

## What's News

## Business &amp; Finance

Elon Musk is seeking to add recent allegations made by Twitter's former head of security in a whistleblower complaint to his argument for terminating his \$44 billion takeover of the social-media platform. **A1**

◆ **U.S. stocks fell** for a third straight session, bringing the S&P 500's decline to 5.1% over that period. The S&P 500 and Nasdaq both shed 1.1% on Tuesday, while the Dow retreated 1%. **A1**

◆ **Exxon has notified** Russian officials that it will sue the government unless Moscow allows the company to exit a major oil-and-gas project, people familiar with the matter said. **A6**

◆ **Restaurant operators** and business advocates mobilized to try to convince California's governor to veto a bill that would set wages for fast-food workers. **A1**

◆ **California may soon** require nearly all employers hiring in the state to begin listing pay on job postings, a move that could affect many of the biggest U.S. companies. **A4**

◆ **California's Legislature** passed a bill to require makers of social-media apps to consider the physical and mental health of minors when designing their products. **A4**

◆ **Best Buy's quarterly profit** and sales fell as spending on home electronics dried up compared with earlier in the pandemic and industry discounts ate into profits. **B1, B2**

◆ **The SEC sued** insurance magnate Greg Lindberg, alleging that he and a lieutenant defrauded insurers out of more than \$75 million. **B11**

## World-Wide

◆ **Mikhail Gorbachev** died at the age of 91. As the last leader of the Soviet Union, he sought to reform the Communist state and infuse greater transparency, but his efforts unleashed a wave of forces that led to the nation's demise and reshaped the geopolitical landscape. **A1**

◆ **The Justice Department** said "efforts were likely taken to obstruct the government's investigation" of documents at Trump's Mar-a-Lago home months before FBI agents searched the Florida estate in early August. **A3**

◆ **Ukraine pressed forward** with an offensive in the country's south on Tuesday, seeking to build on some initial gains against Russian forces after launching the assault to retake the Kherson region a day earlier. **A6**

◆ **Iraqi cleric Sadr**, whose withdrawal from politics triggered deadly clashes in Baghdad, condemned his supporters for attacking security forces and called on them to leave the city's Green Zone. **A16**

◆ **Jackson, Miss.**, which has struggled with a crumbling water infrastructure for years, has no reliable running water, authorities said. **A3**

◆ **The U.S. Army** has grounded its entire fleet of CH-47 Chinook helicopters because of a risk of engine fires, officials said. **A3**

◆ **NASA is hoping** to launch the first lunar-orbit mission of its Artemis program on Saturday after the initial attempt was scrubbed due to technical glitches. **A3**

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Mikhail Gorbachev, who unleashed forces that led to the fall of the Soviet Union, died at 91.

## Gorbachev, Last Leader Of Soviet Union, Dies

By ANN M. SIMMONS

MOSCOW—As the eighth and final leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev sought to reform the Communist state and infuse greater transparency. But his efforts unleashed a wave of unstoppable forces that led to the nation's demise, reshaping the geopolitical landscape and leaving the U.S. as the world's sole superpower.

Russia's state news agencies cited Moscow's central

clinical hospital as saying he had died at age 91. A representative for Mr. Gorbachev confirmed his death.

The son of peasants, he would be known to the world as the architect of "perestroika" and "glasnost"—restructuring and openness—domestic policies he hoped would breathe new life into the country's sluggish 1980s economy, remake the political system and loosen some civil restrictions at a time of warming relations with the West.

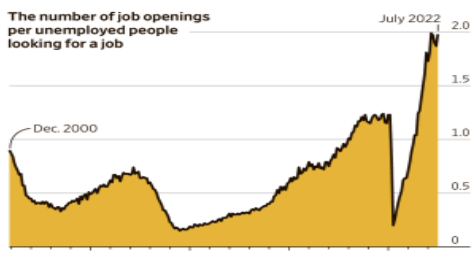
What happened next was the unraveling of decades-old entrenched Communist regimes across the Eastern bloc, the reunification of Germany's East and West, and greatly improved ties with the U.S.

"I do not relieve myself of responsibility for the initiated reforms, because I am still deeply convinced that they were vital and ultimately will serve the well-being of my Motherland and will be beneficial for the world," Mr. Gorbachev said.

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## Job Openings Up, Layoffs Drop

The Labor Department said there were a seasonally adjusted 11.2 million job openings in July, up from the previous month's upwardly revised 11 million. Layoffs and discharges fell slightly to 1.4 million in July from the prior month's level. Hiring slowed slightly to 6.4 million from 6.5 million in June. **A2**



## Sold Out Months in Advance, Bingo Is Now Spelled P-A-R-T-Y

Game gets a boost from dance-offs, cheesy giveaways and '90s nostalgia

By JAMES HOOKWAY

LIVERPOOL, England—Fluffy unicorns and other kitsch prizes? Check. Thumping dance anthems and male dancers in curly blond wigs flinging glow sticks into the crowd? Check.

That's right. Actual bingo. A staple of nursing homes and fundraisers in the U.S., the numbers game has been on a journey since Jonny Lacey and his friend Joshua Burke turned it into Bongo's Bingo—a no-holds-barred night out in Liverpool where Mr. Lacey presides over a mashup of dance-offs, cheesy

giveaways, '90s nostalgia acts and, in between, a few rounds of bingo.

A recent pair of shows here drew 3,500 people each night, the biggest yet. They were sold out months in advance, at around \$40 a ticket. The same evening, 13 other Bongo's Bingo nights played out across the U.K. Celebrity guests have ranged from David Hasselhoff to Vengaboys, the Euro-ropop veterans whose best-known tracks include "Boom Boom Boom Boom."

"It's all completely nuts of course," Mr. Lacey said before the second of the Liverpool



Star of the show

## Inside the Mexican Cartels That Rule Fentanyl Smuggling

The drug is a leading cause of record overdoses in the U.S.

CULIACÁN, Mexico—At a half-built house in a barrio, a longtime Sinaloa cartel employee used a shovel to mix chemicals in a simmering oil barrel.

By Jon Kamp,  
José de Córdoba  
and Julie Wernau

His concoction was an illegal form of fentanyl, which Mexican criminal organizations are churning out at high volume in laboratories and smuggling across the border. In a six-day workweek, the cook said, he can make enough fentanyl for hundreds of thousands of doses.

With business savvy and growing power in Mexico, the Sinaloa and rival Jalisco cartels dominate the market for supplying fentanyl to the U.S. They cornered the market after China

cracked down on fentanyl production several years ago and are now churning out bootleg versions of the highly potent synthetic opioid that, in its legal form, is used under prescription to treat severe pain.

Fentanyl's inexpensive, easy-to-replicate formula has boosted its appeal to criminal networks. It is also fueling an overdose crisis that claimed more than 108,000 lives in the U.S. last year, a record.

"If it were an athlete, people would call it 'The G.O.A.T.,'" said Jim Crotty, who served as deputy chief of staff at the Drug Enforcement Administration from 2019 to 2021. "It is in fact the most pernicious, the most devastating drug that we have ever seen."

Like a factory worker at a multinational corporation, the 25-year-old fentanyl cook is part

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## INSIDE



**PERSONAL JOURNAL**  
How to retire during a market downturn and make your money last. **A9**



**JASON GAY**  
Serena Williams disrupts a planned farewell with a straight-sets win. **A12**

## Fast-Food Chains Push Against California Bill

By HEATHER HADDON  
AND CHRISTINE MAI-DUC

Restaurant operators and business advocates mobilized Tuesday to try to convince California's governor to veto a bill that would set wages for fast-food workers, which they said could increase costs and set a precedent other state and cities might follow.

The effort is being pushed by franchise owners, many who would have to take on the cost of paying workers a minimum wage as high as \$22 an hour starting next year, set by a government-run council created by the bill. Chains that operate their own restaurants, such as Starbucks Corp., Chipotle Mexican Grill Inc. and In-N-Out Burger, would also be affected.

Groups representing restaurant companies and owners said they plan to launch an advertising campaign and deploy

franchisees and business leaders to attempt to convince Gov. Gavin Newsom, a Democrat, to veto the bill.

"Every resource at our disposal will be used to ensure our entire membership is asking the Governor to veto this bill," said Jot Condie, president of the California Restaurant Association. He said he fears the wage-setting council's authority could later be expanded beyond the fast-food industry.

The bill, known as the Fast Act, passed California's Legislature Monday. It was backed by labor unions, which believe a state council setting minimum wages for fast-food workers could create a new model to ensure fair wages and other protections for hourly workers in an industry where unions have

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◆ California bill passes to make job postings list pay. **A4**

## Bland ambition

Dullness helps Biden and Starmer beat the critics — JANAN GANESH, PAGE 17

## Living with Covid

Impact on heart and brain disease is a global challenge — BIG READ, PAGE 15



## Flight plan

Private jets should be testing ground for green aviation — PILITA CLARK, PAGE 16

## Iraq clashes Cleric Sadr calls for calm

Armed members of Saraya al-Salam, a military wing affiliated with Shia cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, take aim during clashes with Iraqi security forces in Baghdad's green zone yesterday.

The unrest, which has left at least 30 people dead and hundreds wounded, erupted on Monday after Sadr said he was withdrawing from politics. Loyalists broke through the heavily fortified green zone, which houses parliament, before pulling back yesterday after Sadr had called on them to retreat in a televised speech.

Sadr asked his supporters to drop their weapons, saying: "My head is down and I apologise to the Iraqi people. The spilling of Iraqi blood is forbidden." Baghdad in turmoil page 4



AP Photo/Hussein Wadi

# Musk cites Twitter whistleblower as new grounds to halt \$44bn deal

◆ Tesla founder seeks trial delay ◆ Zatkos's testimony seized on ◆ Financial impact claimed

TIM BRADSHAW — LONDON

Elon Musk has seized on a whistleblower report by Twitter's former security chief to bolster his campaign to terminate his \$44bn deal to buy the social media company.

Musk's legal team wrote to Twitter executives on Monday, claiming that Peiter Zatkos's allegations, if true, breached aspects of the merger agreement struck in April but which the billionaire has been seeking to abandon since July.

The Tesla chief yesterday requested a delay to the trial over whether he must go through with his takeover of the social media group, scheduled for October in the Delaware Court of Chancery.

Zatkos, known in cyber security circles

as "Mudge", was also served with a subpoena from Musk's team over the weekend to testify in the case.

Until now, Musk's legal efforts to extricate himself from the deal have centred on the scale of Twitter's fake user problem. Monday's letter outlines a much broader argument, suggesting Zatkos's claims give the billionaire the right to terminate the merger agreement on several points.

Twitter's lawyers responded, stating the notice of termination was "invalid and wrongful under the agreement" and based on statements that "are riddled with inconsistencies and inaccuracies".

Zatkos, who was fired by Twitter this year, filed a complaint to US authorities alleging that the social media company misled users and regulators on its cyber

security. He alleged that Twitter breached its obligations under a 2011 agreement with the Federal Trade Commission to protect user data. He also claimed Twitter failed to disclose material information on security vulnerabilities to investors and its board.

As a result, Musk's legal team argues, the platform could face a large fine, with "material, if not existential, consequences to Twitter's business".

The company responded that it had "breached none of its representations or obligations", adding that Twitter had "not suffered" and was "not likely to suffer a company material adverse effect". Twitter has rejected Musk's charge that it has under-reported spam and fraudulent accounts.

Zatkos's complaint was filed to the US



Twitter rejects Elon Musk's charge that it under-reported spam and fraudulent accounts

Securities and Exchange Commission, the Department of Justice and the FTC on July 6, two days before Musk announced that he wanted to back out of his deal with Twitter.

Ann Lipton, business law professor at Tulane University, said Musk would have to show that the problems alleged by Zatkos "would have a significant, long-term effect on Twitter's finances".

Although Musk's new legal argument is "relying a lot on the Zatkos complaint", the testimony supported Twitter's defence of its audience numbers, she added. "Since [user numbers are] almost everything that has been litigated up until now, it all puts Musk in an awkward position," Lipton said.

Additional reporting by Hannah Murphy  
Lex page 18

### Briefing

► **Counter-attack sparks Kherson combat**  
Heavy explosions have been reported around the southern Ukraine city as Kyiv forces seek to retake one of the first combatations to fall to Russia after the invasion. — PAGE 2; SYLVIE KAUFFMANN, PAGE 17

► **IMF approves \$1.1bn for Pakistan**  
The fund has revived a stalled assistance package expected to help stave off default. But austerity measures introduced to secure the funds come as the country faces devastating floods. — PAGE 4

► **ExxonMobil at loggerheads with Kremlin**  
The US oil group has contested a presidential decree signed by Vladimir Putin this month that it says has stymied its effort to exit Russia, setting the stage for a potential legal showdown with Moscow. — PAGE 5

► **Kerry praises China's climate measures**  
US climate envoy John Kerry has lauded Beijing for "generally outperforming its commitments", despite flaring tensions with Washington over the status of Taiwan. — PAGE 6



► **Morgan Stanley lawyer oversees traders**  
The Wall Street bank has ordered one of its lawyers to shadow its US equity syndicate desk, which is entangled in a federal probe into block trading, as it seeks to beef up its supervision regime. — PAGE 6

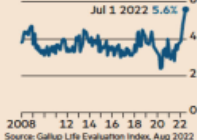
► **US consumer confidence shows uptick**  
Stronger purchasing and holiday intentions have boosted the Conference Board's index, while a labour department survey showed increasing signs of tightening in the domestic jobs market. — PAGE 2

► **Investors team up for AC Milan swoop**  
The New York Yankees baseball franchise and a Los Angeles fund have lined up to invest alongside buyout group RedBird, which is nearing a €1.2bn acquisition of Italy's football champions. — PAGE 6

### Datawatch

#### Hard times

% of US adults who say they are suffering



The share of Americans who consider themselves to be 'suffering' was 5.6 per cent in July, the highest since the 2008 inception of the index. It is small compared with the 51.2 per cent seeing themselves as 'thriving'.



## Chinese espionage threat to Europe rivals Russia's

The sophistication of Chinese spy operations in Europe is on a par with the Russians', according to intelligence officials, who warn that some of them are 'exquisite in their patience'. While Kremlin espionage tends to be risky, 'thuggish' and reliant on agents trained in spycraft, Beijing has broader aims ranging from political influence to obtaining commercial secrets. An extra challenge lies in identifying its agents without resorting to racial profiling.

West battles — PAGE 3

## Frustrated Evergrande bondholders push own plan for debt restructuring

CHENG LENG AND TARRY KINDER  
HONG KONG

Global funds that invested in Evergrande's bonds have come up with their own debt restructuring plan for China's cash-strapped property developer and demanded that its chair repay liabilities with his own fortune, according to two people familiar with the matter.

Bondholders laid out a framework to restructure Evergrande's \$20bn of offshore debts in recent days after the company missed a self-imposed deadline in July to present a plan to meet its liabilities, the people said.

The struggling real estate developer, which has \$500bn of liabilities and was the most prominent default last year in a liquidity crisis that shook China's property sector, had told creditors it was on track to meet the July deadline. It urged

patience amid threats of legal action. The foreign creditors, who are being advised by law firm Kirkland & Ellis and investment bank Moelis & Co, also proposed that Evergrande chair Hui Ka Yan buy new shares issued by the company and use the capital to repay part of its offshore debts, one of the people said.

The sum investors have requested is not known but a second person familiar with some bondholders' thinking said it made sense to request that the chair "who has sucked a load of money out of the business... put some back in".

The plan has been dubbed a "straw man proposal" by people close to the bondholders and company, meaning it was intended to draw a more constructive response from Evergrande. The proposal laid out a framework by which a broader restructuring of Evergrande's offshore debts could work, including

foreign bondholders' "expectations and boundaries", one of the people said.

Investors including BlackRock, UBS, Ashmore and funds controlled by HSBC were large owners of Evergrande bonds when it spiralled towards defaulting on its offshore debt late last year, but many have since sold their holdings. Based on filing dates in June or later, international investors in dollar-denominated Evergrande bonds included BlackRock, Ashmore, Prudential and BNP Paribas.

One person familiar with talks at Evergrande said it was unlikely to agree to creditors' demands because of the need to complete projects in China.

Evergrande did not reply to a request for comment. Advisers to the bondholders declined to comment.

Additional reporting by Thomas Hale  
Bondholders' threat page 10  
Lex page 18

### World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS								
Index	Aug 30	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Aug 30	Prev	Pair	Aug 30	Prev	Yield (%)	Aug 30	Prev	Chg			
S&P 500	3991.92	4030.61	-0.96	\$/£	0.868	0.868	\$/€	1.001	1.002	3.46	3.43	0.03				
Nasdaq Composite	11882.43	12017.67	-1.13	\$/¥	1.163	1.169	\$/HK	0.080	0.085	US 10 yr	3.12	3.12	0.00			
Dow Jones Ind	31841.45	32098.99	-0.80	\$/₹	0.058	0.054	\$/C\$	1.164	1.171	US 2 yr	3.24	3.26	-0.02			
FTSEurofirst 300	1698.60	1667.67	-0.66	\$/₹	138.935	138.735	\$/₹	138.775	138.507	UK 2 yr	3.02	2.95	0.07			
Euro Stoxx 50	2957.95	2919.51	-0.35	\$/₹	161.586	162.216	\$/₹	78.540	78.682	UK 10 yr	2.70	2.60	0.10			
FTSE 100	7381.63	7427.31	-0.61	\$/₹	0.875	0.868	\$/₹	1.125	1.134	UK 30 yr	2.58	2.58	0.00			
FTSE All-Share	4045.21	4076.32	-0.76	CRYPTO												
CAC 40	6210.22	6222.28	-0.19	Bitcoin/BT										20296.47	20296.09	0.00
Xetra Dow	12961.14	12958.99	0.02	Ethereum										1520.43	1552.31	-1.54
Nikkei	28195.58	27878.98	1.14	COMMODITIES												
Hang Seng	19949.03	20023.22	-0.37	Aug 30				Aug 30				Aug 30		Aug 30		
MSCI World	2668.79	2694.62	-0.96	Oil WTI	81.84	87.01	61.50	Oil Brent	102.01	102.01	4.88	4.88	4.88	4.88		
MSCI EM	991.65	1006.50	-1.48	Gold	1781.25	1753.55	6.70	Prices are listed in the table								
MSCI ACWI	621.52	627.30	-0.93													
FT Wilshire 2500	5296.86	5295.52	0.03													
FT Wilshire 5000	41072.24	41361.35	-0.70													



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MIKHAIL S. GORBACHEV, 1931-2022

## Visionary Soviet Leader Who Lifted the Iron Curtain

By MARILYN BERGER

Mikhail S. Gorbachev, whose rise to power in the Soviet Union set in motion a series of revolutionary changes that transformed the map of Europe and ended the Cold War that had threatened the world with nuclear annihilation, has died in Moscow. He was 91.

His death was announced on Tuesday by Russia's state news agencies, citing the city's central clinical hospital. The reports said he had died after an unspecified "long and grave illness."

Few leaders in the 20th century, indeed in any century, have had such a profound effect on their time. In little more than six tumultuous years, Mr. Gorbachev lifted the Iron Curtain, decisively altering the political climate of the world.

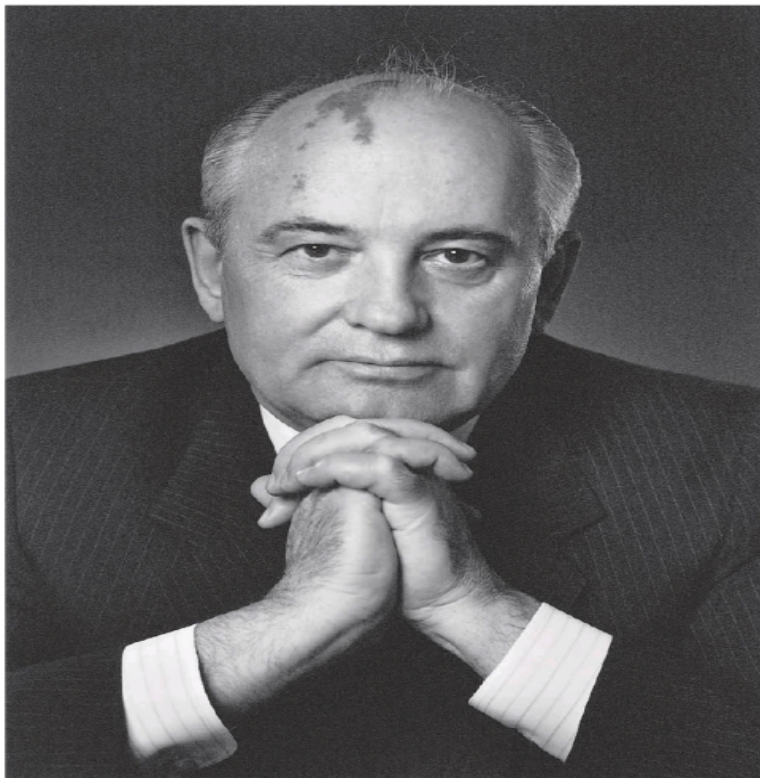
At home he promised and delivered greater openness as he set out to restructure his country's society and faltering economy. It was not his intention to liquidate the Soviet empire, but within five years of coming to power he had presided over the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. He ended the Soviet debacle in Afghanistan and, in an extraordinary five months in 1989, stood by as the Communist system imploded from the Baltics to the Balkans in countries already weakened by widespread corruption and moribund economies.

For this he was hounded from office by hard-line Communist plotters and disappointed liberals alike, the first group fearing that he would destroy the old system and the other worried that he would not.

It was abroad that he was hailed as a hero. To George F. Kennan, the distinguished American diplomat and Sovietologist, Mr. Gorbachev was "a miracle," a man who saw the world as it was, unblinkered by Soviet ideology.

But to many inside Russia, the upheaval Mr. Gorbachev had wrought was a disaster. President

Continued on Page A8



YOUSUF KADISH

Mikhail S. Gorbachev in 1990. He oversaw the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the U.S.S.R.

## Life Expectancy For Americans Sharply Drops

By RONI CARYN RABIN

The average life expectancy of Americans fell precipitously in 2020 and 2021, the sharpest two-year decline in nearly 100 years and a stark reminder of the toll exacted on the nation by the continuing coronavirus pandemic.

In 2021, the average American could expect to live until the age of 76, federal health researchers reported on Wednesday. The figure represents a loss of almost three years since 2019, when Americans could expect to live, on average, nearly 79 years.

The reduction has been particularly steep among Native Americans and Alaska Natives, the National Center for Health Statistics reported. Average life expectancy in those groups was shortened by four years in 2020 alone.

The cumulative decline since the pandemic started, more than six and a half years on average, has brought life expectancy to 65 among Native Americans and Alaska Natives — on par with the figure for all Americans in 1944.

In 2021, the shortening of life span was more pronounced among white Americans than among Black Americans, who saw greater reductions in the first year of the pandemic.

While the pandemic has driven most of the decline in life expectancy, a rise in accidental deaths and drug overdoses also contributed, as did deaths from heart disease, chronic liver disease and cirrhosis, the new report found.

Until now, experts have been

Continued on Page A17

## Neglect Leads to Water Crisis in Mississippi City

By RICK ROJAS

JACKSON, Miss. — More than 150,000 people in Mississippi's capital were without access to safe drinking water on Tuesday, forcing officials to tackle what they described as the "massively complicated task" of distributing bottled water and devising a plan to restore service without a firm sense of how long that would take. The water system in Jackson, the state's largest city, has been in crisis for years, hobbled by aging and inadequate infrastructure and, many in the city argue, a failure to devote sufficient resources to fix it. Residents have long con-

### Governor Declares State of Emergency for Over 150,000 in Capital

tended with disruptions in service and frequent boil-water notices, including one that had already been in effect for more than a month because of cloudiness in water samples.

But the situation worsened dramatically this week as officials said that the city's largest water treatment plant was failing, pushed to the brink by torrential

rains. Homes and businesses were left with little to no water pressure, schools switched to virtual learning, and hospitals brought in portable restrooms as a vital element of a functioning city suddenly collapsed.

"Until it is fixed, it means we do not have reliable running water at scale," Gov. Tate Reeves of Mississippi said during an emergency briefing on Monday evening. "It means the city cannot produce enough water to fight fires, to reliably flush toilets, and to meet other critical needs."

And, he added, it was unclear how long it would take to fully re-

Continued on Page A20



KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### A Twilight Moment

After losing Tuesday at the U.S. Open, Venus Williams would not hear talk of retirement. Page B9.

## Troops at Front Offering Tanks For Launchers

### Ukraine Soldiers Swap Captured Equipment

By THOMAS GIBBONS-NEFF and NATALIA YERMAK

DONETSK REGION, Ukraine — The Ukrainian sergeant slid the captured Russian rocket launcher into the center of a small room. He was pleased. The weapon was practically brand-new. It had been built in 2020, and its thermobaric warhead was deadly against troops and armored vehicles.

But the sergeant, nicknamed Zmei, had no plans to fire it at advancing Russian soldiers or at a tank trying to burst through his unit's front line in eastern Ukraine.

Instead, he was going to use it as a bargaining chip.

Within the 93rd Mechanized Brigade, Zmei was not just a lowly sergeant. He was the brigade's point man for a wartime bartering system among Ukrainian forces. Prevalent along the front line, the exchange operates like a kind of shadow economy, soldiers say, in which units acquire weapons or equipment and trade them for supplies they need urgently.

Most of the bartering involves items captured from Russian troops. Ukrainian soldiers refer to them as "trophies."

"Usually, the trades are done really fast," Zmei said last week during an interview in Ukraine's mineral-rich Donbas region, where the 93rd is now stationed. "Let's just call it a simplification of bureaucracy."

Despite the influx of Western weapons and equipment in recent months, the Ukrainian military still relies heavily on arms and vehicles captured from their better-equipped Russian foe for the materiel needed to wage war; much of Ukraine's aging Soviet-era arsenal is either destroyed, worn down or lacks ammunition.

That has left Ukrainian soldiers scrounging the battlefield for essentials as their own supply lines have been strained. And the relatively small numbers of big-ticket foreign weapons, such as the American-made M777 howitzer, are thinly spread on the 1,500-mile front.

"We have hopes for Kyiv," said Fedir, one of the brigade's supply sergeants and an understudy of Zmei, referring to military commanders in the capital. "But we rely on ourselves. We aren't trying to just sit and wait like idiots until Kyiv sends us something."

To protect against reprisals, Zmei, Fedir and others interviewed for this article requested that only their given names or nicknames be used.

The Ukrainian military did not

Continued on Page A7

## Putin Wields Power Plant As a Weapon

### New Nuclear Threat Tests Inspection Team

By DAVID E. SANGER

As international nuclear inspectors head toward Ukraine's Zaporizhzhia power plant, they face a situation that few had ever envisioned: a vast nuclear power plant that could be deliberately turned into a potential dirty bomb, with Russia using it to intimidate its enemy and the world.

At a minimum, President Vladimir V. Putin has found a way to employ the civilian facility as a shield for his troops, who are occupying the facility and betting Ukraine will not take the risk of shelling it and triggering the release of a cloud of radiation. But at times, Mr. Putin also appears to have found a way to employ the plant as something of a strategic auxiliary to his nuclear arsenal.

Over the past six months, Mr. Putin has repeatedly invoked the potential for nuclear escalation, even if some of his aides have later dismissed the possibility. Early in the war, the Russian leader issued a series of thinly



LYNSEY ADAOBO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
The nuclear power plant in Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine.

veiled nuclear threats, at one point ordering his aides, on television, to put his nuclear forces on alert. There is no evidence that they actually did so, but his message got across, a crude effort to intimidate Ukraine's leaders and warn the West to stay out of the conflict.

Now, in the assessment of some American intelligence officials and policymakers, who declined to speak on the record about the standoff at Europe's largest nuclear plant, Mr. Putin is using the threat of disaster at the

Continued on Page A6

**RISKY MISSION** Ukraine warns of pitfalls as experts arrive to inspect a nuclear plant. PAGE A7

## Right Spreads Violent Rhetoric After the Search of Mar-a-Lago

By ALAN FEUER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

One week after a team of F.B.I. agents descended on his private club and residence in Florida, former President Donald J. Trump warned that his followers were enraged by the search — and that things could get out of hand if the Justice Department kept the heat on him.

"People are so angry at what is taking place," Mr. Trump told Fox News. "Whatever we can do to help because the temperature has to be brought down in the country. If it isn't, terrible things are going to happen."

This week, one of Mr. Trump's closest allies, Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina, issued a similar warning that Mr. Trump reposted on his so-

### Trump and Allies Echo Lead-Up to Jan. 6

cial media platform. Mr. Graham, in a Fox News appearance on Sunday, predicted that if the search of Mar-a-Lago led to a prosecution of the former president, there would be "riots in the streets."

The assessments by both men were worded carefully enough that they could be defended as efforts to spare the nation unnecessary strife, and on Monday, Mr. Graham tried to walk back his remarks, saying, "I reject violence."

But the statements could also be perceived as fanning the same flames of outrage they claim to be trying to avert. They carried a

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### NATIONAL A13-17, 20

#### Biden Defends the F.B.I.

Speaking in Pennsylvania, the president called the recent wave of attacks on the bureau "sickening." PAGE A13

#### Times Square, and Then Some

A gun law has forced the city to define the Crossroads of the World. It's bigger than New Yorkers thought. PAGE A20



### INTERNATIONAL A4-12

#### Iraqi Shiite Factions Clash

With no functioning government and no common ground, tensions among different groups have become a deadly matter in Baghdad this week. PAGE A4

#### Repealing a Gay Sex Ban

Singapore plans to get rid of the colonial-era law, but said it would also protect the definition of marriage from being challenged in court. PAGE A5

#### Sexism and an Anchor's Ouster

A Canadian news network pushed back against allegations that sex, age or gray hair were factors in the abrupt dismissal of a veteran journalist. PAGE A6

### BUSINESS B1-6

#### Energy Creativity in Germany

Industries across the country are finding unique ways to cut their dependence on natural gas as Russia's war in Ukraine keeps prices high. PAGE B1

#### Worker Says Google Retaliated

A highly visible opponent of a contract with the Israeli military has quit, citing an environment of fear. PAGE B1

### SPORTS B7-11

#### Another Defection to LIV

Cameron Smith, the British Open winner and the No. 2 golfer in the world, is the latest to leave the PGA Tour. PAGE B10

### ARTS C1-6

#### Reflections on a Blockbuster

Joseph Kosinski, the "Top Gun: Maverick" director, discusses dogfights and the film's nameless enemies. PAGE C1

#### Shakespeare With a Melody

"As You Like It" at the Delacorte Theater, with Ato Blankson-Wood, center, finds room for songs. PAGE C1



### FOOD D1-8

#### Buying Groceries on Credit

"Buy now, pay later" services for food have become more popular, but have led to deeper debt for some. PAGE D1

#### Great Taste, Less Mess

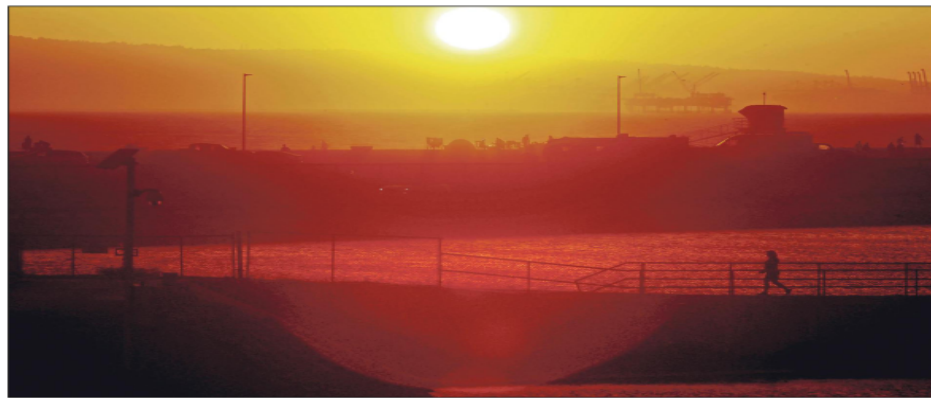
Pie bars offer most of the same delights as regular pies but make your life a lot easier, Melissa Clark writes. PAGE D2

### OPINION A18-19

#### Neal K. Katyal

PAGE A18





**BOLSA CHICA** State Beach and most of the rest of Southern California will be under an excessive heat warning through Monday. Temperatures could reach 115 in the hottest inland areas, forecasters say.

## UNDER A HEAT DOME

### California will broil this week in a 'long-duration event'

By Grace Toohey  
and Alexandra E. Petri

The extreme temperatures that will bear down on California over the next week are the result of a "heat dome," a phenomenon that typically brings broiling conditions to the state as summer fades into fall. But climate change is worsening the dome's effects and making it more lethal for people who cannot seek relief.

Experts are sounding alarms about what they say is likely to be the worst heat wave of the year so far. "We've always had these systems, but not as frequently, not as intense and not as long-lasting," said Bill

Patzert, a retired climatologist in the Los Angeles area.

From San Diego to Sacramento, the National Weather Service has issued an excessive heat warning or watch through Labor Day, cautioning about the health risks of sustained high temperatures. Experts say the heat wave will also increase the chance of wildfires and power outages and will exacerbate the state's ongoing drought.

"This is going to be a long-duration event," said UCLA climate scientist Daniel Swain. "And that's sort of characteristic of heat domes — that's partly because they can sort of be self-perpetuating, self-reinforcing. Once they develop and become particularly ex-

treme, they kind of become hard to dislodge."

So what is a heat dome? Swain said it is a colloquial term for "a particularly persistent and strong region of atmospheric high pressure during the warm months."

When the high-pressure system moves into an area under certain conditions, it traps heat, similar to an insulated dome. This is what will bring extreme temperatures this week across California and Nevada.

"When you're inside of a high-pressure system, particularly a strong one, you generally have downward motion in the atmosphere, as opposed to upward motion ... and that

[See Heat dome, A14]

## Legislators call for mandatory kindergarten

State bill heads to Gov. Gavin Newsom — and an uncertain fate in light of its cost.

By Mackenzie Mays

SACRAMENTO — California is one step closer to mandating that children attend kindergarten, a requirement that would come after a year of the state's youngest students skipping the grade during the pandemic, heightening learning gap concerns.

A bill approved by the state Senate this week is headed to the governor's desk and would require children to complete a year of kindergarten before entering first grade, beginning in the 2024-25 school year.

"This ensures that children receive critical instruction in their earliest years of learning and are properly prepared," said Sen. Susan Rubio (D-Baldwin Park), a former teacher and author of Senate Bill 70. "For students who have not been enrolled in kindergarten, oftentimes teachers and parents spend way too much time trying to teach foundational skills and their peers are already ahead and have mastered those skills."

Although Gov. Gavin Newsom has made early education a part of his gubernatorial agenda, increasing access to preschool and transitional kindergarten statewide, it is uncertain whether he will sign the bill as his Department of Finance opposed it because of its costs.

[See Kindergarten, A11]



**AUGUST RUSSELL** clings to his mother, Natalie, on the first day of kindergarten in Altadena last year.

## Heavy fighting rages in Ukraine

Clashes in a region occupied by Russia may be the start of a Kyiv counteroffensive.

By Paul Byrne

KYIV, Ukraine — Ukraine claimed to have destroyed bridges and ammunition depots and pounded command posts in a surge of fighting in the Russian-occupied south, fueling speculation Tuesday that its long-awaited counteroffensive to try to turn the tide of the war was underway. Russia said it inflicted heavy casualties in return.

The clashes took place in Ukraine's Kherson region, where Moscow's forces rolled up major gains early in the war.

Though independent verification of battlefield action has been difficult, Britain's Defense Ministry said in an intelligence report that several Ukrainian brigades had stepped up their artillery fire in front-line sectors across southern Ukraine.

Ukrainian authorities kept the world guessing about their intentions, sidestepping talk of a major [See Ukraine, A5]



BORIS YURCHENKO Associated Press

### REVERED OBJECT OF 'GORBYMANIA'

Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms enabled states in Eastern Europe to break free of Moscow's rule and made him more popular abroad than at home.

MIKHAIL S. GORBACHEV, 1931 - 2022

## Soviet Union's last leader helped end the Cold War

By Carol J. Williams

For six long years, Mikhail S. Gorbachev assiduously turned his attention to one Herculean chore — dismantling the machinery of repression that his predecessors had so proudly and methodically erected.

In a breathtaking series of reforms as Soviet leader, he lifted the Iron Curtain that drew a messy line between the East and the West, liberated the arts and pulled Red Army troops from foreign conflicts such as the Soviet Union's 10-

year debacle in Afghanistan.

He forged disarmament treaties with Cold War enemies, freed political prisoners and ushered in the unfamiliar notion of free elections, cracking open the door for states in Eastern Europe to eventually break free of Moscow's rule.

"The winds of the Cold War are being replaced by the winds of hope," Gorbachev said in 1988 of the changes then sweeping away the old ways of confrontation.

Although many of Gorbachev's reforms were short-lived, they made "perestroika" [See Gorbachev, A4]

## Condo cash for her ties to Girardi

A justice received \$300,000 from a trust account at disgraced attorney's firm.

By Harriet Ryan  
and Matt Hamilton

Tricia Bigelow, then a presiding justice of a state appeals court in downtown Los Angeles, wanted a weekend place at the beach.

She found an oceanfront condominium in a prime area of Santa Monica in 2015 and embarked on a luxurious makeover later described in a rental listing: custom kitchen cabinets, high-end appliances, a built-in wine fridge, a soaking tub and furnishings in an elegant nautical theme.

To pay the substantial price tag, she did not have to

rely on her judicial salary alone. Tom Girardi, the powerful attorney with whom she was having an affair, wired her \$300,000 in the week she closed on the Ocean Avenue property, according to financial records filed in a state court lawsuit.

The wire did not come from Girardi's personal bank account, but rather from a trust account containing settlement money for clients of his Wilshire Boulevard law firm, Girardi Keese. At the time of the transfer to Bigelow, the account held funds owed to cancer victims and other residents of a polluted Inland Empire community, who had sued cement manufacturers in Riverside Superior Court in 2008, according to state court records.

To this day, many of the victims have not received [See Girardi, A8]

### Obstruction by Trump alleged

Justice Dept. response to ex-president's legal request details a "likely" effort to conceal classified material. **NATION, A6**

### Biden faults GOP on crime

His party is the one for law and order, president says as he touts plans to boost police. **NATION, A6**

### Nurse's health struggles cited

Driver in fiery Windsor Hills crash may have blacked out, court filings show. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

### Weather

Sunny and hot. L.A. Basin: 93/72. **B6**



**BUSINESS INSIDE:** Lawmakers pass bill requiring social media firms to shield minors. **A10**

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# The Washington Post

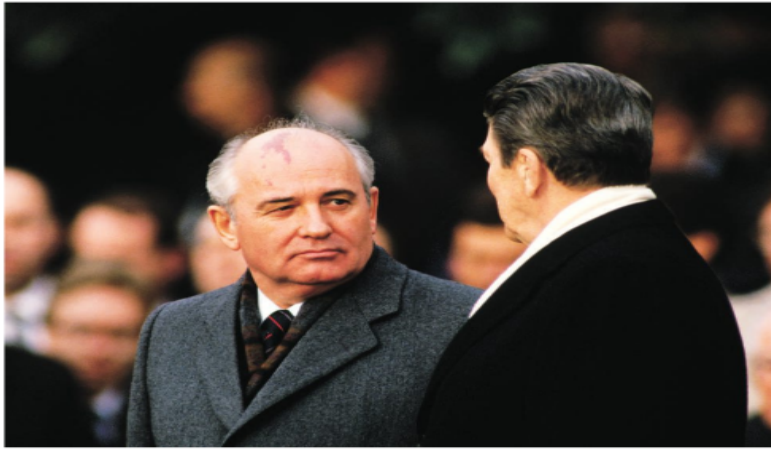
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Democracy Dies in Darkness

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31, 2022 • 82



MIKHAIL S. GORBACHEV 1931-2022

## Soviet reformer oversaw crumbling of an empire

His bold risks helped thaw Cold War, dial back nuclear standoff

BY DAVID E. HOFFMAN

Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the last leader of the Soviet Union, who embarked on a path of radical reform that brought about the end of the Cold War, reversed the direction of the nuclear arms race and relaxed Communist Party controls in hopes of rescuing the faltering Soviet state but instead propelled it toward collapse, died Aug. 30 in Moscow. He was 91.

His death was announced by Russian news agencies, citing the government hospital where

he was being treated, but no further details were immediately available.

For the sheer improbability of his actions and their impact on the late 20th century, Mr. Gorbachev ranks as a towering figure. In 1985, he was chosen to lead a country mired in socialism and stultifying ideology. In six years of cajoling, improvising tactics and increasingly bold risks, Mr. Gorbachev unleashed immense changes that eventually demolished the pillars of the state.

SEE GORBACHEV ON A10

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev meets with President Ronald Reagan in 1987 in Washington. Mr. Gorbachev was shocked by the shabbiness of life under communist rule and hoped to turn the tide.

## Nyet to Russian tourists? E.U. split on visa curbs.

Bloc leaders debate as Ukraine's Zelensky pushes for a blanket ban

BY EMILY RAUHALA AND BEATRIZ RIOS

BRUSSELS — With fighting raging in eastern Ukraine and Europe bracing for a war-induced recession, should Russians be allowed to enjoy the end of summer in southern France? Shop for luxury goods in Italy? Visit family in Finland?

Those questions will be part of a debate among foreign ministers of the European Union's member

states gathered this week for an informal meeting in Prague. And while E.U. countries were united in banning Russian flights from their airspace and placing more than 1,200 individuals on their sanctions list, including Russian President Vladimir Putin, a blanket ban on Russian tourists is proving far more divisive.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky is pushing for one. "Let them live in their own world until they change their philosophy," he said in an interview with The Washington Post this month. "This is the only way to influence Putin."

Zelensky has support from E.U. countries that share a border with Russia — the Baltic states and Finland — as well as from

SEE RUSSIANS ON A5

## Pakistan pleads for aid amid 'apocalyptic' flooding

Officials blame developed nations for extreme weather driven by climate change in vulnerable regions

BY GERRY SHIH, SHAIQ HUSSAIN AND ANDREW JEONG

Multistorey hotels crumbling into rising waters. Surging waves crashing into elevated roads and bridges. Millions of people driven from their homes.

Showing videos of what they called "apocalyptic" floods sweeping their country, Pakistan's leaders, led by Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif, pleaded Tuesday for aid from developed nations, which they said were responsible for bringing extreme weather to one of the world's most vulnerable regions.

"I can say without any fear of contradiction, this flood situation is probably the worst in the history of Pakistan," Sharif said. The South Asian country of



A man wades through floodwaters in Pakistan's Sindh province on Tuesday. Flooding has killed over 1,100 people in recent months.

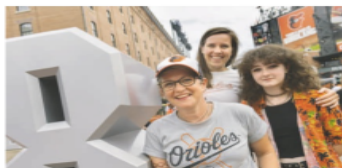
about 220 million people is now facing an unprecedented crisis after eight consecutive weeks of heavy rainfall. The floods have killed 1,100 people, affected more than 33 million residents, wiped out 1 million homes and destroyed about 2,200 miles of roads, Pakistani officials said Tuesday. Nearly 500,000 people are in displacement camps, and many others have nowhere to go.

The death toll and economic burden are expected to rise, adding stress to an economically fragile and politically divided country.

"We want to showcase this to the developed world in particular," Ahsan Iqbal, the minister for planning and development, told reporters in Islamabad. "The quality of life that people in

SEE PAKISTAN ON A12

## IN THE NEWS



DOUG KAPUSTIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Oriole pride** The baseball team's unlikely late-season playoff push gives a beleaguered Baltimore something to smile about. B1

**Competing accounts of covid-19** Memoirs by Trump officials offer glimpses into the chaotic federal response to the coronavirus. A18

### THE NATION

**U.S. life expectancy** dropped for a second year in a row, reflecting the damage of covid-19, according to a federal report. A3

**President Biden** called for a ban on assault weapons and assailed "MAGA Republicans" in Congress who defend the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol. A4

**Texas officials** confirmed the first U.S. death of a person with monkeypox, though the cause is unknown. A4

**Attorney General Merrick Garland** announced that political

appointees cannot participate in any activities that are related to campaigns. A6

**In Jackson, Miss.**, thousands of residents were without access to safe drinking water after the city's main treatment plant failed. A7

**NASA** is going to try to launch its massive Space Launch System rocket to the moon Saturday after Monday's attempt was called off. A14

**THE WORLD** Iraqi cleric Moqtada al-Sadr ordered his followers to withdraw after deadly clashes with

security forces. A12

**The U.S. Navy** kept Iran from seizing a data-gathering vessel in the Persian Gulf, in what officials are calling a "flagrant" attempt to steal U.S. property. A12

**THE ECONOMY** Billionaire Elon Musk wants to delay his trial with Twitter until November, leaning heavily into a whistleblower's complaint in court filings. A13

**The Education Department** said it will forgive \$1.5 billion in loans for former students of Westwood College, citing the now-defunct school's "lies and manipulation." A13

### THE REGION

**The D.C. Council's** measures on business regulation could be a factor in races for at-large seats. B1

**A Virginia judge** dismissed a lawsuit from two Republicans seeking to limit Barnes & Noble's ability to distribute two books to minors. B1

**The school system** in Prince George's County will allow students to go maskless. B5

**STYLE** Dominion Voting Systems lawyers questioned Fox News hosts for a defamation case linked to 2020 coverage. C1

## INSIDE



### FOOD

**In Colorado,** flavors of Nepal Sherpa immigrants bring their cuisine and culture to the Rocky Mountains. E1

**STYLE** Superfans Searching for President Biden's most ardent backers. C1

BUSINESS NEWS.....A13  
COMICS.....C6  
OPINION PAGES.....A15  
LOTTERIES.....B3  
OBITUARIES.....B6  
TELEVISION.....A8  
WORLD NEWS.....A8

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Get cozy under a blanket:  
Here are pages to fall into

School year brings anxiety  
for teachers, parents, kids

Must-read list includes books from Michelle Obama, Matthew Perry, Constance Wu. **In Life**

In Q&A, teachers union leader discusses views on gun laws, COVID-19, strikes. **In Opinion**

Biggest  
takeaways  
from NFL  
preseason

Among them: QB Jimmy Garoppolo ends up staying put with 49ers and joint practices grow more popular as way to evaluate talent. **In Sports**

# USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31, 2022

KEVIN JAJRAJ/  
USA TODAY  
SPORTS



## Slowing US housing market at a crossroads

Experts unsure whether  
industry risks recession

Terry Collins  
USA TODAY

A widening debate about where the U.S. housing market stands: Is it in a recession or a correction?

Experts are drawing various conclusions while looking at the same indicators on everything from the Federal Reserve's hawkish stance on interest rates to the sentiment of homebuilders, real estate agents and buyers on their gut feelings on where the market is heading.

The multiple scenarios are reflective of the market's imbalance, with new construction and existing-housing sales down compared with last year, while home prices remain high.

The housing market "is giving off a lot of mixed signals," said Neda Navab, president of brokerage operations at real estate company Compass in New York. "If you're a pessimist, you can find plenty to keep you up at night. If you're an optimist, there are plenty of silver linings."

That leads experts to guess about what's ahead.

Is there a housing slowdown?

There is widespread consensus that the housing market has experienced a drastic drop-off in activity since its pandemic-prompted heights.

That slowdown will continue, with moderate price declines for about 18 months, said Greg Phillips, chief technology officer of Houwzer, a Philadelphia real estate startup.

The housing market is "not like the volatile stock market, always going up and down; the housing market moves at a different, slower pace," he said.

Compass' Navab said millions of buyers "still want and need to pur-

See HOUSING, Page 4A

MISSING USA TODAY NETWORK INVESTIGATION

## DNA databases failing lost children of color



Five days after Donna Green gave birth to her son, Raymond, in November 1978, he was kidnapped by a woman Green had befriended in the hospital. More than four decades later, she still dreams of finding him. LYNSEY WEATHERSPOON FOR USA TODAY

## Mistrust of system, lack of diversity frustrate searches

N'dea Yancey-Bragg,  
Sasha Ndisabiye and Rachel Looker  
USA TODAY

Donna Green held her infant son for only five days before he was kidnapped from her Atlanta home by a woman who had befriended the teen mom at the hospital. More than four decades later, Green still remembers the tightness of his grip around her finger. She dreams that one day she'll see those beautiful hazel brown eyes again.

For years, there were no leads. It wasn't until 2014 – more than 35 years after baby Raymond disappeared –

that the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children suggested Green provide her DNA for analysis. Among the millions of samples in growing private and law enforcement databases, she might find a match for her son – or even a grandchild who could lead her back to Raymond.

"At that time, I didn't want to do it," Green said. "There were people in my life who thought I should, and then there were people in my life who said they didn't know nothing about it, so they don't trust it."

See DNA, Page 6A

"They have misconceptions of how that data is visible and how it's used. They don't want to, or they're not ready yet to try something new like this because they feel like it could give them false hope."

Carol Schweitzer  
National Center for Missing and Exploited Children

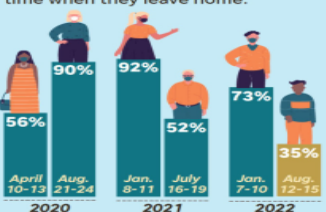


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### USA TODAY SNAPSHOTS

#### Masking hits pandemic low

The percentage of adults who report wearing a mask some or all of the time when they leave home:



SOURCE: Axios/Ipsos Coronavirus Index  
AMY BARNETTE, BILL CAMPBELL/USA TODAY

### MONKEYPOX

## Minorities less likely to receive vaccine

President's plan targets  
barriers to shot access

Nada Hassanein  
USA TODAY

Black and Hispanic people are disproportionately contracting monkeypox virus – but fewer are getting the vaccine, according to early data.

About 17,400 cases of the virus have been identified across the nation since May. Black people make up about a third of cases, compared with their 12% share of the overall population, according to Centers for Disease Control and Prevention data. Similarly, Hispanic or Latino people make up about 32% of cases, despite making up 19% of the population, according to data as of Aug. 14.

During a Friday briefing, White House officials reported Black people received only 10% of shots against monkeypox, Hispanic people received



Alvin Quitiquit receives the monkeypox vaccine at a walk-in clinic this month at the North Jersey Community Research Initiative in Newark, N.J. SETH WENIG/AP

### IN NEWS

#### Possible first US death

Texas officials investigate whether monkeypox played a role in the death of an immunocompromised adult. **4A**

22%, and white people received about 47%.

Several days after the data was released, the Biden administration on Tuesday announced an equity intervention pilot program aimed at ensuring vaccines reach high-risk individuals

facing barriers to access.

The administration said 10,000 vials of vaccine will be allocated to targeted, smaller-scale equity interventions. They hope to get more vaccines to people who cannot access online appointment scheduling and those who face stigma related to attending public vaccine events that may require disclosure of sexual identity. Distribution will also focus on locations that reach Black and Latino LGBTQ individuals.

Such efforts are similar to those

See MONKEYPOX, Page 4A

DAILY DISCOUNTS & SAVINGS ...

Dining Deals

USA

PAGE 2A

## deportes

## La grieta del golf

Cameron Smith, otro "robo" de la liga árabe

Golpe al PGA Tour: el australiano, campeón del British Open y N° 2, se unió al Golf LIV Series. **Página 3**

## EL PREVIAJE 3 DESATÓ UN TEMPORAL DE CRÍTICAS EN LA COSTA

—sociedad

Hay malestar entre hoteleros y balnearios por los límites que prevé el programa del Gobierno; preocupa el panorama del próximo verano. **Página 22**

## VINCULAN A LAS APPS DE CITAS CON CONDUCTAS DE RIESGO

—sociedad

Expertos advierten que su uso favorece los encuentros sin protección; lo asocian a un aumento de las enfermedades de transmisión sexual. **Página 23**

## LA NACION

MIÉRCOLES 31 DE AGOSTO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

## Tensión en Pro: Larreta y Bullrich volvieron a discutir por el operativo en Recoleta

OPOSICIÓN. Debatieron por la policía en la casa de Cristina, pese al intento de cerrar el conflicto

Los principales referentes de Pro se reunieron ayer en un intento de cerrar la polémica interna que se abrió cuando el jefe de gobierno porteño, Horacio Rodríguez Larreta, decidió el sábado replegar a la policía frente al departamento de Cristina Kirchner, en Recoleta. Pese a los intentos de dar por cerrado el conflicto,

el jefe de gobierno y la titular de Pro, Patricia Bullrich, quien había cuestionado que se levantaran las vallas y retrocediera la policía ante la avanzada kirchnerista, volvieron a exhibir sus diferencias. En la reunión, Rodríguez Larreta criticó a Bullrich por "oportunista" y lamentó los cuestionamientos públicos.

Bullrich replicó que no era una postura electoralista y argumentó que ella tenía una postura "más estricta" con las manifestaciones. Luego del encuentro, los protagonistas de la reunión, que encabezó el expresidente Mauricio Macri, trataron de dar por concluido el enfrentamiento. **Página 10**

## Cristina ahora quiere revisar la autonomía de la ciudad

Gustavo Ybarra

**Página 14**

## EL ANÁLISIS

Miserias opositoras a un paso del abismo

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

Tal vez están convencidos de que la próxima presidencia será de Juntos por el Cambio y de que quien se abra paso a los codazos con más decisión se hará con el poder. Uno de los más frecuentes errores de los políticos es creer que pueden escribir la historia antes de que esta suceda. **Continúa en la página 11**

## Perpetua por un crimen que conmocionó al país



**seguridad**—El Tribunal Oral en lo Criminal N° 2 de La Matanza condenó ayer a Leandro Suárez, de 29 años, a prisión perpetua por el homicidio de Roberto Sabo, el kiosquero asesinado durante un robo el 7 de noviembre del año pasado, en Ramos Mejía. En la foto, las lágrimas de Patricia, esposa de la víctima, y el emocionado abrazo de Pedro, su padre, con un familiar reflejan los sentimientos de la familia al escuchar la sentencia. **Página 26**

CAPTURA DE VIDEO

1931-2022

## Mikhail Gorbachov. El último líder de la Unión Soviética, que precipitó el fin de la Guerra Fría

Texto **Luisa Corradini**

PARÍS (De nuestra correspondencia).—Mikhail Gorbachov, último dirigente de la URSS, padre de la perestroika y de la gláznost, murió ayer en Rusia a los 91 años. Percibido en su país como el responsable del caos que siguió a la caída de la Unión Soviética, había dejado la vida política en 1991. Actor mayor de la historia del siglo XX, Mikhail Sergueievich



Gorbachov, secretario general del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de la Unión Soviética, y después primer —y efímero— presidente de la URSS, murió "tras una larga y grave enfermedad", según anunciaron las agencias de prensa rusas, citando a responsables del Hospital Clínico Central (TSKB), dependientes del Kremlin. **Continúa en la página 6**

## Rosatti exhortó a defender la división de poderes

DISCURSO. El presidente de la Corte destacó también la independencia judicial

En un contexto de fuertes ataques a la Justicia por parte del oficialismo, el presidente de la Corte Suprema, Horacio Rosatti, destacó ayer la necesidad de defender la división de poderes y la independencia judicial. "Hay que atarse al mástil de la Constitución", afirmó. Fue al cierre de un encuentro del Colegio de Abogados de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, donde disertó sobre la relación entre el progreso y la defensa de la Constitución. Destacó la necesidad de "reglas claras" y "seguridad jurídica". **Página 16**

## Uruguay y Juncal. Un teatro propio de Shakespeare

Texto **José Claudio Escribano****Página 12**

## Privatizada, telefonia massificou comunicação

Comprar um telefone hoje é fácil, mas, há 25 anos, quando só existia a Telebras, a estatal das telecomunicações, havia filas que levavam anos até a aquisição de uma linha.

Com a privatização, em 1998, os antes inacessíveis celulares se popularizaram a ponto de atualmente serem mais numerosos que a própria população brasileira. Mercado A24 e A25

## Loja é acusada de torturar funcionários negros na BA

Polícia abriu inquérito após denúncia de tortura, gravada em vídeo, de dois funcionários negros em uma loja em Salvador. A Folha não localizou os supostos agressores. A32

## Câmara flexibiliza trabalho para mães e pais

A Câmara aprovou ontem medida provisória que flexibiliza o regime de trabalho de mães e pais e desobriga empresas a manterem local para bebês durante a amamentação, desde que seja pago um reembolso-creche. Mercado A23



Mikhail Gorbatchov em Londres Ben Stanzell/28.jan.08/AFP

## Mundo A17 e A18

### Morre Mikhail Gorbatchov, que encerrou a Guerra Fria

Mikhail Gorbatchov, que liderou a União Soviética até seu estertor, em 1991, e com Ronald Reagan pôs fim à Guerra Fria e ao medo da aniquilação nuclear, morreu aos 91 anos em Moscou.

Reverenciado no Ocidente por extinguir a tirania comunista na Europa, o pai da glasnost e da perestroika é controverso na Rússia, onde lhe creditam a crise econômica liberal dos anos 1990.

# Brasil vira maior destino da China para investimento

Após 2020 fraco, aportes saltaram 208% em 2021; entrada chinesa é tratada com receio na campanha presidencial

O investimento de empresas chinesas no Brasil mais que triplicou em 2021, retornando ao patamar pré-pandemia e fazendo do país o principal destino do capital chinês no ano passado.

Após desempenho tímido em 2020, cresceram operações como os aportes da Tencent em fintechs e startups como Nubank, QuintoAndar e Cora e investimentos bilionários das petrolíferas chinesas na Bacia de Santos.

Destacaram-se ainda a compra da companhia de transmissão de energia do Rio Grande do Sul pela State Grid e da fábrica da Mercedes-Benz em Iracemápolis (SP) pela Great Wall Motors.

Segundo relatório do Conselho Empresarial Brasil-China a ser divulgado hoje, o investimento do país asiático saltou 208% em termos nominais (desconsiderada inflação), para US\$5,9 bilhões, o pico em quatro anos.

A presença da China se tornou um tópico da campanha presidencial.

A empresários o ministro Paulo Guedes (Economia) afirmou não querer "a 'chinêsada' entrando aqui quebrando nossas fábricas, nossas indústrias", e o ex-presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), para quem a China está "tomando conta do Brasil", declarou preocupação com o avanço do país asiático na indústria. Mercado A21

## Lula deve desculpas ao agro, afirma empresário aliado

Uma das principais pontes da campanha de Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) com o agronegócio, Carlos Ernesto Augustin diz à Folha que petista errou ao se referir a parte do setor como "fascista" e vai sugerir a ele que se desculpe. Política A7

## Bolsonaro muda discurso sobre uso de dinheiro vivo

Jair Bolsonaro mudou discurso sobre uso de dinheiro vivo para comprar imóveis. Ontem disse não ver problemas, após reportagem do UOL apontar a prática por ele e parentes. Há 4 anos, negou transações em espécie. Política A14

## TSE restringe porte de arma no dia da eleição

O Tribunal Superior Eleitoral proibiu o porte de armas num raio de 100 metros das seções eleitorais no dia da votação (2 de outubro), nas 48 horas anteriores e na data seguinte ao pleito. Agentes em serviço serão exceção. Política A4



Nasa/ESA/AFP

## TELESCÓPIO JAMES WEBB REVELA NOVAS IMAGENS DA GALÁXIA FANTASMA, A 32 MILHÕES DE ANOS-LUZ DA TERRA

Oficialmente chamado de M74, corpo celeste já havia sido registrado pelo Hubble, antecessor do novo equipamento, mas com menor nível de detalhes, principalmente de seu núcleo

## EDITORIAIS A2

**Fome politizada**  
Sobre entrada desastrosa de Bolsonaro no debate.

**De novo a dengue**  
Acerca de escalada da doença no país neste 2022.

## Esporte B7

Há 50 anos, xadrez mundial viveu sua Guerra Fria, com vitória americana

## Ilustrada C1 e C4

De Goya a Warhol, exposição em SP mostra glória da arte da gravura

## Deirdre McCloskey Imagens deslumbrantes

O telescópio James Webb capta radiação infravermelha. Para "vermos" as galáxias, ela precisa ser traduzida em cores. A beleza persuasiva é fotoshopada. O Webb é uma bela alocação imprópria de recursos públicos. Opinião A2

## São Paulo vê recorde de processos contra operadoras de saúde

Cotidiano B1

## Prédio mais alto de SP, com 172 m, será aberto dia 5

Cotidiano B2



Aponte a câmera do celular no código acima e baixe o novo aplicativo da Folha

Se sabía quiénes serían los tripulantes, entre ellos un buscado por el FBI

## Suspicaaz demora de la Dinac en informar venida del avión iraní

Desde el mes de abril ya tenían la información del arribo que se produjo el 13 mayo, pero no se alertó para el control de inteligencia. Se quedó 3 días, cargó cigarrillos y se fue.

PÁGINA 3

Controles antilavado no funcionaron  
Clan narco recibió unos  
G. 14.400 millones de la  
Cooperativa San Cristóbal

PÁGINA 10

Devolución de vehículos de alta gama  
PE alerta de maniobra  
de Fiscalía para liberar  
bienes incautados

PÁGINA 4

CON ESTA EDICIÓN

FASCÍCULO COMICS Y  
PIÑERA II N° 5



Gratis con  
el diario

COMPRA OPCIONAL

COLECCIÓN MINERALES DE  
LA TIERRA N° 60



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### Denuncian negociado de Godoy

**Cobro irregular.** Ante la Fiscalía denunciaron que el defensor del Pueblo exigió un pago indebido a los objetores de conciencia y llegó a recaudar G. 2.000 millones.

PÁGINA 2

Tribunal ordenó la tarea al Ministerio Público  
Siguen sin investigar el  
papel de la esposa de RGD  
en el esquema de usura

PÁGINA 48



Murió a los 91 años  
Mijail Gorbachov,  
el hombre que  
sepultó a la URSS

PÁGINA 44

Esperanza Martínez preside la Concertación  
Acevedo y Querey se alían  
y forman la otra chapa  
presidencial opositora

PÁGINAS 7 y 8

**ETIOS**

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**DISPARITION**  
MIKHAÏL GORBATCHEV,  
DERNIER DIRIGEANT DE L'URSS,  
S'EST ÉTEINT PAGES 14 ET 15



**EXCLUSIF**  
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DE IANNIS RODER SUR  
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un nouveau cap  
à ses cardinaux  
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exceptionnellement  
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Le Mondial 2023  
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• La chronique  
de Bertille  
Bayart  
• La tribune  
de Pierre  
Steinmetz  
PAGE 17

**FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question  
de mardi :**  
Êtes-vous favorable  
à la mise en place d'un  
stationnement payant  
pour les deux-roues  
dans les grandes villes ?

**OUI 61% NON 39%**

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 183 673

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

Pensez-vous, comme  
Sandrine Rousseau,  
que le barbecue est  
un « symbole de virilité » ?

SERGE KARPUKHIN/REUTERS -  
ILLUSTRATION : FABIEN CLAIREFOND

# Énergie: Macron reprend l'habit de président de crise

En organisant un Conseil de défense sur l'approvisionnement en gaz, le chef de l'État est accusé par les oppositions de vouloir dramatiser la séquence et de contourner le Parlement.

Après les « gilets jaunes », le Covid et la guerre en Ukraine, Emmanuel Macron endosse à nouveau son costume de « président de crise ». Au lendemain de son avertissement sur la

« fin de l'abondance », il organisera vendredi à l'Élysée un Conseil de défense dédié à l'approvisionnement en gaz. Alors que le géant russe Gazprom vient d'annoncer la suspension complète de

ses livraisons à Engie, l'exécutif veut anticiper les risques de pénurie cet hiver. Mais en renouant avec la verticalité observée lors de la crise sanitaire, Emmanuel Macron provoque l'ire des

oppositions, qui le soupçonnent de vouloir exploiter politiquement la gestion de la crise énergétique et de contourner un Parlement devenu hostile. D'autant qu'un autre organe de déli-

bération installé par le président fait déjà polémique : le Conseil national de la refondation, qui sera lancé le 8 septembre, devrait être boycotté par l'essentiel des partis d'opposition.

→ LES PARLEMENTAIRES VENT DEBOUT CONTRE LE RETOUR DU CONSEIL DE DÉFENSE → LA FRANCE VEUT ACCÉLÉRER DANS LA COURSE À L'AUTONOMIE ÉNERGÉTIQUE → GÉRARD LARCHER: « IL NE PEUT Y AVOIR DE CONTOURNEMENT DU PARLEMENT » PAGES 2 À 4 ET L'EDITORIAL



Alors que des duels d'artillerie les opposent aux forces russes près de Kharkiv (photo), les Ukrainiens sont passés à l'offensive dans la région de Kherson, au sud, prenant l'initiative pour la première fois depuis le début de la guerre. PAGES 6 ET 7

**Face aux Russes, l'armée ukrainienne riposte à Kharkiv et contre-attaque à Kherson**

**Le Conseil d'État valide l'expulsion de l'imam Iquioussen**

« C'est une grande victoire pour la République. Il sera expulsé du territoire national », a commenté Gérard Darmanin, quand la décision du Conseil d'État est tombée ce mardi. Il a eu gain de cause contre l'imam Hassan Iquioussen : la haute juridiction a annulé l'ordonnance par laquelle, le 5 août, le tribunal administratif de Paris avait suspendu l'expulsion de l'islamiste demandée par le ministre de l'Intérieur. Introuvable à son domicile mardi soir, l'imam est désormais considéré comme étant en fuite et a été inscrit au fichier des personnes recherchées. PAGE 8

**ÉDITORIAL** par Gaëtan de Capèle gdecapèle@lefigaro.fr

## La faute de Poutine, vraiment ?

Deux ans après la « guerre » contre le Covid, Emmanuel Macron remet son treillis. Face à la nouvelle calamité qui nous accable - une crise inédite de l'énergie -, le ton présidentiel redevient martial. Il prépare les esprits, sous l'ombre du Conseil de défense ressuscité, à de futurs sacrifices. Nous voilà prévenus : sobriété et rationnement rythmeront notre quotidien cet hiver, lorsque gaz et électricité coûteront les yeux de la tête et viendront à manquer. Nécessité faisant loi, nul doute que les Français se plieront à ces nouvelles exigences. Ils auraient néanmoins de bonnes raisons d'exprimer leur colère et d'exiger quelques explications. Comment, lorsque l'on dispose de l'un des plus puissants parcs nucléaires du monde, en vient-on à manquer d'électricité ? Par quel miracle, alors que les centrales produisent le kilowattheure au prix le plus bas, assiste-t-on à une explosion des factures ? « C'est la faute de Poutine ! » Vraiment ? On ne niera pas l'effet de souffle de la guerre en Ukraine sur le marché de l'énergie. Poutine, qui tient notamment les Allemands dans sa main, sème méthodique-

ment le désordre dans l'approvisionnement de l'Europe. Mais la livraison au compte-gouttes du gaz russe affecte peu la France. La réalité est que, pour de petits arrangements politiques avec les écologistes, nous avons, depuis quinze ans, volontairement sacrifié en partie notre nucléaire, qui assurait notre souveraineté énergétique. Fessenheim a été fermée, Flamanville n'ouvre toujours pas, et une trentaine de réacteurs sont à l'arrêt. Il faut entendre la colère froide du président d'EDF, racontant comment les consignes absurdes des pouvoirs publics ont fini par saper tout le savoir-faire de cette filière d'excellence. Et maintenant ? Face au tsunami énergétique qui vient, le gouvernement va présenter un projet de loi qui simplifiera l'installation des éoliennes et des panneaux solaires... Pour le nucléaire, où l'on travaille à l'horizon d'au minimum une décennie, il faut pour l'heure se contenter d'un discours fort convaincant du chef de l'État sur la relance de l'atome, resté sans suite. ■

**La France a volontairement sacrifié son nucléaire**

JACQUES GAMBLIN  
EST  
DESCHANEL

ANDRÉ DUSSOLIER  
EST  
CLEMENCEAU

CE N'EST PAS TOUS  
LES JOURS FACILE  
DE CHANGER  
LA FRANCE

**LE TIGRE ET LE PRÉSIDENT**

UN FILM DE JEAN-MARC PEYREFITTE

LE 7 SEPTEMBRE AU CINÉMA

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# Roll back the years

## Serena passes first test of final flourish

➔ Sport



Did they deliver? Verdict on Maitlis and Sopel debut ➔ Page 10



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## Hunger fears as food banks warn stock may run out

Josh Halliday

North of England correspondent

Food banks around Britain have warned of a “completely unsustainable” surge in demand that will prevent them feeding the hungriest families this winter.

Organisations representing 169 food banks have told the Guardian that the number of people seeking emergency help had already grown “dramatically” and predicted “bleak and disturbing” weeks ahead.

Of the 169 providers, nearly 70% said they might need to turn people away or shrink the size of emergency rations this winter. Almost three-quarters said that food donation levels had dropped since April, despite the soaring demand.

The warning came amid alarming forecasts about surging inflation, with pressure growing on Liz Truss, Boris Johnson’s likely successor as prime minister, to give some indication of how she intends to deal with the cost of living emergency.

Figures published today show shop prices rose by a record 5.1% in August as the war in Ukraine raised costs for farmers.

Fresh food prices also rose by 10.5%, according to data from the

British Retail Consortium (BRC) and market research firm NielsenIQ. That’s the highest rate since September 2008, the time of the credit crunch when the global financial system was on the brink of collapse.

The US investment bank Goldman Sachs also warned yesterday that inflation in the UK could exceed 22% next year, close to the post-war record set in 1975, if wholesale energy prices remained at current high levels, heaping more pressure on households and businesses.

In one glimmer of hope, UK gas prices dropped by more than 20% yesterday amid reports that efforts to fill European gas storage before the winter appear to be ahead of schedule.

However, while prices eased from near record highs, they are still 12 times higher than before the energy crisis began, and neither Truss nor her leadership rival, Rishi Sunak, have set out how they intend to mitigate the crisis for millions of people this autumn and winter.

The shadow work and pensions secretary, Jonathan Ashworth, said: “When even food banks are warning they may need to shut up shop this winter because they can’t meet the demand, we know the country is heading for a catastrophe without action.”

“Families and pensioners are beyond desperate for real help now. Labour would freeze energy bills but instead we have Boris Johnson on a vanity tour, the chancellor on a New York jolly, and Liz Truss hiding from scrutiny because she has no answers to this crisis whatsoever.”

In the survey by the Independent Food Aid Network UK (Ifan UK), nearly 90% of the organisations representing 169 food banks said demand had risen since April and 87% said they had

**“This is completely unsustainable - and we have begun to take steps to limit the support that we can provide”**

• Kirkcaldy Foodbank  
• Fife

6

➔



## Mikhail Gorbachev 1931-2022

### Soviet leader who ended the cold war dies aged 91

Andrew Roth Moscow  
Luke Harding

Mikhail Gorbachev, the former Soviet leader whose reforms led to the unlooked for break-up of his own country, and to the demise of communism across central and eastern Europe, has died in Moscow aged 91. Celebrated abroad as the saviour

who delivered freedom to millions of Soviet citizens, he was often blamed at home for the chaotic years that followed, and survived long enough to watch Russia return to autocracy under the rule of Vladimir Putin.

Gorbachev, who won the Nobel peace prize in 1990, died after a “difficult and protracted illness”, Russian news agencies cited hospital officials as saying. Recent reports suggested

that he had been suffering from a kidney ailment.

Gorbachev was the eighth and final leader of the Soviet Union. He also became the general secretary of the Communist party in 1985, aged just 53, a post he held until the party was itself dissolved in 1991, with the Soviet Union vanishing soon afterwards.

He will be associated with his attempts to modernise and to improve the Soviet Union, a process that he ultimately lost control of, leading to the country’s collapse. He told the Guardian in 2011 that one of his proudest

2

➔