



## Viktor Orban: The American Right's New Hero REVIEW

# WSJ

## THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND



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## What's News

### World-Wide

**R**ussian state-owned energy exporter Gazprom said it would shut down the Nord Stream natural-gas pipeline to Germany for three days of maintenance later this month, ratcheting up the pressure on energy-starved Europe. **A1**

◆ **A series of explosions** rocked Crimea and a border region inside Russia, punctuating a new phase of the war in which Ukraine is targeting enemy bases and infrastructure deep behind the front line. **A5**

◆ **Preparations are** under way for Chinese leader Xi to travel to Central Asia to meet with Russia's Putin and other leaders at a regional summit in mid-September, according to people familiar with the planning. **A6**

◆ **The future of a Florida** law targeting what Gov. DeSantis considers "woke indoctrination" is now in question amid multiple legal challenges alleging that it violates freedom of speech. **A3**

◆ **A member of a group** of British Islamic State prison guards known as the "Beasties" was sentenced to life in prison for his role in the murder of American hostages in Syria. **A3**

### Business & Finance

◆ **Many of Wall Street's** biggest banks are nearing agreements to pay as much as \$200 million each and admit that their employees' use of personal messaging apps such as WhatsApp violated regulatory requirements, according to people familiar with the matter. **A1**

◆ **U.S. stocks fell**, ending the week lower and snapping a four-week stretch of gains for the S&P 500, as investors second-guessed how aggressively the Fed will need to move to tame inflation. The S&P 500, Dow and Nasdaq lost 1.3%, 0.9% and 2%, respectively, on Friday. **A1**

◆ **Warren Buffett's** Berkshire Hathaway has the green light from regulators to purchase as much as 50% of Occidental Petroleum's shares, after seeking approval for such a transaction in July. **A1**

◆ **CineWorld is preparing** to file for bankruptcy within weeks after struggling to rebuild movie-theater attendance from pandemic lows, according to people familiar with the matter. **B1**

◆ **General Motors said** it plans to reinstate its quarterly dividend, after suspending it in April 2020 to preserve cash during the early days of the pandemic. **B1**

## OPINION

### The SEC's Gensler On the Regulation Of Crypto **A13**

## JOURNAL REPORT

### Travel: When Couples Disagree About Vacation Plans **R1-10**

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## Strike by Tube Workers Leaves London Less Than Jolly



**CRUNCH:** Much of London's transportation network came to a halt Friday as thousands of subway workers went on strike after negotiations with the government stalled over pay and working conditions. Crowds thronged to buses and taxis. **A7**

## Largest Banks to Pay Fines In WhatsApp Messages Probe

By Dave Michaels

**WASHINGTON**—Many of Wall Street's biggest banks are nearing agreements to pay as much as \$200 million each and admit that their employees' use of personal messaging apps such as WhatsApp violated regulatory requirements, according to people familiar with the matter.

The total amount of fines

will likely top \$1 billion, the people said, and will be announced by the end of September. The roster of banks poised to pay \$200 million each includes Bank of America Corp., Barclays PLC, Citigroup Inc., Deutsche Bank AG, Goldman Sachs Group Inc., Morgan Stanley and UBS Group AG, the people said.

Jefferies Financial Group Inc. and Nomura Holdings Inc.

are nearing settlements with regulators but will pay lower fines, reflecting their smaller size, the people said.

The Securities and Exchange Commission and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission plan to announce the deals with the banks by Sept. 30, the end of the government's current fiscal year. That would put the penalties in the government's annual

enforcement statistics.

Spokesmen for the SEC and CFTC declined to comment. Spokespeople for the banks declined to comment. A spokesman for UBS couldn't be reached.

The agencies' investigations examined how traders and brokers used encrypted apps such as WhatsApp to discuss investment terms, client meet-

Please turn to page A8

## Adderall Opens Door to Relapse

Harlan Band got the amphetamine through an online startup with a single video call

By Rolfe Winkler

Harlan Band had turned a corner. He was 29 years old and back in school, catching up on algebra and Shakespeare, earning A's, seeking to put a lost decade behind him and looking ahead to studying medicine.

That was the story Mr. Band told his family. He also said it was the reason he sought help from Done Global Inc., an online mental-health company that prescribes stimulants like Adderall in video calls as short as 10 minutes.

In his first appointment

with Shabnam Rahimi, a nurse practitioner working for Done, Mr. Band said he had been diagnosed with attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder as a boy, according to medical records reviewed by The Wall Street Journal. Now that Mr. Band was in college, he had trouble focusing on his studies and believed the pills would help. He didn't reveal that he was a recovering drug addict.

After the evaluation, the Los Angeles man picked up a 30-day supply of generic Adderall from Walgreens.

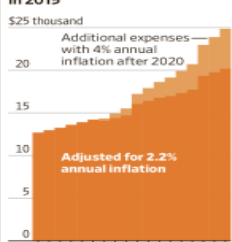
Mr. Band's use of the pre-

Please turn to page A9

## Child-Rearing Costs Jump

Inflation fuels rise in expenses for raising a family. **A3**

Estimated annual family expenses for a child born in 2015



Note: Estimates are for a middle-income two-parent married family with two children, in which the younger child was born in 2015. Source: Brookings Institution

## Buffett Is Cleared To Buy as Much as Half of Occidental

By Benoît Morenne  
and Ryan DeZemmer

Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway Inc. has the green light from regulators to purchase as much as 50% of Occidental Petroleum Corp.'s shares, after seeking approval for such a transaction in July.

In a regulatory filing Friday, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission said that Berkshire Hathaway had asked for and received its permission to buy up to 50% of the driller's shares. Berkshire has been loading up on Occidental's shares this year, amassing roughly 20% of the company's stock, public filings show, leaving many analysts to speculate whether Mr. Buffett

would seek control of the company, one of the largest U.S. oil producers.

Occidental's shares jumped to lead stock gains among the S&P 500 Friday, up 9.9% after the publication of the ruling. The company's stock has risen about 146% this year, far and away tops in the S&P 500 stock index, which is down 11% this year.

Berkshire requested the authorization on July 11 and said at the time it owned approximately 18.72% of the outstanding common shares of Occidental, according to the federal ruling. Berkshire has since added shares and earlier this month said in a securities filing that it held roughly 20% of

Please turn to page A4

## Russia to Shut Off Gas Again, Testing Europe

By Georgi Kantchev

Russian state-owned energy exporter Gazprom PJSC said it would shut down the Nord Stream natural-gas pipeline to Germany for three days of maintenance later this month, ratcheting up the pressure on energy-starved Europe.

The unexpected move could complicate efforts by Germany and much of Europe to fill gas reserves and stave off widespread rationing to keep its population warm through the long continental winter—and avert factory shutdowns.

Moscow has already throttled back deliveries over the pipeline—its main gas link to

Europe—to 20% of its maximum capacity, citing technical issues with its turbines. German and European officials have dismissed these explanations and have called the gas cuts an economic attack in retaliation for supporting Ukraine in its war with Russia.

Russia, and the Soviet Union before it, spent more than a generation building energy links into the heart of Europe. Cheap Siberian gas coursed reliably through pipelines for decades into power plants and home furnaces, with billions of

Please turn to page A5

◆ **New U.S. aid package** to Ukraine includes drones..... **A5**

## EXCHANGE



### WAX ON

Private-equity firms are buying car washes and other smaller companies. **B1**



SIMON SCHAMA

## My friend Salman Rushdie and the sacred right to irreverence



LIFE & ARTS

'Tech can change the world'  
Anne Boden: Lunch with the FT  
LIFE & ARTS



A matter of taste  
Choosing an interior designer  
HOUSE & HOME



Out of the bottle  
The delight of young vintages  
LIFE & ARTS



Tragedy of the birds  
Virus that flies under the radar  
LIFE & ARTS



# Wall St warnings over markets rally

◆ Hedge funds drive gains ◆ Little sign of faith in the long term ◆ Return of meme craze

ERIC PLATT AND ORTENCA ALIAJ

Investors are raising red flags over a stock market rally that has added more than \$7tn in value to US equities since June, with many of the gains being driven by hedge funds unwinding bearish bets rather than newfound conviction that it is time to buy.

Traders at Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley and JPMorgan Chase have warned clients that the bounce in shares is not underpinned by confidence that the surge can last, according to interviews with traders and private brokerage reports seen by the Financial Times.

Instead, the rally – including the fren-

zied boom-and-bust in meme stocks that recalls last year's market ructions – has been fuelled by hedge funds covering short bets structured to profit from the market decline this year, they said.

Morgan Stanley and JPMorgan have found that clients have been selling out of long-term wagers, suggesting they have little faith that the rally can last. Some are already betting that the recovery will peter out, with Goldman's hedge fund clients reloading bearish bets.

"The rhetoric has shifted to be less bearish, but the flows we've seen have been all short covering," said a banker at one of the largest prime brokers. "If they really believed in the rally, they would

be buying longs and we don't see that." Justin Cummings, a portfolio manager at family office Savoy Capital, said: "There is no real follow-up from long only or fundamental buyers, who are largely on the sidelines."

In recent days, investors have been captivated by an uptick in options trading volumes as well as a rally in the shares of companies hardest hit in the sell-off this year, including many of the stocks heavily shorted by hedge funds.

In a sign of the tenuous picture, markets lurched lower yesterday in a volatile session with the Nasdaq Composite down over 2 per cent in midday trading. The S&P 500 fell more than 1 per cent,



Wall Street traders have warned that the gyrations could yet increase

taking its losses for the year back above 11 per cent. Dealers warned gyrations could yet increase, particularly as a chunk of options expired yesterday.

Nowhere has the market tumult been more conspicuous than in the shares of troubled retailer Bed Bath & Beyond, a meme stock favourite that has once again lit up message boards on Reddit.

Its share price briefly shot up to \$30 a share on Wednesday – more than doubling for the year. Since then it has crashed back down to about \$10 after investors cashed out, including university student Jake Freeman who made \$11.0m trading the stock.

Markets pages 13 & 14

## Party premier Marin rejects drugs claims

Finnish prime minister Sanna Marin holds a press conference in Helsinki, Finland, yesterday after a video of her partying exuberantly with friends went viral on social media.

The 36-year-old, who became the world's youngest elected government leader in 2019, agreed to a drugs test to prove she had not taken narcotics, she said she had never participated in drugs, not "even in my teenage years", amid accusations from opposition politicians and a member of her coalition.

Marin added: "I believe that Finnish society... can withstand me singing and dancing with my friends."

Finnish PM page 4



For Telegram, @FTNewsAlert



## Neumann granted second chance to change the world

Adam Neumann, whose revolution in office working turned into a cautionary tale of start-up hubris, this week won backing for his next big idea. Less than three years after WeWork's valuation crashed along with its listing plan, Flow pledges a seismic shift in residential property. The injection from Netscape founder Marc Andreessen puts a value of \$1bn on the project, which aims to address housing shortages, urban talent drain and human longing.

Big Read ■ PAGE 6

## Putin and Macron clear way for safety mission to Ukrainian nuclear plant

VICTOR MALLET — PARIS  
ROMAN GLEARCHYK — KYIV  
POLINA IVANOVA — BERLIN

Vladimir Putin and Emmanuel Macron have agreed to push ahead with an urgent safety mission by the International Atomic Energy Agency to the Zaporizhzhia nuclear plant in Ukraine, Europe's largest, which both Kyiv and Moscow warn is at risk from the fighting around it.

A French official said the Russian president had agreed in a call with his French counterpart yesterday that the inspection could visit from Ukrainian-held territory – as demanded by Kyiv – and would not be obliged to access the power station from the zone invaded and controlled by Russian forces, although the Kremlin did not confirm this.

"The two presidents will talk again in

the coming days on this matter after technical experts have discussed it and before the deployment of the mission," the Elysée Palace said.

The mission, which the French official said needed to happen "very quickly", will also require at least a temporary ceasefire for the inspectors to see the site and make their recommendations for ensuring nuclear safety.

"It's not easy to negotiate a proper ceasefire, but there must be assurances that the IAEA mission can take place in secure conditions, which means the cessation of combat for at least the duration of the visit," the French official said.

A successful ceasefire and IAEA visit would follow an accord to allow grain for world markets to be exported from Odessa and other Ukrainian ports blocked by Russia. The tentative deal on the IAEA visit comes after weeks of

reported shelling at the nuclear plant, which Russia occupied soon after it invaded six months ago.

Kyiv and Moscow have accused each other of striking the plant in southern Ukraine. The claims have triggered fears over a potential catastrophe in a country that suffered the world's worst nuclear accident, in Chernobyl in 1986 when Kyiv was under Soviet rule.

Macron has had many conversations with Putin to try to end the war. The call yesterday, which lasted more than an hour, was their 22nd exchange since last December, the Elysée said.

According to the Kremlin, Putin told Macron that shelling of the plant, which he blamed on Kyiv, created the risk of "large-scale catastrophe".

Russian media exiles page 2

Putin to attend G20 page 3

FT View page 8

## World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Aug 19	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Aug 19	Prev	%Chg	Yield (%)	Aug 19	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	4221.44	4283.24	-1.22	\$/£	1.064	1.013	5.0%	US 2 yr	3.25	3.21	0.04
Nasdaq Composite	12713.36	12965.34	-1.95	\$/€	1.180	1.200	-1.7%	US 10 yr	2.98	2.86	0.13
Dow Jones Ind	33721.14	33989.04	-0.82	\$/¥	0.851	0.844	0.8%	US 30 yr	3.22	3.12	0.10
FTSE100	7560.37	7541.05	0.11	\$/HK\$	137.115	135.210	1.4%	UK 2 yr	2.80	2.54	0.06
FTSE MIB	10773.83	10763.91	0.09	\$/INR	161.837	162.305	-0.3%	UK 10 yr	2.41	2.31	0.10
FTSE AEX	4157.79	4162.11	-0.10	\$/R\$	0.963	0.987	-2.4%	UK 30 yr	2.71	2.62	0.09
CAC 40	6456.83	6567.40	-0.94					JPN 2 yr	-0.09	-0.09	0.00
Nikkei	28603.33	28942.14	-0.94					JPN 10 yr	0.20	0.19	0.00
Hang Seng	19773.83	19763.91	0.05					JPN 30 yr	1.67	1.69	-0.02
MSCI World	2026.41	2022.87	0.13					GER 2 yr	0.81	0.73	0.08
MSCI EM	1009.58	1015.59	-0.59					GER 10 yr	1.23	1.10	0.13
MSCI ACWI	655.39	656.07	-0.05					GER 30 yr	1.40	1.29	0.11
FT MIB 2000	1604.89	1601.49	0.21								
FT MIB 5000	4360.36	4322.98	0.25								

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A Nikkei Company





Young Ukrainians dancing in front of Odesa's Opera Theater in June for a video intended to send a message about what has been lost because of Russia's invasion.

## Odesa Is Defiant. It Is Also Putin's Obsession.

Article by **ROGER COHEN**  
Photographs by **LAETITIA VANCOEN**  
ODESA, Ukraine — The Odesa Fine Arts Museum, a colonnaded early-19th-century palace, stands almost empty. Early in Russia's war on Ukraine, its staff removed more than 12,000 works for safe-keeping. One large portrait remained, depicting Catherine the Great, the Russian empress and founder of Odesa, as a just and victorious goddess.

Seen from below in Dmitry Levitzky's painting, the empress is a towering figure in a pale gown with a golden train. The ships behind her symbolize Russia's victory over the Ottoman Turks in 1792. "She's textbook Russian imperial propaganda," said Gera Grudev, a curator. "The painting's too large to move, and besides, leaving it shows the Russian occupiers we don't care."  
The decision to let Catherine's

### Key Port Embodies All He Aims to Destroy

portrait hang in isolation in the first room of the shuttered museum reflects a sly Odesan bravura: an empress left to contemplate how the brutality of Vladimir V. Putin, the Russian president who likens himself to a latter-day czar,

has alienated the largely Russian-speaking population of this Black Sea port, established by her in 1794 as Moscow's long-coveted conduit from the steppe to the Mediterranean.

Odesa, grain port to the world, city of creative mingling, scarred metropolis steeped in Jewish history, is the big prize in the war and a personal obsession for Mr. Putin. In a speech three days before ordering the Russian invasion, Mr.

Putin singled out Odesa with particular venom, making clear his intention to capture "criminals" there and "bring them to justice." Mr. Putin believed at the outset of the war that he could decapitate the Ukrainian government and

Continued on Page 10

**CRIMEAN ESCALATION** A wave of attacks has punctured the Kremlin's narrative of the war. PAGE 9

## Migrant Influx Tests New York As a Sanctuary

By **ANDY NEWMAN**  
and **RAÚL VILCHIS**

The four buses crossed into Manhattan on Wednesday morning and turned off a bustling avenue onto a shadowed side street in Midtown. The names printed on the buses — "VLP Charter," "Coastal Crew Change" — gave no hint of their mission. Only Texas license plates gave them away.

One by one, their riders stepped out into an unfamiliar city, some tired but smiling, others just tired: men wearing backpacks, women clutching babies and blankets, children hanging onto teddy bears. One man wore no shoes, just socks.

The city's immigrant affairs commissioner, Manuel Castro, shook everyone's hand. A man in a green T-shirt high-fived the children. Tables were laden with snacks, sanitizer, clothes, brightly colored book bags. People with clipboards proffered papers to fill out to earn a new identity: In addition to being undocumented immigrants and asylum seekers, the new arrivals would also join the ranks of homeless New Yorkers.

The influx of migrants to the city this spring and summer, most fleeing crime and cratering economies in Central and South America, has tested New York's reputation as a world sanctuary. And it shows no sign of slowing, thanks in part to Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas, whose decision to send busloads after busloads to Washington and New York to goad Demo-

Continued on Page 15



TODD HESLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### A Vision in the Desert

Michael Heizer unveils a mile-and-a-half sculpture in a Nevada valley. Arts & Leisure, Page 10.

## People Are Flocking to Pickleball, and the E.R.

By **MATT RICHTER**

During a recent pickleball match, Nish Nadaraja, 50, made a quick lunge for the ball. It was just a few feet away, but Mr. Nadaraja, an entrepreneur in Northern California, said he felt his feet tangle and he began falling to the pavement "in slow motion." He still hoped to brace himself with his knees and make a play with his paddle.

Nope. "I face-planted," he said. The pain was mild and Mr.

Nadaraja played through it, although his wife (and doubles opponent) thought he should have rested. "I did need antibiotics," he conceded.

It was another wound stemming from a national sensation that shares a name with a snack or a sandwich topping but that is proving a bit more hazardous than sometimes advertised. As a flock of middle-aged players migrate from tennis or start fresh with an easy-to-learn sport, the aches are defying the game's low-impact reputation.

Pickleball injuries were on the rise even before the pandemic. One analysis, published in 2019 in The Journal of Emergency Medicine, estimated that there were 19,000 pickleball injuries in 2017, with 90 percent of them affecting people 50 and older.

Part Ping-Pong, tennis, badminton and chess, pickleball involves hitting a whiffle-ball-like sphere with a paddle over a net. The game, which is highly social, is typically played as doubles in a

Continued on Page 21

## In U.S. Politics, Even the Phrase 'The American Dream' Divides

By **JAZMINE ULLOA**

Juan Ciscomani, a Republican who washed cars to help his Mexican immigrant father pay the bills and is now running for Congress in Arizona, has been leaning on a simple three-word phrase throughout his campaign — "the American dream."

To him, the American dream, a nearly 100-year-old idea weighted with meaning and memory, has become something not so much to aspire to but to defend from attack.

President Biden and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi are, he says in one ad, "destroying the American dream" with "a border crisis, soaring inflation and schools that don't teach the good things about America."

For decades, politicians have used the phrase "the American dream" to describe a promise of economic opportunity and upward mobility, of prosperity through hard work. It has been a promise so powerful that it drew immigrants from around the world, who went on to fulfill it generation after generation. Political figures in both parties employed the phrase to promote both their own policies and their own biographies.

Now, a new crop of Republican candidates and elected officials are using the phrase in a different way, invoking the same promise but arguing in speeches, ads and mailings that the American dream is dying or in danger, threatened by what they see as rampant crime, unchecked illegal immigration, burdensome government



TODD ANDERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Many supporters of Donald J. Trump have co-opted the phrase, pairing it with MAGA.

regulations and liberal social policies. Many of these Republicans are people of color, including immigrants and the children of immigrants, for whom the phrase first popularized in 1931 has a deep resonance.

To politicians of old, "the American dream" was a seemingly optimistic rhetorical device, albeit one that often obscured the economic and racial barriers that made achieving it impossible for many. To the Republican candidates embracing it today, the phrase has taken on an ominous and more pessimistic tone, echoing the party's leader, former President Donald J. Trump, who said in 2015 that "the American dream is dead." In the same way that many Trump supporters have tried to turn the American flag into an emblem of the right, so too have these Repub-

Continued on Page 17

### INTERNATIONAL 4-13

#### Betting on Crypto Over Pesos

Many people in Argentina see digital money as a less risky choice than the national currency, whose value has plunged as inflation has soared. PAGE 4

#### When Rapists Go Free in India

A court unleashed a new wave of trauma when it suddenly freed 11 Hindu men who were serving life terms for the gang rape of a Muslim woman. PAGE 6

#### Dutch Dairy Farmers Protest

Goals of cutting polluting nitrogen emissions in the Netherlands, where cow waste is responsible for the largest share, have provoked an uproar. PAGE 6



### SUNDAY STYLES

#### The Promise of Luminous Skin

How Weleda grows the plants that go into its popular Skin Food cream. PAGE 4

### NATIONAL 14-21

#### As Alaska Warms, It Burns

Lightning, drought and flammable tundra make more wildfires. PAGE 14

### ARTS & LEISURE

#### Festival Innovator Steps Down

During 12 ambitious years, Francesca Zambello transformed Glimmerglass, focusing on diversity and other complex issues. Now she's moving on. PAGE 5

### SPORTS 27-29

#### Retirement, Sort Of

The revered Cardinals catcher Yadier Molina will manage a team in Venezuela. His qualifications? "I've managed for 19 years in the big leagues." PAGE 27

### SUNDAY OPINION

#### Frank Bruni

PAGE 3



### METROPOLITAN

#### Michael K. Williams's Legacy

The actor who played Omar in "The Wire" devoted himself to making Brooklyn's Black communities safer. PAGE 1

#### Bucking Clichés in New Jersey

The country's longest-running weekly rodeo can be found in the Garden State. It's not as strange as it sounds. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### He Used Viral Fame as a Lure

Dan Price was applauded for paying a minimum salary of \$70,000 at his Seattle company and criticizing corporate greed. The adulation helped to hide and enable his behavior. PAGE 1

#### Inflation on the Wing

Also known as the Chicken Connoisseur, the YouTube star Elijah Quashie, of the hit British show "The Pengest Munch," is trying to cope with the sharp rise in the cost of his poultry favorite. PAGE 3







**RALFY THE PLUG**, aka Devante Caldwell, wears a medallion depicting his brother Drakeo the Ruler, who was killed in December at an L.A. music festival.

A TIMES INVESTIGATION

## ‘IT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE A SAFE PLACE’

After the Astroworld catastrophe and stabbing of an L.A. rapper, Live Nation faces questions over how it can keep concert fans and artists out of harm’s way

By August Brown

In December, the South L.A. rapper Drakeo the Ruler arrived in a Rolls-Royce to perform at the Once Upon a Time in L.A. festival at the Banc of California Stadium. For the 28-year-old Drakeo, born Darrell Caldwell, the show was a triumphant return to the stage after three years’ incarceration. The festival, headlined by rappers Snoop Dogg, Ice Cube and YG, was overseen by mega-promoter Live Nation and local organizers C3 Presents, Jeff Shuman and Bobby Dee Presents.

What happened that night would become just the latest in a series of high-profile acts of violence that have shadowed the concert business, and the world’s largest promotion company, for years.

Drakeo and his brother Devante Caldwell, a 27-year-old rapper who performs as Ralfy the Plug, passed through two security checkpoints to enter the backstage artist area off Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard. The first was a booth of unarmed staffers checking passes. [See Live Nation, A10]

## Russia’s ‘most hidden crime’ in Ukraine

Rapes by occupying forces are vastly underreported, authorities say

By Laura King

**MAKARIV, Ukraine** — The Russian soldier taunted her: Your friend, he sneered, is lying on the floor, raped and naked and dead.

S., a Ukrainian writer and government worker in her early 60s, froze at his words. Her neighbor Tetiana, a bold, dark-haired 37-year-old widow, had quickly attracted the attention of Russian soldiers who, within days of the Feb. 24 invasion, captured and occupied the small town of Makariv, about 30 miles west of the capital, Kyiv.

“She would defy them,” said S., still shaken and sorrowful as she described the harrowing events of five months earlier, before late-winter chill gave way to spring, then high summer. “She would tell them: ‘I’m [See Ukraine, A4]



**A RESIDENT** of the town of Makariv, Ukraine, who asked to be identified only as S., says a Russian soldier taunted her after her neighbor was raped and killed.

## Luna has edge on Villanueva, new poll shows

As sheriff’s race splits along partisan lines, the challenger gets a lift from his strength among Democrats.

By ALENE TCHERKEDYAN

Retired Long Beach Police Chief Robert Luna has an early edge over incumbent Alex Villanueva in the runoff for Los Angeles County sheriff, with support for the candidates falling largely along political lines, according to a new poll by UC Berkeley co-sponsored by the Los Angeles Times.

Luna is favored strongly by liberals and Democrats, with 46% of voters who identify as strongly liberal saying they’d choose him and only 7% supporting Villanueva.

The sheriff, meanwhile, is more popular among conservative and Republican voters: 54% of voters who described themselves as strongly conservative said they’d vote to reelect Villanueva if the election were held today. Only 13% said they’d select Luna.

“The question then, is where would you rather be?” said Mark DiCamillo, who directed the poll for Berkeley’s Institute of Governmental Studies and has been surveying California voters for decades.

“In L.A. County, Democrats outnumber Republicans nearly 3 to 1. Villanueva is not doing well among that huge constituency. That’s why I think in the early stages here, he’s got some problems.”

Overall, 31% of L.A. County voters support Luna, while 27% support [See Poll, A16]

ANALYSIS

## As global health threats evolved, the CDC didn’t

By MELISSA HEALY

Vanquishing disease is in the DNA of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the federal agency that in its first decade of existence oversaw the eradication of smallpox, the elimination of malaria and the stamping out of polio as threats to Americans’ health.

But as the director of the 75-year-old agency acknowledged last week, the CDC hasn’t evolved to keep up with the faster speed and higher stakes of germs in the modern world.

In the face of a historic threat — the emergence of a novel virus that has killed more than 1 million Americans — “our performance did not reliably meet expectations,” Dr. Rochelle Walensky told CDC employees in a bracing call for change.

The arrival of monkeypox has already brought the agency’s creaky machinery

in for further criticism. Failure to improve could spell extinction for a public health organization that has long been a model for the world, experts said.

[See CDC, A13]

COLUMN ONE

*They dig a job that is fossil fueled*

Paleontologists pile into trucks in L.A. and set out for scorching southern Utah to hunt for stegosaurus bones.

By CORINNE PURTILL  
REPORTING FROM  
BITTER CREEK, UTAH

**A** dental scaler, that hook-ended metal tool a dentist uses to chip away plaque, makes the exact same sound against a stegosaurus femur that it does on a human tooth.

You can’t always hear it. A fossil quarry is deafeningly loud when the jackhammers and rotary hammers are going. The relentless clank-clank of hand chisels knocking away ancient sandstone can ring in your ears long after you’ve set down the hammer and hiked back to camp.

But the closer the bones get to the surface, the quieter a quarry gets. The dinosaur’s remains are more vulnerable during excavation than at any point since the animal died 150 million years ago. Gossamer with the chisel and a few priceless eons of natural history could crumble under your work gloves.

Nature takes at least [See Fossil, A14]

### ‘First woman mayor’: Does L.A. care?

Bass and Caruso sharpen their efforts to appeal to female voters in their runoff. CALIFORNIA, B1

### The words of Salman Rushdie

The attack on a writer who has defied a fatwa reminds us of the stakes, Pat Morrison writes. CALIFORNIA, E2

### Teen swimmer making waves

La Mirada’s Kayla Han made a splash at the Olympic trials and has high hopes for Paris 2024. SPORTS, D7

### Weather:

Clouds, then sun. L.A. Basin: 81/63. B10

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**Lengths of loyalty**  
Yes, Trump voters are able to change their minds about him **OUTLOOK**



**Refrigerator math**  
Food prices are still rising. Here's how Americans are getting by. **BUSINESS**



**Another test run**  
Commanders lose to Chiefs in second of three preseason games **SPORTS**

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# The Washington Post

Pieces may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington



Some t-storms 83/72 • Tomorrow: Heavy t-storms 83/70 **C12**

Democracy Dies in Darkness

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JOSHUA LOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Kaniya Jaranilla, left, and her brother, Eman Henry, search for rocks along the beach. They were sitting in the back seat of a vehicle on

## They saw their parents die. Now they must live with it.

Before she shares a photo on Snapchat or posts a video to TikTok, the eighth-grader thinks about the man she watched shoot her father.

Kaniya Jaranilla, 13, has feared for years that he would find her family again. It's made her so paranoid that when she sends friends pictures of herself in her family's apartment, Kaniya blurs out the background first. On TikTok, she never tags her location or shows details that could reveal the town where she now lives in hiding.

At least 2,400 children in Chicago lost parents to gun violence over 5 years. Some watched it happen.

BY JOHN WOODROW COX  
IN CHICAGO

Kaniya's accounts are private, but that offers little comfort. She knows what the man can do, because she saw him do it.

Her memories of that day return to her in snapshots now: She is 7, sitting in the back seat of the Chevy sedan next to her 8-month-old brother, Eman, who is strapped into his car seat. Her father, Eric Henry, is driving; her mother, Kashe Jaranilla, is next to him. They're parking along the curb near their apartment building.

SEE WITNESSES ON A5

## As covid surged, Iran cut corners on vaccine

Firm close to supreme leader won approval for its yet-unproven shots

BY YEGANEH TORBATT

As Iranian regulators considered endorsing a locally developed coronavirus vaccine a year ago, a top health official issued a stern warning, saying the test results were insufficient and the vaccine's approval could undermine efforts to contain the country's raging epidemic.

Deputy Health Minister Farid Najafi wrote to his boss that allowing use of the vaccine by the general public before it met scientific standards "is a serious and historic decision that will determine the future of public confidence in the health system."

But the vaccine had influential backers. It was the highly touted project of a company called Barkat, part of a sprawling corporate empire close to Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

Less than a week later, Health Minister Saeed Namaki announced that the vaccine had received emergency approval. At

the time, Barkat had not even begun its Phase 3 clinical trial, meant to confirm the vaccine's effectiveness and identify possible side effects, Iranian researchers later reported in a medical journal. That trial started two days later, the researchers said. The results are still not public.

In approving Barkat's vaccine, the government demonstrated how a largely unaccountable Iranian state often pursues policies that benefit those connected to the regime, speciously identifying the Iranian elite's interests with those of the public. But rarely had the stakes been higher.

At the time, Iran was suffering the Middle East's worst coronavirus outbreak and was on the brink of its deadliest wave yet. Government officials cut corners to expedite a yet-unproven vaccine that would be highly profitable for Khamenei's favored conglomerate, financial documents show, even as the supreme leader barred the import of some Western-made vaccines, and as imports of other vaccines encountered delays. Yet another vaccine being partly developed in Iran had also been moving toward regulatory approval, but the Barkat vaccine

SEE VACCINE ON A20

## RUSSIA'S GAMBLE

## Moscow's spies misread Ukraine, misled Kremlin

Reluctance to upset Putin, reliance on self-serving sources helped turn a lightning attack into a slog

BY GREG MILLER  
AND CATHERINE BELTON

KYIV, UKRAINE — In the final days before the invasion of Ukraine, Russia's security service began sending cryptic instructions to informants in Kyiv. Pack up and get out of the capital, the Kremlin collaborators were told, but leave behind the keys to your homes.

The directions came from senior officers in a unit of Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB) with a prosaic name — the Department of Operational Information — but an ominous assignment: ensure the decapitation of the Ukrainian government and oversee the installation of a pro-Russian regime.

The messages were a measure of the confidence in that audacious plan. So certain were FSB operatives that they would soon control the levers of power in Kyiv, according to Ukrainian and Western security officials, that they spent the waning days before the war arranging safe houses or accommodations in informants' apartments and other locations for the planned influx of persons.

SEE RUSSIA ON A14



The Moscow headquarters of Russia's Federal Security Service. The agency gave President Vladimir Putin rosy assessments that Ukraine's masses would welcome Russian soldiers and the government would collapse, according to sensitive materials obtained by Ukrainian and other security services.

Anxiety grows: Tension looms over possible attack on plant. **A12**

Zaporizhzhia plant: What could happen at the nuclear facility. **A19**

Hello from Texas: U.S. donors pay to add messages to bombs. **A19**

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OBITUARIES.....C12  
STOCKS.....C8

TRAVEL.....F1  
WEATHER.....C12  
WORLD NEWS.....A18

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0 70628 27100 7



## Watson settles with NFL in personal conduct case

Browns QB now banned 11 games, fined \$5M amid sexual misconduct allegations. **In Sports**

## Talk about scene stealers! 10 movie moments we love

We rank favorites from this summer's films – but watch out, some are spoilers. **In Life**

## Naughty or nice? Impact of inflation on holidays

Retailers probably will have lots of lower-cost items and fuller shelves, analysts say, but goods like game consoles could be hard to get. **In Money**

# USA TODAY

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ADAM MONACELLI/  
USA TODAY NETWORK

### SEARCH OF MAR-A-LAGO

## Parts of affidavit may be released

Judge gives DOJ a week to prepare redacted copy

Bart Jansen, Ella Lee and Kevin Johnson  
USA TODAY

A federal magistrate has set up the possible release of a heavily edited version of the Justice Department affidavit authorizing the search of former President Donald Trump's Florida estate, ordering government lawyers to provide a redacted copy of the document for his consideration by next week.

U.S. Magistrate Bruce Reinhart said Thursday that he would decide on the release after reviewing the redacted copy of the detailed document that the government used as the basis for the unprecedented search.



The Justice Department has opposed unveiling the Mar-a-Lago affidavit. ANDRES LEIVA/USA TODAY NETWORK

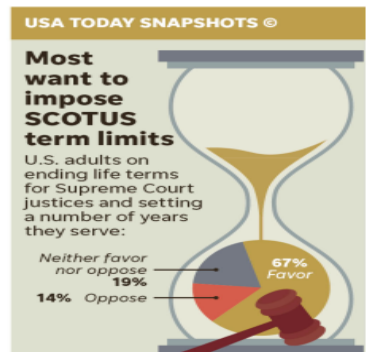
"This is going to be a considerate, careful process," Reinhart told attorneys at the close of a hearing after a consortium of media companies pushed for the document's public release.

The Justice Department has opposed the affidavit's release, arguing that it would provide a "roadmap" to its investigation and place the inquiry and witnesses in possible jeopardy.

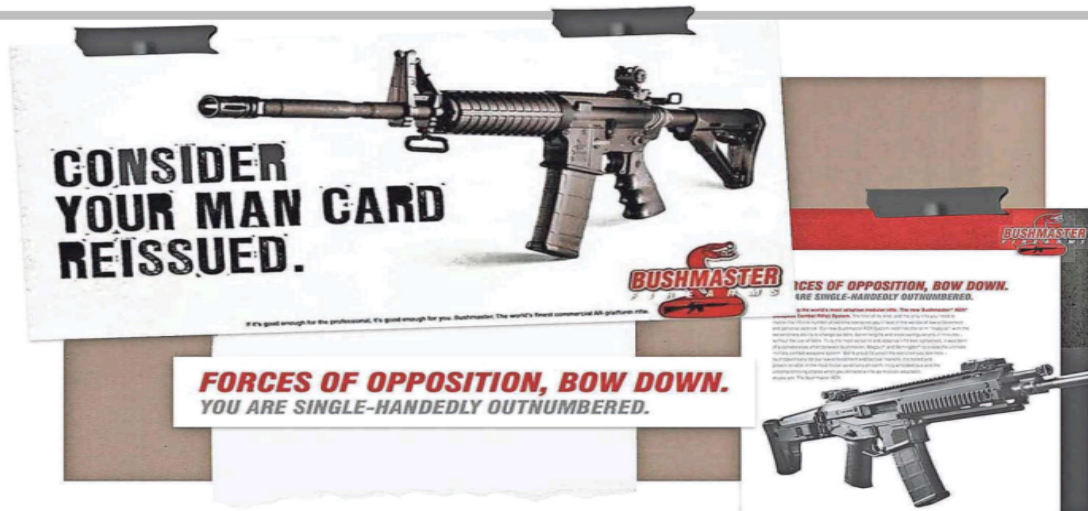
See **AFFIDAVIT**, Page 6A



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PAGE 2A



## Gun ad crackdown needed, critics say

Safety advocates, some Dems call marketing deceptive as sales soar

Nick Penzenstadler and Amritpal Kaur Sandhu-Longoria USA TODAY

Taurus pistols promise to "win the fight" with home intruders; Benelli tactical shotguns are ready to defend "Iraq, Afghanistan, your living room"; and you might consider buying Wilson Combat's \$2,500 "Urban Super Sniper" model rifle that is so precise its .223 caliber rounds can hit within an inch at 100 yards. A USA TODAY review of thousands of gun company magazine advertisements spanning decades shows a gradual marketing shift from guns as tools for hunting to guns as necessities to protect your home and your family. The inflection point – the moment self-defense came to dominate – has been pegged by researchers to about 2011, two years after President Barack Obama took office with a platform that included gun control.

That shift is driving efforts to slow a different trend: Annual gun sales peaked during the coronavirus pandemic, with more than 21.5 million sold in 2020. Another 19 million were sold in 2021, the second-highest ever recorded. Democrats and advocates seeking to address gun violence argue that owning a gun does not make your home safer, a case for false advertising, and that marketing offensive "tactical operations" with military-grade weapons constitutes unlawful use of the product.

Just as Joe Camel and the Marlboro Man became flashpoints for a crackdown on cigarette ads in the 1990s, several images are dominating the national debate. Among them is a series of ads from Remington about a "combat"

See **GUN ADS**, Page 3A

### Handful of images dominate debate

Take a closer look at five ad campaigns that alarmed critics and changed laws. **3A**

PHOTO ILLUSTRATIONS: ANDREA BRUNTY/USA TODAY NETWORK; PHOTOS PROVIDED BY U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

### PREGNANT BUT UNEQUAL

## Care inequalities rooted in the system



The only hospital in Hancock County, Ga., sits abandoned as rural communities of color increasingly find themselves with few options for maternal health care. RITA HARPER FOR USA TODAY

### Mapping the care gap

For women of color across the nation, the disparities, and the risks, are stark. Full-page graphic, **4A**

### ABOUT THIS SERIES PART 3 OF 3

This USA TODAY project examines the lack of maternal health care in America's rural communities of color.

Rural communities suffer from a history of neglect

Nada Hassanein  
USA TODAY

Several years ago, a group of five Black grandmothers in rural Alabama went to the office of their congresswoman, U.S. Rep. Terri Sewell.

They had a simple question: Why did their daughters have to travel so far to have their babies?

Maternity wards at the hospitals where they lived were shutting down, and moms weren't getting prenatal care.

For Sewell, it was a wake-up call. She calls those grandmothers a "driving force" behind her efforts to save Alabama's rural hospitals. Less than a third of the state's 67 counties have a labor and delivery unit, she said.

"So often, these labor and delivery units are the first to go to cut costs, to keep the ER open, as if those services are somehow optional. And they're absolutely not," said Sewell, who helped

See **SYSTEM**, Page 5A



## Estados Unidos, listo para el regreso a la Luna

Inicia una nueva era en la carrera espacial: prepara el viaje inaugural del programa Artemis, que propone enviar misiones tripuladas a la Luna y a Marte. **Página 4**



## NO LOGRAN FRENAR EL AVANCE DEL FUEGO EN EL DELTA DEL PARANÁ

—sociedad

Se quemaron 34.000 hectáreas en los últimos tres días; el Gobierno envió a las Fuerzas Armadas para sumarse al combate de los incendios. **Página 30**

## UN SÁBADO INESPERADO EN EL TORNEO DE LA URBA

—deportes

Hubo varios batacazos de los equipos más rezagados; el SIC perdió con Regatas Bella Vista y Newman apenas empató con Pucará; agónico triunfo de Hindú. **Página 6**

# LA NACION

DOMINGO 21 DE AGOSTO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

## El fiscal prepara un pedido de al menos 10 años de prisión para Cristina Kirchner

**CASO VIALIDAD.** Mañana también demandaría su inhabilitación para ejercer cargos públicos

Hernán Cappiello  
LA NACION

Al concluir su alegato en el juicio por corrupción más importante de los últimos años, el fiscal federal Diego Luciani pediría mañana que la vicepresidenta Cristina Kirchner sea condenada a una pena de prisión de cumplimiento efectivo de entre 10 y 12 años de prisión, según estimaron jueces y fiscales federales de experiencia que siguen el juicio, aunque otros

llevaron esa cifra hasta los 14 años de cárcel, considerando la fama de "duro" del acusador.

El fiscal Luciani, consultado por LA NACION, dijo que no iba a adelantar el pedido de pena y que recién lo va a exponer en la audiencia. Además del pedido de condena de cumplimiento efectivo, el fiscal demandaría su inhabilitación perpetua para el ejercicio de cargos públicos y el decomiso de sus bienes hasta una suma que aún no está clara. **Continúa en la página 12**

### EL ANÁLISIS

## Las pruebas de la corrupción

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

Era un hombre común. Se des-  
plazaba como un funcionario  
judicial más por los pasillos de los  
tribunales desde poco después de  
obtener el título de abogado. La

historia suele recurrir, sin embar-  
go, a esas sorpresas en las que co-  
loca entre sus páginas, como pro-  
tagonista singular, a una persona  
desconocida. **Continúa en la página 39**

### EL ESCENARIO

## Tensiones y desconfianzas en la dinámica del poder

Jorge Liotti

—LA NACION—

La semana en la que cambió el  
eje del poder de la Argentina  
quedó impresa en dos gestos.  
El primero fue el lunes 1º de agosto  
a la tarde, cuando Cristina Kirchner  
cumplió una parte de su acuerdo  
con Sergio Massa y difundió una  
foto conjunta en su despacho. Una  
réplica exacta de la que se había  
sacado semanas antes con el em-  
bajador de Estados Unidos, Marc  
Stanley. Sin embargo, el ministro  
de Economía se quedó esperando  
otra señal que nunca recibió. A sus  
intimos les había comentado que  
también habría un comunicado  
de respaldo de la vicepresidenta.  
**Continúa en la página 20**

## Buenos Aires, "regalada". La diferencia cambiaría es un imán para el turismo

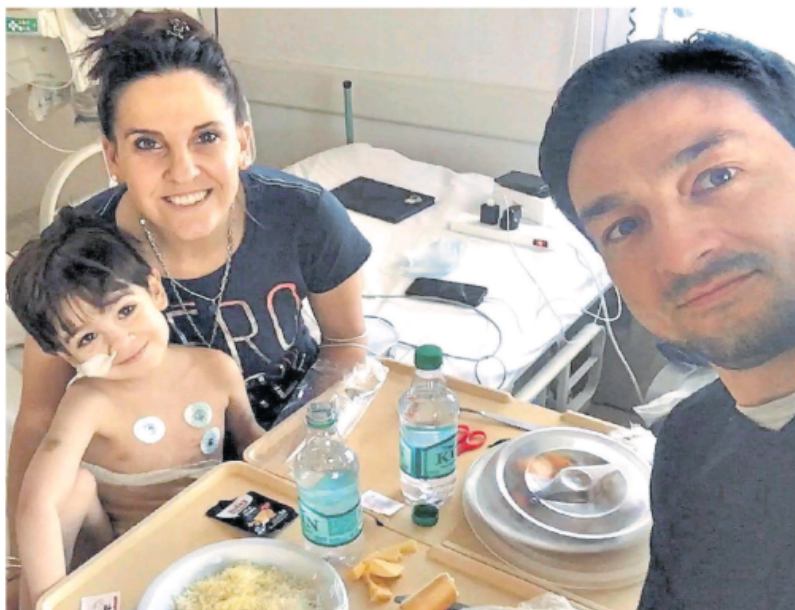
—el berlinés

La brecha entre el dólar blue y el oficial hace que, para los turistas extranjeros, Buenos Aires parezca "regalada". Brasileños, paraguayos, uruguayos y chilenos vienen a la ciudad en "escapadas" de pocos días para aprovechar, sobre todo, la oferta en rubros de esparcimiento: gastronomía y espectáculos. Comerciantes y empresarios de esos sectores hablan de un "veranito".

## Más reclamos por el obispo arrestado en Nicaragua

**CLAMOR.** Opositores al régimen piden apoyo internacional. **Página 7**

## Isidro, un campeón de la vida



@UNCORAZONPARAISI

**sociedad**—Hacia ocho meses que Isidro, de cuatro años, esperaba un corazón para someterse a un trasplante. Llegó en las vísperas de este domingo especial y la operación se completó, con éxito, anteayer en el Hospital Italiano de Buenos Aires. "Su ángel donante llegó", habían anunciado sus padres, Sebastián Gastaldi y la ex Leona Laura Aladro, de Tandil. La foto fue tomada días antes en ese hospital, donde Isidro libra, como un campeón, la gran batalla de su vida. **Página 28**

### EL ESCENARIO

## Un ministro que no da el *physique du rôle*

Jorge Fernández Díaz

—LA NACION—

**Página 38**

## El caso del fiscal Scapolan, entre el narco y la política

**CORUPCIÓN.** La jueza Arroyo Salgado lo agitó y reavivó sospechas

Primero, fue Elisa Carrió con su verba intensa. Pero esta semana se sumó la jueza Sandra Arroyo Salgado. Las dos apuntaron al polémico proceso judicial contra el fiscal Claudio Scapolan, que salpica a magistrados, abogados y políticos del oficialismo y de la oposición en un entramado de encubrimiento mafioso. La acusación lo señala como cabeza de una organización delictiva que opera en la zona norte del conurbano. **Página 18**



**ilustrada**  
e **SLi**  
**sn!**

## O que dizia Lula em 94

Candidato à Presidência em 1994, o petista foi entrevistado pelo então diretor de Redação da Folha, Otávio Frias Filho, morto há quatro anos, e por Martinus Suzuki e Clóvis Rossi. "Forças Armadas existem para cuidar da nossa defesa contra inimigos externos, não para resolver problemas políticos." **C4**

**MÔNICA BERGAMO**  
Jorge Furtado e Guel Arraes comentam parceria que originou filme 'O Debate' **C2**

Atriz e humorista Claudia Jimenez morre no Rio de Janeiro aos 63 anos **B3**

**Esporte B7**  
Neymar começa a temporada em ritmo forte e vê Copa como chance de redenção



**MPME p.1**  
Mercado de jogos eletrônicos no país se expande e atrai mais empreendedores

## EDITORIAIS A2

**Nós do SUS**  
Sobre verbas e desafios na gestão da saúde pública.

**Virado à paulista**  
Acerca das indefinições na corrida ao governo de SP.



Aponte a câmera no código e baixe o novo app da Folha

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# 32% dizem ter sido vítimas de agressão sexual antes dos 18

Pesquisa Datafolha indica diferentes tipos de abuso; problema afeta 68 milhões de brasileiros

Um terço dos brasileiros (32%) diz ter sofrido algum tipo de agressão sexual (física ou verbal) antes de completar 18 anos, revela pesquisa Datafolha encomendada pelo Instituto Liberta. Mulheres declaram com mais frequência ter sido vítimas.

Entre as situações de agressão descritas, 20% dizem que adultos lhes mostraram o órgão genital, e 16%, que outras pessoas tocaram ou acariciaram suas partes íntimas. São 15% os que declaram ter recebido propostas de "recompensa" por ato sexual.

Relatam ter sofrido violência sexual 14%, e 12% contam ter visto um adulto se masturbar. "Se fizermos projeção dos dados, cerca de 68 milhões sofreram algum tipo de violência sexual antes dos 18 anos", diz Luciana Temer, presidente do Liberta.

O Datafolha ouviu 2.086 pessoas, com 16 anos ou mais, em 130 cidades de 7 a 13 de junho. A margem de erro é de dois pontos percentuais para mais ou menos. Luciana avalia que a pesquisa corrobora dados oficiais a respeito das vítimas.

"De todos os registros policiais de 2021, 61,3% foram de estupros contra menores de 13 anos", afirma, citando relatório mais recente do Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública. A pesquisa aponta ainda que apenas 20% denunciaram a agressão. **Cotidiano B2**



Eduardo Knapp/Folhapress

## QUERO MUDAR TRADIÇÃO, DIZ LÍDER DE ATO DEMOCRÁTICO

Terceira pessoa negra a presidir centro acadêmico da Faculdade de Direito da USP e oradora de ato pela democracia, Manuela Morais fala em "deixar 'Sanfran' com nossa cara" **Política A12**

## Tensão política no Brasil faz de mesário função de risco

A ofensiva bolsonarista contra o sistema eleitoral preocupa convocados para trabalhar como mesários nas eleições e organizações que atuam pela normalidade da votação. O receio relatado é o de que apoiadores do presidente mirem quem está na linha de frente ou a própria urna eletrônica.

Agressões, ameaças e depredações que tumultuam o processo foram medos citados para a reportagem. A segurança de quem trabalhará no pleito é objeto de questionamentos ao Tribunal Superior Eleitoral. O TSE estima que 2 milhões de mesários estarão em campo em 2 de outubro. **Política A4**

## Janja ganha espaço e suscita críticas de apoiadores do PT

Casada com Lula desde maio, a socióloga Rosângela da Silva, a Janja, tem ganhado espaço dentro e fora do comitê eleitoral do marido. O entorno da campanha petista elogia sua atuação, mas também tem criticado seu comportamento "invasivo" e sua superexposição. **Política A11**

## Presidenciáveis ignoram China em suas propostas

O plano de governo dos quatro principais candidatos à Presidência não faz nenhuma menção à China, país central por sua disputa de poder com os EUA e pelo papel na guerra na Ucrânia, além de ser o maior parceiro comercial do Brasil. Especialistas veem lacuna. **Mundo A14**

## Em ato em SP, Lula fala que igreja não pode ter partido

**Política A11**

## Presidente afirma que respeitará eventual derrota

**Política A6**

## Auxílio cresceu mais em estados onde Bolsonaro busca votos **A17**



Bruno Santos/Folhapress

## PANCADÃO E FEIRA DA DROGA DE MADRUGADA NA CRACOLÂNDIA TIRAM O SONO DE MORADORES

Guarda-civil dispersa dependentes químicos no centro de São Paulo, região que tem lidado com gritaria, música alta e discussões dia e noite **Cotidiano B3**



**Consejero Blanco defiende negociación porque da competitividad energética**

## Brasil se queda con la parte del león en acuerdo de tarifa

Especialistas sostienen que el vecino copropietario de Itaipú se beneficiará con USD 540 millones, mientras que la contraparte paraguaya obtendrá tan solo USD 260 millones.

PÁGINAS 12 y 13

Coinciden H. Estigarribia y M. A. Saguier  
**“Los significativamente corruptos deberían pedir perdón al país”, apuntan**

PÁGINA 2

Marset usó y abusó de su *paraguayidad* para recorrer varios países

PÁGINA 3

Harvard valora la diversidad económica que ahora tiene el Paraguay

PÁGINA 18

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## Peligrosa doble vara de la Fiscalía General

**Contraste.** Los casos de Horacio Cartes y equipo político van a paso de tortuga, al contrario de lo que pasa con otros.

PÁGINA 56



Parte mañana; ceremonia es el sábado  
**Arzobispo ultima detalles de su viaje a Roma para consagración cardenalicia**

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Espejo para mirarnos:  
Ecuador ya padeció 145  
ataques narcos en 2022

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### DOMINGO

**Esperanza Martínez**, senadora  
“Candidatos de la ANR  
representan la continuidad  
del crimen organizado”

PÁGINA 6



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## LE FIGARO

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



**NORMALE SUP**  
POLÉMIQUE AUTOUR  
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**ESPIONNAGE**  
CE MYSTÉRIEUX BATEAU  
CHINOIS QUI INQUIÈTE  
LES INDIENS **PAGE 8**

L'ÉTÉ  
DU FIGAROLES MYSTÈRES  
DES MONTRÉS  
DE LÉGENDE

KENNEDY,  
PRÉSIDENT  
AVANT L'HEURE

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LES GARDIENS  
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FÊTES FRANCO-  
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D'ANTOINE BLONDIN

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## JEUX D'ÉTÉ

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Ces élus qui  
occupent l'espace  
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cet été **PAGE 5**

## UKRAINE

Les séparatistes  
ayant combattu  
côté russe jugés  
pour « trahison  
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CHAMPS  
LIBRES

• La tribune  
d'Erwan Le Noan  
• L'analyse d'Alexis  
Feertchack **PAGE 22**

FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question  
de vendredi :

Faut-il mieux encadrer  
l'utilisation de l'allocation  
de rentrée scolaire ?

**NON** 12% **OUI** 88%

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Faut-il durcir  
les sanctions contre  
les incendiaires ?

WASHINGTON ALVES/REUTERS-  
FREDERIC ALBERT/ENS-ISHARA S.  
KODIKARA/AFP

Incendies : comment mieux  
protéger la forêt française

Les massifs boisés, qui couvrent plus de 30 % du territoire, souffrent de la sécheresse et sont souvent mal entretenus par leurs propriétaires, en majorité privés, tandis que les incendiaires restent très difficiles à appréhender. **PAGES 2 À 4 ET L'EDITORIAL**

Les entreprises de la tech  
licencient à leur tour

Après des années euphoriques, le secteur de la technologie subit de plein fouet le ralentissement économique et pâtit d'une sévère correction en Bourse. De nombreuses entreprises ont gelé les embauches, et certaines,

comme Netflix, HBO ou le courtier Robinhood, taillent même dans leurs effectifs. Un temps interrompus, les systèmes de notation des salariés pour évaluer leur productivité refont surface chez les géants du numérique. **PAGES 26 ET 27**

Brésil: Lula revient pour  
barrer la route à Bolsonaro

À 76 ans, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva a lancé cette semaine sa septième candidature à la présidence du Brésil, qu'il a déjà dirigé pendant huit ans (2003-2010). Il a attaqué d'emblée le président sortant, Jair Bolsonaro. « L'enjeu, c'est

la démocratie contre le fascisme », a déclaré l'opposant, qui ne quitte plus son gilet pare-balles en public, dans une campagne placée sous la menace des partisans de Bolsonaro de contester dans la rue le résultat du scrutin. **PAGE 9**

## ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thérard ythear@lefigaro.fr

## Catastrophisme déplacé

Perturbé par des épisodes météorologiques extrêmes, l'été 2022 va-t-il marquer un tournant ? Une prise de conscience de la réalité du dérèglement climatique est-elle en marche ? Entre canicules et orages d'une exceptionnelle intensité partout en France, Emmanuel Macron lui-même a été obligé de monter au front. Pour rassurer, mais aussi pour promettre une politique préventive de long terme. Sera-t-elle suffisante aux yeux de Cassandra qui anticipe déjà la fin du monde ? Compte tenu de la composition de la nouvelle Assemblée nationale, le débat peut vite tourner à la foire aux absurdités. S'il est un domaine, pourtant, où rien n'est irréversible ni impossible, c'est bien celui de la forêt. Les dégâts causés par les incendies de ces derniers mois offrent, c'est vrai, un triste spectacle. Même la légendaire forêt de Brocéliande, au cœur de la Bretagne, a été la proie des flammes ! Tout cela fait certes mal au cœur, mais il n'y a pas de quoi désespérer. Si la sécheresse est en cause, c'est l'homme qui est à l'origine de la plupart des départs de feu, incendiaire d'une main volontaire ou pas. La responsabilité en incombe aussi aux propriétaires privés, détenteurs de plus de

70 % de la surface forestière nationale. Mal informés, négligents ou faute de moyens, beaucoup d'entre eux n'entretiennent pas leurs sous-bois.

Des leçons doivent être tirées de cet été ravageur pour les forêts. Sans doute conviendrait-il d'être plus sévère avec les contrevenants. Sans doute, à l'heure de la replantation, faudrait-il également veiller à choisir des essences moins inflammables. La forêt est un précieux patrimoine à préserver, indispensable dans la lutte contre le réchauffement climatique. Pour autant, elle est, en France, le fruit d'une politique volontariste depuis longtemps. Son étendue, qui couvre plus de 30 % du territoire, a doublé en quelque 150 ans, faisant de notre pays l'un des plus boisés d'Europe. Trouver des parades à la multiplication des incendies est donc une nécessité, mais l'état des lieux n'autorise en aucun cas le catastrophisme. « Écoutons la forêt qui pousse plutôt que l'arbre qui tombe », disait Hegel. ■

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