

## What's News

## Business &amp; Finance

**U.S. stocks sold off** amid investor concerns about additional sharp interest-rate increases by the Fed, taking some more wind out of this summer's market rally. The S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow slid 2.1%, 2.5% and 1.9%, respectively. **A1**

◆ **The IPO market is** on pace for its worst year in decades, leaving fledgling companies with few options but to burn through cash while they wait for the stock market to calm. **A1**

◆ **Many employers are** shrinking the number of paid weeks of maternity and paternity leave they will offer, survey data from the Society for Human Resource Management show. **A1**

◆ **Ford confirmed it is** laying off roughly 3,000 white-collar and contract employees, its latest effort to slash costs as it makes a longer-range transition to electric vehicles. **B1**

◆ **Elon Musk's lawyers** sent a subpoena to Jack Dorsey, the first indication that Twitter's co-founder and former CEO will be officially involved in the legal fight over Musk's stalled \$44 billion deal. **B3**

◆ **McDonald's is shaking up** its board with the departure of longtime member Sheila Penrose and the addition of three new directors. **B3**

◆ **Adidas said CEO Rorsted** would step down next year, remaining in office until a new leader is appointed. **B3**

◆ **Toyota's chief rebuked** the Hino commercial-truck unit over a scandal involving falsified fuel performance and emissions data. **B2**

## World-Wide

◆ **Trump filed a lawsuit** seeking the appointment of a special master to review the materials taken by the FBI during the search of his Mar-a-Lago estate in Florida and asked a judge to order investigators to immediately stop examining the items. **A4**

◆ **The leader of a Russian-backed** breakaway region in eastern Ukraine announced details of plans to put captured Ukrainian soldiers on trial in Mariupol, a move that Zelensky warned would mean an end to all talks between Kyiv and Moscow. **A6**

◆ **Russian authorities** blamed Ukraine for the killing of the daughter of a prominent far-right Russian ideologue in a car bombing over the weekend. Kyiv has denied playing a role in her death. **A6**

◆ **Pfizer and BioNTech** asked the FDA to clear use of a Covid-19 shot modified to target the newest versions of the Omicron variant. **A3**

◆ **Authorities in central China** extended power curbs limiting factory production and opening hours for shopping malls, as the region grapples with a heat wave and a hydropower-depleting drought. **A16**

◆ **Ohio's largest public school district** is scheduled to start classes online on Wednesday after teachers decided to strike over class sizes and other working conditions. **A3**

◆ **Hawaii has the highest life expectancy** of any U.S. state, according to new federal figures released by the CDC. **A2**

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## Tensions Grow in Pakistan Over Fate of Ex-Leader Khan



**ON GUARD:** Supporters of Imran Khan, who was ousted as Pakistan's prime minister in April, gathered outside his residence in Islamabad on Monday after authorities threatened to arrest the former leader on a terrorism charge. **A8**

## IPO Market Faces Worst Year In More Than Two Decades

By CORRIE DRIEBUSCH

The IPO market is on pace for its worst year in decades, leaving fledgling companies with few options but to burn through cash while they wait for the stock market to calm.

Late last year, hundreds of companies were in the final stages of preparing to go public, encouraged by the best 18 months ever for U.S. initial public offerings. Then a combination of factors—sky-high

inflation, rising interest rates and Russia's invasion of Ukraine—sent shock waves through the stock market. The IPO pipeline froze. So far this year, traditional IPOs have raised only \$5.1 billion all told, Dealogic data show. Typically at this point in the year, traditional IPOs have raised around \$33 billion, according to Dealogic data that goes back to 1995. Last year at this point, these offerings raised more than \$100 billion.

The last time levels were this low was 2009, when the U.S. was recovering from the depths of the financial crisis and the IPO market reopened near the end of the year.

IPO advisers say they don't expect 2022 to follow that pattern, meaning it could end up being the worst year for raising money in IPOs since Dealogic, a research firm, started tracking it in 1995.

Fintech firm Klarna Bank AB was a highly anticipated

2022 IPO, but instead of making a splashy debut, the Sweden-based company laid off hundreds of workers to cut costs and was forced to seek funding in private markets. Klarna, which specializes in buy now, pay later services, managed to raise \$800 million this summer—but only after cutting its valuation by 85% to \$6.7 billion.

That valuation is still three times the level Klarna was valuing at last year.

## Fauci to Leave by Year's End



Anthony Fauci, President Biden's chief medical adviser and the government's top infectious-disease official who was a face of the Covid-19 response, said he would leave in December. **A3**

## Strikes in Crimea Disrupt Russia's Broader Strategy

By THOMAS GROVE

For generations, Crimea has anchored Russia's military power in the Black Sea. President Vladimir Putin of Russia vowed that it would remain Russian forever after he annexed it in 2014. But a spate of explosions and drone incursions in recent days shows the extent of its vulnerability on the peninsula and how it is now part of Ukraine's own war goals.

The strikes deep inside the Russian-occupied territory, including on the headquarters of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol, have disrupted Moscow's plans to drive farther into southern Ukraine, military analysts and officials said, potentially forcing a rethink of its broader strategy.

Since the start of the invasion, Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet have served as a hub for supplying forces, equipment and firepower to support Russia's occupation of southern Ukraine, where towns and cities quickly fell to Russian forces in the first days. From there, Russia has launched volleys of cruise missiles into Ukrainian towns, cities and military installations.

Crimea was also seen as a crucial element in Moscow's plans to push farther west to Odessa and create a landbridge to Moldova. But a Ukrainian drone that found its way to the heavily fortified headquarters of the Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol

on Saturday underscores Russia's weakness on the strategically crucial territory. Previous explosions at the Saki air base in Crimea this month put more than half of the Black Sea Fleet's naval aviation combat jets out of use, according to a Western official. It isn't clear what caused that explosion.

"It's a game changer if Saki and Sevastopol can be hit," said John Spencer, chair of Ukraine studies at the Madison Policy Forum. "These strikes are attrition logistics."

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◆ **Zelensky warns Russia** against trial of prisoners... **A6**  
◆ **Natural-gas crunch sparks** competition for tankers... **A7**

## Snorer, Save Your Marriage. Tape Your Mouth Shut.

Noisy sleepers give their partners peace by sticking adhesive strips across their lips

By Stu Woo

At bedtime, David Gesualdi brushes his teeth and washes his face. Then he does the trick that pleases his wife.

He tapes his mouth shut. It's a technique Iris Gesualdi says has reinvigorated the couple's marriage after more than 50 years. "I don't hate him anymore," she says.

Couples around the world are swearing by the previously obscure snoring remedy, which has drifted into the mainstream with a TV show, a bestselling book and popular social-media posts.

Mouth tapers affix a not-

too-sticky adhesive strip, such as surgical tape, either horizontally or vertically across their lips. Devotees including Mr. Gesualdi, a Rhode Island used-car-dealership owner, say that snuffs snoring, in part by rerouting breath through the nose.

The believers have gotten mixed messages from the medical establishment and hard-nosed resistance from skeptics who think mouth taping is best left to hostage movies.

The little-studied practice could be risky, say doctors including Dr. Aarti Grover, medical director of Tufts Medical Center's Sleep Medicine Cen-



**Silent treatment**

## INSIDE



**SPORTS**  
Tom Brady returns to the NFL's Buccaneers after an unusual preseason absence. **A12**



**BUSINESS & FINANCE**  
Ford is laying off roughly 3,000 white-collar and contract employees. **B1**

## Companies Cut Back On Parental Time Off

By KATHRYN DILL AND ANGELA YANG

Many employers are shrinking the number of paid weeks of maternity and paternity leave they will offer.

New data show that the share of employers offering paid maternity leave beyond what is required by law dropped to 35% this year, down from 53% in 2020, according to the Society for Human Resource Management, a trade association for HR professionals that surveyed 3,000 employers.

Companies including Hulu and some small to midsize firms are trimming weeks off their benefits for new parents as some employers confront inflation, anticipate a recession and try to re-establish pre-pandemic norms.

Companies also downsized paternity-leave programs. The

share of employers giving paid paternity time off fell to 27% in 2022, from 44% in 2020, the SHRM survey found.

The declines might stem from companies changing their leave policies back to what they were in 2019 after extending more parental benefits to workers during the pandemic, according to SHRM. Over the past 15 years, maternity and paternity leaves have mostly increased, with a drop during the 2008-09 recession, along the way. This year, nearly double the number of surveyed U.S. companies offered paid maternity leave when compared with 2007. During the pandemic, when many companies extended perks to working parents, that level was almost triple.

In the two years leading up to 2020, when the pandemic

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## A tough lesson

Schools do little to reduce inequality

SAM FREEDMAN, PAGE 14

## Trustbusters

Biden is targeting private equity.

Who's he gonna call? — BIG READ, PAGE 13



## Big cities, big rent

Why the pandemic did nothing to stem prices — SARAH O'CONNOR, PAGE 15

Trickle charge  
Hydropower  
hit in China

Children catch crabs on the dried-out riverbed of the Jialing River, a major tributary of the Yangtze, in Chongqing, on Sunday.

China is experiencing its worst drought in 60 years, with farm crops, power supplies and shipping routes hit as water levels reach record lows.

The empty rivers and dams in Hubei and Sichuan provinces, which rely on hydropower, have had a cascading effect on electricity supplies. Chongqing has ordered lights to be dimmed, air conditioning units to be turned down and the use of lifts suspended. Electric-vehicle owners are also suffering, with most recharging stations closed.

China steps up measures page 4  
Lex page 16



DPA-EPA/Chinahead

Moscow says Ukrainian bomber  
killed daughter of Putin supporter

Victim's father demands reprisals • FSB says suspect fled to Estonia • Kyiv rejects 'fiction'

POLINA IVANOVA — BERLIN  
MAX SEDDON — RIGA

Russia's FSB security service has blamed Kyiv for the car bombing that killed the daughter of a prominent supporter of Vladimir Putin, accusing a Ukrainian woman of planting the car bomb before fleeing to Estonia.

Nationalist commentator Daria Dugina, 29, was killed on Saturday when a bomb exploded under the driver's seat of a vehicle that belonged to her father, Alexander Dugin, a far-right ideologue.

Dugin, who has long campaigned for Moscow to rebuild its empire, joined other nationalists in demanding reprisals against Ukraine. Some also called for retribution against Estonia, the Baltic state that has been one of Kyiv's strongest supporters in Europe.

Ukraine denied any involvement in the attack. Officials suggested that Russia had staged it as a pretext for what Kyiv fears could be an intense assault ahead of the country's independence day tomorrow, which will also mark six months since the Russian invasion.

Mykhailo Podolyak, a senior adviser to Ukraine's president Volodymyr Zelenskyy, said the accusations came from a "fictional world" and claimed "vipers in Russian special services started an intraspecies fight".

The FSB said a 43-year-old Ukrainian named Natalya Vovk was responsible for the killing. It claimed she entered Russia on July 25 with her 12-year-old daughter, rented a flat in Dugin's building in Moscow and followed her in a Mini Cooper, regularly changing its

number plates. Vladimir Dzhabarov, a senior member of Russia's upper house of parliament, demanded that Estonia hand over the alleged suspect.

"If Estonia refuses to extradite criminal Natalya Vovk to Russia... there is every reason for Russia to take tough action against the Estonian state that is harbouring the terrorist," he wrote on the Telegram messaging app.

Margarita Simonyan, editor of the Kremlin-funded RT news channel, where Dugin was a frequent guest, suggested that Russia should find "professionals who want to take in the spires in the suburbs of Tallinn".

The comment was a reference to Simonyan's own notorious interview with suspects in the poisoning of former spy Sergei Skripal in the UK cathedral



Daria Dugina was killed on Saturday. Russia's security service offered no evidence for its explanation of how she was killed.

city of Salisbury in 2018, for which Russia has always denied responsibility.

Estonia's police said Russia had not made any official requests about Vovk. Putin condemned the killing as a "despicable, cruel crime", saying the young woman "honestly served the people, the Fatherland and served by her actions what it means to be a patriot of Russia".

Russia's security service offered no evidence for its explanation of how she was killed. The FSB did not publish evidence. Its allegations have not been independently verified and the Financial Times was not able to reach Vovk for comment.

Russia visa block opposed page 2  
Gideon Rachman page 15

## Briefing

## Körner beefs up Credit Suisse board

The Swiss bank has appointed two new executive members as recently installed chief Ulrich Körner starts his overhaul of the lender whose shares have fallen 45 per cent this year. — PAGE 5; LEX, PAGE 16

## Somalia piracy threat downgraded

An industry group including the International Chamber of Shipping has declared that piracy is no longer a threat, after a decade of efforts to prevent attacks that upset trade and raised costs. — PAGE 4

## Ford axes 3,000 roles in electric push

An internal memo from the carmaker's leaders has warned of job cuts that will be spread across the US, Canada and India but concentrated around the group's south-east Michigan headquarters. — PAGE 5

## Odinga challenges Kenya election result

Presidential contender Raila Odinga has filed a petition to the country's top court asking it to nullify William Ruto's win in this month's election and demanding a rerun. — PAGE 3



## UAE to return ambassador to Tehran

Abu Dhabi has said Saif Al Zaabi will return "in coming days", as a regional rapprochement gathers pace. The move follows fellow Gulf state Kuwait's decision to reinstate its envoy this week. — PAGE 2

## Norway fund highlights cyber threat

Cyber security has eclipsed tumultuous markets as the biggest concern for Norges Bank Investment Management, the biggest sovereign fund, as it faces three "serious" attacks each day on average. — PAGE 4

## EU warned on green hydrogen ambition

Mark Hutchinson, who leads the clean energy business of Australian billionaire Andrew Forrest, has warned Brussels it will struggle to meet targets unless it can match US climate subsidies. — PAGE 2

## Datawatch

## The world's factory

% of global goods exports

China US Germany

Japan

Source: UNCTAD

2017 2018 2019 2020 2021

China's share of global goods exports increased to 15 per cent by the end of 2021, from 13 per cent in 2019. The shares of its competitors shrank over the same period, suggesting that the country's gains come at the expense of others

## Apple staff cite 'exceptional work' from home as they resist back-to-office order

PATRICK MCGEE — SAN FRANCISCO

Apple staff are pushing back against the iPhone maker's call for workers to return to the office next month, arguing that they have shown they can perform "exceptional work" during two-plus years of flexible arrangements.

Apple Together, a group of workers that formed last year when offices around the globe were forced to work remotely because of the pandemic, began circulating a petition internally on Sunday, demanding "location flexible work".

The petition, seen by the Financial Times, is in response to an order from chief executive Tim Cook last week telling employees at its Cupertino headquarters to return to the office three days a week. Cook said he wanted to preserve the "in-person collaboration that is so essential to our culture".

Apple Together counters that a "uniform mandate from senior leadership" fails to respect the "many compelling reasons" why some employees are "happier and more productive" working outside of traditional office arrangements.

The group is demanding that Apple allows staff to work with their "immediate manager" to decide their working arrangements, and that they should not be subject to "high-level approvals" and "complex procedures".

An employee within hardware engineering in Cupertino helping to organise the petition told the FT that Apple Together intended to collect signatures this week before verifying and sending the results to executives.

"At this juncture we will not be releasing any specific names of individuals publicly or to exec leadership to protect our colleagues, especially in light of

retail union busting and recent reports of allegations of retaliation from HR," this person said.

Apple declined to comment.

On Slack, the internal messaging platform used by Apple, more than 10,000 Apple employees have joined the group "Remote Work Advocacy".

Whether work should return to pre-Covid norms in Silicon Valley has become a contentious issue, with some tech groups touting their flexible policies to lure and retain talent. Last year Spotify introduced a "Work from Anywhere" policy, saying it would support work-life balance.

Apple has thrived during the pandemic, with its market value doubling from \$1.4tn in February 2020 to \$2.8tn today. Some employees argue that proves that the lack of in-office culture is not hampering their work.

## World Markets

## STOCK MARKETS

	Aug 22	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	4190.73	4229.48	-1.60
Nasdaq Composite	12458.00	12705.22	-1.95
Dow Jones Ind	33253.36	33706.74	-1.36
FTSEurofirst 300	1708.45	1722.17	-0.80
Euro Stoxx 50	3693.42	3730.32	-0.98
FTSE 100	7533.79	7590.37	-0.72
FTSE All Share	4136.51	4157.79	-0.51
CAC 40	6378.74	6495.83	-1.80
Xetra Dax	13230.57	13544.52	-2.32
Nikkei	29784.50	29839.33	-0.17
Hang Seng	19696.98	19773.03	-0.38
MSCI World \$	2787.71	2826.41	-1.37
MSCI EM \$	1091.46	1099.58	-0.80
MSCI ACWI \$	646.61	655.59	-1.31
FT WISE 2000	5567.03	5584.88	-1.38
FT WISE 5000	43018.87	43630.96	-1.40

## CURRENCIES

Pair	Aug 22	Prev	Pair	Aug 22	Prev	%Chg
\$/£	0.987	1.004	€/£	1.053	1.058	-0.50
\$/¥	1.179	1.180	€/¥	0.848	0.847	0.04
\$/₹	0.045	0.045	€/₹	1.183	1.175	0.64
\$/₹	137.185	137.115	€/₹	136.726	137.684	-0.10
\$/₹	161.748	161.837	€/₹	78.452	79.306	-0.10
\$/₹	0.960	0.963	\$/₹	1.136	1.132	0.33

## GOVERNMENT BONDS

Yield (%)	Aug 22	Prev	Chg
US 2 yr	3.31	3.25	0.06
US 10 yr	3.02	2.98	0.04
US 30 yr	3.26	3.22	0.04
UK 2 yr	2.70	2.60	0.10
UK 10 yr	2.51	2.41	0.10
UK 30 yr	2.84	2.71	0.13
JPN 2 yr	0.07	0.09	-0.01
JPN 10 yr	0.23	0.26	-0.03
JPN 30 yr	1.13	1.07	0.06
GER 2 yr	0.89	0.81	0.08
GER 10 yr	1.30	1.23	0.08
GER 30 yr	1.45	1.40	0.05

## COMMODITIES

	Aug 22	Prev	%Chg
Oil WTI \$	89.15	90.44	-1.43
Oil Brent \$	96.22	96.72	-1.52
Gold \$	1760.75	1765.58	-0.84

Prices are listed for addition  
Data provided by Markit

A Nikkei Company



## Johnson &amp; Johnson seeks to extend 'Texas two-step'

Johnson & Johnson is trying to widen the legal play it used to blunt 38,000 personal injury claims linked to its baby powder. The drugs group now wants to block action by New Mexico and Mississippi, which claim breaches of their consumer protection rules. A court decision today on a J&J request to stop the states' actions could set a precedent on how companies can use the "Texas two-step" in cases alleging violations of such regulations.

Talk claims — PAGE 6

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## Moscow Pins Assassination On Ukrainians

### Ultrationalists Raise Pressure on Putin

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

The Russian authorities accused Ukraine on Monday of assassinating an ultranationalist commentator as figures in Russia's pro-war camp clamored for retaliation, highlighting the growing domestic political pressure that President Vladimir V. Putin is facing six months after he ordered the invasion of Ukraine.

The swift claim by Russia's domestic intelligence agency to have solved the crime, and the heated demands for vengeance, pointed to the expanding influence of Russia's ultranationalist hawks — a loose group of writers, business magnates and politicians who celebrated Mr. Putin's war and have since grown frustrated that the Kremlin is trying to maintain a sense of normalcy at home rather than putting the nation on a war footing.

Ukraine denied any connection to the car bombing near Moscow on Saturday that killed Daria Dugina, 29, daughter of Aleksandr Dugin, a political theorist who has long called for the reconquest of Ukraine and whose hawkish visions of a resurgent, imperial and anti-liberal Russia provided an intellectual framework for Mr. Putin's aggressive foreign policy.

The Russian intelligence agency, the F.S.B., issued a statement on Monday saying that the attack "was prepared and committed by the Ukrainian intelligence agencies" and carried out by a Ukrainian woman traveling with her young daughter, who then drove across the border into Estonia.

Pro-Kremlin voices aimed their wrath at Estonia as well as Ukraine, suggesting that Estonia, a NATO member, was sheltering the assassin. A senior Russian lawmaker, Vladimir Dzhabarov, said that if Estonia did not hand her over, there would be "every reason for the Russian Federation to take tough actions against the Estonian state," hinting at the possibility of an escalation in Russia's broader conflict with the West.

Ukraine's presidential adviser, Mykhailo Podolyak, said on Twitter that the F.S.B. statement was "propaganda" from a "fictional world." Andriy Yusov, a spokesman for Ukraine's defense intelligence agency, said in a statement, "It is a fake that Ukraine is involved in this."

But it was not immediately possible to verify either the allegations or the denials, as is often the case in war. Russia has shut down independent reporting and has made it a crime to dispute the Kremlin's account of the war. Russian claims, in particular, about atrocities, provocations and battlefield setbacks have repeatedly proved false.

Russian media speculated that

Continued on Page A7



SHOW OF DEFIANCE Captured Russian military equipment in Kyiv as Ukraine marks its 1991 break with the Soviet Union. Page A8.

## Ukraine Focus Thins U.N. Aid For Other Strife

By FARNAZ FASSIHI

Camps for Syrian refugees in northern Iraq have cut access to clean water, sanitation and electricity. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, many people forced from their homes face life without shelter or basic tools like fishing or farming gear. In South Sudan, there will be no secondary school this fall for some refugee children.

Funding to ease the world's humanitarian crises is falling further than ever behind what is needed for critical requirements like shelter, food, water, power and education, the United Nations reports. Demand, already inflated by scourges like the pandemic and drought, has soared this year, driven in part by the war in Ukraine. Donations from wealthy countries have grown, but not nearly as fast.

"This is the biggest funding gap we've ever seen, mostly because the number of vulnerable people who need support is increasing fast," said Martin Griffiths, chief of the U.N.'s humanitarian and emergency relief office, which coordinates humanitarian aid through global refugee, health, food and children's agencies. Those U.N. agencies and the private groups they work with need \$48.7 billion in 2022 to aid more than 200 million people, he said, but more than seven months into the year, they have raised less than one-third of that.

Continued on Page A8

## Life Crisis Is Often a Warning of Mass Shootings

By SHAILA DEWAN

The freshman who walked into the high school cafeteria in Marysville, Wash., in 2014 with his father's .40-caliber Beretta did not fit anyone's profile of a mass murderer. He was a crack athlete. He embraced his Native American traditions, wearing a headdress at tribal events and offering freshly killed deer to his grandmother. He was popular, so much so that he had just been elected homecoming prince.

He had no history of mental illness — just what several classmates described as an uncharacteristically bad mood that week. It was only after he killed four fellow students and wounded another that the armchair diagnosis of his

### Mental Health Issues Not 'Main Driver' of Violence

mental state began.

Blaming mass murder on mental illness is a time-honored impulse, used by law enforcement and politicians alike. "Mental illness and hatred pulls the trigger, not the gun," President Donald J. Trump said in 2019 in response to mass shootings in El Paso, Texas, and Dayton, Ohio. After a teenage gunman killed 19 children and two teachers at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, Texas, in May, Gov. Greg Abbott said, "Anybody

who shoots somebody else has a mental health challenge. Period."

Such explanations satisfy a deep longing to understand the incomprehensible. And they appeal to common sense — how could a person who kills indiscriminately be in their right mind?

Yet America's mass killers fit no single profile and certainly no pattern of insanity — many, if not most, had never been diagnosed with a serious psychiatric disorder. Background checks can prevent someone with a diagnosis of mental illness from acquiring a gun, but psychologists say there is a wide divide between a clinical diagnosis and the type of emotional disturbance that precedes many mass killings.

The real problem, those experts

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MARIA TAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

### Back to School (Finally) in the Philippines

Students returned Monday, ending one of the world's longest Covid-related shutdowns. Page A9.

## Complex \$1.6 Billion Donation Enriches Conservative War Chest

By KENNETH P. VOGEL  
and SHANE GOLDMACHER

WASHINGTON — A new conservative nonprofit group scored a \$1.6 billion windfall last year via a little-known donor — an extraordinary sum that could give Republicans and their causes a huge financial boost ahead of the midterms, and for years to come.

The source of the money was

Barre Seid, an electronics manufacturing mogul, and the donation is among the largest — if not the largest — single contributions ever made to a politically focused nonprofit. The beneficiary is a new political group controlled by Leonard A. Leo, an activist who has used his connections to Republican donors and politicians to help engineer the conservative dominance of the Supreme Court and to finance battles over abor-

### Largest Contribution to a Political Nonprofit

tion rights, voting rules and climate change policy.

This windfall will help cement Mr. Leo's status as a kingmaker in conservative big money politics. It could also give conservatives an

advantage in a type of difficult-to-trace spending that shapes elections and political fights.

The cash infusion was arranged through an unusual series of transactions that appear to have avoided tax liabilities. It originated with Mr. Seid, a longtime conservative donor who made a fortune as the chairman and chief executive of an electrical device manufacturing company in Chi-

Continued on Page A11

## Climate Law Empowers E.P.A., Blunting Justices' Restrictions

By LISA FRIEDMAN

When the Supreme Court restricted the ability of the Environmental Protection Agency to fight climate change this year, the reason it gave was that Congress had never granted the agency the broad authority to shift America away from burning fossil fuels.

Now it has. Throughout the landmark climate law, passed this month, is language written specifically to address the Supreme Court's justification for reining in the E.P.A., a ruling that was one of the court's most consequential of the term. The new law amends the Clean

Air Act, the country's bedrock air-quality legislation, to define the carbon dioxide produced by the burning of fossil fuels as an "air pollutant."

That language, according to legal experts as well as the Democrats who worked it into the legislation, explicitly gives the E.P.A. the authority to regulate greenhouse gases and to use its power to push the adoption of wind, solar and other renewable energy sources.

"The language, we think, makes pretty clear that greenhouse

Continued on Page A13



NATIONAL A10-16

### Fauci Plans for 'Next Chapter'

After more than half a century at the National Institutes of Health, he will retire in December. PAGE A10

### Newsom Vetoes a Drug Bill

The governor said California was not yet prepared to allow for injection sites to try to stem overdoses. PAGE A10

### INTERNATIONAL A4-9

#### Sowing Seeds of Uncertainty

Brazil's president has suggested he would dispute an election loss. Officials say he lacks support for a coup. PAGE A4

#### Once in Charge, Now a Target

Pakistan's ex-leader Imran Khan and his allies face legal harassment and a military turned against them. PAGE A9

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#### A U.S. Open Full of Surprises?

Two unseeded players won singles titles in Ohio, setting the stage for more twists in New York next week during an odd tennis season. PAGE B7



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### Covid Clues in the Wastewater

To keep tabs on a virus like Covid-19, tracking it through the sewage has become a critical tool. PAGE D1

### A Dark Journey on the Web

As anxiety soars among adolescents, researchers are focusing on how social media affects mental health. PAGE D1

### BUSINESS B1-5

#### New Source of Rare Metals

A top processor of rare earth metals used in electric cars and smart bombs announced a deal to begin mining in Greenland, a move that would reduce reliance on Russia. PAGE B1

#### Preparing for the Storm

Weather-driven disasters that result in over \$1 billion worth of property damage have become frequent occurrences. Taking steps to be ready is more crucial than ever. PAGE B1

### OPINION A18-19

#### Paul Krugman

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### More Than Luck on His Side

Daryl McCormack's performance as a sex worker in "Good Luck to You, Leo Grande" "has definitely opened up doors for me," he said. PAGE C1



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## Proposal for safe injection sites is vetoed

Newsom rejects a bill aimed at reducing drug deaths, citing unintended outcomes.

By HANNAH WILEY

California Gov. Gavin Newsom on Monday vetoed a controversial bill that would have allowed supervised injection site pilot programs in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Oakland, in efforts to prevent drug overdose deaths and connect people to treatment for addiction.

The number of safe injection sites that would have been authorized by the bill could have induced a "world of unintended consequences," Newsom wrote in his veto message.

"It is possible that these sites would help improve the safety and health of our urban areas, but if done without a strong plan, they could work against this purpose," Newsom said. "These unintended consequences in cities like Los Angeles, San Francisco and Oakland cannot be taken lightly. Worsening drug consumption challenges in these areas is not a risk we can take."

Newsom reiterated that he was committed to harm-reduction strategies, but said pilot programs need to be well planned and include strong local leadership.

He said he would instruct California Health and Human Services Secretary Dr. Mark Ghaly to convene city and county officials to "discuss minimum standards and best practices" that could then be recommended to the Legislature.

"I remain open to this discussion when those local officials come back to the Legislature with recommendations for a truly limited pilot program — with comprehensive plans for siting, operations, community partnerships, and fiscal sustainability that demonstrate how these programs will be run safely and effectively," he wrote.

Lawmakers this month sent Newsom one of the most politically challenging and closely watched proposals of the legislative session, Senate Bill 57, which state Sen. Scott Wiener (D-San Francisco) introduced. [See Addiction, A7]

## Veto intensifies state's drug war

The governor is wrong to reject safe injection sites, Anita Chabria writes. **CALIFORNIA, B1**



**A STREET** takeover on East Compton Boulevard and Atlantic Avenue in Compton early on Aug. 14 drew nearly 200 people. In the last eight months, at least six people have died during or near street takeovers.

Photographs by MYUNG J. CHUN Los Angeles Times

## Street takeovers in L.A.: 'A scene of lawlessness'

Neighbors decry dangerous 'shows' as fans defend them

By NATHAN SOLIS AND MELISSA HERNANDEZ

Cindy and Dora didn't know where they were going on a recent Saturday night, but they knew they were headed to a "show."

Around 11 p.m., Cindy texted a friend in Compton but didn't immediately hear back. She and Dora grabbed some tacos from a stand and waited. About 40 minutes later, the women — who didn't wish to be identified by their last names — had their answer: East Compton Boulevard and Atlantic Avenue.

A little after midnight, nearly 200 people blocked the streets in what has become a weekly ritual in the city. Two cars whipped around the intersection, burning tires and worn-down brake pads sending shrouds of thick smoke into the air.

The illegal street takeovers, or sidsows, have been a part of urban [See Takeover, A10]



**FANS OF** the street takeovers say they are something to look forward to and don't bother anyone. Nearby residents strongly disagree.

## Is working remotely a perk worth a pay cut?

By DON LEE

**WASHINGTON** — Working from home during the pandemic became a surprising success.

Many workers enjoyed a better quality of life plus savings on commuting, office wardrobe and other expenses. Companies boosted productivity and lowered costs.

Now, as remote work looks likely to survive in some form for the foreseeable future, a chance to snap a pocket those savings, with some employers arguing that working from home is a better quality of life plus savings on commuting, office wardrobe and other expenses. Companies boosted productivity and lowered costs.

With the pandemic easing, more companies are calling workers back to the office. Even so, about 30% of

all paid workdays are still being done from home, up from just 5% before the COVID-19 outbreak, according to the Working From Home Research Project led by economists at Stanford and the University of Chicago.

Paying remote workers less is a practice that is already catching on abroad. In Britain, the law firm Stephenson Harwood recently announced that em-

ployees could work full time from home on the condition that they take a 20% pay cut.

Right now, such arrangements seem rare in the U.S., probably because of the tight labor market. But that could change in the event of a recession as employers eye how remote working can lower labor costs and boost the bottom line.

The Working From Home project found that 4 in 10 em-

ployees planned to use remote work as a way to ease overall wage-growth pressures — though not necessarily by slashing salaries of existing employees.

Companies, for example, can fill new openings with remote workers in cheaper markets.

According to a survey by the software and data firm Payscale, a little more than [See Remote, A5]

## It's still a Golden State for campaign donations

After a pandemic pause, California is again a fundraising prize for candidates.

By SEEMA MEHTA

Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis has accused Gov. Gavin Newsom of treating California residents like "peasants." He has claimed California's policies on crime, homelessness and the pandemic have prompted residents to flee. He's crowded about California's population loss.

He may not like much about California, but DeSantis is more than happy to visit the state to scoop up cash for his reelection bid. The potential 2024 Republican presidential candidate is headlining a fundraiser next month at the \$50-million Newport Coast compound owned by "Undercover Billionaire" star Glenn Stearns and his wife, Mindy, a former Los Angeles TV entertainment reporter.

The cost: up to \$25,000 per couple. The top donation comes with four tickets to a cocktail hour and a VIP reception, a chance to snap a picture with DeSantis — the overwhelming favorite of California Republicans if former President Trump doesn't run in 2024 — and preferred dinner seating at the Stearns' nearly 30,000-square-foot mansion overlooking the Pacific Ocean.

Such extravagant fundraisers, often at the homes of Hollywood royalty or Silicon Valley tech honchos, largely paused during the early months of the pandemic. But politicians from the two [See Donations, A5]



**FLORIDA** Gov. Ron DeSantis likes to criticize California, but that won't stop him from headlining a Republican fundraiser next month in Newport Coast.

PHILAN M. EBERHART Associated Press

## Fauci to leave government job

Top infectious-disease expert calls decision bittersweet after five decades of public service. **NATION, A4**

## Trump seeks to halt FBI review

He wants a "special master" appointed to inspect the documents seized from his Florida home. **NATION, A4**

## Dodgers often on the move

Known better for its lineup of sluggers, L.A. is on pace for its most stolen bases in eight years. **SPORTS, B10**

## Weather

Plenty of sunshine. L.A. Basin: 86/68. **B6**



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# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

SU V1 V2 V3 V4

Mostly sunny 87/70 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 89/72 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, AUGUST 23, 2022 • \$2



PHOTOS BY BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## 1 in 3 women have mostly lost access to abortion

MORE STATE BANS, RESTRICTIONS EXPECTED

Rapid changes in two months after reversal of Roe

BY KATIE SHEPHERD,  
RACHEL ROUBIN  
AND CAROLINE KITCHENER

Two months after the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade*, about 20.9 million women have lost access to nearly all elective abortions in their home states, and a slate of strict new trigger laws expected to take effect in the coming days will shut out even more.

Texas, Tennessee and Idaho all have existing restrictions on abortion, but the laws slated to begin Thursday will either outlaw the procedure entirely or heighten penalties for doctors who perform an abortion, contributing to a seismic shift in who can access abortion in their home states.

At least 11 other states have banned most abortions, prohibit-

ing the procedure with narrow exceptions from the time of conception or after fetal cardiac activity is detected, at about six weeks of pregnancy, with legislation known as "heartbeat" laws. Five more states have similar bans temporarily blocked by the courts. If those injunctions are lifted, abortion could soon be inaccessible for millions more — in total, 36 percent of U.S. women between the ages of 15 and 44 would be largely unable to obtain an elective abortion in the state where they live.

The rapid pace of change has shocked even the closest observers.

"I just thought there would be a

SEE ABORTION ON A14

**Abortion laws:** A judge will decide if an Idaho ban can take effect. A2

## Car-bomb killing rattles backers of Putin's war

Russian propagandists grapple with heightened fear for their own safety

BY ROBYN DIXON  
AND MARY ILYUSHINA

A top Russia propagandist who cheerleads for the war against Ukraine was walking in a Moscow park this weekend when one of her personal security guards sprinted ahead, alarmed by a child's ball on a nearby bench. It could have been a bomb.

"If I had the task of eliminating you, I would have done just that —

I would have put just a ball along your path," the bodyguard told Margarita Simonyan, the editor in chief of the state-owned RT television network, who recounted the episode on Telegram.

Hours after Simonyan's park stroll, another strident pro-war propagandist, Daria Dugina, was killed by a car bomb in a Moscow suburb. The daughter of far-right nationalist Vladimir Dugin died in a fiery blast near one of the most exclusive enclaves for the capital's powerful, wealthy elite.

Russia's domestic security service, the FSB, on Monday ac-

SEE RUSSIA ON A9

**Prospect of an escalation:** Russia blames Ukraine for the blast. A9

## Utah city's boom might run dry

In America's fastest-growing metro area, development runs up against drought

BY KARIN BRULLIARD

LEEDS, UTAH — A century after her grandfather arrived to eke a living out of the hot, red dirt here, Susan Savage still structures her life around the groundwater. Twice daily, she checks the well her family's pasturelands, orchards and animals depend on, watching its level drop in recent years amid punishing drought.

These days, she and some others in this rural town of fewer than 1,000 people are casting a wary eye 15 miles south, where St. George, the nation's fastest-growing metropolitan area, is churning out houses — and scrambling to find new water sources to support that boom, including deep underground near here.

St. George and surrounding Washington County, two hours northeast of Las Vegas in Utah's hottest and driest corner, was once

SEE UTAH ON A18



TOP: Youths walk along the Virgin River, the main water source for St. George, Utah, which is increasingly under pressure as the area experiences explosive population growth. ABOVE: Homes are under construction at the Desert Color housing development. Its developers have prioritized water conservation.

## Election deniers given access to voting files

Sensitive information on server was downloaded dozens of times

BY JON SWAINE,  
AARON C. DAVIS,  
AMY GARDNER  
AND EMMA BROWN

Sensitive election system files obtained by attorneys working to overturn President Donald Trump's 2020 defeat were shared with election deniers, conspiracy theorists and right-wing commentators, according to records reviewed by The Washington Post.

A Georgia computer forensics firm, hired by the attorneys,

placed the files on a server, where company records show they were downloaded dozens of times. Among the downloaders were accounts associated with a Texas meteorologist who has appeared on Sean Hannity's radio show; a podcaster who suggested political enemies should be executed; a former pro surfer who pushed discredited theories that the 2020 election was manipulated; and a self-described former "seduction and pickup coach" who claims to also have been a hacker.

Plaintiffs in a long-running federal lawsuit over the security of Georgia's voting systems obtained the new records from the company, Atlanta-based Sullivan-Strickler, under a subpoena to one of its executives. The records include contracts between the

SEE RECORDS ON A13

## Fauci to depart in December

As government service winds down, he looks ahead to next chapter



ANDRÉ CHUNG FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Anthony S. Fauci became the public face of the government's response to the coronavirus pandemic.

BY YASMEEN ABUTALEB

Anthony S. Fauci, the nation's preeminent infectious-disease expert who achieved unprecedented fame while enduring withering political attacks as the face of the coronavirus pandemic response under two presidents, plans to step down in December after more than a half-century of public service, he announced Monday.

Fauci, 81, has led the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases since 1984. He joined the parent agency, the National Institutes of Health, in 1968 as a 27-year-old doctor who had just finished medical residency and was quickly identified as a rising star. Most recently, Fauci has also served as President Biden's chief

SEE FAUCI ON A4

## Weapons aid may presage a new phase in Ukraine

BY ALEX HORTON

The Pentagon is sending new weapons and equipment to Ukraine that will better prepare its military to fight Russian troops at closer ranges, potentially signaling that Kyiv and its backers see an opportunity to retake lost ground after weeks of grinding artillery duels along the front lines.

Ukrainian officials have been openly discussing an offensive on the Russian-held strategic port city of Kherson, but there is little evidence along the front lines that Ukraine is prepared to execute an operation that would

SEE WEAPONS ON A10

## IN THE NEWS



CRAG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Back to school** Students returned to many classrooms in Northern Virginia, where some districts face vacancies and other concerns. B1

**FBI search** Donald Trump's attorneys asked a federal judge to appoint a special master to oversee the review of seized materials. A5

### THE NATION

**A congressional special election** in Upstate New York will be a closely watched test of both parties' strategies for the midterm elections. A3

**Three officers in Arkansas** were taken off duty after a video showed them apparently beating a man during an arrest. A4

**Flash floods** inundated the Dallas area, killing at least one person and leaving streets and highways waterlogged. A6

### THE WORLD

**As the British Museum**

faces pressure to return the Elgin marbles to Greece, robot sculptors are creating highly detailed replicas. A7

**Pakistan charged** Imran Khan under the country's anti-terrorism act after the former prime minister addressed a rally and criticized top officials. A8

**South Korea** began joint military drills with the United States, a move likely to ramp up tensions with North Korea. A10

### THE ECONOMY

**The Dow** plummeted more than 600 points

over investor fears about the Federal Reserve's next move on inflation and interest rates. A11

**The chief executive** of NSO Group, the Israeli company behind Pegasus spyware, stepped down amid a reorganization. A11

**Ford Motor Co.** announced plans to cut 3,000 jobs as it reorients its business around electric vehicles. A12

### THE REGION

**The D.C. government** announced plans to

an unusual partnership with Petersburg to improve the quality of life for residents. B1

**American University** staff members went on strike over health care and wages as union talks stalled. B1

**The District** government released body-camera footage that shows a police officer shooting and injuring a man after a foot chase this month. B4

### OBITUARIES

**David Kay**, 82, led a CIA-run operation in 2003 that concluded former Iraqi ruler Saddam Hussein had built no weapons of mass destruction. B6

## INSIDE



**HEALTH & SCIENCE** Affirmed from start to finish

For Rach McEneaney and other nonbinary athletes, a new category in endurance sports is a life-changing update. E1

### STYLE

**The open road** Democrat Beto O'Rourke looks to sway Texans in mostly small and often incredibly red towns. C1

BUSINESS NEWS.....	A11
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**'Quiet quitting' trend may lead firms to fire workers**

Productivity drop complicates inflation fight as companies pass costs to consumers. **In Money**

**Goo Goo Dolls back on road after 2-year hiatus**

Lead singer John Rzeznik talks about returning to live music after vocal chord scare. **In Life**



BRAD PENNER/  
USA TODAY SPORTS

**What's going on with once-mighty Yankees?**

Manager Aaron Boone hasn't hidden from criticism as team goes through a slump. Let's explore what's gone wrong. **In Sports**

# USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | TUESDAY, AUGUST 23, 2022

## ELECTIONS

### Fla., NY primary races to watch

Key among them is who will face DeSantis in fall

Phillip M. Bailey  
USA TODAY

Voters in two of the country's largest states will further animate the fall midterms with a primary forcing at least one longtime House member out of Congress and another that could blunt the ambitions of a Republican on the short list of 2024 presidential contenders.

In Florida, Gov. Ron DeSantis is among the top Republican names among potential presidential contenders in 2024. But first he must win reelection, and Democrats would love to thwart those White House ambitions, even as the Sunshine State has drifted toward the GOP in recent years.

Floridians will also set the table for their Senate race, where Rep. Val Demings is expected to prevail as the Democratic nominee to challenge Republican Sen. Marco Rubio.

The other races to watch on Tuesday take place in New York, where Democrats have a few intraparty clashes, with incumbents battling each other because of the state Legislature's redistricting process.

Two House committee chairs, Jerry Nadler and Carolyn Maloney, have been engaged in a heated primary after a state court combined their two congressional districts.

And in a year when House Democrats are at risk of losing their House majority, Rep. Sean Patrick Maloney, the leader of their 2022 campaign or-

See PRIMARIES, Page 2A



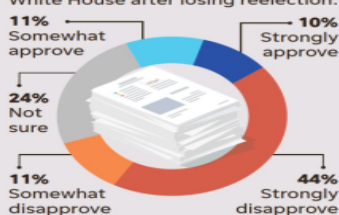
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## USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

### Most say Trump should not have taken records

Americans' views of Donald Trump taking presidential records from the White House after losing reelection:



SOURCE: YouGov poll, Aug. 9-12  
AMY BARNETTE, TRACIE KEETON/USA TODAY

## WAR IN UKRAINE SIX MONTHS LATER Savage conflict shows no sign of ending



A boy looks at a crater following a Russian strike Wednesday in Druzhkivka in the Donetsk region of Ukraine. Despite enduring months of heavy shelling, Ukrainian morale remains remarkably high. ANATOLI STEPANOV/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

As the brutal fighting goes on, the entire world is beginning to pay a very heavy price

John Bacon USA TODAY

Ukraine is on life support, Russian troops are taking massive casualties, and the rest of the world is saddled with severe food shortages, spiraling inflation, the risk of a nuclear disaster and other hardships fueled by a savage war that shows no sign of soon ending. Russia's callous invasion of Ukraine six months ago ignited a conflict the entire world appears to be losing.

The Kremlin can claim modest gains on the ground, but at least three top generals have been replaced in the past month as the Russian military struggles to make meaningful progress toward President Vladimir Putin's belligerent ambitions.

"His overall objective was to overrun the entire country, to engage in regime change in Kyiv, to snuff out Ukraine as an independent sovereign and independent nation," Colin Kahl, the U.S. undersecretary of defense for policy, said at a recent briefing. "None of that has happened."

And Putin, who included NATO ex-

### More coverage

**Full page of photos:** Images from the past 6 months show despair and destruction. **4A**

**Coming Wednesday:** An inside view of Ukraine's war crimes investigations.



A firefighter extinguishes a blaze at a destroyed chemical factory following a missile strike Friday in the second-largest Ukrainian city of Kharkiv. SERGEY BOBOK/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

See UKRAINE, Page 5A

## Women lag men recovering jobs lost during pandemic

Female-dominated fields clobbered by shutdowns

Paul Davidson  
USA TODAY

Last month, the U.S. added a booming 528,000 jobs and now has recovered all 22 million lost in the pandemic.

But the milestone masks another type of gender gap (that's not about wages).

Men recouped all 10.1 million of their vanished jobs and topped their February 2020 level by 132,000 in July, Labor Department figures show. Yet women, who lost 11.9 million positions during the crisis, are still 100,000 shy of their pre-COVID-19 mark, according

to a Labor survey of employers that results in the headline job gains.

That's not a huge gap. But a separate survey of households — that determines the 3.5% unemployment rate — shows women further behind. According to that poll, men are 24,000 jobs below their pre-pandemic peak while women are 552,000 jobs short.

Why are women still catching up? It's COVID-19's lopsided impact on the fields they dominate.

"The industries that got hit hardest in the pandemic tend to employ more women," says Mark Zandi, chief economist of Moody's Analytics.

For example, leisure and hospitality, which includes restaurants and bars,

See PANDEMIC, Page 2A

### Unequal recovery

**+** The United States added 528,000 jobs last month and has recovered all 22 million jobs lost in the pandemic.

**+** Men recouped all 10.1 million of their vanished jobs lost in the pandemic.

**+** Women, who lost 11.9 million positions, are still 100,000 shy of their pre-COVID mark.

**"The industries that got hit hardest in the pandemic tend to employ more women."**

**Mark Zandi**  
chief economist of Moody's Analytics

DAILY DISCOUNTS & SAVINGS ...

Dining Deals

USA

PAGE 2A



## Massa poda recursos para salud, educación, obras públicas, producción y transporte

**economía**— En su primera medida para ajustar los gastos del Estado nacional, el ministro de Economía, Sergio Massa, anunció ayer que recortó las partidas no utilizadas en varias áreas del sector público por un total de \$210.000 millones. Los ministerios más afectados son Salud, Educación, Obras Públicas y Transporte, y la Secretaría de Desarrollo Productivo. **Página 18**

Preocupado por la falta de dólares, el Gobierno suma trabas para importar

Impondrá licencias no automáticas en varios productos; además, buscará que las cerealeras apuren la liquidación de sus divisas de la exportación. **Página 20**

**LOS RIESGOS DE LA POLIOMIELITIS EN LA ARGENTINA**

—sociedad

La OPS incluyó al país en la categoría con peligro alto; advierten sobre la insuficiente cobertura con vacunas y una vigilancia débil. **Página 24**

# LA NACION

MARTES 23 DE AGOSTO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

JUICIO POR CORRUPCIÓN

## El fiscal pidió 12 años de cárcel e inhabilitar de por vida a Cristina

Luciani la consideró jefa de una asociación ilícita para defraudar al Estado; reclamó la misma pena para Lázaro Báez y 10 años para De Vido y José López; la vicepresidenta pidió declarar hoy, no la dejaron y hará un descargo en redes

**Hernán Cappiello**  
LA NACION

El fiscal federal Diego Luciani ayer pidió que Cristina Kirchner sea condenada a una pena de 12 años de prisión, al acusarla de ser jefa de una asociación ilícita y de administración fraudulenta agravada por su condición de funcionaria pública. En su última jornada de alegato, Luciani solicitó que la vicepresidenta sea inhabilitada de por vida para ejercer cargos públicos y que su fortuna sea decomisada hasta la suma de 5321 millones de pesos. "Señores jueces, este es el momento: es corrupción o justicia", concluyó. El tribunal definirá si acepta el pedido de condena antes de fin de año.

Ante la acusación, Cristina Kirchner pidió volver a declarar hoy, pero el tribunal lo rechazó. La vicepresidenta dijo entonces que estaba ante un "pelotón de fusilamiento mediático-judicial" y que hoy contestaría a través de las redes.

Mientras la tensión crecía frente al departamento de la vicepresidenta, en Recoleta, con cacerolazos y forcejeos entre grupos a favor y en contra, el gobierno de Alberto Fernández expresó su apoyo a Cristina Kirchner a través de un comunicado. **Continúa en la página 8**

**Fernández volvió a hablar con la vice y la respaldó**

Jaime Rosenberg  
**Página 12**



**TENSION EN RECOLETA.** La esquina de Juncal y Uruguay, donde vive Cristina Kirchner, fue el escenario anoche de forcejeos entre partidarios de la vicepresidenta y manifestantes que apoyaban el pedido de condena del fiscal Luciani. Intervinieron efectivos de la Policía de la Ciudad. En su cuenta de Twitter, Cristina Kirchner criticó la acción policial y calificó de "energúmenos macristas" a quienes se manifestaban en su contra. **Página 11**

**EL ANÁLISIS**

Las preguntas que no puede responder

**Martín Rodríguez Yebra**  
—LA NACION—

No la absolvió la historia, como alardeó cuando enfrentó a los jueces. Tampoco la política. Cristina Kirchner constató en las últimas semanas tan tortuosas para ella que el poder es un escudo imperfecto y que el liderazgo mesiánico que ejerce apenas funciona con la minoría intensa que acepta la sumisión religiosa a sus consignas. **Continúa en la página 9**

**EL ESCENARIO**

El espinoso camino de investigar al poder

**Diego Cabot**  
—LA NACION—

**Página 14**



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Corpo de Bombeiros de Minas Gerais/Divulgação

## MENINO MORRE APÓS CAIR EM BURACO DE 6 METROS EM MG

Criança de 8 anos foi resgatada viva depois de 17 horas, mas teve parada cardiorrespiratória; área em Carmo do Paranaíba (340 km de Belo Horizonte) não estava cercada **Cotidiano B3**

## Aprendizagem foi de 45% em SP com pandemia, diz estudo

Estudo com base em dados da Secretaria da Educação paulista indica que dois anos de pandemia — a maior parte deles com escolas fechadas — fizeram com que os estudantes da rede estadual de São Paulo aprendessem apenas 45% do que era esperado.

A pesquisa, da Universidade de Zurique, englobou alunos do ensino fundamental 2 (6º ao 9º ano) e do ensino médio a partir de boletins escolares e provas específicas de português e matemática. Foi constatado ainda que houve recuperação, mas ela foi lenta. **Cotidiano B1**

## Presidente do Ipea refuta alta da fome; críticos questionam

Erik Alencar de Figueiredo argumenta que o aumento da fome deveria ter resultado em mais internações decorrentes de desnutrição, entre outros indicadores. Apresentado em evento no Planalto, estudo tem dados e premissas questionáveis, dizem críticos. **Mercado A16**

# Bolsonaro evita se comprometer com urnas no JN

Em entrevista, presidente exalta economia e mente sobre ter xingado magistrados ou imitado vítimas da Covid

O presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) evitou assumir compromisso incondicional com o resultado das eleições ao ser instado, em entrevista ao Jornal Nacional, a se manifestar sobre o processo eleitoral. Respondeu que respeitará o resultado "desde que as eleições sejam limpas", como já fizera, e pediu um ponto final no assunto.

Indagado sobre a tensão com o Judiciário, negou ter xingado ministros do Supremo Tribunal Federal, embora já tenha chamado Alexandre de Moraes de "canalha" e ofendido Luís Roberto Barroso. Quanto à pandemia, disse ser mentira que imitou a falta de ar das vítimas, mesmo que a cena tenha se repetido e esteja gravada.

Bolsonaro foi o primeiro dos presidentes a ser sabatinado ao vivo no noticiário da Rede Globo, que obteve o pingo de audiência do ano. A transmissão suscitou panelaços em capitais.

O presidente exaltou a performance econômica de seu governo e elogiou ex-ministros como Ricardo Salles, do Meio Ambiente. **Política A6**

## ANÁLISE Igor Gielow

### Presidente obtém empate razoável

Jair Bolsonaro (PL) sobreviveu sem grandes arranhões à morna entrevista ao Jornal Nacional, o que pode ser lido como bom resultado.

Caberia mais clareza de lado a lado, e a vantagem é de quem enrola. Questões econômicas foram tratadas com ligeireza. **Política A6**

## Declaração sobre PF apurar fraude em urnas é falsa

Jair Bolsonaro disse ao JN que a ministra do STF Rosa Weber ordenou à PF abertura de inquérito por suposta fraude na urna em 2018. Checagem da Lupa mostra que houve apenas pedido de um advogado, arquivado pelo TSE por falta de provas. **Política A6**

## Depois de gafe sobre mulheres, Lula critica ataques a Janja A5

## independência, 200

**Cinco bancos tiveram 78% do lucro do setor em 2021**  
Itaú, Bradesco, Santander, Caixa e BB lucraram, juntos, R\$ 123,5 bilhões de um total de R\$ 132 bilhões. Febraban diz que setor é competitivo e começa a voltar a nível pré-Covid. **A18**

## Rússia acusa Kiev de morte de filha de ultranacionalista

**Mundo A13**

## Esporte B7

Parado pela guerra, futebol ucraniano retorna sem torcida e com proteção militar

## Ilustrada C1

Dom Pedro 2º é alvo de atentado em livro de Ruy Castro que mescla fato e ficção

## Comida C8

Virtual e híbrido por dois anos, festival de gastronomia volta às ruas de Tiradentes



Evaristo Sa/APP

## CORAÇÃO DE D. PEDRO 1º CHEGA A BRASÍLIA PARA CELEBRAÇÕES DOS 200 ANOS DE INDEPENDÊNCIA

Imerso em formol, órgão guardado no Porto, em Portugal, deixou o país pela primeira vez em 187 anos; acadêmicos criticam possível uso político **Cotidiano B2**



## ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br



## EDITORIAIS A2

Um valor popular

Sobre apoio à democracia, segundo o Datafolha.

Gargalos do ensino

Acerca de desafios da educação básica em São Paulo.



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



**Triste hito: PE podría quedar en manos de un "significativamente corrupto"**

## Abdo duda en viajar para no dejar Presidencia a Velázquez

Tiene programado partir el jueves al Vaticano. Le sugirieron que no lo haga. Permanencia del vice en su cargo después de designación de EEUU complica panorama. HV negó ruptura.

PÁGINA 2

**Empresa busca rehabilitación vía judicial**  
**El BNF se mantiene firme**  
**en su decisión de cerrar**  
**las cuentas de Tabesa**

PÁGINA 9

**Político lambareño tiene 4 condenas**  
**Cámara confirma ocho**  
**años de cárcel para el**  
**ex intendente Cárdenas**

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CON ESTA EDICIÓN

• REVISTA ESCOLAR N.º 28  
• Zona de Apoyo Escolar  
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• CASILLERO DE CAPACITACIÓN EN  
COMUNICACIÓN CASTELLANA N.º 19  
Gratis con el diario

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HISTORIA UNIVERSAL TOMO N.º 44  
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DANIEL DUARTE

**Histórico.** El arzobispo arribará hoy a Roma para ser investido el sábado como el primer cardenal de Paraguay. En la foto, saluda antes de su vuelo.

PÁGINA 17

**Fiscalía le acusa por corrupción en obras**  
**Piden 12 años de prisión**  
**para Cristina Fernández e**  
**inhabilitación en política**

PÁGINA 38

**Recurrió contra imputación y audiencias**  
**Giuzzio denuncia que el**  
**MP se apropió de carpeta**  
**sobre HC y apeló su caso**

PÁGINA 5

**Crisis en Uruguay por ayuda a prófugo**  
**Marset y principales socios**  
**del poderoso clan narco**  
**siguen libres e impunes**

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LE FIGARO

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



**ANDRÉ DUSSOLLIER**  
« J'AI CONFIANCE EN L'AVENIR  
DU CINÉMA FRANÇAIS » **PAGE 11**

**TENNIS**

**CAROLINE GARCIA,  
RETOUR GAGNANT  
AVANT FLUSHING MEADOWS** **PAGE 10**



**L'ÉTÉ  
DU FIGARO**

**TRÉSORS DE FRANCE**  
LES RICHESSES  
DES  
CHARTREUX  
DE BORDEAUX

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**DUELS ÉLECTRIQUES**

**NIKOLA TESLA  
ET THOMAS  
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Douguina : Moscou  
accuse Kiev** **PAGE 5**

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**Le spectre  
de la dissolution  
s'est dissipé** **PAGE 6**

**MAYOTTE**

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la parade  
à l'immigration** **PAGE 7**

**UKRAINE**

**Sanctions : la Russie  
touchée mais  
pas coulée** **PAGES 20 ET 21**

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LIBRES**

• La chronique  
de Renaud Girard  
• La tribune  
de Jordan Bardella  
**PAGE 17**

**FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question  
de lundi :**  
Faut-il réguler les vols  
en jet privé ?

**OUI 50% NON 50%**

**TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 166 456**

**Votez aujourd'hui  
sur lefigaro.fr**

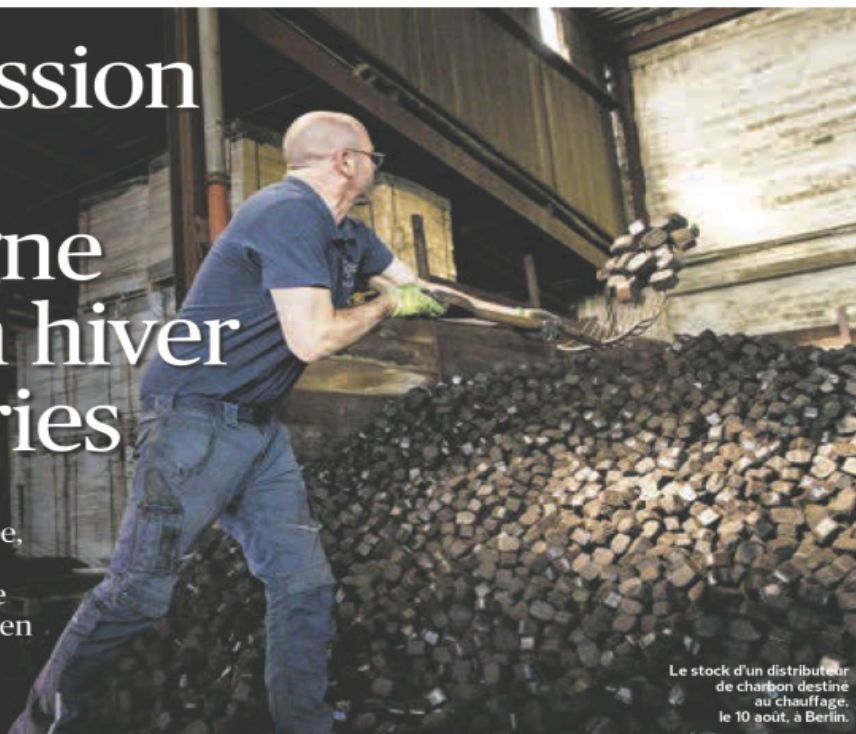
**Immigration : êtes-vous  
favorable à la restriction  
du droit du sol à Mayotte ?**

SM/PHOTOPR/VOIX DU NORD/  
MAXPPP-MATTHEW STOCKMAN/AFP/  
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# Sous pression russe, l'Allemagne craint un hiver de pénuries

Le Kremlin voit en Berlin  
le maillon faible de l'Europe,  
dont il peut exploiter  
la dépendance énergétique  
pour faire dérailler le soutien  
occidental à l'Ukraine.

**PAGES 2 À 4 ET L'ÉDITORIAL**



Le stock d'un distributeur  
de charbon destiné  
au chauffage,  
le 10 août, à Berlin.

## Vieillesse : les espoirs de la stimulation électrique pour améliorer la mémoire

Des chercheurs américains  
ont réussi à aider des person-  
nes de plus de 65 ans à mé-  
moriser un plus grand nom-  
bre de mots en envoyant vers  
leur cortex des petites im-

pulsions électriques. L'expé-  
rience a été réalisée sur des  
volontaires en bonne santé  
mais va être étendue à des  
patients souffrant de troubles  
neurologiques. **PAGE 9**



## Instruction à domicile : des restrictions qui inquiètent les familles

C'est une des mesures prévues  
par la loi contre le sépara-  
tisme : désormais, les familles  
souhaitant instruire leurs en-  
fants à domicile doivent de-  
mander une autorisation à

l'Éducation nationale. Or,  
dans 68 % des cas, un « non »  
leur est opposé. À l'approche  
de la rentrée, ceux qui ont fait  
ce choix dénoncent une at-  
teinte à leur liberté. **PAGE 8**

**ÉDITORIAL** par Philippe Gélie [pgelie@lefigaro.fr](mailto:pgelie@lefigaro.fr)

## Révolution allemande

Olaf Scholz s'était peut-être imagi-  
né que la succession d'Angela  
Merkel serait un long fleuve tran-  
quille. Sa carrière politique avait  
fleuri sous l'astre bienveillant de  
l'ancienne chancelière, dont ce social-démoc-  
rate avait copié les idées centristes et les pos-  
tures maternelles pour mieux se faire élire.  
Hélas, l'héritage se révèle en partie empoison-  
né. Seize ans de gestion prudente, applaudie  
lorsque tout allait bien, mais sans prise de ris-  
que ni audace dans les réformes, laissent l'Al-  
lemagne mal préparée à la tempête qui monte.  
Au pouvoir depuis moins d'un an, le nouveau  
chancelier n'a pas été épargné par les épreu-  
ves : guerre en Ukraine, crise énergétique,  
flambée de l'inflation et maintenant risque de  
récession. Le colosse économique de l'Europe  
se découvre à la merci de l'autocrate du  
Kremlin, qui joue avec le robinet du gaz comme  
un chat avec une pelote de laine. Vladimir  
Poutine a calculé que sa dépendance faisait de  
l'Allemagne le maillon faible de l'Europe et  
qu'en la déstabilisant, il pourrait faire vaciller  
le bel édifice communautaire.  
Y parviendra-t-il ? C'est une révolution alle-  
mande qu'il va falloir pour l'empêcher. La  
course a déjà commencé pour réduire la part

du gaz russe et lui substituer des fournisseurs  
qatari, norvégien ou canadien. Mais rien ne  
garantit que l'approvisionnement suffise à  
passer l'hiver sans que les pénuries jettent  
dans la rue les citoyens en colère. Tandis qu'ils  
font des stocks de combustible en plein été,  
extrême droite et extrême gauche sont à l'affût  
pour exploiter le « tsunami social » que redoute  
une coalition à l'impopularité record.  
Berlin doit aussi renoncer à ses dogmes sur le  
nucléaire en maintenant en service ses trois

**Corriger  
ses faiblesses,  
sans renoncer  
à l'idéal  
européen**

derniers réac-  
teurs, et à ses  
pudeurs écologi-  
ques en faisant  
tourner ses cen-  
trales à charbon.  
L'Allemagne doit  
enfin corriger ses  
faiblesses struc-  
turelles – sa dépendance commerciale envers  
la Chine, son retard dans la digitalisation de  
l'économie, sa démographie déclinante... tout  
en reconstituant une armée à la hauteur des  
défis actuels. Bref, la première puissance euro-  
péenne doit se réinventer en profondeur, sans  
renoncer à son idéal européen. Nous avons  
tous intérêt à ce qu'elle réussisse ! ■

BDL Capital Management, société de gestion française et indépendante

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tensions géopolitiques

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de la directive 2011/61/UE, à l'article 13 du règlement (UE) n°345/2013 et à l'article 14 du  
règlement (UE) n°346/2013, le cas échéant. BDL Capital Management : 24, rue du Rocher  
75006 Paris - Numéro de Siret : 48109448000029 / N° d'agrément AMF : GP-05000003



# Ben Stokes

On mental health, panic attacks and battling back

Exclusive interview → Sport



Blowing hot and cold Why all the 'winter' bugs this summer? → G2



# The Guardian

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## Truss cut millions from services that kept sewage off UK beaches

'Efficiency' plan led to more human waste in rivers, say campaigners

Exclusive  
Pippa Crerar  
Helena Horton

The Tory leadership frontrunner, Liz Truss, was responsible for cutting millions of pounds of funding earmarked for tackling water pollution

during her time as environment secretary, the Guardian can reveal.

Truss, who was in charge at the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) between 2014 and 2016, oversaw "efficiency" plans set out in the 2015 spending review to reduce Environment Agency funding by £235m.

This included a £24m cut from a government grant for environmental protection, including surveillance of water companies to prevent the dumping of raw sewage, between 2014-15 and 2016-17, according to the

National Audit Office. It represents almost a quarter of the funding cut from this area between 2010, when the grant stood at £120m, and 2020, by which time it had fallen to £40m.

Labour analysis of official figures shows that since 2016 raw sewage discharge in England and Wales has more than doubled, from 14.7 spill events an overflow to 29.3 in 2021. Greenpeace said the figures showed Truss had "sewage on her hands".

The Environment Agency has called for the government to reverse the cuts but campaigners want the

**'Our likely future prime minister ... has sewage on her hands'**

Dr Doug Parr  
Greenpeace UK

next prime minister to go further and also give the body the power to properly monitor water companies over sewage, rather than allowing them to self-report discharges.

It follows the finding that 24% of sewage overflow pipes at popular seaside resorts in England and Wales have monitors that are faulty or do not have monitors at all, meaning people could be swimming in human waste this summer without realising.

Last year the head of the Environment Agency, James Bevan, called on the government to reinstate the funds, saying that given the length of the country's river systems, having "only a few hundred people to oversee them is a pretty tall ask".

8 →



**'It's time to watch the next generation shine'**

Ellen White, England's all-time top scorer with 52 goals, is retiring from football aged 33. White, who earned 113 caps, said her "dreams came true" when England won Euro 2022 this summer. **Sport Page 41 →**

## Ukraine murdered Dugina, says Russia

Andrew Roth  
Moscow

Russia has accused Ukraine's intelligence services of carrying out the murder of Darya Dugina, the daughter of an ultra-nationalist Russian ideologue, raising fears of a violent retaliation.

Dugina was killed on Saturday evening when a bomb blew up the Toyota Land Cruiser she was driving, Russian investigators said.

The Guardian has not been able to verify the accusations made by Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB). The agency released video showing its suspect crossing the Russian border and entering a building it said belonged to the victim, but did not provide other photo or video evidence to corroborate the allegations.

If the accusation against Ukraine is true, it would mark a significant embarrassment for Russia's security apparatus, which failed to prevent the attack in an elite Moscow postcode and then let the suspects slip away.

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