

## How Cities Are Getting In Own Way

### Excess of Rules Blocks Building Conversions

By EMILY BADGER

There is an aging office building on Water Street in Lower Manhattan where it would make all the sense in the world to create apartments. The 31-story building, once the headquarters of A.I.G., has windows all around and a shape suited to extra corner units. In a city with too little housing, it could hold 800 to 900 apartments. Right across the street, one office not so different from this one has already been turned into housing, and another is on the way.

But 175 Water Street has a hitch: Offices in the financial district are spared some zoning rules that make conversion hard so long as they were built before 1977. And this one was built six years too late, in 1983.

“There’s nothing about that building — its construction, its mechanicals, its structural engineering — that prevents it from being converted,” said Ryan Coles, the managing partner of Vanbarton Group, which has developed both conversions across the street. Vanbarton owned and thought hard about converting 175 Water, too. It looked for a time as if New York might change the 1977 cutoff, a simple no-cost reform to spur more conversions that had the support of Mayor Eric Adams and Kathy Hochul, the state’s attorney general. But a mere stroke of a pen would do it, Mr. Coles said.

But that idea died in the State Legislature this spring, along with the rest of the governor’s housing agenda. When Vanbarton concluded no change was coming, it sold the property.

That city block today tells of a problem far larger than the faltering office sector. There, the city has failed to evolve even as so much has changed around it — the needs of residents, the rise of new threats like the housing crisis and climate change.

Healthy cities must build new things, rehabilitate old ones. But they also perform regular tricks of transmutation, if not magic.

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Palestinian militants opened gunfire on Israeli armored vehicles that entered the occupied West Bank city of Jenin on Monday.

## On School Stages, Politics Plays a Leading Role

By MICHAEL PAULSON

Stevie Ray Dallimore, an actor and teacher, had been running the theater program for a private boys’ school in Chattanooga, Tenn., for a decade, but he never faced a school year like this one.

A proposed production of “The Kills Monsters” at a neighboring girls’ school that would have included his students was rejected for gay content, he said. A “Shakespeare in Love” at the girls’ school that would have featured his boys was rejected because of cross-dressing. His school’s production of “Three Sisters,” the Chekhov classic, was rejected because it deals with adultery and there were concerns that some boys might play women, as they had in the past, he said.

School plays — long an important element of arts education and a formative experience for creative adolescents — have become

### A Specter of Censorship Is Swaying the Choice of Productions

the latest battleground at a moment when America’s political and cultural divisions have led to a spike in book bans, conflicts over how race and sexuality are taught in schools, and efforts by some politicians to restrict drag performances and transgender health care for children and teenagers.

For decades student productions have faced scrutiny over whether they are age-appropriate, and more recently left-leaning students and parents have pushed back against many shows over how they portray women and people of color. The latest wave of objections is coming largely from right-leaning parents and school

officials. The final act in Mr. Dallimore’s yearlong drama in Chattanooga? He learned that his position at McCallie School, along with that of his counterpart at the nearby Girls Preparatory School, was being eliminated. They were invited to apply for a single new position overseeing theater at both schools; both educators are now out of the jobs.

“This is obviously a country-wide issue that we are a small part of,” Mr. Dallimore said. “It’s definitely part of a bigger movement — a strongly concerted effort of politics and religion going hand in hand, banning books and trying to erase history and villainizing others.”

A McCallie spokeswoman, Jamie Baker, acknowledged that the two school theater positions had been eliminated so the programs could be combined but said that

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## The Mystery That Haunts A World Cup

By TARIQ PANJA

VALENCIA, Spain — Aminata Diallo was being escorted from her foul-smelling holding cell to an interview room inside the Hôtel de Police in Versailles the first time she heard the name Tonya Harding.

Harding’s name is infamous in sports, of course. A decorated American figure skater, she was a central figure in the notorious case involving the assault of her biggest rival only weeks before the 1994 Winter Olympics. The scandal — a sudden and violent attack by a mystery man; accusations and denials; tabloid headlines — led to worldwide attention and, years later, a feature-length movie about Harding. But to Diallo, a 28-year-old French soccer player being led up a police station stairwell, the mention of her name — “Have you heard of Tonya Harding?” — produced only a blank stare.

Diallo would quickly learn, however, that the police had reason to ask.

Harding’s rival, Nancy Kerrigan, had been attacked by a man who beat her on the legs in an attempt to keep her from competing. Now, in France, a generation later, the police suspected a similar motive in an attack on

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## Light Shows, Protests and Spy Games Assail Russia’s Embassy

By MICHAEL CROWLEY

WASHINGTON — On a warm June night, Benjamin Wittes was seated at a card table across the street from the Russian Embassy in Washington, kicking off his light show.

Assembled around him was a sprawl of wires and equipment, including a laptop and two powerful light projectors. One of them was beaming a giant blue and yellow Ukrainian flag onto the embassy’s white facade.

That was just the beginning. “We’ve got a little essay we’re going to project, line by line, in three languages,” said Mr. Wittes, a prominent national security law expert. “It’s about stolen children.” By the end of the night, he was beaming a Ukrainian-language profanity about President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia onto the towering embassy structure.

Mr. Wittes and his friends have been lighting up the embassy once every few weeks since the war in Ukraine began last year. It is clearly getting under the Russians’ skin. On this night, the Russians were trying to blot out his projections with ones of their own, including two giant white Z’s — a nationalist Russian symbol of the war effort.

Once, last spring, a Russian



A vigil outside the Russian Embassy in Washington to mark the anniversary of the Ukraine war.

spotlight chased a Ukrainian flag across the embassy facade in a slapstick cat-and-mouse game that has since been watched millions of times online. In April, a burly man in jeans and a Baltimore Orioles T-shirt emerged

from the embassy and silently obstructed Mr. Wittes’s projectors with an open umbrella in each hand.

“They get into spotlight wars with us,” Mr. Wittes said. “It’s really quite juvenile.”

It is also the strange new normal around Russia’s main diplomatic outpost in the United States, a scene of near-constant protests, spy games and general weirdness as the most hostile relations in

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## Lithium Scarcity Has Carmakers Scrambling Into Mining Industry

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS and JACK EWING

Eager to avoid falling further behind Tesla and Chinese car companies, many Western auto executives are bypassing traditional suppliers and committing billions of dollars on deals with lithium mining companies.

They are showing up in hard hats and steel-toe boots to scope out mines in places like Chile, Argentina, Quebec and Nevada to secure supplies of a metal that could make or break their companies as they move from gasoline to battery power.

Without lithium, U.S. and European carmakers won’t be able to

build batteries for the electric pickup trucks, sport utility vehicles and sedans they need to remain competitive. And assembly lines they are ramping up in places like Michigan, Tennessee and Saxony, Germany, will grind to a halt.

Established mining companies don’t have enough lithium to supply the industry as electric vehicle sales soar. General Motors plans for all its car sales to be electric by 2035. In the first quarter of 2023, sales of battery-powered cars, pickups and sport utility vehicles

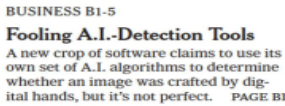
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**Exporting a Tunisian Staple**  
Tunisian put canned tuna on everything. But inflation risks making an essential food unaffordable. PAGE A4

**Obstacles to Kyiv’s Advance**  
Ukraine’s counteroffensive is facing an enemy nearly as daunting as the Russians: the south’s flat terrain. PAGE A8



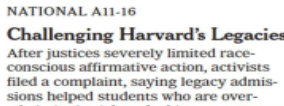
**Political Marathon in Florida**  
Disney, long allergic to controversy, is likely to be the target of public and partisan criticism by Gov. Ron DeSantis throughout the G.O.P. primary. PAGE B1

**Cost of Car Repairs Soars**  
More technology and creature comforts, as well as new electric vehicles, have pushed the price of like-new repairs up 36 percent since 2018. PAGE B1



**Long Miles Behind and Ahead**  
Nickademus de la Rosa, an ultrarunning prodigy, takes a break as he copes with his mental health. PAGES B6-7

**Ups and Downs at Wimbledon**  
Novak Djokovic rolled to an opening victory. Venus Williams, 43, aggravated a knee injury in defeat. PAGE B9



**Challenging Harvard’s Legacies**  
After justices severely limited race-conscious affirmative action, activists filed a complaint, saying legacy admissions helped students who are overwhelmingly rich and white. PAGE A12

**Testing Limits of Free Speech**  
A tweet objecting to a course titled “The Problem of Whiteness” ignited a debate about cyberbullying at the University of Chicago after the lecturer received a slew of hate mail. PAGE A11



**Letting Her Music Soar**  
After losing a close collaborator, the singer-songwriter Julie Byrne paused but didn’t retreat. She will soon have her first record out in six years. PAGE C1

**Paul Krugman** PAGE A18-19





‘What do we need to do not to lose everything?  
Because right now, it seems like we are about to lose everything.’

— MAKRAM HANNA



**FARM MANAGER** Jose Pineda tends to young pistachio trees on Makram Hanna's land. Two-thirds of the farm is underwater. Photographs by ROBERT GAUTHIER, Los Angeles Times

## ‘Down the drain’: Tulare Lake’s return flooded this pistachio farm

By IAN JAMES  
REPORTING FROM CORCORAN, CALIF.

A few years ago, Makram Hanna took his savings from his work in real estate and decided to make a big investment together with relatives and two other families. They bought 1,270 acres of farmland in Kings County, and in 2021 they planted pistachio trees.

Many of those trees, which have yet to produce a crop, now sit under 2 feet of water.

“It’s a disaster,” Hanna said, standing with arms crossed beside rows of inundated trees. “Huge losses.”

The floodwaters cover hundreds of acres on the farm. Hanna fears that many of the trees will not survive.

The return of Tulare Lake after this year’s major storms has left Hanna and his family with a costly ordeal — and questions about how they might be able to recover from the loss.



**A LEVEE** gave way May 23, causing flooding from Tulare Lake, newly full after this year’s storms.

“To see everything we worked for going down the drain, it’s very hard,” he said. “We have to think about the future, and where we get funds to rebuild our farm. It’s very difficult.”

The lake has reappeared in other wet years, including 1969, 1983 and 1997, and many of the fields that flooded were planted with seasonal row crops, such as tomatoes, cotton and safflower. For these types of crops, growers can simply evacuate sprinklers and other equipment to wait out the flooding.

Tree crops, however, sustain more costly damage. And in recent years, landowners have planted more pistachio orchards around the Tulare Basin, as well as in other parts of the San Joaquin Valley. Some of those orchards turned out to be vulnerable when rivers swollen with runoff broke through levees and inundated farmlands.

For Hanna, who commutes to the farm each week from his home in San Diego [See Flooding, A10]

## Hotel strike is likely to expand

Workers at 18 inns in L.A. area, O.C. have walked out. Union isn’t saying which ones will be next.

By SUHAUNA HUSSAIN, HELEN LI AND JULIA WICK

On the second day of a major strike, thousands of service workers at hotels in Los Angeles and Orange counties remained off the job Monday in the middle of the tourist-rich Fourth of July holiday period, with no sign of movement toward contract agreements or clear indication of which union-represented hotels will see picket lines next.

Contracts expired at midnight Friday for about 60 Southern California hotels where workers are represented by Unite Here Local 11, and the strike began Sunday morning. The Westin Bonaventure Hotel & Suites in downtown L.A., the union’s biggest employer with more than 600 workers, reached a tentative deal Wednesday evening, averting a potential strike ahead of the contract expiration at that location.

But none of the other hotels in Los Angeles and Orange counties have reached agreements with the union yet, according to Kurt Petersen, co-president of Unite Here Local 11. By Monday afternoon, employees at 18 of those hotels — including the Biltmore and JW Marriott in downtown Los Angeles and the Fairmont Miramar in Santa Monica — had gone on strike, according to the union. Workers remained on the job at a number of other Local 11-represented hotels.

The union hasn’t said which hotels will see walk-outs and pickets next.

“It’s a strategic decision about where we are going to strike next, and many factors go into it,” Petersen said Monday. The fact that downtown and Santa Monica hotels were particularly busy with the Fourth of July holiday [See Hotel strike, A5]

## This star influencer may not talk to you, but her AI clone will

For \$1 a minute, fans of Caryn Marjorie can chat up her chatbot. Wait, it gets weirder ...

By BRIAN CONTRERAS

Last month, Caryn Marjorie went from a successful but niche social media star to a person of national interest: the subject of attention-grabbing headlines and, for many commentators, a template upon which to project their anxieties about rapidly advancing artificial intelligence.

The cause of the furor was a partnership Marjorie, 23, had launched with a technology startup promising to make a personalized AI “clone” of the Scottsdale, Ariz.-based lifestyle influencer. For a dollar a minute, fans she might never have otherwise had the time to meet could instead chat with Marjorie’s digital double.

CarynAI, as the audio chatbot has been dubbed, is explicitly framed as a romantic companion — one that aims to “cure loneliness” with software that supposedly incorporates aspects of cognitive behavioral therapy into its conversations. Marjorie said her fans have used the program to



**THE ONLINE** personality’s audio chatbot, CarynAI, is framed as a romantic companion.

ask for life advice and role-play a sunset date to the beach.

Marjorie was at one point tracking her subscriber growth in tweets about how many new “boyfriends” she had. “They feel like they’re finally getting to know me, even though they’re fully aware that it’s an AI,” she told The Times.

This HAL 9000 version of pillow talk has, predictably, triggered a backlash. Critics branded CarynAI as alternately demeaning women, enabling antisocial straight-male behavior or signaling [See Influencer, A7]

## For borrowers, hope turns to anxiety

Supreme Court’s decision to block Biden’s student loan relief is a blow for those struggling with crushing debt. ‘It mentally breaks your spirit.’

By DEBBIE TRUONG, MILLA SURJADI AND TERESA WATANABE

Mimi Hoang rejoiced when President Biden announced plans last year to cancel thousands of dollars in student debt. The 20-year-old had taken out \$30,000 in federal loans to pay for her first year at Southern Oregon University.

“It is a real burden for me to know that I carry that much from one year of school,” she said.

As she faced the prospect of tripling her loan debt by staying at Southern Oregon, Hoang decided to move back to her family’s home in Hayward last academic year and enroll at a community college. Biden’s plan would have slashed Hoang’s debt to \$10,000.

But her hope of relief — and the hopes of millions of borrowers across the country who owe about \$1.6 trillion [See Student loans, A5]



**BLACK** and Latino borrowers are disproportionately vulnerable to default, according to a 2019 analysis. Above, people rally Friday outside the Supreme Court. JACQUELYN MARTIN Associated Press

### Israeli troops hit West Bank

Most intense strike in two decades kills at least eight Palestinians and wounds dozens. **WORLD, A3**

### Remembering loss on Fourth

South Pasadena’s Adobe Flores takes us to a time when Mexico ruled the Southland. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

### New protections for pregnancies

Employees in many states will gain rights; California, though, has stronger safeguards in place. **BUSINESS, A6**

**Weather**  
Fog, then sun.  
L.A. Basin: 82/58. **B6**





# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

SU W1 V2 V3 V4

Heavy t-storm 88/74 • Tomorrow: Hot, humid 91/74 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, JULY 4, 2023 • B3

## Dispute over data threatens transplants

Fight over use of system could affect flow of hearts, lungs to hospitals

BY LENNY BERNSTEIN

The flow of lifesaving organs to 63 U.S. transplant centers could be disrupted as soon as Wednesday by a dispute over the use of data, another potential blow to the troubled transplant system the government has promised to overhaul.

The United Network for Organ Sharing, the nonprofit that runs the system, is threatening to revoke an organ-screening company's access to the complex computer network that sends kidneys, livers, hearts, lungs and other organs throughout the country. It has set a Wednesday deadline for the company, Buckeye Transplant Services, to comply with its demands over the use of transplant data.

If no deal is reached, 63 transplant centers that depend on Buckeye to initially evaluate the size, condition and compatibility of organs for patients would find themselves without its services. Buckeye would effectively be out of business for as long as it is disconnected from the nationwide system used to offer and accept organs from deceased donors, known as DonorNet. "People would die," the president of Buffalo-based Buckeye, Jared Ackley, said of critically ill patients waiting for hearts, livers and lungs. "Transplant centers do not have the bandwidth to, at the

SEE ORGANS ON A5

## Alzheimer's patients see hope, risks in new drugs

BY LAURIE MCGINLEY

Jay Reinstein stood in the hospital hallway, gently bickering with his father about Larry David's misanthropic character on "Curb Your Enthusiasm."

"I don't like him. He's mean-spirited," Max, 88, declared. An exasperated Jay replied, "Dad, it's comedy!" Jay's mother — Lois, 85 — rolled her eyes as the two men reached a truce based on their mutual love of Mel Brooks.

The friendly banter masked the wrenching reason for the family's visit to MedStar Georgetown University Hospital. It wasn't for Jay's octogenarian parents; his father still works as a certified public accountant. It was for Jay, 62 years old and stricken with early-onset Alzheimer's disease, which has driven him from a job he fiercely loved and recently forced him to stop driving. He's here for tests that will show how quickly the illness is progressing.

Since being diagnosed five years ago with Alzheimer's, Jay has felt desperate, sometimes panicky, about his fate. But now, he sees a sliver of hope: a new drug called leqembi. It's not a cure and does not restore memory.

SEE ALZHEIMER'S ON A13

## Israeli soldiers, drones attack West Bank camp



Young men run for cover as smoke rises above Jenin, in the West Bank. The Israeli military said it was focusing its assault on a militant "command center" in the Jenin refugee camp, which is known as a hub for Hamas, Islamic Jihad and other armed Palestinian factions.

### 1,000 TROOPS TARGET MILITANTS

Biggest assault in years kills 8, injures dozens

BY STEVE HENDRIX AND NIHA MASIH

JERUSALEM — About 1,000 Israeli soldiers backed by drone strikes stormed Jenin on Monday, targeting a militant "command center" in the most expansive Israeli military operation in the occupied West Bank in two decades.

The assault marked the start of an "extensive counterterrorism effort" centered on the densely populated Jenin refugee camp, according to Israeli officials. At least eight people were killed and 80 injured, according to the Palestinian Health Ministry, with 17 in critical condition. The Israel Defense Forces said the operation would continue indefinitely.

"We'll do it as long as it is needed; there is no timeline on this right now," Lt. Col. Richard Hecht, an IDF spokesman, told reporters. Another Palestinian was shot and killed by soldiers near the city of Ramallah while protesting the Jenin attack.

Gunfire, drones and explosions were reported throughout the day by Jenin residents and in videos posted on social media. Residents reported receiving text messages from Israeli numbers that warned them to stay inside for their protection.

SEE ISRAEL ON A11

## At least 3 firearms in 30-victim Baltimore shooting, police say

BY JASMINE HILTON, CLARENCE WILLIAMS, MARY CLAIRE MOLLOY AND PETER HERMANN

BALTIMORE — Every year for more than a quarter-century, the Brooklyn Day block party has offered neighborhood residents a welcome respite amid the summer heat. Pony rides and dance contests. DJs playing hip-hop. Hot dogs and hamburgers. Children playing hide-and-seek.

The event Saturday in the Brooklyn neighborhood four

### No arrests in violence at block party that left two young people dead

miles south of downtown was in full swing even after midnight, when gunshots turned a joyous celebration into a shooting gallery, killing two people, wounding 28 and adding yet another place to America's ever-growing list of addresses linked to devastat-

tating gun violence.

Ahead of Fourth of July festivities, Baltimore leaders scrambled Monday to assure residents that they would be safe during the fireworks display at the Inner Harbor, even as officials fended off questions about the lack of police at Brooklyn Day and gave casualty numbers as if recounting battlefield statistics.

Victims ranged in age from 13 to 32. Fifteen were younger than 17. Police said 18 were female and 12 were male. Hospitals went into disaster mode as victims poured

in. One doctor said there were concerns the shooter might be outside the hospital's front door. Another doctor said two lives were saved during major surgery. Still, two died: Kyllis Fagbemi, 20, and Aaliyah Gonzalez, 18. Gonzalez was called "Sweet Face," and her mother said she had just graduated from high school and had a college scholarship. Four people remained in critical condition Monday.

Mayor Brandon Scott (D) said at a news conference Monday that authorities "are doing every-

thing to ensure that horrific violence is not repeated in Brooklyn or in any other neighborhood across Baltimore."

Mia Jones had taken her 7-year-old daughter Robin to the party but left to visit a relative. They returned to their home near Gretna Court a half-hour before gunfire erupted outside their front door. Jones said she and her daughter huddled in their living room until they thought it was safe to get up.

"Stop the shooting," said Jones, SEE BALTIMORE ON A4



Sheila Gutman's doctors apply a special collagen powder to help heal her foot, which was struck by a bullet during the mass killing at the Fourth of July parade in the affluent suburban Illinois community.

## Still healing, 1 year after July 4 mass killing

A survivor and the Highland Park community navigate their collective trauma

BY SUSAN BERGER

HIGHLAND PARK, ILL. — Sheila Gutman can measure the past year in numbers: 52 days in the hospital, six in intensive care. Eight surgeries, some lasting as long as 13 hours. Twenty-two visits to a hyperbaric chamber. More than two weeks in traction. Double skin grafts. One section of cadaver bone.

Also, 365 days without walking.

Gutman, a mother of four and grandmother of five, was among the dozens of people grievously injured when a gunman with an assault rifle opened fire last year on their town's Fourth of July parade — a cherished tradition in an

affluent suburban community that, until the moment when bullets pierced the innocence, never expected its name to be added to America's roster of mass killings.

During her long, arduous recovery, when doctors were not sure they could save the foot that had been shattered and shredded by a single shot, Gutman began to comprehend how deep Highland Park's collective trauma ran.

The town's mayor testified before a Senate committee that nearly 1,200 people a day sought counseling at the local high school in the wake of the tragedy and that victim support specialists had warned "counseling will be needed by

SEE HIGHLAND PARK ON A6

## IN THE NEWS



KATHERINE FREY/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Saving 'Freedom'** How an enslaved man ingeniously rescued the project to create the Capitol dome's statue in the early 1860s. B1

**THE NATION**  
**In Los Angeles**, some wealthy sellers of mansions are dodging a tax that is meant to help the homeless. A3  
**Swirling soot** from Canadian wildfires is likely to compound the usual pyrotechnics pollution on the Fourth of July, health experts cautioned. A3

**A civil rights group** said it has petitioned the U.S. government to force Harvard University to stop giving an ad-

missions boost to children of alumni. A7

**THE WORLD**  
**A corruption-driven** real estate boom is changing the face of Baghdad and pricing most Iraqis out of the market. A8  
**The U.N.** maritime agency is meeting in London to set climate goals for the global shipping industry, but not all countries are on board. A9

**Victoria Amelina**, a prominent Ukrainian writer, died of injuries suffered in a recent Russian strike on a restaurant. She was 37. A10

**THE ECONOMY**  
**San Francisco** officials expressed concerns about safety as California considers lifting limits on driverless cab service in the city. A12  
**The TSA** set a record Friday for the number of people screened at airports, dispelling a notion that early-week flight cancellations would set back holiday travelers. A12

## THE REGION

**A longtime Metro** bus driver was fatally shot in a carjacking rampage that authorities said also left a woman injured and two dogs dead. B1  
**Alexandria** officials are working to launch a bus rapid transit system along the city's Duke Street corridor. B1

## OBITUARIES

**Peg Yorkin**, 96, a leading feminist organizer and philanthropist, campaigned to expand access to abortion and to elect more women to political office. B4

## INSIDE



## HEALTH AND SCIENCE

**The guardians of the rainforest**  
Empowering Indigenous peoples has emerged as a way to protect land. E1

## STYLE

**Singularly Shania**  
Country-pop legend Twain is at her best when she's being herself. C1

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## Horror en Laboulaye: el mejor amigo confesó el crimen de Joaquín

—seguridad

El chico de 14 años fue asesinado a golpes a la salida del colegio; tras el sepelio, familiares y amigos marcharon para pedir "justicia". **Página 26**



## deportes

### River cree en la herencia de los "pichones" de cracks

Quiénes son y de qué juegan los hijos de los "exmillonarios" que están en las inferiores del club.

# LA NACION

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## El Gobierno culpa a la Corte por la derrota en San Juan y la oposición apuesta a Santa Fe

**ELECCIONES.** Juntos por el Cambio confía en lograr otra victoria antes de las PASO de agosto

Laura Serra  
LA NACION

Faltan todavía tres elecciones claves en el interior del país antes de las PASO del 13 de agosto próximo. Luego de dar el batacazo en San Juan con el triunfo de Marcelo Orrego para la gobernación, los opositores de Juntos por el Cambio apuestan

a repetir los festejos en Santa Fe, Chubut y Córdoba, donde confían en imponerse sobre los oficialismos locales y llegar bien posicionados a las cruciales elecciones internas frente al candidato oficialista Sergio Massa y su Unión por la Patria. En el Gobierno y en el kirchnerismo evitaron una autocrítica sobre la derrota de Sergio Uñac en San Juan.

Desde la Casa Rosada prefirieron culpar al fallo de la Corte Suprema que impidió la postulación del gobernador Sergio Uñac por violar los requisitos de la Constitución provincial. "La operación de la Corte desgastó a Uñac", argumentaron cerca del presidente Alberto Fernández, en referencia al fallo del máximo tribunal. **Continúa en la página 8**

### La Justicia habilitó a Jorge Macri a competir

**Página 11**

### Se extiende la presión de las familias por los días sin clases

**PAROS.** A nivel nacional, piden la intervención de la defensora de la niñez

El reclamo y las quejas llegan casi a los niveles de la pandemia. Ante la sucesión de paros que afectan las clases en todo el país, las familias buscan nuevas instancias para garantizar la continuidad escolar. La entidad Padres Organizados exigió la intervención de la Defensoría de los Derechos de Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes por las reiteradas medidas de fuerza. **Página 22**



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### Montevideo, casi sin agua por la sequía

—el mundo

La principal reserva que alimenta los hogares de la capital de Uruguay, sobre el río Santa Lucía, está en estado crítico. **Pág. 2**

Vista aérea del antes y el después de la reserva Paso Severino, donde por primera vez en 30 años se ve un puente; está en un 2% de su capacidad

GETTY IMAGES

### Cisjordania: Israel lanzó la mayor ofensiva en 20 años

**REPRESALIA.** Desplegó 2000 soldados; nueve muertos

TEL AVIV (DPA).— En la mayor incursión militar en Cisjordania de las últimas dos décadas, el Ejército israelí lanzó ayer una "amplia operación antiterrorista" en el campo de refugiados de Jenin, que incluyó ataques con drones y el despliegue

de 2000 soldados, que dejaron un saldo de nueve muertos. Las fuerzas israelíes afirmaron que buscan neutralizar la "infraestructura terrorista" y el "centro de operaciones" de la Brigada Jenin, un grupo militante local. **Página 6**

### Acuña señaló a su hijo por el asesinato de Cecilia

**CHACO.** Habría un octavo implicado en el caso

Marcela Acuña, la esposa de Emereciano Sena, detenida por el homicidio de Cecilia Strzyzowski, escribió una carta desde la cárcel en la que apuntó contra su propio hijo por el crimen. "¿Por qué si fue César (mi hijo) responsable nos incriminan a nosotros?", se preguntó. Los investigadores revelaron también que en la casa de los Sena se encontró una billetera que podría pertenecer a la joven y desde la gobernación dijeron que podría haber un octavo implicado en el caso. **Página 16**

nan a nosotros?", se preguntó. Los investigadores revelaron también que en la casa de los Sena se encontró una billetera que podría pertenecer a la joven y desde la gobernación dijeron que podría haber un octavo implicado en el caso. **Página 16**

### Cayeron los ingresos de los hogares pobres y de clase media

**INFLACIÓN.** Bajaron 2,4% y 6,3% en el primer trimestre de este año frente a 2022, según el Indec. **Página 17**



## Equilíbrio B6

### Tédio pode fazer bem

Sensação incentiva crianças em férias a viverem novos aprendizados

## Esporte B7

Doyle Brunson, morto em maio e 1º a ganhar US\$ 1 mi no pôquer, é homenageado

## Ilustrada C1 e C2

Após 'The Idol', Troye Sivan volta à música, lança álbum e se firma como ícone queer

## Comida C8

Folha Prova avalia cremes de avelã disponíveis em lojas e supermercados

## Juliano Spyer

### Não falemos bobagens

O termo neopentecostal é útil na academia, não no jornalismo. Em vez de adotá-lo, é melhor distinguir entre igrejas históricas e pentecostais. E cobrar de cientistas sociais conceitos para a sociedade navegar nesse território novo, importante em consumo, cultura e política. **Opinião A2**

## Gestão Lula libera verbas de R\$ 465 mi a Saúde e prioriza Alagoas de Lira

Política A6



Karlene Xavier/Folhapress

## NAVIO QUE FOI À ANTÁRTIDA APODRECE EM SANTOS

Pioneira nas pesquisas oceanográficas do Brasil e usada pela USP por 40 anos, embarcação Professor W. Besnard está encostada há 15 anos no porto de Santos, com risco de afundar; ONG responsável queria reformá-la, mas plano não avançou, e impasse persiste cotidiano **B2**

## Plano Diretor transforma Jockey Club de SP em parque

Manobra da Câmara Municipal abre caminho para que Prefeitura tome imóvel como pagamento de dívidas

O terreno que desde 1941 abriga o hipódromo da Cidade Jardim (zona oeste) tornou-se um dos 186 parques públicos propostos para São Paulo pela revisão do Plano Diretor, aprovada no dia 26 para nortear o crescimento da cidade até 2029.

A decisão permite à gestão do prefeito Ricardo Nunes (MDB) declarar a utilidade pública do imóvel e tomar a área de quase 600 mil m² como pagamento de uma dívida de R\$ 640 milhões em impostos pelo Jockey Club de São Paulo.

A prefeitura não confirma o plano, exposto pelo presidente da Câmara Municipal, Milton Leite (União).

O Jockey questiona a dívida na Justiça, e o advogado do clube declarou que a entidade não falaria da ação.

Leite afirmou que o local figura no Plano Diretor como Parque João Carlos di Genio, em homenagem ao empresário da educação morto em 2022. "Mas estava tudo lá, a matrícula e o mapa", disse.

Transformada em parque, a área passaria a ser uma zona especial de preservação ambiental, onde a construção civil é vetada. Nesse caso, a exploração comercial poderia ser feita como concessão, caso do Ibirapuera.

Para que isso ocorra, estudos de viabilidade ainda são necessários. **Cotidiano B1**

## Relator do Carf propõe perdão de multa a dívida recuperável

O relator do projeto de lei que altera regras do Carf (Conselho Administrativo de Recursos Fiscais), deputado Beto Pereira (PSDB-MS), inseriu no texto a possibilidade de o devedor de imposto ter desconto em multas e juros mesmo que o débito seja considerado recuperável pela Fazenda.

A proposta causou incômodo entre técnicos do governo, que veem uma nova renúncia de arrecadação e um drible na Lei de Responsabilidade Fiscal.

O Carf é um tribunal administrativo que julga disputas bilionárias entre União e contribuintes sobre impostos devidos. **Mercado p. 1**

## Senado sabatina hoje Galípolo, tido como 'heterodoxo light'

Mercado p. 3

## Decisão no STF veta uso de dados na nuvem como prova

Uma decisão de dezembro passado do então ministro do STF Ricardo Lewandowski, já aposentado, tem levado à anulação de operações em que investigadores pediram a empresas de tecnologia para manter dados em nuvem de celulares. **Política A4**

## Google financia 'fazendas' de IA com publicidade, diz consultoria

Mercado p. 10



Ronald Schmidt/AFF

## ISRAEL FAZ MAIOR INCURSÃO À CISJORDÂNIA EM 20 ANOS; AO MENOS 8 MORREM

Explosão é registrada em Jenin durante ataque de forças israelenses; na maior ação contra a Cisjordânia desde o início dos anos 2000, governo Netanyahu fala em destruir infraestrutura de terroristas, e palestinos acusam Israel de atingir civis **Mundo A9**



## ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



## EDITORIAIS A2

### Ditadura absoluta

Sobre autoritarismo chavista relativizado por Lula.

### PAC que não é PAC

Acerca de recriação do programa oficial de obras.

## ENTREVISTA Mélanie Joly

### Democracia precisa de ecossistemas de mídia preservados

Em visita ao Brasil, chanceler do Canadá diz à Folha que democracias precisam mandar mensagem às big techs "sobre a importância de proteger nossos ecossistemas de mídia". O país aprovou lei que prevê pagamento, pelas gigantes de tecnologia, de conteúdo jornalístico. **Mundo A10**

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**LANZAMIENTO**

Inseguridad, déficit del actual gobierno; en las últimas horas se sucedieron los atracos

# Trabajadores jóvenes, víctimas preferidas de los delincuentes

Última Hora trae el testimonio de ciudadanos que sufrieron atracos en más de una oportunidad. En muchos casos la persona que sufrió un robo debe reponer lo sustraído a los patrones.

PÁGINA 2

Imputado por lavado y asociación criminal  
**El desafuero de Erico es la primera prueba de fuego para el nuevo Senado**

PÁGINA 4

Pese a precios altos, el BCP registró una deflación en el mes de junio

PÁGINA 16

Rechazan la chicana de Melgarejo en caso tapabocas de oro

PÁGINA 44

La primera Superluna del año iluminó el cielo guaraní

PÁGINA 20



DANIEL DUARTE

**Jubilado bachea ante inacción municipal**

**Iniciativa.** A sus 79 años don Julio Encina tomó sus herramientas de albañilería y salió a la calle para arreglar un inmenso y peligroso bache.

PÁGINA 21

Abdo pidió unidad a diputados de FR  
**Duarte Frutos revive la necesidad de que haya reelección presidencial**

PÁGINA 7

Creció 6,1% en el primer semestre  
**Rectificaciones impositivas hicieron que aumentara la recaudación del Fisco**

PÁGINA 11

Ordenan billonario embargo de bienes  
**Fortuna acumulada por RGD crea inconvenientes hasta a la calculadora, según fiscal**

PÁGINA 42

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**COLLEGE SPORTS**

## Big 12 boss sees it being even bigger

Commissioner has plans to expand and give fans 'a peek under the hood'

By **IRVING MEJIA-HILARIO**  
Staff Writer  
irving.mejia-hilario@dallasnews.com

From miking up coaches to expanding games across the border, the Big 12 Conference wants to go where no other has before — commercially and geographically.

The league announced the launch of Big 12 Mexico, Big 12 Pro Day and a commercial sales divi-

sion and is looking to boost its experience for television viewers by having coaches wear mics and increasing access to locker rooms this fall.

Sportswriters and fans have predicted the death of the conference for more than a decade, since talks of eliminating it gained steam in 2010.

The conference is losing two popular and successful schools next year when the University of Texas and the University of Okla-

See **BIG 12** Page 4A

**A MAN** cited in a lawsuit brought by a Christian graphic artist that the Supreme Court decided in a blow to LGBTQ rights says he was never involved. **5A**

**THE STUDENT** LOAN debt forgiveness plan by the Biden administration was effectively killed by the Supreme Court, so it's trying a different approach. Here's what to know. **5A**

**HIGHER EDUCATION**

## Activists challenge legacy admissions

They say practice mostly helps white children of college alumni

By **COLLIN BINKLEY**  
The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — A civil rights group is challenging legacy admissions at Harvard University, saying the practice discriminates against students of color by giving an unfair boost to the mostly white children of alumni.

The practice of giving priority to the children of alumni has faced growing pushback in

the wake of last week's Supreme Court's decision ending affirmative action in higher education. The NAACP added its weight behind the effort Monday, asking more than 1,500 colleges and universities to even the playing field in admissions, including by ending legacy admissions.

The civil rights complaint was filed Monday by Lawyers for Civil Rights, a nonprofit based in Boston, on behalf of Black and Latino community groups in New England, alleging that

See **LEGACY** Page 5A

# Kiss kiss kaboom



Juan Figueroa/Staff Photographer

**Fly your flag**

Today is Independence Day, the anniversary of the 1776 Declaration of Independence, which is regarded as the founding of the republic.



**A couple kissed** under the glow of the fireworks show during the Kaboom Town Fourth of July celebration at Addison Circle Park on Monday. In addition to the fireworks display that draws thousands of onlookers each year, the celebration included live music and the Addison Airport Airshow. For a list of Independence Day events today in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, visit [dallasnews.com](http://dallasnews.com).

**POLITICS**

## Don't count on a sleepy summer

Property tax relief battle, Trump, U.S. Senate race apt to keep things lively

By **GROMER JEFFERS JR.**  
Political Writer  
gjeffers@dallasnews.com

Summers were once considered the offseason for politics. National and local politicians used the period from May to September to raise money, build campaign teams and test messages.

With many Americans on vacation or distracted by other activities, politics took the back seat. Fun at the ballpark or beach was better than feeling the hot air from some politicians. The blistering Texas summer is enough to manage.

These days, there is no off-season in politics. It's a year-round activity with few breaks. And this summer is no exception.

Inside and outside of Texas, there's plenty of political action developing, much of it a prelude to what will be an autumn spectacle.

Over the summer, embattled Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton will be preparing his defense for an impeachment trial in the Senate. In May, House members voted to impeach Paxton after an ethics committee investigated allegations of bribery and corruption.

That trial is set for September. Until then, here are some things to watch amid fun times with friends and family.

**Special session No. 2**

Gov. Greg Abbott and leaders in the Legislature promised residents they would use at least half of a nearly \$33 billion revenue surplus to give the biggest property tax break in Lone Star State history.

Lawmakers have been unable to agree on the mechanics of property tax relief. The House and Senate have dueling proposals.

The sticking points appear to involve whether to give a blanket break to commercial and residential owners by low-

See **TAX** Page 10A

**HEALTH CARE**

## Data fight threatens to disrupt flow of transplant organs

'People would die' if access lost, head of company says after security questioned

By **LENNY BERNSTEIN**  
The Washington Post

The flow of lifesaving organs to 63 U.S. transplant centers could be disrupted as soon as Wednesday by a dispute over the use of data, another po-

tential blow to the troubled transplant system the government has promised to overhaul.

The United Network for Organ Sharing, or UNOS, the nonprofit that runs the system, is threatening to revoke an organ-screening company's access to the complex computer network that sends kidneys, livers, hearts, lungs and other organs throughout the country. It has set a Wednesday

deadline for the company, Buckeye Transplant Services, to comply with its demands over the use of transplant data.

If no deal is reached, 63 transplant centers that depend on Buckeye to initially evaluate the size, condition and compatibility of organs for patients would find themselves without its services. Buckeye would effectively be out of business for as long as it is discon-

nected from the nationwide system used to offer and accept organs from deceased donors, which is known as DonorNet.

"People would die," the president of Buffalo-based Buckeye, Jared Ackley, said of critically ill patients waiting for hearts, livers and lungs. "Transplant centers do not have the bandwidth to,

See **ORGAN** Page 7A

**Isolated storms**

Metro, back page

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**BUSINESS****5 homes make priciest list**

A \$20.5 million University Park home was one of five in North Texas to rank among the top 10 most expensive new listings in June. **3B**

**Accessibility focus of redo**

Improving accessibility is a key driver of UT Southwestern Medical Center's \$138.5 million renovation focused on musculoskeletal care and rehabilitation, its leaders say. **3B**

**METRO****Teen missing for years found**

Rudolph Farias, a Texas teenager who went missing eight years ago, was found alive but unresponsive outside a church. **2B**

**Plano resolution just a start**

Two Plano residents helped the city pass a resolution to create a standard for closed captioning for public-facing televisions at city facilities. Now the two are on a mission. **1B**

**NATION & WORLD****Police search for shooters**

Authorities continued to search for the suspects who opened fire during a holiday weekend block party in Baltimore that killed two people. **2A**

**Accused rioter arrested**

A Michigan man accused of attacking a police officer with a flagpole during the insurrection at the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, was arrested in Florida. **3A**





**HOMMAGE**  
LÉON GAUTIER, LE DERNIER  
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**LE FIGARO**  
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l'usine secrète  
des forces  
de l'ordre  
• Les prix  
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ils leur niveau  
d'avant-  
inflation ?  
• Les tribunes  
d'Agnès  
Verdier-Moliné  
et de Thibault  
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• La chronique  
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Girard  
• L'analyse de  
Marylou Magal  
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**FIGARO OUI**  
**FIGARO NON**  
Réponses à la question  
de lundi :  
Justice : faut-il étendre  
la comparaison immédiate  
aux mineurs qui ont  
participé aux émeutes ?  
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**Votez aujourd'hui**  
sur **lefigaro.fr**  
Faut-il renforcer  
les sanctions  
contre les parents  
des mineurs délinquants ?  
STEPHAN GLADIEU/LE FIGARO  
MAGAZINE; PASCAL LE SEGRETAIN/  
GETTY IMAGES VIA AFP;  
NACHO DOCE/REUTERS



## Les maires appellent au sursaut

Partout en France, les élus municipaux, en première ligne face aux émeutes, se sont mobilisés pour réclamer la fin des violences.

PAGES 2 À 5, 14, 15, 18, 19 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

## Après le défi sécuritaire, Macron cherche une réponse politique

À chaque crise, Emmanuel Macron a apporté une réponse politique. Grand débat national après les « gilets jaunes », tour de France après la crise sanitaire, cent jours « d'apaisement et d'action » après la réforme des retraites. Celle aux émeutes de 2023 reste à écrire. Pour l'heure, le président de la République consulte.



## Les professionnels du tourisme s'inquiètent de l'image de la France

Les pillages de centres-villes diffusés à l'étranger, ont conduit plusieurs ambassades à recommander à leurs concitoyens d'être très prudents lors de leur voyage en France. Entre 20% et 25% des touristes étrangers ont annulé leur voyage à Paris et les professionnels s'inquiètent pour la suite de la saison.

**ÉDITORIAL** par Vincent Trémolet de Villers vtremolet@lefigaro.fr

## Rempart de la France ordinaire

Sur le front de leur mairie, on trouve les trois couleurs du drapeau, les trois mots de notre devise nationale. Symboles qui devraient nous réunir naturellement et qui, pour les enrégimés qui ont « la haine de la France » (David Lisnard), doivent être réduits en cendres. Les maires que l'on a vus, lundi à midi, de Brest à Antibes et de Bayonne à Colmar, exprimer une forme d'unité du pays étaient, malgré eux, les porte-voix de la France ordinaire. Celle qui ne se contemple pas dans l'excuse sociologique et ne se complait pas dans le complexe victimaire. Celle qui contient sa colère devant les agressions, les razzias et les départs de feu. Celle qui n'a pas les honneurs de la radio publique. Celle qui est la cible de la bêtise sophistiquée, de la déconstruction autosatisfaite. Quand une mère de famille, épouse du maire de L'Hay-les-Roses, se blesse en franchissant le mur de son jardin, pour échapper, avec ses enfants, aux barbares qui ont tenté de tout brûler chez elle, ce n'est pas le fait des jeux vidéo ou des stories TikTok, c'est la conséquence effrayante de décennies de renoncements sur l'autorité, l'éducation,

l'immigration, l'intégration. C'est la suite physique, brutale, des théories qui, de Pierre Bourdieu à Sandrine Rousseau, protègent les délinquants, pauvres petits dominés, et se moquent bien des victimes, ces dominants privilégiés. C'est la réponse tragique du réel à l'aveuglement volontaire du parti du déni. C'est la preuve aussi que les maires éprouvent sans protection ce que vit l'immense majorité des Français. Emmanuel Macron dit qu'« il faut d'abord qualifier les événements avant d'en tirer des conclusions ». Vincent Jeanbrun, comme tous les maires de France, n'a pas besoin de qualifier les « événements ». Les « événements », les maires les vivent depuis longtemps. Ils n'ont pas attendu les émeutes pour connaître au quotidien la délinquance et les violences. Ils subissent chaque jour l'absence totale de politique migratoire. Ils forment, avec la police, les pompiers, les professeurs, le rempart civique, la réserve d'humanité, qui tient face aux assauts de la décivilisation. ■

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Rosie Jones

'I'm disabled, sexual, proud, rude and flawed'



G2

Lost in the desert for nine days, I lived on raw bats and urine

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# The Guardian

Newspaper of the year

## Labour wants graduate-led nurseries to fight inequality

**Exclusive** Phillipson says early-years education key to improving life chances

**Pippa Crerar**  
Political editor

More graduate teachers would be parachuted into nurseries under plans being considered by Labour to boost education for the under-4s, the Guardian has learned.

More nursery places could be

introduced in primary school settings too as part of the opposition's proposals to drive up standards and formally integrate early years in England into the education system.

Experts have long argued that nurseries should employ degree-level early years teachers, alongside other staff, to help toddlers develop skills including speech and language before they start primary school.

Currently, nurseries struggle to recruit and prevent staff leaving for higher wages in retail jobs, forcing some childcare settings to close.

The shadow education secretary,

Bridget Phillipson, said she wanted to put early years on an equal footing with schools to give children the best start in life in a manner that could not be reversed by any future Conservative government in the way that they "chipped away" at Sure Start after 2010.

In an interview with the Guardian, she said: "We know that so much is determined for children early on and that you can make the biggest impact in the early years, yet the system we've got right now de-prioritises so much of what goes on in our early years settings. We need to raise the

standing of the sector, make it part of the education system so that it is regarded with the same parity as our schools. What you achieve in the early years make such a big difference."

Phillipson, who will introduce Keir Starmer as he reveals the last of Labour's five policy missions on Thursday, said she was "determined to deliver graduate-led nurseries" and more training for childminders with a workforce plan to get more highly trained staff teaching the youngest children.

With falling school rolls across many parts of the

## 'History repeats'

## Jenin turns into war zone again

**Bethan McKernan**  
Jenin



In the city centre and at the main entrance to the Jenin refugee camp, the ground shook with the boom of explosions; rounds of artillery and machine-gun fire drowned out ambulance sirens and shouts and screams. Roads were littered with bullet casings and broken glass and the air was filled with teargas and plumes of black smoke from burning tyres, set alight to block Israeli access and vision.

Jenin, a poverty-stricken city in the north of the occupied West Bank, witnessed some of the worst fighting in the second intifada, or Palestinian uprising, of the 2000s. Two decades later, full-scale warfare has returned to the city's streets, bringing old traumas to the surface for older generations, and opening the eyes of younger ones.

Pierce fighting has raged across Jenin's claustrophobic, ghetto-like refugee camp, home to about 11,000 people, from the early hours of yesterday, when the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) launched Operation Home and Garden, its largest offensive in the West Bank in two decades.

By late afternoon at least eight Palestinians had been killed in the first major drone strikes in the West Bank for 15 years and ground fighting in which up to 2,000 Israeli troops have been deployed. Bulldozers - another returning hallmark of the second intifada - have destroyed or damaged homes, cars and streets.

The local hospital was hot and chaotic, with intermittent electricity: blood streaked the floor, while people seeking shelter smoked cigarettes outside treatment rooms and

## June was hottest on record, Met Office says

**Damien Gayle**  
Environment correspondent

The Met Office yesterday confirmed that June was the hottest on record for the UK, eclipsing the previous record by nearly a full degree.

Across the month, the country recorded an average mean temperature of 15.8C (60.4F), beating the previous record of 14.9C recorded in 1940 and 1976 and about 2.5C above the normal June average. England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland each reported their respective warmest Junes on record.

The Met Office said the record-breaking hot spell bore the "fingerprint of climate change". Research by its scientists had found that the likelihood of record-breaking heat had at least doubled in the period since about 1940, the forecaster said.

Paul Davies, the Met Office's chief meteorologist, said: "Alongside natural variability, the background warming of the



## Wimbledon Williams out after defeat to Ukraine's Svitolina

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