losses**
Europe's largest online fashion retailer is betting that the sharp fall in internet shopping is a only a blip and that it can avoid the job cuts currently being carried out by rivals. — PAGE 9



► **Italian asset manager lays out water plan**
Asset manager Ambiente is planning to create a European champion to cut water waste. 'Seventy-one per cent of the planet is made up of water but only a small fraction is renewable,' it said. — PAGE 8

► **Saudi Arabia to boost Pakistan's coffers**
The world's top oil exporter is set to renew a \$3bn deposit at Pakistan's central bank to prop up its depleted foreign reserves as Islamabad negotiates a financial aid package with the IMF. — PAGE 4

► **Former Deutsche Bank chief Jain dies**
Anand Jain, who helped transform Deutsche Bank from a largely domestic lender into a global financial titan, has died in the UK at the age of 59 after suffering from stomach cancer. — PAGE 6

Datwatch

In safe hands



Across 28 nations around the world, about 59 per cent of people say they rate doctors as trustworthy. Politicians are seen as the least trustworthy professionals, with just 12 per cent of people trusting them.

Volatility investor warns of false dawn for US equities market after recovery

BROOKE MASTERS — NEW YORK

Investors heartened by this summer's recovery in US equity markets should not relax their guard because companies' efforts to refinance their debts are set to spark another downturn later this year, one of the world's leading volatility specialists has predicted.

Paul Britton, founder of Capstone Investment Advisors, said that investors had not yet reckoned with the effects of higher interest rates on overly indebted companies.

The sharp falls in equity prices in the first half of the year reflected investors' concern over future earnings owing to inflation, he said, but the markets will be spooked again when companies struggle to refinance their debt at affordable rates, probably in

the fourth quarter or in early 2023.

"We are getting close to the end of phase 1, a repricing of growth. Phase 2 is more interesting to me. It is more of a credit cycle," Britton said.

"The headlines in Q4 [2022] and Q1 [2023] are going to be of people having trouble refinancing, and nervous investors will start selling."

While many companies took advantage of extremely low interest rates in 2020 and 2021 to refinance their debt for very long periods, signs of strain are starting to appear in debt markets.

Bankers last month postponed a debt financing for the \$16.5bn takeover of software company Citrix by Vista Equity Partners and Elliott Management after struggling to find willing lenders. When companies have pushed ahead, they have often had to accept more onerous terms than in the previ-

ous 18 months. Banks that initially committed to funding such deals, including Bank of America and Goldman Sachs, have been left nursing losses.

Capstone, which had \$9.1bn in assets under management as of July 1, profits from choppy markets. The investment group's global fund was up 0.8 per cent for the first half and its dispersion fund was 14 per cent higher, according to a person who has seen the results.

Financial markets swung wildly in first half of this year as investors fretted over recession and tighter monetary policy. But the equity market has more recently found its footing and gauges of volatility such as the Cboe's Vix index have calmed; last week the Vix closed below its long-running average of 20 for the first time since April.

Additional reporting by Laurence Fletcher and Eric Platt

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Aug 12	Aug 5	%chg		Aug 12	Aug 5	%chg		Aug 12	Aug 5	%chg
S&P 500	4242.58	4207.27	0.84	\$/€	1.025	1.017	0.825	US 2 yr	3.24	3.17	0.07
Nasdaq Composite	11920.14	11779.91	1.11	\$/£	1.212	1.206	0.5	US 10 yr	2.88	2.84	0.02
Dow Jones Ind	33541.94	33336.07	0.62	\$/¥	0.045	0.043	4.7	US 30 yr	3.13	3.12	0.01
FTSEuroStoxx 300	1730.57	1728.46	0.12	€/¥	123.705	125.345	-1.3	UK 2 yr	2.15	2.13	0.02
Euro Stoxx 50	3778.58	3757.05	0.57	€/¥	162.018	163.220	-0.7	UK 10 yr	2.11	2.06	0.05
FTSE 100	7500.09	7485.91	0.47	\$/HK\$	0.067	0.079	-0.18	UK 30 yr	2.54	2.45	0.09
FTSE All-Share	4149.90	4131.26	0.45	\$/INR	0.007	0.007	0.00	JPN 2 yr	-0.09	-0.10	0.00
CAC 40	6553.86	6544.67	0.14	\$/BRL	0.976	0.984	-0.008	JPN 10 yr	0.18	0.19	-0.01
Xetra Dax	13795.65	13684.51	0.74					JPN 30 yr	1.10	1.10	-0.01
Nikkei	28546.96	27919.23	2.62					GER 2 yr	0.60	0.45	0.15
Hang Seng	20074.62	20042.43	0.48					GER 10 yr	0.98	0.97	0.01
MSCI World \$	2802.23	2803.37	-0.04					GER 30 yr	1.23	1.22	0.01
MSCI EM \$	1014.29	997.20	1.71								
MSCI ACWI \$	850.71	846.75	0.45								
FT Worldex 2500	5491.96	5495.72	-0.07								
FT Worldex 1000	42897.39	42624.05	-0.08								

COMMODITIES

	Aug 12	Aug 5	%Week
Oil WTI \$	82.57	80.74	2.15
Oil Brent \$	98.16	95.48	2.81
Gold \$	1796.70	1782.20	0.78

A Nikkei Company



SocGen hopes new chief will herald better times

Société Générale's chief Frédéric Oudéa, pictured, will step down next year after 14 years at the helm. Since he took charge in 2008, the French bank's stock has plunged 71 per cent and its valuation is among the worst of any major lender in Europe. In the past four years, the bank has issued several profit warnings and cut thousands of jobs from its trading division. Although it is now on an upward trajectory, the stakes are high for Oudéa's successor.

SocGen succession — PAGE 8

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The Fading Ghosts of India's Partition



MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE/THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

75 Years Later, a Final Generation Recalls the Deadly Chaos of Pakistan's Birth

This article is by **Mujib Mashal, Hari Kumar and Zia ur-Rehman.**

AMRITSAR, India — For seven decades, Sudarshana Rani has ached to learn her younger brother's fate. She was just a child when the communal bloodletting that surrounded Britain's 1947 partition of India wiped out nearly her entire extended family. But in the paddy fields that became execution grounds, there was one body she did not find: that of her 5-year-old brother, Mulk Raj.

Ms. Rani, a Hindu, and an older brother were sheltered by a Muslim classmate's family before they abandoned their home near Lahore, which became part of the new Muslim nation of Pakistan. In India, they built anew. The brother, Piar Lal Duggal, retired as a senior officer in India's state bank. Ms. Rani raised children who are now doctors and bankers.

Yet her mind remained with the brother left behind. Had Mulk Raj made a run for it and survived? She has imagined him searching for her; she saw him everywhere and in everything. Even a family movie outing a few years ago became part of her long, quiet search.

"I thought maybe this is my brother —

Continued on Page A8



ARUL LOKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, Sikhs migrating to India in 1947. Sudarshana Rani, above, was a child when most of her family, Hindu landowners in a majority-Muslim village in today's Pakistan, were killed. She has held out hope that a brother, 5 at the time, survived.

Sensing Opportunity, Democrats Spotlight Abortion in Their Ads

By **SHANE GOLDMACHER** and **KATIE GLUECK**

Democrats all across America are using abortion as a powerful cudgel in their 2022 television campaigns, paying for an onslaught of ads in key House, Senate and governor's races that show how swiftly abortion politics have shifted since the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade* in late June.

In Michigan, Democrats took aim at the Republican nominee for governor almost immediately after the primary with a television ad highlighting her opposition to abortion, without exceptions for rape or incest. The Republican governor in Georgia faced attacks in another television ad, with women speaking fearfully about the specter of being investigated and "criminalized." And the Republican nominees in Arizona for both Senate and governor were confronted almost instantly after their primaries with different ads

calling them "dangerous" for their anti-abortion positions.

With national protections for abortion rights suddenly gone and bans going into effect in many states, senior White House officials and top Democratic strategists believe the issue has radically reshaped the 2022 landscape in their favor. They say it has not only reawakened the party's progressive base, but also provided a wedge issue that could wrest away independent voters and even some Republican women who believe abortion opponents have overreached.

In the fallout of the ruling, Democrats see the potential to upend the typical dynamic of midterm elections in which voters punish the party in power. In this case, although Democrats control the White House and both chambers of Congress, it is one of their top

Continued on Page A12

Misinformation Riddles TikTok Before Election

By **TIFFANY HSU**

In Germany, TikTok accounts impersonated prominent political figures during the country's last national election. In Colombia, misleading TikTok posts falsely attributed a quotation from one candidate to a cartoon villain and allowed a woman to masquerade as another candidate's daughter. In the Philippines, TikTok videos amplified sugarcoated myths about the country's former dictator and helped his son prevail in the country's presidential race.

Now, similar problems have arrived in the United States. Ahead of the midterm elections this fall, TikTok is shaping up to be a primary incubator of baseless and misleading information, in many ways as problematic as Facebook and Twitter, say researchers who track online false-

Continued on Page A17

In Dry Los Angeles, Grass Gives Way to Gravel

By **JILL COWAN**

AGOURA HILLS, Calif. — Erin Brockovich made her name decades ago as an environmental activist who exposed corporate wrongdoing that polluted drinking water.

So she felt a bit defensive when a television reporter asked how her name landed on a list of water guzzlers during a dire California drought. At one point last year, she received a \$1,700 bill for two months of water and fines.

Ms. Brockovich ultimately decided she had to get rid of her lawn, a central part of the backyard oasis she had built over more than two decades living in Agoura Hills, a suburb of large homes with immaculate yards about 40 miles northwest of downtown Los Angeles. She replaced 3,100 square feet of grass with high-tech artificial turf.

"This is not a fire drill, and every one of us has to participate," she said. "We have to get past the blame and sadness of it."

For the better part of a century,



MARK ABRAMSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Erin Brockovich, the water quality activist, replaced her lawn, left, with high-tech artificial turf. At right, a neighbor's yard.

the lawn has been one of Southern California's most durable middle-class fantasies: a single-family house with a manicured emerald yard that always remains lush — even in the dead of summer when much of the region's native vegetation is golden brown.

But as climate change exposes the limits of the water supply, homeowners and water officials say the end of the thirsty lawn may finally be here.

Where residents once looked askance at any yard that resembled

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INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Deadly Church Fire in Egypt

A blaze in a Coptic Orthodox sanctuary in greater Cairo set off a stampede, killing at least 41 people. PAGE A7

Risks at Ukraine Nuclear Plant

As fighting rages around the Russian-occupied station, the war has entered a new and decisive phase. PAGE A5

NATIONAL A10-17

Rushdie Is Starting to Recover

Salman Rushdie's agent said the writer, who was stabbed Friday, had been taken off his ventilator and was beginning a slow journey of healing. PAGE A16

Fate of the Cheney Dynasty

If Representative Liz Cheney loses her primary on Tuesday, as is expected, it will end an era in Wyoming. PAGE A10

OBITUARIES B7

Scholar of Food History

Jan Longone amassed a vast cookbook collection, starting in her Michigan basement. She was 89.

BUSINESS B1-6

In One Tech Town, NIMBY

The wealthy residents of Atherton, Calif., have united to object to a plan for multifamily townhouses near their estates. PAGE B1

Former Baby Gear Skeptic

Didn't babies survive for eons without this stuff? A new dad can love a \$140 changing pad, even if its maker is called Keekaroo, Kevin Rose writes. PAGE B1

2,400 Miles in an Ancient Car

Mechanical failure and sleep deprivation challenged more than 100 teams in the nine-day Great Race, an annual rally of vintage vehicles. PAGE B4



SPORTS D1-6

Keep Your Mitts Off My Glove

Major leaguers form deep, possessive relationships with their gloves. Some even sleep with them. PAGE D1

Tyson Still Has Punch

A book of photos from his early career adds to a seemingly limitless stream of content on the former boxer. PAGE D4

ARTS C1-6

Playing for the Cause

A Ukrainian orchestra on tour promotes the war-torn nation's culture, and also reunited a husband and wife. PAGE C1

Her 'Semi-Fictional' Life

The British writer Dolly Alderton's memoir has become a TV series, as well as a little more diverse. PAGE C1

OPINION A18-19

Farah Stockman

PAGE A19



A news site — or a path to power?

Stockton's 209 Times says it's independent. Critics call it a blunt tool for the political ambitions of its owner.

BY JAMES RAINEY

STOCKTON — As traditional media fade, the lines have become fuzzy on what constitutes a journalist, including here in the heart of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta.

In Stockton, Moteuczoma Patrick Sanchez runs 209 Times, a news site that has gained a sizable following as it punishes Sanchez's enemies, rewards his friends and often celebrates the work of its owner and founder.

Sanchez recently flogged a school board member as "Devil" Ann. His 209 Times belittled a nonprofit leader as a "Karen." Another political foe had a photo of his face superimposed on a toddler's body. The site depicted Gov. Gavin Newsom as a pimp and labeled state Sen. Susan Talamantes Eggman (D-Stockton) as "anti-Mexican," with Sanchez quoted in the story as if he were an independent observer. When adversaries counterattacked via social media, calling Sanchez "Morticks," he lashed them as "the roach pack."

Political leaders and civic activists have long blamed 209 Times and its related social media platforms for poisoning political debate in a community that is already economically challenged.

But in the last year, Sanchez has become enmeshed in the power structure that he purports to hold accountable. While still in control of his 209 Times — named after the local area code — Sanchez now holds a well-paying administrative job at the Stockton Unified School District, where the leaders who hired him enjoy positive coverage from his news site.

[See 209 Times, A8]



"THIS CUP carries a lot of stories," says Mina Rezaie, now in France, with a mug from her Kabul cafe. "Young men and women would come and drink coffee and they were happy in a free Kabul."

The sacred items they carried when they fled

A cup, two unwashed shirts — a year after the Taliban's return, refugees share what connects them to Afghanistan

Story and photographs by Marcus Yam
REPORTING FROM PARIS

Last year, two decades after the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan, they were finally leaving. The Taliban was mounting its comeback, gobbling up territory across the country and closing in on the capital.

Its fighters arrived in Kabul on Aug. 15, setting off a chaotic exodus by artists, journalists, rights activists — anyone who embraced Western ideals or whom the new rulers might see as a threat. More than 120,000 people fled in a series of airlifts over the next two weeks.

They had no choice but to leave most of their possessions behind. The items they took with them often had deep personal value and in ways large and small connected them to their homeland.

The refugees are scattered [See Afghanistan, A4]



ATEFA Hesari holds a necklace from a friend who proposed to her. She said no, and he told her to keep it as a symbol of their friendship.



KJESSIE ESSUE at her Barn Swallow Gardens in Taylorsville, Calif. She and her family were evacuated for more than 40 days in 2021 due to the Dixie fire.

COLUMN ONE

After the fire, a flower farm brings happiness in bunches

BY DIANA MARCUM
REPORTING FROM TAYLORSVILLE, CALIF.

It was between the third and fourth evacuations from the Dixie fire that KJessie Essue decided to be a farmer-florist.

She was already experimenting with growing flowers in her mountain climate and couldn't count how many reasons people had given her for why it couldn't be done: The summers are too short. There's too many gophers. The deer

eat everything. The soil isn't good. The frost comes too fast.

Then came the fire. A neighbor, a cattle rancher, stayed behind during the fire to care for the herd. The rancher said she wouldn't let Essue's flowers die — and she didn't.

By the time Essue and her young family returned, Greenville — the town just across the valley, where she grew up and her parents still lived — was gone, the entire downtown smoldering, including [See Farm, A10]

When drug cartels owned the streets

Tijuana and other Baja California cities attempt to return to normal after a weekend of mayhem.

BY JESSICA GARRISON,
WENDY FRY AND
ALEXANDRA MENDOZA

TIJUANA — As Mexican national guard troops patrolled the streets of Tijuana and cruise lines canceled dockings in Ensenada over fears of violence, Baja California residents struggled Sunday to return to normal life after hooded bandits associated with criminal car-

tels effectively shut down much of the region Friday. State officials said the assailants hijacked and burned at least two dozen vehicles and put up roadblocks around the state Friday evening. Messages also began circulating on social media, purportedly from the Jalisco New Generation cartel, declaring a curfew in Tijuana and warning residents to go home or risk being attacked. Many did, turning the normally frenetic zone of restaurants and bars around Avenida Revolución into a virtual ghost town.

By Saturday afternoon, hundreds of military troops and special forces had ar-

[See Cartels, A4]



ARMED TROOPS in Tijuana on Saturday prepare to patrol streets in the city and across Baja California.

Many meal kits not vetted by FDA

Large outbreak from mail-delivered food raises scrutiny of the \$15-billion industry.

BY LAURA J. NELSON

Days after trying a new lentil product from the meal subscription company Daily Harvest, Los Angeles resident Jackie Sloboda was debilitated by full-body itching, stabbing abdominal pains and jaundice that turned her skin and eyes yellow.

On her third day in a West L.A. hospital, as she worried that she was dying of liver failure, Sloboda, 36, learned that the product she had eaten twice had just been recalled.

Soon, hundreds of people in 36 states would report gastrointestinal pain and abnormal liver function, and 113 would be hospitalized, the highest number of any known U.S. foodborne illness outbreak this year, according to federal data.

"I've been run over by a car before, and this was more painful," said Sloboda, who is still suffering from fatigue two months later. "Awful doesn't even begin to describe it. I'm upset, I'm angry, and I'm anxious for the future of my health."

The Daily Harvest case is the first widespread instance of foodborne illness reported in the \$15-billion meal kit industry, which surged in popularity during the COVID-19 pandemic. The outbreak has shone a light on something that few consumers know: Most meal delivery companies are not regulated by the Food and Drug Administration.

Of the hundreds of companies that ship ready-to-eat meals or recipe kits to U.S. consumers, very few are required to register with the FDA. The firms are also not required to follow a slew of FDA safety requirements that aim to limit the spread of foodborne illness, ensure sanitary conditions during shipping and improve supply-chain transparency.

There is little consistency in how the firms are inspected and regulated at the state and local level, experts say. They warn that rapid changes in the meal delivery industry, combined with the slow pace of federal regula-

[See Meals, A7]

Schools to open with new normal

Many have later start times, ease virus rules and ramp up security after mass shooting in Texas. CALIFORNIA, B1

Glendale ranks high in rents

The city and Santa Monica are among the five most expensive in the U.S., a report says. CALIFORNIA, B1

Can bill attract young voters?

Democrats hope that climate legislation will bring in more support from 18- to 29-year-olds. PERSPECTIVES, A2

Weather

Mostly sunny, hot. L.A. Basin: 91/66. B6

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The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington

Shows 74/66 • Tomorrow: Shows 79/64 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, AUGUST 15, 2022 • B2

New tactics to target at-home abortions

Groups pressing states to curb access to drugs used to end most pregnancies

BY KIMBERLY KINDY

Two top antiabortion groups have crafted and successfully lobbied for state legislation to ban or further restrict the predominant way pregnancies are ended in the United States — via drugs taken at home, often facilitated by a network of abortion rights groups.

In the wake of the Supreme Court's decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, 14 states now ban or partially ban the use of those drugs, mifepristone and misoprostol, which are used in more than half of all abortions.

But the drugs remain widely available, with multiple groups working to help provide them even to women in states with abortion bans. Students for Life of America and National Right to Life Committee, which have played leading roles in crafting antiabortion laws, hope to change that with new legislation.

The groups are pursuing a variety of tactics, from bills that would ban the abortion-inducing drugs altogether to others that would ban family members to sue medication providers or attempt to shut down the nonprofit groups that help women obtain and safely use the drugs.

Their strategy reflects the re-

SEE ABORTION ON A8

The political shifts that led to the climate bill's passage

BY STEVEN MUFSON

The world has changed dramatically since the last time Congress considered climate legislation.

Last time, it sought to cap greenhouse gas emissions, and the fossil fuel industry fought back hard. Not this time.

Last time, some Republicans supported the measure, harking to an era when environmental protection was not so polarizing. Not this time.

On Friday, a dozen years after a sprawling climate bill passed the House but failed to move ahead in the Senate, Democrats successfully muscled the United States' most ambitious climate change proposal ever past Congress, sending it to President Biden for his signature.

The bill's success shows how the politics of climate change have shifted profoundly since scientists began warning about how human-caused emissions would warm the planet.

Whereas President Jimmy Carter once pushed clean energy as a matter of personal, moral responsibility, the new bill treats climate change as a pragmatic

SEE CLIMATE ON A4



PHOTOS BY WOJCIECH GRZEDZINSKI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A slow slide into stalemate

Ukraine's progress in retaking key port city of Kherson has stalled as Russian troops dig in

BY LOVEDAY MORRIS, LIZ SLY, DALTON BENNETT AND ANASTACIA GALOUCHKA
IN MYKOLAIV REGION, UKRAINE

On the front line in southeast Ukraine, there is little sign that a major counteroffensive is brewing.

For weeks, Western intelligence and military analysts have predicted that a Ukrainian campaign to retake the strategic port city of Kherson and surrounding territory is imminent. But in trenches less than a mile from Russia's positions in the area, Ukrainian soldiers hunker down from an escalating onslaught of artillery, with little ability to advance.

"It's to our left side, our right side, over our heads," Yuri, a 45-year-old soldier with the Ukrainian military's 63rd Mechanized Brigade, said of the incoming fire, which has intensified this month. At night, Russian forces make reconnaissance missions that probe the tenuously held farmland. "It's a more tense situation," he said.

SEE UKRAINE ON A18



TOP: A soldier, call sign Petrovich, stands in trenches on the Kherson front line in Ukraine. Retaking the city would be a blow to Russia's ambitions. ABOVE: Serbin Fedok, 70, and Valentina Yefimenko, 66, live in a shelter in Kryvyi Rih, Ukraine.

After massacre, a battle for accountability

Survivors of Tex. shooting say court fight is compounding their anguish

BY HOLLY BAILEY
IN SUTHERLAND SPRINGS, TEX.

Ryland Ward knows he looks different from other kids, though it's hard for him to talk about why.

When he moved to a new school in Lampasas, the small Central Texas town where he lives with his mother, the 10-year-old felt other children staring at him when he wore a T-shirt to class. Just below his sleeve, a deep chunk of flesh is missing — as if a monster had taken a bite out of his arm.

That monster was a high-velocity bullet, and the cavernous

SEE SURVIVORS ON A6



Ryland Ward was 5 years old when he was shot at First Baptist Church in 2017. The gunman killed 26 others.

JOSHUA LOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Alarm in Fla. as DeSantis ousts elected prosecutor

Reform-minded attorney clashed with governor over policing, abortion

BY LORI ROZZA

TAMPA — State Attorney Andrew Warren was waiting for a grand jury to issue indictments in two rape and murder cases he had been working on for three years when he glanced down at his phone and saw an email from an attorney for Gov. Ron DeSantis.

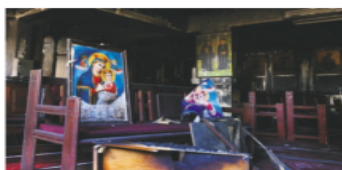
It said he was suspended from his job.

Stunned, Warren quickly went to his office to consult with his staff. Not long after, there was a knock at the door. An armed major from the county sheriff's office and a man in a suit from the governor's office carrying a copy of DeSantis's executive order suspending him were looking for him.

"He said, essentially, 'The governor has suspended you and you need to leave the office now,'" Warren, a Democrat, recalled of DeSantis's aide. "So within maybe seven minutes from getting the email, I was outside, on the street. The major offered me a ride home because they took my car."

SEE DESANTIS ON A5

IN THE NEWS



TARIK WAHED/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Deadly fire in Cairo A blaze ripped through a Coptic Orthodox church, killing 41 people, including at least 10 children. A13

A hero cast aside As India celebrates 75 years of independence, Mahatma Gandhi's legacy is being debated, downplayed and derided. A12

THE NATION

A plot to breach voting machines in Michigan underscores a national pattern as election deniers seek proof of fraud that experts say does not exist. A2

Some Republicans were among the lawmakers pushing back Sunday against criticism of the FBI's search of Mar-a-Lago. A2

Authorities said a man plowed a car into a crowd in eastern Pennsylvania, killing one person, before he drove to a nearby county to fatally attack his mother. A3

Salman Rushdie has

been taken off a ventilator and "the road to recovery has begun," his agent said, two days after the novelist was stabbed at an event. A4

U.S. lawmakers arrived in Taiwan, less than two weeks after House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's trip angered China. A9

THE WORLD As the Dumagat people of the Philippines seek to protect their way of life, their last hope may be two scarce raptor species. A10

Eight people, including U.S. citizens, were injured in a suspected Pal-

estinian gun attack in Jerusalem, Israeli police and medics said. A13

THE ECONOMY The Help Desk explains how to get text messages flowing to and from a computer. A15

THE REGION The District had a plan to end chronic homelessness. Ten months in, the city's solutions are taking longer than advocates had hoped. B1

THE WEEK AHEAD

MONDAY The Center for Strategic and International Studies holds a panel discussion titled "Afghanistan One Year Later: Consequences & Responsibilities."

TUESDAY Alaska and Wyoming hold primary elections.

Ashish Jha, the White House coronavirus response coordinator, discusses the pandemic at a U.S. Chamber of Commerce event.

WEDNESDAY The Little League Baseball World Series begins in Williamsport, Pa.

THURSDAY Jobless claims are estimated at 265,000.

FRIDAY Former president Bill Clinton turns 76.

INSIDE



STYLE

Works in progress No song, movie or show can escape the digital age's revisionist urges, making art impermanent, ever shifting, always on the precipice of being "fixed" or "updated." C1

A shattered idyll A brief history of the Chautauqua Institution, site of the attack on Salman Rushdie. C1

BUSINESS NEWS.....A16
COMICS.....A16
OPINION PAGES.....A16
LIFESTYLE.....B3
OBITUARIES.....B5
TELEVISION.....A10
WORLD NEWS.....A10

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Thinking about converting home to solar power?

Switching can save money in long run and help save planet. Here's what to consider. **In Money**

As Watson decision nears, suspension isn't the issue

Browns QB needs counseling to move forward, columnist Jarrett Bell writes. **In Sports**



Diane Keaton feels lucky to still be acting

Oscar winner talks aging in Hollywood and comedy "Mack & Rita," where she plays a 30-year-old trapped inside an older body. **In Life**

USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | MONDAY, AUGUST 15, 2022



Susan Page
Washington Bureau Chief
USA TODAY

FBI search puts us in unfamiliar territory

Latest Trump chapter upends political world

With 86 days until the midterm elections, Republicans want to beam the pain of inflation that they blame on Democrats. Democrats are eager to brag about the big climate-change package they just pushed through Congress, no thanks to Republicans.

Instead, officials from both parties found themselves speculating Sunday about the FBI search of Donald Trump's Florida home to seize sensitive documents that the former president took when he moved out of the White House — a subject on which just about everyone has more questions than answers.



Trump

On NBC's "Meet the Press," Democratic Sen. Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota called the allegations against Trump "very serious," but demurred when asked whether he should be indicted.

"I don't have all the evidence," she said.

On CNN's "State of the Union," Ohio Rep. Mike Turner, the ranking Republican on the House Intelligence Committee, also spoke carefully.

"No one is above the law," he said. "Donald Trump is not above the law and Attorney General (Merrick) Garland is not above the law either."

Trump's most loyal supporters are blasting the search as a blatant overreach by a Democratic administration, of course, and his severest critics are citing it as evidence that he may be

See PAGE, Page 6A



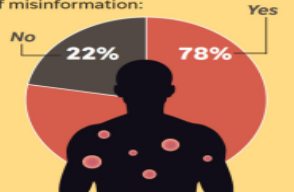
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USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

Doctors fret about monkeypox misinfo

False notions have gone viral about who can get monkeypox and how. Physicians across 20 nations on having concerns about the spread of misinformation:



SOURCE: Sermo Barometer #25, 2022
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPLING/USA TODAY

DAILY DISCOUNTS & SAVINGS ...
Dining Deals
USA
PAGE 2A

THE FALL OF AFGHANISTAN ONE YEAR LATER

Chaos and uncertainty have become way of life



U.S. Air Force personnel load evacuees onto a transport plane last August in Kabul, Afghanistan. Despite U.S. efforts to speed relocations, their paths have been bogged down by bureaucracy. MASTER SGT. DONALD R. ALLEN/U.S. AIR FORCE VIA AP

US promised its allies safety, but thousands still struggle to escape

Chris Kenning USA TODAY

With the Taliban searching their Kabul neighborhood, Tamim Bedar's children cried as his wife urged him to board a U.S. evacuation flight alone. He was the target, she said. They would follow.

Bedar, 42, in danger after years of work supporting U.S. goals in Afghanistan, reluctantly flew to the safety of a U.S. base in Qatar. Frantically working his contacts, he got his wife and four kids out a week later.

But his 36-year-old brother, also at risk because of his security jobs with a U.S.-based organization and the Afghan government, failed to reach the airport before the evacuation ended — and today is among thousands who supported U.S. goals but remain stuck in Afghanistan.

"Those who were lucky ... they made it," Bedar told USA TODAY at his home in Louisville, Kentucky, where he was resettled. "Others, they were left behind."

One year after the U.S. evacuated more than 76,000 Afghans to the United States at the end of its 20-year war, refugee advocates say tens of thousands of Afghan allies who would likely qualify for U.S. protection — reaching into the hundreds of thousands when their family members are included — are still struggling to reach safety.

Despite recent U.S. efforts to speed relocations, their paths have been bogged down by bureaucratic backlogs, humanitarian parole denials and the logistical barriers of third-country visa processing in the absence of a U.S. Consulate in Afghanistan, advocates say.

Bedar's brother, for example, lacks the means to travel to another country and to wait months or years for an un-



Tamim Bedar, who fled Afghanistan during the U.S. evacuation last year, holds his daughter outside his home in Louisville, Ky. He was one of 76,000 Afghans resettled in the U.S. CHRIS KENNING/USA TODAY

"Those who were lucky ... they made it. Others, they were left behind."

Tamim Bedar

IN OPINION

World must pressure the Taliban to change

My beloved Kabul fell, but there is still hope for peace, ex-official says. **7A**

COMING TUESDAY

How significant is threat of terrorist groups?

White House says U.S. can keep it in check from afar; critics are skeptical.

Fear, shattered economy leave many Afghans vulnerable

Katherine Swartz

USA TODAY

One year after the Taliban's return to power and the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan, life in Afghanistan has been transformed for many into a daily struggle for survival — marked by unemployment, homelessness, hunger and fear.

Most of the attention from the West has focused on the Taliban's draconian social restrictions on women, girls and minorities, said Vali Nasr, a professor of Middle East Studies at Johns Hopkins, after the Taliban barred girls from attending school after age 12 and eliminated many women's personal freedoms.

But the top concern in Afghanistan today is the economy. An estimated 700,000 have lost jobs since the U.S. withdrawal, which in turn affects the livelihood of millions.

"Since our departure, (the U.S.) has been very good at criticizing the Taliban's role in restricting the cultural space in Afghanistan," Nasr said. "But basically, we've been completely oblivious to the fact that our sanctions and the economic situation of Afghanistan is destroying the middle class."

See AFGHANS, Page 5A

Food crisis

● 43% of Afghanistan's population is living on less than one meal a day.

● 92% of households were experiencing insufficient food consumption as of June.

● 24.4 million people require humanitarian assistance to survive.

SOURCES: International Rescue Committee, World Food Programme and U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

See ALLIES, Page 4A

espectáculos

1938-2022

Rodolfo Bebán.
La estampa del galán

Brilló en la TV y en el teatro, donde marcó una época; resguardó su vida privada.

**NATALÍ SUÁREZ
PARDO, LA MEJOR
PARRILLERA DEL PAÍS**

—sociedad

De 39 años y oriunda de San Luis, se convirtió ayer en la primera mujer que gana el Campeonato Federal del Asado, en un evento multitudinario. **Página 25**

LA NACION

LUNES 15 DE AGOSTO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Una eventual condena de Cristina en Vialidad podría reactivar el juicio de Hotesur

OBRA PÚBLICA. Según fuentes judiciales, fortalecería la denuncia por lavado de dinero de Báez

Una condena en el juicio de Vialidad, en el que Cristina Kirchner enfrenta una durísima acusación de los fiscales Diego Luciani y Sergio Mola por corrupción en la obra pública, podría impactar directamente en la causa de Hotesur y Los Sauces, que se encuentra pendiente de revisión judicial.

En la causa de los hoteles se acusó a la vicepresidenta de recibir fondos del empresario Lázaro Báez en compensación por los negocios que se le entregaban. Fuentes judiciales admitieron que una condena en Vialidad podría fijar la existencia de una asociación ilícita que cierre el círculo: el dinero de la corrupción en la

obra pública se lavaba después en los hoteles. De esa forma, una sentencia podría robustecer la causa en revisión, en la que Cristina Kirchner había sido sobreadvertida sin un juicio. Además, una condena dejaría certificado el delito precedente, que es una condición judicial esencial para probar el lavado. **Página 8****De los crímenes
de la dictadura
a los crímenes
de la corrupción**

Roberto Gargarella

Página 10

Tras dos semanas, Massa completa su equipo

EXPECTATIVA. Finalmente hoy puede conocerse el nombre de su viceministro de EconomíaCasi dos semanas después de jurar como ministro de Economía, Sergio Massa anunciará hoy a su viceministro. Luego del traspaso que tuvo con la designación de Gabriel Rubinstein, que finalmente no asumió como consecuencia del malestar que provocaron en un sector del Gobierno sus antiguas críticas a Cristina Kirchner, el líder del Frente Renovador daría a conocer el nombre de su secretario de Programación Económica. **Página 16****Buscan un mecanismo para que tome distancia de empresarios cercanos.** **Página 16****Racing-Boca: del cero a otro final caliente con el VAR****deportes—** Racing jugó mejor y convirtió al arquero Agustín Rossi en la figura, pero el clásico con Boca terminó sin goles y los dos se alejaron del líder, Atlético Tucumán. Hubo polémica en el final: el árbitro Rapallini, aun con VAR, ignoró un penal para los xeneizes.

La jugada del partido: Gómez se lleva la pelota con la mano ante la acción de Villa; en el VAR, Rapallini no vio penal

CAPTURA DE TV

Sin respirador, Rushdie inició una lenta recuperación

ATAQUE. Afirman que ya pronunció algunas palabras y que tiene su "sentido del humor intacto". **Página 4****EL PULSO DEL CONSUMO**

¿Hasta cuándo podemos "fingir demencia"?

Guillermo Oliveto

—PARA LA NACION—

Cuando todos esperaban una debacle, los consumidores argentinos volvieron a sorprender. En el mismo momento en que tuvimos la inflación mensual más alta de los últimos 20 años, hubo un

inesperado boom de consumo. Crecieron las ventas de casi todo. Autos 0 km, 17%; despachos de cemento, 9,5%; insumos para la construcción, 8,5%; motos, 8%. No son solo bienes durables que podrían comprar los

que tienen buen poder adquisitivo. Los datos preliminares sobre las ventas en las grandes cadenas de supermercados arrojan una explosión de demanda en los productos más básicos. **Continúa en la página 18**

Se extiende el bloqueo sindical a una pyme láctea

EXTORSIÓN. Lácteos Vidal, de Carlos Casares, está sin operar desde hace 15 días porque el personal no puede entrar. **Página 19****EL ESCENARIO**

Promesas del ministro para estirar la tregua

Claudio Jacquelin

—LA NACION—

La tregua que el Frente de Todos se dio ante el terror es el mejor soporte que encuentra el nuevo titular del Palacio de Hacienda, Sergio Massa, para aprender sobre la marcha la tarea de conducir la política económica y tomar (o promover) medidas que a sus antecesores no les permitían siquiera esbozar. **Continúa en la página 13**

Independência, 200 B2

Há dois séculos dom Pedro partia para conquistar apoio de proprietários

Cotidiano B3

Festa do Peão de Barretos aposta em público fiel após 2 anos de hiato

Ilustrada C1

Priscilla Alcântara deixa gospel e aposta em carreira na música pop



A tenista durante a partida

Esporte B9

Bia Haddad perde final do aberto de Canadá, mas entra no top 20

BNDES paga R\$ 108 mil em média a servidor por lucro

Valor, referente a 2021, é o maior nas estatais; não há irregularidade, diz banco

O BNDES (Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico Social) distribuiu um benefício médio de R\$ 108,1 mil a seus empregados por meio do programa de participação nos lucros referente ao exercício de 2021. Trata-se do maior valor pago por uma estatal federal, de acordo com os dados oficiais.

A cifra corresponde a mais de quatro vezes o que pagaram no período o Banco do Brasil (R\$ 27 mil) e a Caixa Econômica Federal (R\$ 24,3 mil), dois bancos federais que competem entre si e com instituições privadas. O BNDES, que é um banco de desenvolvimento, atua na prática sem concorrência.

Nem todos os funcionários da instituição federal recebem o mesmo valor por participação nos resultados, calculado com base na remuneração e em metas de desempenho. O valor mínimo ficou em R\$ 13,8 mil, e o máximo, em R\$ 257,3 mil. Em geral, os benefícios equivalem a três meses de salário.

O BNDES, que teve lucro de R\$ 34,1 bilhões em 2021, procura retardar a devolução de R\$ 103,2 bilhões que recebeu do Tesouro de forma irregular durante as administrações petistas. Procurado, relatou que distribuiu participação nos lucros desde 2019, em procedimento regular. Mercado A13

ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Gustavo Franco e Fabio Giambiagi

Maldade e angústia do Brasil cresceram

Coautores de "Antologia da Maldade 2: Epígrafes para um país estressado" dizem que a reedição da parceria iniciada em 2015, com a primeira antologia, impôs um desafio. Os grandes pensadores da humanidade continuam, mas onde havia Dilma Rousseff (PT), como comédia, agora há Jair Bolsonaro (PL), como tragédia. A12

Padrão de cuidado da saúde mental no país se altera

BRASIL NO DIVÃ
Apesar dos desafios no acesso a tratamentos de saúde mental, o país conseguiu mudar em duas décadas o paradigma deste tipo de cuidado, colocando o paciente no centro das políticas públicas. Ao mesmo tempo, ergueu polos de pesquisa e ensino da psiquiatria. Cotidiano B6

PM que matou Lo estava cercado por 6, afirma defesa

Cotidiano B2

Gari usa tampinhas para fazer arte no RJ

VIDA PÚBLICA
Resíduos urbanos se transformaram em peças artísticas que compõem uma exposição de obras feitas pelo gari Oseias da Matta Santos, 50. Cotidiano B4

ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje
28° 14°
0h 6h 12h 18h 24h
Hoje Amanhã
Rio 14° 30° 15° 32°
Brasília 14° 29° 15° 30°
Ribeirão 15° 33° 15° 34°
Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br



Rafaela Araújo/Folhapress

INFLAÇÃO CORRÓI 'EFEITO-AUXÍLIO' EM ELEIÇÃO MARCADA POR ESCALADA DA POBREZA

No povoado de Alagoinha (BA), família de Josefa Maria da Cruz, 62, evangélica que declara voto em Lula e reclama da alta do preço dos alimentos Política A4

Bolsonaro aposta em Michelle e auxílio no início da campanha

O presidente começará a campanha com sua equipe otimista pela expectativa do impacto eleitoral com o pagamento de benefícios sociais. A estratégia inclui ampliar o papel da primeira-dama e as agendas no Sudeste. Política A8

Celso Rocha de Barros

Com setores de peso, carta elevou o preço do golpe Política A7

Desmate avançou rumo a bolsões no atual governo

PLANETA EM TRANSE
O desmatamento nos anos Bolsonaro não só aumentou em área, na comparação com os quatro anos anteriores ao seu governo, como atingiu locais até então pouco ou nada desmatados. Ampliou a fronteira de expansão agrícola para além do arco do desmatamento e penetrou mais na floresta. Cotidiano B1

Lula pretende centrar discurso em fome e pobreza

A campanha do ex-presidente traça estratégias para conter a recuperação bolsonarista no Rio de Janeiro e em São Paulo, além dos impactos do auxílio concedido pelo governo federal. A ideia é que o petista repise o discurso adotado até agora, com foco em temas relacionados à economia, como a fome e a pobreza. Política A8



O coletor produziu 17 quadros e esculturas expostos no Galpão das Artes Urbanas, no Rio de Janeiro Eduardo Anzelli/Folhapress

EDITORIAIS A2

Ajuste sem reforma
Acerca de contração do gasto federal com servidor.

Cela trancada
Sobre projeto que barra saída temporária de presos.

semináriosfolha
7º seminário sobre câncer
HOJE E AMANHÃ 15h
Um debate fundamental sobre os novos tratamentos e a qualidade de vida do paciente oncológico
ao vivo em folha.com/oncologia
Saiba mais na página A7

Santiago Peña afirmó que va a competir electoralmente con quien sea

Wiens se lanzó y se desmarcó del modelo de lucrar desde el Estado

El oficialismo formalizó la reestructuración de su dupla presidencial para las primarias del Partido Colorado. El candidato tiene poco tiempo para darse a conocer al electorado.

PÁGINAS 2 y 3

Llamó a la unión de los paraguayos decentes
Efraín Alegre califica las internas de ANR como una lucha entre mafias

PÁGINA 5

Obra marcará un antes y un después
En el Este se espera un boom económico con el Puente de la Integración

PÁGINA 18

Procesadoras de soja paran por falta de materia prima

PÁGINA 8

COMPRA OPCIONAL 1
COLECCIÓN VUDOS DE
CERVEZA Nº 2 **G. 35.000**

COMPRA OPCIONAL 2
COLECCIÓN NEGROS
SUAVES Nº 4 **G. 60.000**

COMPRA OPCIONAL 3
COLECCIÓN PEQUEÑOS
PLACERES Nº 4 **G. 45.000**

El uruguayo también pagó para jugar
Los fiscales sabían que Marset usaba el fútbol para el lavado de dinero

PÁGINA 36

**Asunción,
abandonada,
cumple
485 años**



Simbólico. El estado del monumento en homenaje al fundador de la capital del país es el reflejo de cómo se encuentra la otrora Madre de Ciudades.

PÁGINA 16

Unidad contra el Crimen Organizado alquila su local de firma ligada a HC

PÁGINA 6

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Indonesians on UK farms 'face risk of debt bondage'

Exclusive

Fruit pickers struggle to pay huge fees charged by unlicensed brokers

Emily Dugan

Indonesian labourers picking berries on a farm that supplies Marks & Spencer, Waitrose, Sainsbury's and Tesco say they have been saddled with debts of up to £5,000 by unlicensed foreign brokers to work in Britain for a single season.

Pickers at the farm in Kent were initially given zero-hours contracts, and at least one was paid less than £300 a week after the cost of using a caravan was deducted, according to payslips and other documents seen as part of a Guardian investigation.

The fees they pay to secure work include flights and visas, but multiple labourers said they also faced thousands of pounds in extra charges from Indonesian brokers who promised substantial earnings. Under UK employment law, it is illegal to charge

workers fees for finding them jobs. One worker described how he staked his family home in Bali as surety on the debt and fears losing it. "Now I'm working hard only to pay back that money," he said. "I cannot sleep sometimes. I have a family who need my support to eat and meanwhile, I think about the debt."

Brexit and the war in Ukraine have created chronic labour shortages in the UK agricultural sector, pushing desperate farms and recruitment agencies to look further afield than Europe, where it can be harder to track the methods local brokers use to find workers.

The revelations raise the prospect of fruit pickers being trapped in debt bondage, preventing them from leaving work without risking financial ruin. Migrant rights experts said the situation puts workers at risk of what is essentially forced labour.

The Home Office and the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority (GLAA) are looking into the allegations, and the supermarkets have launched an urgent investigation into the issues raised by the Guardian.

Hundreds of Indonesian farm workers have been

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'This shows that if we don't defend free speech we live in tyranny'

Margaret Atwood on the attack on Salman Rushdie, as he begins 'long road to recovery'

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PHOTOGRAPH: DEKEL SHAPTON/THE GUARDIAN

Starmer calls for £8bn energy windfall tax

Andrew Sparrow
Phillip Inman

Keir Starmer has put a beefed-up £8bn windfall tax on energy company profits at the heart of a plan to stop people having to pay "a penny more" on fuel bills this winter.

The Labour leader confirmed that under his plan the energy price cap would be frozen at the current level, meaning that a likely 80% rise in October - taking an average household bill to about £3,600 - would not go ahead.

In a statement, Starmer said the country was facing "a national emergency" and that his party "wouldn't

let people pay a penny more" on energy bills as a result of his "fully funded plan". A typical family would save £1,000, he claimed.

He said: "Britain's cost of living crisis is getting worse, leaving people scared about how they'll get through the winter. Labour's plan to save households £1,000 this winter and invest in sustainable British energy to bring bills down in the long term is a direct response to the national economic emergency that is leaving families fearing for the future."

Starmer said the plan would cost £29bn over the winter and could be

funded by extending the scope of the current windfall tax on energy companies (raising £8bn), halting the proposed £400 payments for all households offered by the government to compensate for the price cap increase scheduled for October (saving £14bn), and lowering government interest payments on debt (saving £7bn), which Labour said would be possible because its plan would reduce inflation.

Last week Sir Ed Davey, the Liberal Democrat leader, and the former Labour prime minister Gordon Brown called for the

Anxious wait for a place at university

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