

## What's News

### Business & Finance

- ◆ **Carl Icahn is fighting** for his investment company's survival after a short-seller attack nearly halved its value, propelling the billionaire into one of the most trying periods of his six-decade career. **A1**
- ◆ **A 2022 deal to let DuPont** sell its sustainable-materials business to a Chinese company while ensuring the technology behind it never left the U.S. hasn't worked as planned, according to people familiar with the matter. **A1**
- ◆ **U.S. Steel rejected** an unsolicited offer from rival Cleveland-Cliffs, stopping for now a deal that would significantly reshape the domestic steel industry. **B1**
- ◆ **Neeraj Khemlani**, president and co-head of the unit that houses CBS News and its TV-station holdings, is resigning and has entered into a content and development deal with parent company Paramount Global. **B3**
- ◆ **Big companies are split** on whether the Fed will be able to tame inflation without tipping the U.S. economy into a full-blown recession. **B1**
- ◆ **Wall Street is growing** confident the U.S. can avoid a recession, but the yield curve continues to send seemingly bleak signals. **B1**
- ◆ **Texas sued British** oil giant Shell and the other owner of a petrochemical and refinery complex near Houston that caught fire in May over alleged environmental damage. **A3**
- ◆ **After a short-lived** sales rebound earlier this year, China's property market has fallen back into a deep slump, with potential home buyers sitting on the sidelines. **B6**

### World-Wide

- ◆ **Hawaii state and local** officials face mounting scrutiny over their response to the Maui wildfire that reduced the town of Lahaina to rubble, with displaced and bereaved residents receiving little early information on what caused the fire and why it became so destructive. **A1, A6**
- ◆ **Ukraine's current** campaign to retake territory occupied by Russian forces could still run for many months, but military strategists and policy makers across the West are already starting to think about next year's spring offensive. **A1**
- ◆ **The Georgia district** attorney who investigated alleged 2020 election interference by Trump will begin presenting evidence to a grand jury in Atlanta early this week, according to witnesses summoned to appear. **A4**
- ◆ **Illegal crossings** along the U.S. southwestern border are rising fast three months after the Biden administration tightened immigration policy, with Border Patrol arrests surging in remote desert areas. **A3**
- ◆ **The police force** of Marion, Kan., raided the office of a local newspaper and the home of its owners, seizing personal cell-phones and computers in a case legal experts say is likely unprecedented in modern times. **A3**
- ◆ **Hunter Biden's** legal team accused the Justice Department of renegeing on a plea agreement for the president's son. **A4**
- ◆ **Javier Milei**, a far-right outsider in Argentina who pledges to close ministries and slash spending, beat out both conservatives and the ruling Peronist coalition in a primary to choose presidential candidates for October's election. **A18**

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A man who lost his home in the Lahaina fire embraces another parishioner at a memorial service Sunday in nearby Wailuku.

## Maui Fire Response, Cause Are Probed

Death toll rises to 93, marking worst disaster of this kind in over 100 years

MAUI, Hawaii—State and local officials are facing mounting scrutiny over their response to the wildfire that reduced the town of Lahaina

By Jim Carlton,  
Ginger Adams Otis,  
Corinne Ramey  
and Alicia A. Caldwell

to rubble, with residents who lost businesses, homes and family members receiving little early information on what caused the fire and why it became so destructive. The blaze, the deadliest U.S. wildfire in more than 100 years, claimed at least 93 lives, though residents have said they are bracing for a much higher death toll. Officials have estimated more than \$5 billion is needed to rebuild.

The most immediate task  
Please turn to page A6

◆ Maui undertakes its own relief efforts.....A6

## With Kyiv Offensive Stalling, Eyes Turn To Spring

By DANIEL MICHAELS

Ukraine's current campaign to retake territory occupied by Russian forces could still run for many months, but military strategists and policy makers across the West are already starting to think about next year's spring offensive.

The shift reflects a deepening appreciation that, barring a major breakthrough, Ukraine's fight to eject Russia's invasion forces is likely to take a long time.

When Kyiv's counteroffensive began in spring, optimists hoped Ukrainian troops could replicate their success last year in routing Russian forces. But an initial attempt to use newly supplied Western tanks and armored vehicles to punch through fortified Russian lines stalled.

Since then, progress has been slow and painful, relying on small-unit tactics. A renewed push could still be in the offing. But military leaders

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◆ No valedictory for the 'Grad' rocket launcher....A8

◆ Kyiv steps up bid to isolate Crimea.....A9

## Icahn, Famed Corporate Raider, Fights to Save Empire, Legacy

By CARA LOMBARDO

Carl Icahn back in 2020 tapped his son, Brett, to eventually take over his eponymous investment empire, whose value had surged after years of successfully waging war with American corporations.

Now, instead of preparing to hand over the reins with his legacy secure, the 87-year-old billionaire is fighting for the company's survival after a

short-seller attack nearly halved its value, lurching the famed investor into one of the most trying periods of his six-decade career.

Shares in Icahn Enterprises, known by its ticker, IEP, got crushed after Hindenburg Research in May argued that it was overvalued and held assets at inflated prices. IEP, which houses Icahn's stock investments and owns companies including an oil

refiner and an automotive group, had a market value of close to \$10 billion as of Friday, down from \$18 billion before Hindenburg sounded the alarms.

That has erased about half of Icahn's personal fortune, bringing it to around \$8.5 billion, Forbes estimated, based on his ownership of about 85% of IEP's shares, and damaged his reputation as one of the most feared activists. Icahn

rose to fame as a scrappy corporate raider in the 1980s and went on to make billions of dollars by pressuring companies including Apple to make changes to boost their stocks. His colorful public statements and brash negotiating style helped shape a new era of shareholder activism, and he looms large in the New York area, where a stadium, hospital buildings and charter

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## INSIDE



**U.S. NEWS**  
Illegal border crossings are rising even amid record temperatures in the Southwest. **A3**



**BUSINESS NEWS**  
Restaurants and grocers are in a tug of war for Americans' food budgets. **B3**

## DuPont's China Deal Shows Security Flaws

By KATE O'KEEFE AND ARUNA VISWANATHA

U.S. officials forged an uneasy compromise to let DuPont sell its sustainable-materials business last year to a Chinese company while ensuring the technology behind it never left the U.S.

The arrangement hasn't worked as planned, according to people familiar with the matter, exposing flaws in a national-security review process on the front lines of a battle over technology between the U.S. and China—and ultimately prompting an investi-

gation by the FBI.

Divisions on the cabinet-level committee that screens sensitive deals involving foreign buyers were so deep that the government review took more than a year, including an unsuccessful appeal for President Biden to intervene. And the solution that members ultimately settled on was undermined in just a few weeks.

At issue was a DuPont technology used to make a key component of a more sustainable version of nylon. After initially describing the invention as revolutionary, DuPont

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## Teens Are Taking Over Gyms. The Adults Aren't Pumped.

Free Planet Fitness memberships for high-schoolers lift tension over etiquette

By BEN GLICKMAN

In Orange County, Calif., Taylor Mason, a 33-year-old high-school teacher, relishes her summers without teens. One of her usual happy places is her local Planet Fitness gym.

This season, she can't get away. Adolescents are filling the gym, and she says they leave equipment in the wrong place and wear jeans and Crocs on the treadmill. They take too long to use machines because they are dis-

tracted by their phones. "If you watch one more TikTok without doing one crunch, I'm gonna lose my mind," Mason says.

Regulars at Planet Fitness locations across the U.S. are now working out alongside throngs of high-schoolers who are participating in the chain's popular promotion: free membership for teens in the summer. Some young people have settled on the chain's purple and yellow bedecked air-conditioned

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## Can San Francisco Avert a Doom Loop?

City races to save downtown from tech exodus, homelessness and street crime

By JIM CARLTON AND KATHERINE BINDLEY

Local leaders are trying anything they can to keep San Francisco's struggling downtown core afloat, including paying retired, untrained police to keep an eye out for trouble.

One is Mike Browne, who spent 30 years as a San Francisco cop and now patrols downtown as part of a squadron of "community ambassadors," recognizable in blue shirts, who aim to help

commuters and shoppers feel safer in and around San Francisco's downtown commercial and shopping district. Homelessness, drug use, and nonviolent crimes like shoplifting and car thefts are commonplace in many parts of the neighborhood.

When an apparently disturbed man rammed into him recently, Browne did nothing. "What are you going to do?" the 60-year-old said. "You can't fight crazy."

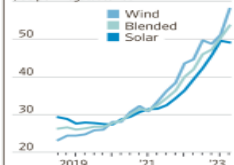
Downtown San Francisco  
Please turn to page A10

## Green Power Gets Pricey

Rising costs for renewable energy are creating headaches for some utilities. **B1**

U.S. renewable-power developers are charging more for their electricity.

**Power purchase agreement prices, quarterly**  
\$60 per megawatt hour



Market-Averaged P25 Continental Index for North America  
Source: LevelTen Energy (power purchases)



## Zambia seeks redemption through copper

BIG READ, PAGE 15

## The best reads, from AI to billionaires' row

BUSINESS BOOK OF THE YEAR, PAGE 13

# Russian groups fudge freight costs to mitigate impact of G7 oil price cap

◆ \$1bn benefit in single quarter ◆ Customs data exposes adjustment ◆ Baltic-India trade in spotlight

CHRIS COOK AND DAVID SHEPPARD — LONDON  
CHLOE CORNISH — MUMBAI  
ANASTASIA STOGNEI — RIGA

Russian companies are earning far more from crude oil sales than previously recognised thanks to inflated shipping costs, according to a Financial Times analysis which suggests the charges may have raised more than \$1bn in a single quarter.

Oil producers in Russia have been selling crude to India for below the \$60-per-barrel price cap which was imposed by western nations in a bid to curb a key source of the country's revenues after its full-scale invasion of Ukraine last year.

But when freight costs are included, they, and the traders with whom they work, have charged much higher sums, an FT analysis found.

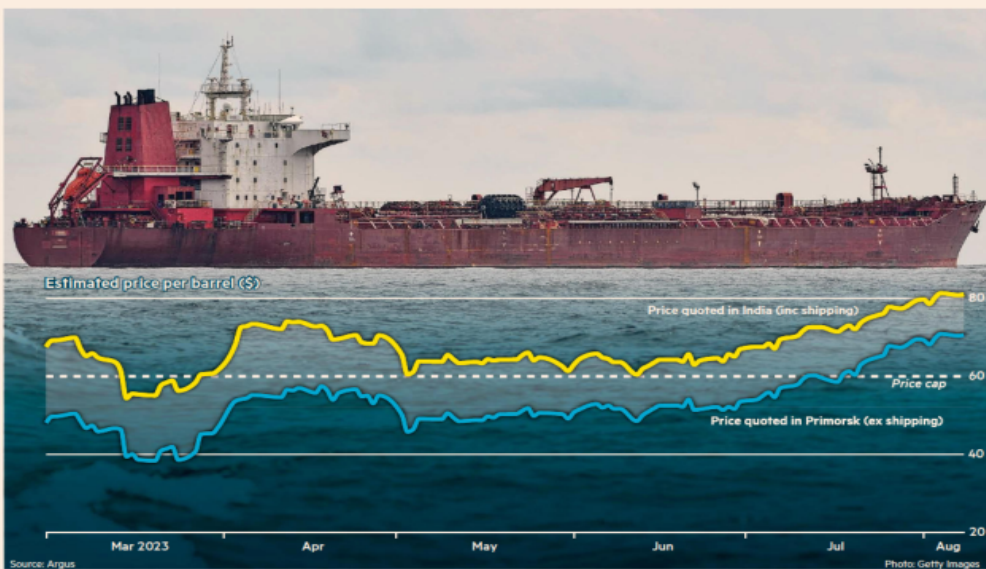
The analysis of ships running directly from Russia's Baltic ports to India suggests that this overcharging, combined with fees earned from shipping the oil on Russia-linked vessels, may have been worth as much as \$1.2bn in the three months to July.

Benjamin Hilgenstock, an academic at the Kyiv School of Economics, which has been studying evasion of the price cap, said: "Inflated shipping costs are a major concern as they effectively create a leak in the price cap regime through which someone, somewhere can siphon off billions of dollars."

James Cleverly, UK foreign secretary, said: "It comes as no surprise that Putin is becoming increasingly desperate and dishonest in his attempts to mitigate the price cap's impact — something that has been severely restricting Russian revenues since its introduction."

The price cap imposed by the G7 is intended to keep Russian oil flowing while squeezing revenues that could be used to fund the war. But the cap — which places requirements on buyers, shipowners and insurers from participating countries — does not impose any limit on freight costs.

Customs records in Russia from December to June indicated the average price of crude oil shipped to India was around \$50 per barrel in Baltic ports.



Source: Argus

Photo: Getty Images

This is in line with the cap, which applies to the cost of oil at the port of loading. But Indian customs data shows that prices paid after delivery averaged \$68. That is a discount on the global average of around \$79, but it implies an \$18 per barrel rise in prices between the Baltic and India. Argus, a pricing agency, estimates the actual cost of shipping at around \$9 per barrel.

Data analytics company Kpler estimates that Russia shipped 108mn barrels from the Baltic to India in 134 vessels from May to July. That suggests the overcharging may be worth more than

\$800mn. The excess charges are likely to have been captured by the oil's sellers. Kpler said oil producers Lukoil and Rosneft have made direct sales to Indian refineries. In other cases, the sale is managed by trading companies that have emerged in the past year with close links to Russian oil companies.

Russia also has a hand in the tanker fleet. Of the 134 vessels identified by Kpler as moving Russian oil to India from May to July, the FT has directly linked 23 of them to Russian entities via insurance, ownership or management documentation. The FT has identified a

further 26 "ghost" vessels bought by their current owners since the start of the war. Their ownership is secret but all have diverted on to Russian oil routes since being bought — and some have previously been linked to Russia.

In the three months to July, about 40 per cent of oil shipped from the Baltic was carried by this Russia-connected fleet. Argus's estimates imply that it may have earned more than \$350mn in revenue. In total therefore Russian entities may have covertly made as much as \$1.2bn more than previously thought.

Russia shells villages page 2

'Inflated costs create a leak in the price cap regime through which someone can siphon off billions'

## Credit Suisse retail investors prepare to challenge takeover by UBS in court

OWEN WALKER — LONDON

UBS is facing a fresh legal challenge to its takeover of Credit Suisse, as hundreds of individual shareholders — including former employees of the failed bank — are set to lodge a claim in Zurich's commercial court today.

The Swiss Investor Protection Association (SASV), which represents retail investors, is planning to file the claim on behalf of around 500 Credit Suisse equity investors who suffered steep losses when the bank was rescued by its rival UBS in March.

The takeover, which was orchestrated by Swiss authorities, denied shareholders in both banks a vote on the deal. The SFr3bn (\$3.4bn) that UBS paid was less than half of Credit Suisse's market value on the final trading day before the deal

was sealed and a fraction of its book value. It is the second class action by shareholders in Credit Suisse targeting UBS, while several lawsuits are being pursued by bondholders who were wiped out.

The SASV is planning to submit its case — which is being brought under Switzerland's Merger Act — today, meeting a two-month deadline from when the deal was signed off in June. It is expected the judge will rule on the case within a year.

Arik Röschke, general secretary of the SASV, suggested UBS had an incentive to settle this case. He noted that, if the judge found in the claimants' favour, UBS could be required to pay all the shareholders, possibly costing billions of dollars, though if the bank settled out of court then only the claimants would be reimbursed.

"Some of our claimants worked at Credit Suisse for 30 years and part of their payment was in stock," Röschke added. He said that some former Credit Suisse staff had shares that, 15 years ago, were each worth more than SFr80. However, they received just SFr0.76 for them as part of the UBS takeover.

"Their loyalty has been punished." The SASV case is being run on a not-for-profit basis. The Swiss law firm Niedermann Rechtsanwälte has been retained to work on the case. UBS declined to comment.

A similar suit is being brought by the legal services start-up LegalPass, backed by Ethos Foundation, which represents institutional investors.

At least two law firms — Quinn Emanuel Urquhart & Sullivan and Palas — are representing bondholders who were wiped out.



## Eli Lilly rises on treatments for obesity and Alzheimer's

Eli Lilly has taken the mantle of the world's most valuable healthcare company, thanks to the success of two new treatments for obesity and Alzheimer's. Lilly has really struck oil with its obesity franchise, said one analyst, who forecasts annual sales for Mounjaro of \$35bn by 2035. Although its Alzheimer's treatment awaits approval, the US pharma group has its sights set on becoming the first trillion-dollar drugmaker.

Double drugs success — PAGE 7

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World Markets										
STOCK MARKETS			CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Aug 11	Prev %Chg	Aug 11	Aug 4	Aug 11	Aug 4	Yield (%)	Aug 11	Aug 4	Chg
S&P 500	4462.60	4468.83	-0.14	\$/€	1.097	1.102	0/8	0.911	0.907	0.11
Nasdaq Composite	13646.17	13737.99	-0.67	\$/¥	1.271	1.276	0/8	4.14	4.02	0.12
Dow Jones Ind	35275.09	35176.15	0.28	€/£	0.863	0.864	0/8	1.150	1.157	0.07
FTSEurofirst 300	1816.53	1836.04	-1.06	\$/HK\$	144.740	141.820	0/8	198.909	196.329	0.15
Euro Stoxx 50	4233.75	4284.04	-1.44	\$/₹	184.014	180.914	0/8	81.953	81.964	0.16
FTSE 100	7524.16	7618.60	-1.24	\$/₹	0.965	0.965	0/8	1.113	1.112	0.11
FTSE All-Share	4105.93	4195.68	-1.20	CRYPTO						
CAC 40	7340.19	7433.62	-1.26	Bitcoin (B)	28375.60	29424.03	-0.16			
Xetra Dax	15932.17	15996.52	-1.03	Ethereum	1844.72	1851.25	-0.36			
Nikkei	32473.65	32204.53	0.84							
Hang Seng	19075.19	19248.26	-0.90							
MSCI World \$	2984.81	2976.21	0.29							
MSCI EM \$	1009.24	1008.42	-0.01							
MSCI ACWI \$	697.84	696.19	0.25							
FT Wilshire 2000	5789.18	5789.21	0.00	Oil WTI \$	82.54	82.45	1.32			
FT Wilshire 5000	45131.80	45135.20	-0.01	Oil Brent \$	87.11	86.02	1.27			
				Gold \$	1920.80	1935.65	-0.76			

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## Dry Hydrants Doomed Battle With Maui Fire

### Town's System Strained by Drought in Region

This article is by Mike Baker, Kellen Browning and Nicholas Bogen-Burroughs.

LAHAINA, Hawaii — During the frantic moments on Tuesday after a wildfire jumped containment near a residential neighborhood in Lahaina, Hawaii, firefighters rushing to slow the spread were distressed to find that their hydrants were starting to run dry. Hoping to control the blaze as it took root among homes along the hillside nearly a mile above the center of town, fire crews encountered water pressure that was increasingly feeble, with the wind turning the streams into mist. Then, as the inferno stoked by hurricane-force gusts grew, roaring further toward the historic center of town on the island of Maui, the hydrants sputtered and became largely useless.

"There was just no water in the hydrants," said Keahi Ho, one of the firefighters who was on duty in Lahaina.

The collapse of the town's water system, described to The New York Times by several people on scene, is yet another disastrous factor in a confluence that ended up producing what is now the deadliest U.S. wildfire in more than 100 years. The lack of water forced firefighters into an extraordinary rush to save lives by risking their own, and it has left people searching for answers about how the community can better prepare for a world of fiercer winds and drier lands.

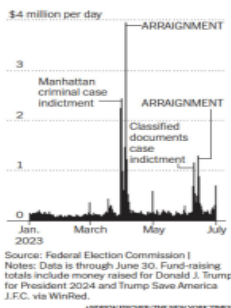
Edwin Lindsey III, who goes by Ekolu, a Lahaina resident who lost his home and also sits on the county's Board of Water Supply, said he spoke with a firefighter who said it had been demoralizing for crews to watch the advance of the fire with little ability to slow it. He said he hoped that the water issues, one of a number of challenges the community faced — including a struggle to evacuate all residents

Continued on Page A8



After former President Donald J. Trump was first indicted, the conservative movement and its media ecosystem rallied behind him.

## Online donations to Donald J. Trump



Source: Federal Election Commission J.F.C. via Windset

## Indictments Became a Political Asset for Trump

This article is by Jonathan Swan, Ruth Igielnik, Shane Goldmacher and Maggie Haberman.

Early on March 18, former President Donald J. Trump hit send on a social media post saying he would be "arrested on Tuesday of next week."

"Protest," he wrote on his Truth Social website. "Take our nation back!"

Mr. Trump's prediction was based on media reports, according to his lawyers, and his timing was off by two weeks. Yet the statement set in motion events that profoundly altered the course of the Republican nominating contest. Donors sent checks. Fox News changed its tune. The party apparatus rushed to defend Mr. Trump. And the polls went up

## Fund-Raising Windfall and Bump in Polling After the Charges

— and up.

These series of falling dominoes — call it the indictment effect — can be measured in ways that reveal much about the state of the Republican Party. To examine the phenomenon, The New York Times reviewed national and early state polls, interviewed Republican primary voters, examined federal campaign finance records, analyzed hundreds of party emails, scrutinized the shifts in conservative media coverage and talked to operatives in

side the campaigns of Mr. Trump's rivals.

The analysis highlights Mr. Trump's dominance over the party, revealing the years of conditioning of millions of Republican voters who view Mr. Trump's legal troubles as a proxy attack on them. And it displays an upside-down reality where criminal charges act as political assets — at least for the purpose of winning the Republican nomination.

"The rally around the flag is not a new phenomenon in American politics, but Donald Trump has certainly taken it to a new level,"

Continued on Page A10

ROUGH TRIP Gov. Ron DeSantis was taunted and overshadowed at the Iowa State Fair. PAGE A9

## The Story of an Enslaved Youth Emerges From Behind the Paint

By ALEXANDRA EATON

For many years, a 19th-century painting of three white children in a Louisiana landscape held a secret. Beneath a layer of overpaint meant to look like the sky: the figure of an enslaved youth.

Covered up for reasons that remain unspecified, the image of the young man of African descent was erased from the work around the turn of the last century and languished for decades in attics and a museum basement.

But a 2005 restoration revealed him, and now the painting has a very prominent home at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

"I've been wanting to add such a work to the Met's collection for the past 10 years," said Betsy Kornhauser, the curator for American paintings and sculpture who

handled the acquisition, "and this is the extraordinary work that appeared."

Kornhauser said the museum acquired the work, known as "Bélizaire and the Frey Children," this year, as part of its larger effort to reframe how it tells the story of American art. The painting, attributed to Jacques Amans, a French portraitist of Louisiana's elite, will hang in the American Wing this fall and again next year during the wing's centennial celebration.

One reason "Bélizaire and the Frey Children" has drawn attention is the naturalistic depiction of Bélizaire, the young man of African descent who occupies the highest position in the painting.

Continued on Page A13



The Metropolitan Museum of Art bought the portrait known as "Bélizaire and the Frey Children."

## Making Counteroffensive Work, Minus Air Cover

By LARA JAKES

Ukraine's counteroffensive began two months ago, but in many ways its forces have been preparing for it for years by learning how to fight like NATO militaries, with a mix of infantry, artillery, armored vehicles and air power.

But the Biden administration waited more than a year before letting NATO countries send F-16 fighter jets to Ukraine. By the time

## F-16s Would Help, but Kyiv Does Without

pilots are trained on the advanced aircraft, it will be too late for them to assist and protect ground forces slogging through this phase of fighting.

All of which has raised a question: Without significant air

power — a pillar of the warfare tactics that the West has urged Ukraine to adopt — can the counteroffensive prevail?

The answer appears to be yes, as current and former officials in Ukraine, the United States and Europe, as well as Western defense analysts, said in interviews last week as the counteroffensive ground on, with volleys of artillery fire and drone strikes but no major

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## Fast Life's Lure: F.B.I. Spy Hunter's Rise and Fall

This article is by Michael Rothfeld, Adam Goldman and William K. Rashbaum.

By the time he reached middle age, Charlie McGonigal was living a comfortable suburban life.

He had married and raised two children in a tidy Maryland neighborhood near the Capital Beltway. He coached his co-workers on an office softball team and went to church on Sundays. In his den, he

## Connection to Oligarch Leads to an Arrest

hung posters celebrating sports teams from his native Ohio; in his home office, a sign above a doorway announced in flowing script his devotion to his job.

"I want to thank the Good Lord," it read, "for making me a F.B.I. Agent."

But Charles Franklin McGonigal was no ordinary agent. As the chief of counterintelligence for the Federal Bureau of Investigation in New York, he was tasked with rooting out foreign efforts to steal vital national security and economic secrets in one of the world's most fertile cities for spyring.

Apart from his outward image as a wholesome and responsible

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INTERNATIONAL A4-6

**Senegal Migrant Tragedy**  
Patrol vessels were pursuing a fishing boat bound for Spain when it struck rocks, killing at least 16 people. PAGE A4

**Mixing Worship and Protest**  
Iranians are using Ashura, a ritual celebrating Shiite identity, to express their anger at the government. PAGE A6

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**Slashing Medicaid Rolls**  
Since a Covid-era policy requiring states to keep people on the program ended, Texas has dropped more than 500,000 recipients. PAGE A9

**On High Shark Alert**  
A monitoring effort has been intensified in New York City after a rare attack at a popular beach. PAGE A16

**OBITUARIES B6, D7**  
**Lyricist for 'The Fantasticks'**  
Tom Jones was half of the team behind a musical that began modestly but ran for a record 42 years. He was 95. PAGE B6



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**Turning the Camera Inward**  
Claire Simon, directing a movie about a Paris hospital, found out she had cancer. So she put herself in the film. PAGE C1

**A High-Profile Love Story**  
Filmakers didn't want to disappoint fans of the novel about a U.S. president's son and a British prince. PAGE C1

**BUSINESS B1-5**  
**China Cracks Down on Grief**  
By withholding information about national tragedies and censoring displays of mourning, the Chinese government represses public grief and tells history the way it wants it told. PAGE B1

**Worries About Press Freedoms**  
The local police force and county sheriff's deputies' search of The Marion County Record in Kansas led to the seizure of computers and cellphones of reporters and editors. PAGE B1

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**Esau McCaulley** PAGE A14



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**Upanda's In It for the Long Run**  
Led by a duo of world-record holders, distance runners from Mount Elgon are challenging decades of Kenyan and Ethiopian dominance. PAGE D1



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Photographs by ROBERT GAUTHIER Los Angeles Times

## Golden State lessons for fiery disasters

Hawaii officials can learn from California's past catastrophes on how to deal with extreme fire weather.

By RONG-GONG LIN II, JACK DOLAN AND ROBERT GAUTHIER

As horrifying details emerge about the fire that burned through Maui, the tragedy echoes the extreme fire behavior and the failed human response to it that have haunted California over the last few decades.

Emergency alert systems that crumple when needed most.

Limited escape routes, leaving some to die in their vehicles trying to flee or sheltered in their homes as flames sweep through.

Impossibly fast winds that send showers of embers leaping from burned home to home, destroying whole blocks in a flash.

Unimaginable damage not just to neighborhoods but an entire city, obliterating homes for multi-generational families. Children, parents and grandparents are among the dead. The death toll now stands at more than 90, making it the deadliest wildfire in the U.S. in the last century, surpassing the 2018 Camp fire, which destroyed the Northern California town of Paradise, where at least 85 died.

"It's almost like Pompeii, where it was like partners holding each other and parents huddled around children," Britany Harris, 37, a Kahului resident, said, a friend told her. "It happened very quickly that everything exploded ... cars, buildings, everything was on fire."

The fire arrived with such fury that even the ocean couldn't offer refuge. Initial reports suggested as many as 100 people sought safety in the water amid flying embers and falling ash, as parents struggled to keep children from being pulled away to sea.

"They jumped in the ocean to escape that, but then there were still people dying of smoke inhalation in the ocean," Harris said. "My friend, whose husband is a police officer, said there are bodies everywhere, there are bodies in trees."

Rosenthal, 37, who has lived on Maui most of his life, said he was furious with the lack of preparation and

[See Lessons, A6]

## A HOME in Kula lies in ruins Sunday after last week's Upcountry fire on Maui. A separate blaze in West Maui sent many people fleeing.

# One man's frantic escape from fire

Lahaina survivor tells of being stuck in traffic jam in which many others died

By JACK DOLAN

MAALAEFA, Hawaii — After an exhausting day battling to protect his family's home in Lahaina against hurricane-like wind — it felled trees, tore apart roofs and knocked down power lines — Bryce Baraoidan figured things couldn't get much worse.

Then he saw dense black smoke blowing his way.

Like so many others in Lahaina, who had lost electricity and Internet service hours before the flames arrived Tuesday, Baraoidan and his family were completely cut off from 21st century information sources.

They had nothing to rely on but

their five senses and what he called the "coconut telegraph": friends and neighbors running up and down the street warning. "The fire's a mile away," "half a mile," "a few blocks."

When they finally made the decision to flee, they drove straight into the nightmare of what surely will go down as the deadliest traffic jam in U.S. history.

There's only one main road running along the coast of West Maui. To the north, it winds through steep mountains and narrows to one lane around harrowing turns perched high above the ocean. Almost nobody running for their life would choose that.

[See Fleeing fire, A6]



BYRCE BARAOIDAN, right, with Bre Cummins on Saturday, recounted his escape from the wildfire. His entire family survived.

## Gaps in care for eating disorders

Cases have surged, but long waits and byzantine Medi-Cal rules stymie the state's poorest patients.

By SONJA SHARP

Kim Nguyen weighed barely 80 pounds when she finally reached an eating disorder specialist through Medi-Cal last year.

Her periods were sporadic. Her electrolytes were dangerously skewed, a condition that could lead to a coma, seizures or sudden cardiac death. The Orange County resident said she and her new psychiatrist

quickly agreed that she needed more care. But getting it through the country's largest public insurance program took almost a year.

"It took me until I was really deep into partial hospitalization to realize that not being hungry is not normal," said the 36-year-old, referring to a form of full-day outpatient care. "I'm in a much better place now."

Eating disorders such as Nguyen's are extremely deadly: Among mental illnesses, only opioid addiction kills more. Yet, although studies show that rates of illness are similar across race and class, those with public insurance are two-thirds less likely to be diagnosed and treated than their

[See Medi-Cal, A7]

### COLUMN ONE

## A reckoning in a cop's killing of her alleged abuser

In Mexico, vindication is far from assured

By Leila Miller | REPORTING FROM TIJUANA

Alina Narziso had grown used to putting on makeup and sunglasses to hide her bruises.

They came from her boyfriend, an officer on the Tijuana police force with Narziso. He tightly monitored her whereabouts and would slap her and squeeze her neck in fits of rage.

Narziso, then 24, recalled reporting the abuse to a boss, who sounded unconcerned.

"I don't think he's capable of killing you," he told her.

The violence, in fact, did turn deadly. But it was Narziso, not her boyfriend, who was led away in handcuffs and charged with murder.

[See Mexico, A4]

## Florida boomtown fears becoming L.A.

Jacksonville worries it won't have enough affordable housing, creating an unfettered homeless crisis.

By NOAH BIERMAN

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — Bulldozers and advertisements throughout this sprawling city herald new pastel homes with gyms, pools and access to nearby beaches — evidence of a boom that has pushed the population here near the 1-million mark.



A RECENT homeless census found 1,247 people on the streets and in shelters in the Jacksonville region.

For most of the last decade, developers and nonprofits in Jacksonville have sought to meet the growing demand, building almost enough houses and apartments to keep even most low-income residents from becoming homeless.

Despite growth by about 17% over the last decade, the three counties in Jacksonville's homeless service area reduced their count of people on the streets and in shelters by more than half.

But now local builders and advocates worry the flow of new arrivals is pushing the city past its limit.

[See Jacksonville, A12]

### LAUSD reverses COVID-era policy

Have a cold or the sniffles? Come to school, district says. Stay home if you have a fever. CALIFORNIA, B1

### Past donors face Senate dilemma

Backers of at least two of three Democrats who seek Dianne Feinstein's seat must pick one person. CALIFORNIA, B1

Weather Sunshine, L.A. Basin: 85/64. B6

### The gay rom-com movie we deserve

Prime Video's "Red, White & Royal Blue" is at once lighthearted and liberating. CALENDAR, B1



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# The Washington Post

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A heavy t-storm 90/76 • Tomorrow: A t-storm 90/69 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, AUGUST 14, 2023 • B3

## Popular weight-loss drugs pose trade-offs

Some patients balance significant benefits with side effects, complications

BY DAVID OVALLE AND LAURIE MCGINLEY

After years of fad diets and even gastric bypass surgery, Robin Demoy turned to the weight-loss drug Wegovy. The once-a-week injection helped the New Hampshire travel agent shed more than 60 pounds.

But when she got up one morning several weeks ago, Demoy was so dizzy it felt as though she had motion sickness. Her legs turned weak, and she was nauseous. She vomited and had little desire to eat for weeks.

The 52-year-old did not want to stop taking Wegovy, part of a wave of medications that have exploded in popularity, sparking a cultural phenomenon, sporadic shortages and a potential gold rush for pharmaceutical firms. For Demoy, the benefits of weight loss exceed the discomfort.

"Dealing with these side effects is new territory for everybody," Demoy said. "Even the doctors."

As more people turn to blockbuster diabetes and obesity drugs such as Wegovy, Ozempic and Mounjaro, some are grappling with an unwelcome trade-off: how to balance uncomfortable, sometimes painful, side effects with the benefits of reduced food cravings and the loss of substantial weight.

Most people who take the drugs don't experience serious side effects, and even minor ones — nausea, diarrhea, vomiting — mostly can be controlled with a careful diet and medical supervision. But patients say some unwelcome and serious ones — including heart palpitations — surprised them, forcing them off the medication.

In the case of Demoy, who lives in Mount Airy, N.H., she tried staving off nausea by drinking electrolytes to stay hydrated and eating more protein. Finally, SEE DRUGS ON A5



MATT MOCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

## Much peril in the ash of Maui

PATIENCE URGED AS REMAINS ARE FOUND

Search crews struggle with crumbling terrain

BY TOM HAYS, KARIN BRULLIARD, KELLY KASULIS CHO AND ANNABELLE TIMIST

OLOWALLI, MAUI, HAWAII — With the death toll from the Maui wildfires at 93 and expected to rise, search crews continued to scour the scorched ruins Sunday and officials pleaded for patience as they struggle to recover human remains from ashy wreckage that disintegrates when stepped on or touched.

Just two of the victims killed in an inferno Maui Police Chief John Pelletier said "melted metal" had been identified by Saturday night. Search teams had covered only 3 percent of the disaster zone, in part because surviving structures are unstable and dogs sniffing out the area need breaks, Deanne Criswell, administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, said Sunday on CBS's "Face The Nation."

"They have gridded out the area. They use the dogs and they have the teams that go in there. But it's hot. The ground still has hot spots," Criswell said, adding that more search-and-rescue dog teams are being deployed. She likened Lahaina's waterfront, lined with the burned shells of cars, to "a scene from an apocalyptic movie."

Officials urged relatives of the missing, whose names and photos fill walls at shelters and spreadsheets circulating online, to submit DNA to assist with the identification process in the aftermath of what has become the deadliest U.S. wildfire in more than a century. SEE SEARCH ON A8

## How the Maui wildfires devastated Lahaina, hour by hour

This article is by Joshua Partlow, John Farrell, Brady Dennis, Brianna Sacks and Joanna Slater

It is already the deadliest conflagration in modern U.S. history, but there is still so much unknown about the Maui wildfires that destroyed much of Lahaina last week. How many people died? What caused the blazes? To what degree did climate change contribute?

What is known is that thousands of people on Maui experienced horrors on Tuesday that they had never imagined, and that unfolded hour after hour.

**Morning: Howling winds, then a brush fire**

Lisa Vorpahl, a bank teller, woke to the sound of someone shuffling on her lanai. It was 3 a.m. on Tuesday when she looked out her bedroom window — along a dry, grassy slope overlooking her slice of tropical paradise — and

SEE MAUI ON A9

9:30 a.m.



4:46 p.m.



2:30 a.m.



KEVIN FOLEY VIA STORYFUL

**TOP:** People gather Sunday to pray at Grace Bible Church Maui in Kahului, Hawaii, where the service focused on the Maui wildfires. **ABOVE FROM LEFT:** On Tuesday morning, the Lahaina Public Library was engulfed in flames. By Tuesday afternoon, the wildfires began to overwhelm this neighborhood on Kono Mai Street. The carnage then continued Wednesday morning, with vehicles and apartments ablaze, as what appeared at the beginning to be an easily contained brush fire became the deadliest wildfire in modern U.S. history. The images above were taken from videos captured at the scene of the blaze.

## It's a boomer's market, to millennials' chagrin

First-time home buyers in the 'unluckiest generation' face high interest rates and asking prices

BY JULIAN MARK

After only a few months, Chris Swanson is sick of shopping for houses in what the 39-year-old calls a "dumpster fire" of a market for first-time buyers like himself.

Though he has a steady job and has paid off his student loans, it feels as though he's two decades too late. He missed out on rock-bottom interest rates, and homes are far more expensive. Landing on the one property that will fit his needs and his budget is daunting enough, but there's also pressure to move fast. "I'm in that weird position," said Swanson, a marketing professional from Mentor, Ohio.

Homeownership — the main driver of wealth for most Americans — is out of reach for large swaths of the population. But the pinch is most pronounced for millennials, who are buying homes at a slower pace than those before them. Baby boomers, in fact, represented the largest share of home buyers this year — a spot millennials had held since 2014 — according to research by the National Association of Realtors.

"Boomers are absolutely in the driver's seat," said Jessica Lantz, SEE HOMES ON A6



DUSTIN FRANZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Chris Swanson and real estate agent Ashley Zeller look up a property they are touring last month in Leroy Township, Ohio. Swanson considers the housing market a "dumpster fire" for first-time buyers.

## Trump insults D.C. to get trial moved. The city rolls its eyes.

BY TOM JACKMAN AND PETER HERMANN

The dark imagery invoked by Donald Trump during his brief visit to the nation's capital more than a week ago — "the filth and the decay ... broken buildings" — renewed the stereotype of collapsing American cities as a means of calling for his federal indictment to be moved out of the District. It also reignited his hostile relationship with a city he

said needed to be taken over by the federal government when he occupied the White House.

Trump rarely ventured out into the District during his four years as president, other than to travel to the downtown hotel that bore his name at the time, and he did not attempt to win the hearts and minds of D.C.'s overwhelmingly Democratic voters through political rallies or meetings with city leaders. He received less than 5.5 percent of the vote in 2016. SEE TRUMP ON A2

## Producers of a North Carolina town's historic play reckon with its past

BY GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER

ROANOKE ISLAND, N.C. — The outdoor stage grew dark. Humid night air closed in, cicadas buzzing, the waters of the Albemarle Sound lapping in the background. Native American drumming and singing swirled out of the shadows, then fell silent. A spotlight illuminated Kat Littleturtle.

"Every place on Earth," she began, "has a story to tell."

And as it has for most summer nights since 1937, the musical drama "The Lost Colony" spun out the story of an English settlement that disappeared from this very shore about 436 years ago. The production's churchy songs and costumed pageantry once inspired a national craze for outdoor stage spectacles celebrating a romanticized view of history. But the telling is a bit different now. SEE LOST COLONY ON A4

## IN THE NEWS

**Larry Summers** The former treasury secretary was President Biden's most prominent critic when it came to inflation. Was the economist wrong? A7

**Back in packs** Wolves are flourishing again in Germany, eliciting joy among conservationists and dismay among farmers. A10

### THE NATION

A conservative scholar has become the public face of Florida's efforts to rewrite how Black history is taught. A3  
**What to know** about the proposed Musk-Zuckerberg fight. A14

### THE WORLD

The case of a lawyer held in Laos may deal a blow to the human rights movement in China. A12  
**New history** textbooks in Russia teach President Vladimir Putin's alternate reality. A13

### THE ECONOMY

How to handle overly repetitive ads on streaming services. A15

### THE REGION

An oral surgeon charged with murder in the death of his girlfriend, who suffered from an anesthesia addiction, faces trial this week in Maryland. B1

### Maryland

has closed a loophole that allowed the spanking of children at private schools and day-care centers. B1  
**Two HBCUs** in the nation's capital, Howard University and the University of the District of Columbia, will have new presidents for the coming academic year. B1

### STYLE

At Angel Studios, behind "Sound of Freedom," the Harmon brothers are working to create something of an anti-Hollywood. C1  
**"Barbie"** earned gobs of money by showing us a world where both women and men want more, Monica Hesse writes. C1

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TELEVISION.....C4  
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**Student loan repayments to resume in a few weeks**

Key dates to mark, including when interest will begin accruing again on balances. **In Money**

**Hip-hop turns 50: Tracks to honor genre's influence**

Here are 50 iconic, influential beats, from Jay-Z to Migos, KRS-One to Cardi B. **In Life**



DODGERS MANAGER DAVE ROBERTS BY CHARLES LECLAIRE/USA TODAY SPORTS

**Red-hot Dodgers showing resiliency**

Los Angeles team is on track for its 10th division title in 11 years, while the big-spending San Diego Padres have faltered in the NL West. **In Sports**

**USA TODAY**

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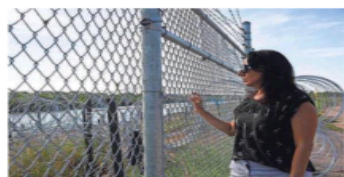
**Migrant families severed in Texas**

Landowner agreements allow arrests, separations

Rick Jervis and John C. Moritz  
USA TODAY NETWORK

When Texas Department of Public Safety officials first approached Magali Urbina and her husband, Hugo, last year and asked them to sign a release allowing them to arrest asylum-seekers on their pecan farm along the Rio Grande in Eagle Pass, the couple agreed, believing it would help border enforcement.

But in the ensuing months, when they learned from Border Patrol agents that state authorities were arresting migrant parents who were taken away from their children, the couple said they had a change of heart. DPS asked them again in June to sign a document that would let them arrest people on their 400-acre farm and charge them with misdemeanor trespassing. This time, the Urbinas refused.



Magali Urbina's pecan orchard lies along the Rio Grande in Eagle Pass, Texas, at the border with Mexico. ANGELA PIAZZA/USA TODAY NETWORK

"It's a really horrible position to be in to see families separated with children crying," Magali Urbina said. "My husband and I both agreed we didn't want the migrants arrested on the property and DPS separating families."

In counties along and near the Texas-Mexico border, more than 100 landowners like the Urbinas now play a crucial but largely unseen role in the state's effort to crack down on border crossers, USA TODAY has confirmed.

DPS acknowledges that it arrests some male crossers who arrive with their families - essentially separating parents from children in a process that echoes the widely decried Trump-era policy of family separations.

The separations DPS confirmed earlier this month have fueled further outcry in a region where state efforts to fortify the border have already drawn a federal lawsuit.

The arrests themselves, though, are based on charges of trespassing on private property - charges that may hinge on whether landowners have signed a release allowing them. And some in the region now believe DPS directs migrants toward the land where they can be arrested.

According to figures provided to USA TODAY, DPS has signed agreements - known as Criminal Trespassing affidavits - from 134

See FAMILIES, Page 6A

**Survivors link arms as they wait for help**



Little more than ruined buildings and ashes remain in Lahaina, Hawaii, after deadly wildfires driven by intense winds swept through the town. Days after the disaster, survivors are struggling to hold on. PHOTOS BY SANDY HOOPER/USA TODAY

**Scope of disaster in Maui makes food, shelter hard to find**



Dustin Akiona, 31, packs baby supplies and toiletries for residents in Lahaina, hundreds of whom have lost their homes. Closed roads and the sheer scope of the destruction have made it difficult for volunteers and aid to get through.

N'dea Yancey-Bragg  
USA TODAY

LAHAINA, Hawaii - Marina Sanchez and Dustin Akiona drove through dizzying, winding roads overlooking the ocean, desperate to find a way into Lahaina with the hundreds of dollars worth of supplies they had gathered for their neighbors - water, gas, flashlights, batteries, baby food, diapers.

A law enforcement roadblock made it difficult for people to get into the historic neighborhood that had been nearly leveled days earlier by what has become the deadliest wildfire in recent U.S. history. At least 93 people were killed and nearly 2,000 residential buildings were destroyed.

Sanchez, 28, leaned out the window of the Toyota Tacoma, phone in hand,

See SURVIVORS, Page 3A

**'Plenty of blame': What went wrong in Maui?**

Residents said they were awakened by smoke and flames, not sirens. 2A

**Rescue crews continue search for loved ones**

Death toll hits 93 as teams with cadaver dogs pick through the devastation. 2A

**Travelers hoping to visit Hawaii asked to skip Maui**

Visitors scramble for safety as residents ask tourists to cancel upcoming trips. 1B

**Hunter Biden investigation deepens**

**Case could be a cloud over father's 2024 run**

Joey Garrison and Miles J. Herszenhorn  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON - For President Joe Biden, the legal troubles of his son appeared to be going away last month when Hunter Biden's attorneys reached terms with prosecutors to resolve tax evasion and gun charges.

Then the deal fell apart.

Now, with Attorney General Merrick Garland appointing a special counsel Friday to investigate the criminal case, the legal drama over Hunter Biden is sure to hang over the entirety of Joe Biden's 2024 reelection bid.

Not only does the special counsel designation of David Weiss, the U.S. attorney in Delaware who has overseen the case for five years, signal a wider inquiry, the Justice Department also said in a motion Friday that it

expects a trial over the charges already filed against Hunter Biden. The motion all but ensures a circus of television cameras outside a federal courthouse following the president's son just as the 2024 campaign will be in full swing.

"This is not good for the president," said Richard Painter, a law professor at University of Minnesota who was chief ethics lawyer for President George W. Bush. He said Republicans will stay fixated on Hunter Biden's legal problems even more so if former President Donald

See HUNTER BIDEN, Page 4A

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<b>La Libertad Avanza</b>	<b>Juntos por el Cambio</b>		<b>Unión por la Patria</b>		<b>Peronismo Federal</b>	<b>Juntos por el Cambio</b>		<b>Unión por la Patria</b>	<b>Juntos por el Cambio</b>	<b>La Libertad Avanza</b>
<b>30,2%</b>	<b>16,9%</b>	<b>11,2%</b>	<b>21,3%</b>	<b>5,8%</b>	<b>3,9%</b>	<b>28,7%</b>	<b>27,2%</b>	<b>36,4%</b>	<b>32,9%</b>	<b>23,8%</b>
Javier Milei	Patricia Bullrich	Horacio R. Larreta	Sergio Massa	Juan Grabois	Juan Schiaretti	Jorge Macri	Martín Lousteau	Axel Kicillof	Grindetti/Santilli	Carolina Piparo

MESAS ESCRUTADAS: 95% | Fuente: Tribunal Electoral

# LA NACION

LUNES 14 DE AGOSTO DE 2023 | LANACION.COM.AR

ELECCIONES 2023

## Shock electoral Ganó Milei, Bullrich superó a Larreta y el kirchnerismo quedó tercero

El libertario, con 30%, obtuvo más que la suma de los candidatos de JxC; derrumbe histórico del peronismo y de Massa

Martín Rodríguez Yebra  
LA NACION

Más que una elección, fue un terremoto. La sorpresa que incubaba una sociedad hastiada se encarnó ayer en Javier Milei, impensable ganador de las PASO presidenciales. Patricia Bullrich derrotó por casi 6 puntos a Horacio Rodríguez Larreta en la batalla de Juntos por el Cambio y el peronismo se hundió en un fármico tercer lugar que deja malherido al ministro de Economía, Sergio Massa, para enfrentar la digestión de los mercados de este viaje a lo desconocido.

Nadie lo vio venir. La Libertad Avanza, el partido fundado por Milei, sacó 30,2% de los votos, ganó en 16 provincias y se impuso tanto en barrios populares como en los pueblos prósperos de la Argentina productiva. La suma de Bullrich y Larreta apenas rozó el 28,2% en el país, una regresión incluso respecto del fiasco de Mauricio Macri en las primarias de 2019. Unión por la Patria arañó un 27,2%, el peor registro histórico del peronismo. Massa juntó 21,3 puntos y Juan Grabois, 5,8%. Un número basta para mensurar la sangría: en las PASO de 2019 la fórmula Alberto Fernández-Cristina Kirchner sacó 12,2 millones de votos; esta vez, con sus dos postulantes merodeaba la mitad.

Es un escenario de tercios casi perfecto, pero solo uno pudo festejar genuinamente.

El salvavidas que mantiene a flote al peronismo fue la provincia de Buenos Aires, donde quedó primero y Axel Kicillof lideró el tramo de gobernador con 3 puntos de diferencia sobre Juntos por el Cambio (Néstor Grindetti superaba por un suspiro a Diego Santilli).

En la ciudad de Buenos Aires, Jorge Macri derrotó por 1,5 puntos al radical Martín Lousteau y será el candidato oficialista para la sucesión de Larreta, sin grandes amenazas a la vista. Entre los dos sacaron 55,9%.

Continúa en la página 2



El festejo de Milei: "Somos la única oposición: vamos a terminar con el kirchnerismo y con la casta parasitaria y chorra"

ANÍBAL GRBCO



Bullrich celebró con Macri y Larreta, en un clima amargo

F. MARELLI

**EL ANÁLISIS**

El triunfo del hartazgo social

Joaquín Morales Solá

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**EL ESCENARIO**

Un agotamiento de todo lo estructurado

Carlos Pagni

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Página 15

**EL ESCENARIO**

Al final, el tsunami llegó

José Del Río

-LA NACION-

Página 35

Kicillof sacó ventaja en la provincia y Grindetti se impone en la interna de JxC

Javier Fuego Simondet

Página 18

El mercado abre en un clima de incertidumbre y el dólar bajo presión

Melisa Reinhold

Página 34



Rubens Cavallari/Folhapress

## ESCAVAÇÕES NO ANTIGO DOI-CODI REVELAM INSCRIÇÕES E OBJETOS

Pesquisadores procuram vestígios em prédio na rua Tutoia, na zona sul de São Paulo, onde funcionou centro de repressão da ditadura militar; ali foram encontrados materiais que podem ajudar a transformar o local num memorial **Política A9**

## Historiador José Murilo de Carvalho morre aos 83

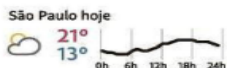
Um dos maiores intelectuais do país, o cientista político e membro da Academia Brasileira de Letras estava internado com Covid-19. O mineiro, mestre e doutor em ciência política pela Universidade de Stanford, foi professor emérito da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, escreveu 19 livros e destacou-se por estudos sobre o Império, a República e dom Pedro 2º. **Política A7**

## ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Leiliane Rocha

### Pastores precisam entender que a molecada faz sexo

Psicóloga cristã leva educação sexual a 1 milhão de seguidores nas redes, inclusive evangélicos, e afirma que religião é cenário perfeito para pedófilos, que "adoram capa de cordeiro". Diz ainda que família e igreja não vão conseguir segurar o adolescente que quer fazer sexo. **A18**

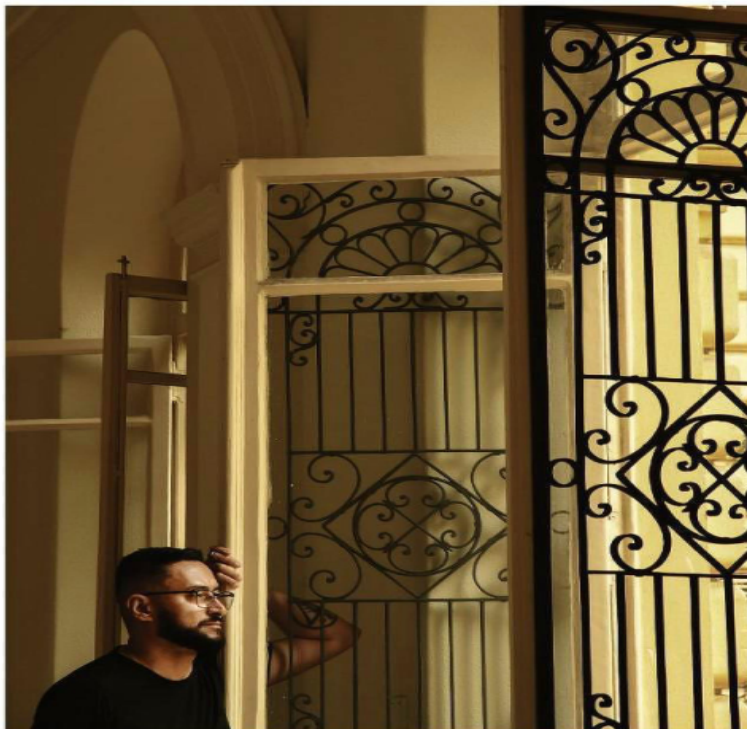
## ATMOSFERA



**Esporte B7**  
Copacabana Palace, 100, sediou a última grande chance de Mequinho no xadrez

**Ilustrada C1**  
Geração Z embarca em novelas como 'Vai na Fé' graças a memes e ao TikTok

**Folha lança página Brasília Hoje e newsletter sobre o dia a dia na capital**  
**Política A9**



Karlme Xavier/Folhapress

## QUASE 11 MIL BRASILEIROS MUDARAM DE NOME

O jornalista Miguel Édi da Silva é um dos beneficiados por lei, em vigor há um ano, que permite alterar o próprio nome em cartório sem a necessidade de justificativa **Cotidiano B4**

# Justiça dribla STF na área trabalhista e causa reação

Decisões ignoram jurisprudência ao tratar de carteira assinada; ministros veem afronta à autoridade da corte

Magistrados da Justiça do Trabalho têm ignorado a jurisprudência do Supremo Tribunal Federal e defendido a carteira assinada em suas decisões, driblando o entendimento da corte.

OSTE, que não reconhece vínculo de emprego a profissionais que atuam como pessoas jurídicas, tem derrubado decisões contra as chamadas pejotização e uberização. Para ministros do Supremo, magistrados da Justiça do Trabalho ignoram precedentes de cumprimento obrigatório.

Procurado, o Tribunal Superior do Trabalho não se manifestou. A associação que reúne juízes da área diz que a jurisprudência não é ignorada e afirma que decisões do STF causam "abalo".

Os casos chegam à corte, sobretudo de estados com maiores tribunais regionais do trabalho, como São Paulo e Rio de Janeiro e Bahia.

Em uma decisão recente, o ministro Gilmar Mendes, do Supremo, afirmou que a "engenharia social que a Justiça do Trabalho tem pretendido realizar não passa de uma tentativa inócua de frustrar a evolução dos meios de produção".

No próprio STF, porém, há divergências e até mesmo mudança de entendimento. Luiz Fux já voltou atrás em um caso sobre pejotização. Edson Fachin e Rosa Weber, por sua vez, defendem, nos casos avaliados por eles, manter as decisões trabalhistas contra a pejotização. **Mercado A12**

## PP de Lira mira PL de Bolsonaro para virar base de Lula

O PP (Progressistas) quer ampliar sua bancada no Congresso em meio à negociação para ganhar um ministério no governo Lula (PT). O partido mira principalmente o PL, do ex-presidente Jair Bolsonaro, e cogita negociar com deputados de outros partidos menores. **Política A6**

## Caso das joias gera pressão em aliados do ex-presidente

A operação que apura o suposto desvio de joias e presentes dados por autoridades a Jair Bolsonaro aumentou a pressão no Congresso Nacional, gerou apreensão de aliados do ex-presidente. Eles tentam responsabilizar Mauro Cid, tenente-coronel preso, pelo caso. **Política A4**

## Argentinos se queixam de fila e caos nas primárias das eleições

Eleitores enfrentaram muita demora neste domingo (13) para escolher os candidatos que participarão do pleito presidencial na Argentina, em outubro. **Mundo A11**

## Mortes no Haváí chegam a 93 em incêndio florestal recorde

O fogo destruiu milhares de hectares e deixou milhares de pessoas sem lar. **A10**

## Goias trata fora de manicômio quem cometeu crimes

Programa goiano encerrou manicômios judiciais ao rastrear pacientes que cometeram crimes para tratá-los fora dessas instituições. Estados devem fechar hospitais de custódia até maio de 2024, por resolução do Conselho Nacional de Justiça. **Cotidiano B1**

## Programa da Caixa causou calote de R\$ 2,3 bi no FGTS

O FGTS (Fundo de Garantia do Tempo de Serviço) levou calote de R\$ 2,3 bilhões após fornecer recursos para um programa de microcrédito da Caixa Econômica criado pelo então presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) em meio à corrida eleitoral. **Mercado A14**

## EDITORIAIS A2

### A força

Sobre volta do debate da reforma administrativa.

### Prende-se muito e mal

Acerca de encarcerados pelo combate às drogas.



Estiman que en el periodo postransición habría mayor dinámica económica

## El buen viento económico puede ayudar a Peña a superar desafíos

Paraguay es una de las naciones con mejor calificación de riesgo en América Latina. Analistas esperan que en el país se produzca desembarco de inversores en mediano plazo.

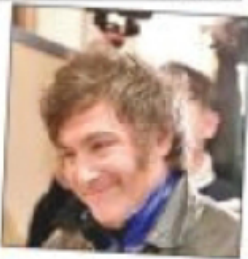
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### Emblemática Escalinata luce remozada

**Restauración.** Con una serie de intervenciones la Municipalidad de Asunción revitaliza Escalinata Antequera, que con 95 años es un sitio emblemático.

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CON ENTREGA INMEDIATA

CONOCÉ MÁS DE ESTE MODELO



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## ELECTRICITY



2022 File Photo/Tom Fox

**Analysts fret** about the sunset hours for the grid, when solar energy begins to drop off while wind-power generation has yet to pick up the slack. Stronger winds are generally more prevalent after the sun sets.

# ERCOT CEO warns of reliance on renewables

### Texas' power grid is seeing demand records broken regularly

By PHILIP JANKOWSKI  
Austin Bureau  
philip.jankowski@dallasnews.com

ROUND ROCK — The head of ERCOT has raised alarms about the growing reliance of renewable energy on Texas' grid even as solar energy shines during an unrelenting heat wave.

ERCOT CEO Pablo Vegas said recently that the combined output of wind and solar, which can provide as much as 40% of Texas' power at times, keeps him up at night.

Intermittent renewable energy, he explained, is no longer an added bonus to Texas' electricity production mix. It is now required to keep the lights on.

"We are completely depending on the availability of intermittent resources to meet peak demands," Vegas told an audience of rural electric officials earlier this month. "And that's happening on a regular basis now and will continue to happen on a regular basis going forward."

Vegas made the comments at a safari-themed resort north of Austin. Outside that afternoon, the state baked under an unrelenting heat wave that Vegas correctly predicted that day would later set an all-time

See **TEXAS** Page 7A



Elias Valverde II/Staff Photographer

**Kayakers braved** the heat at White Rock Lake on Sunday as Dallas' record-breaking high of 106 degrees brought the city's run of consecutive days with triple-digit highs to 21. That streak may end early this week. (Story, 7A)

ERCOT has kept Texas' electrical grid humming despite the intense heat and record-breaking demand. 7A

## ABORTION

# Effort aids access to pill

Despite bans, groups help Texans, others obtain drug by mail

By MARIN WOLF and MARÍA RAMOS PACHECO  
Staff Writers

A virtual web of reproductive health groups is openly helping Texans circumvent legal and logistical barriers set in place by strict anti-abortion laws, including those that ban shipping abortion medications by mail.

With a few clicks of the mouse, Texans seeking abortion pills can view a list of vetted providers, visit virtually with a clinician in Massachusetts and arrange for medication to be sent directly — even though prescribing the pills is illegal in the nation's second-largest state.

The network of pill providers and educators — which existed long before the U.S. Supreme Court overturned federal protections — is ramping up efforts to reach women in states that passed

laws making abortion illegal.

"It's just so important that people know that they still have options, even in Texas," said Elisa Wells, co-founder and co-director of the abortion information nonprofit Plan C.

Ads for abortion pill access hit the radio this summer as part of an awareness campaign for Plan C in major markets across the country, including Dallas, Houston and the Rio Grande Valley. The group's ads on social media are reminiscent of prescription drug advertisements.

"I found out people were getting abortion pills by mail in nearly every state, so that's what I did," said a mom while braiding her daughter's hair in a Plan C online video ad. "I spoke to someone about the possible legal risks and got answers to my medical questions for free."

Pills by mail are a thorn to abortion opponents that

See **EFFORT** Page 5A

## CONGRESS

# Uniform right to vote sought

Dallas lawmaker's bill would give released felons access to ballot

By CAROLINE PETROW-COHEN  
Washington Bureau  
caroline.petrov-cohen@dallasnews.com

WASHINGTON — Crystal Mason was on supervised release for a federal tax fraud conviction when she went to her polling place in Tarrant County to vote in the 2016 presidential election. She wasn't on the list of registered voters, so a poll worker told her to cast a provisional ballot.

A few months later, she was arrested on a charge of illegally attempting to vote.

Mason said she didn't know she was ineligible due to her supervised release status. And her provisional bal-

lot was never counted.

Still, she was tried and sentenced to five years in prison. Her case, now on appeal, has drawn national attention to the inconsistency of felon voting laws across the country.

In Texas, felons get their right to vote back after completing their full sentence, which includes time behind bars but also probation, parole and supervised release.

Rep. Jasmine Crockett, D-Dallas, introduced the Democracy Restoration Act last month to restore voting rights in federal elections to all released felons regardless of parole or probation status, and regardless of state laws.

Versions of the measure have been filed since 2008 but have never made it to the

See **BILL** Page 5A

## HAWAII WILDFIRE

# How a blaze devastated west Maui, hour by hour

Survivors recount terror of swift flames: 'I was praying to God that we didn't die'

By JOSHUA PARTLOW, JOHN FARRELL, BRADY DENNIS, BRIANNA SACKS and JOANNA SLATER  
The Washington Post

It is already the deadliest conflagration in modern U.S. history, but there is still so much unknown about the Maui wildfires that destroyed much of Lahaina last week. How many people died? What caused the blazes? To what degree did climate change contribute?

**CHURCHES** in Hawaii keep the dead and missing in their thoughts and prayers. 3A

What is known is that thousands of people on Maui experienced horrors Tuesday that they had never imagined, and that unfolded hour after hour.

### Morning

Lisa Vorpahl, a bank teller, woke to the sound of someone shuffling on her lanai. It was 3 a.m. Tuesday when she



The Associated Press

**Front Street in downtown Lahaina, Hawaii, on Tuesday (left) and Saturday is shown.** Authorities are warning that the effort to find and identify the dead in the Maui wildfire is just beginning.

looked out her bedroom window and realized it was just the wind.

Alexa Caskey couldn't sleep, either. On the farm where she grew taro and breadfruit for her plant-based restaurant, she listened to gusts that would dislodge her garage door and topple the Hong Kong Orchid tree outside.

Photographer Rachael Zimmerman woke up before dawn in her condo on Front Street, Lahaina's seaside boulevard of restaurants and surf shops, but the howls rattling her window screens.

If there was any warning that fateful night that Hawaii was about to endure one of the most horrific and deadly nat-

ural disasters in the state's history, it was only the wind.

For two days, National Weather Service employees in Honolulu had been sending ominous alerts about powerful easterly gusts, whipped up by

See **'YOU'** Page 3A



Sun, clouds, hot



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## METRO

**Doctors warn of 'triple-demic'**  
Local doctors urge vaccinations as they warn of a potential "triple-demic" this fall, consisting of the flu, respiratory syncytial virus and COVID-19. 1B

## SPORTSDAY

**Days in 4A ranks numbered**  
The burgeoning enrollments of the area's Class 4A high school powerhouses mean their days in that division are numbered, Shawn McFarland writes. 1C

## NATION & WORLD

**Raid on newspaper slammed**  
A small Kansas police department is under fire for what some say was an unconstitutional raid on a local newspaper and the home of its publisher and co-owner. 2A

# Chicago Tribune



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In 2021, Deputy Chief Larry Snelling, center, talks with officers before a prayer service for slain Officer Ella French outside the 22nd District in Chicago. JOHN J. KIM/TRIBUNE

## Johnson chooses top cop

Mayor picks Snelling as CPD superintendent, capping South Sider's rapid rise

By Sam Charles and Gregory Royal Pratt  
Chicago Tribune

Mayor Brandon Johnson has selected Larry Snelling, the Chicago Police Department's chief of the bureau of counterterrorism and a longtime instructor at the training academy, to serve as the next permanent superintendent.

A South Side native who joined the department in 1992, Snelling, 54, is considered to be CPD's preeminent expert on firearms and use-of-force tactics. His ascent to the top position will

require approval by the full City Council. "Chief Snelling is a proven leader who has the experience and the respect of his peers to help ensure the safety and well-being of city residents, and address the complex challenges we all face related to community safety," Johnson said in a press release Sunday.

A press conference introducing Snelling as the choice for the city's next top cop is expected late Monday morning. "It is a tremendous honor to answer the call to serve my hometown and the people of Chicago as superintendent of the Chicago Police Department. It is also a tremendous responsibility, and one

that I do not take lightly," Snelling said in a statement.

"While I am humbled by this moment, I stand ready to lead and uphold Mayor Johnson's 'three Cs' of competence, compassion and collaboration, and keep that vision at the forefront in addressing safety on every street, every block and in every neighborhood," he added.

Snelling was chosen over two other finalists, CPD Chief of Constitutional Policing and Reform Angel Novalez, and Shon Barnes, the chief of police in Madison, Wisconsin.

Anthony Driver Jr., the president of the Community Commission for Public

Safety and Accountability, the body that submitted the three finalists to Johnson last month, issued a statement Sunday.

"Chief Snelling's remarkable career and long tenure with the Chicago Police Department make him an exceptional choice for the role of Superintendent," Driver said. "His proven leadership as chief of the bureau that focuses on criminal networks and narcotics, his dedication to cultivating robust community relations, and his fervent commitment to elevating professional standards within the Department set him apart as

Turn to Snelling, Page 4

## Pritzker signs measure that targets doxxing

Passed over ACLU objections, it holds people liable for sharing identifiable info with malicious intent

By Jeremy Gorner  
Chicago Tribune

SPRINGFIELD — Last summer, a bakery in Chicago's northwest suburbs was vandalized ahead of its plans to host a family-friendly drag show, leading to a cancellation of the sold-out event.

For Corinna Sac, the UpRising Bakery and Cafe's owner, the broken windows and spray-painted messages were only the beginning.

In March, Sac told Illinois lawmakers that harassment stemming from the planned "Starry Night Brunch Drag" at her Lake in the Hills business grew to include doxxing — usually defined as the sharing of personally identifiable information about another person for the purpose of harming them.

"Not one person, not even the amazing Lake in the Hills police, could help us and defend us against this," she testified before the House Judiciary Civil Committee. "I was

■ Governor signs bill allowing convicted felons to apply for nongaming casino jobs. **Page 2**  
■ Pritzker signs more than 40 bills Friday, including measure that allows multiple-occupancy public restrooms to be labeled gender-neutral. **Chicagoland, Page 3**

advised to not leave my kids alone, report anything strange, take a different way home every day, never go out in public alone, and I was advised not to work alone, which put my business under even more stress."

This month, Gov. J.B. Pritzker signed into law a measure that makes anyone in Illinois who engages in doxxing to be found civilly liable in court. The bill passed through the House and Senate with bipartisan support — and without any opposition — during the spring legislative session.

Turn to Doxxing, Page 11

## Honoring hip-hop's 50th anniversary

Renegades of Funk, a nonprofit that promotes Chicago hip-hop culture, celebrates milestone at Battle 4 The Eagle event in Logan Square. **Chicagoland, Page 3**

## Tourists told to avoid travel to Maui

Hawaii officials urged tourists not to travel to Maui as many hotels prepared to house evacuees and first responders on the island. **Nation & World, Page 1**



Shay Dunn, with her husband, Riante Dunn, plays with their four children in the backyard of their home in Montgomery on July 10. After having a bad birthing experience, Dunn decided to give birth at home aided by a midwife who shares her racial identity and a family connection. ANTONIO PEREZ/CHICAGO TRIBUNE

## Black Chicagoans creating own solutions to maternal mortality

Women take proactive steps for control over their own bodies

By Jenna Smith  
Chicago Tribune

At age 30, Jeanine Valrie-Logan was having a miscarriage.

The room was sterile, cold. Guarded only by a curtain to maintain a semblance of privacy and a thin hospital gown, she sat

waiting for the procedure that would remove the remaining pregnancy tissue. As she stood to sit atop the bed that would wheel her to the operating room, the physician asked her, "Do you want me to give you an IUD, so you don't have any more unplanned pregnancies?"

The question stopped her in her tracks, and the fear and loneliness she'd been feeling suddenly replaced with

profound anger. "Who said this was an unwanted pregnancy?" she recalled thinking at the time. "I remember grabbing the nurse and being like, 'Please do not let him put an IUD in.'"

Upon waking from the operation, she was told by a supervising nurse that throughout her sleep, she continuously repeated the phrase "Don't let him take

Turn to Maternal, Page 6



**José Murilo de Carvalho:** Um dos principais pensadores do país, historiador morre aos 83 anos



Compartilhe. O livro do autor, que era integrante do AEL, conquistaram prêmios

# O GLOBO

Imagem: Marinho (1970-1971) — (1974-2000) Roberto Marinho

SEDE: AV. JOÃO DE BARROS, 14 DE ABRIL DE 2013, SÃO PAULO - R\$ 2,80 - PREÇO DE CADA COPIA EM NOVO - Nº 14.000

## ORÇAMENTO EM DISPUTA

# Congresso quer ampliar emendas que governo é obrigado a pagar

Centrão articula para que repasses de R\$ 7,5 bilhões de comissões de Câmara e Senado sejam impositivos

Em uma reunião ao fim do orçamento secreto, o Congresso se movimentou para ampliar o volume de emendas parlamentares que o governo será obrigado a pagar. Depois de conseguir que as emendas individuais de bancada se tornassem impositivas nos últimos anos, o foco agora são as emendas de comissão, cujo montante é

de R\$ 7,5 bilhões. O debate vem ganhando força na discussão da Lei de Diretrizes Orçamentárias de 2024. O relator da peça, deputado Danilo Forte (União-CE), tem bem definido um cronograma mais rígido para os pagamentos, o que se placará a não mais o poder dos parlamentares no orçamento da União. [leia mais](#)

Perguntapara começar a semana

OPINION



— Continuam juntos?

FERNANDO GABEIRA

**Afirmada de Trump e Bolsonaro**

MIGUEL DE ALMEIDA

**Capitalismo na selva Amazônica**

JOAQUIM FERREIRA DOS SANTOS

**A ciência e a medicina popular**

ANTÔNIO DE GOS

**Cota e cotistas: novos cabanos com desigualdade**

## CPI mira Wassef e Cid para avançar em caso das joias

Coletando evidências na CPI das Ações Golpistas, a base governista planeja convocar esta semana o advogado da família Bolsonaro, Frederick Wassef, e o ex-ajudante de ordens, tenente-coronel Mauro Cid, para falar sobre as novas revelações do caso das joias e outros detalhes envolvendo o acervo presidencial. [leia mais](#)

## Morte de Eloah em ação da PM mobiliza o Planalto

O ministro dos Direitos Humanos, Silvano Almeida, convocou hoje uma reunião de emergência com as chefes de polícia de todos os estados para tratar da ação da PM do Rio em que Eloah, de 5 anos, e Wendell, de 12, foram mortos. Especialistas criticam a falta de preparo dos agentes. [leia mais](#)



## Primárias na Argentina abrem temporada eleitoral, e extrema direita surpreende

Nam dia marcado por los gas filas, as Primárias Abiertas Simultáneas e Obligatorias (PASO) na Argentina, o resultado validou os candidatos de direita e a eleição presidencial em 22 de outubro, foi anulado pela suposição de fraude e a eleição de direita. Com 79% a apoiar o candidato, o candidato Javier Milei, apoiado por ex-presidente Jair Bolsonaro, alcançou a vitória após uma disputa, com 31,05% dos votos. [leia mais](#)



## Relator define regras de remuneração de conteúdo jornalístico

O parecer do deputado Elmar Nascimento (União-BA), relator do projeto sobre direitos autorais na internet, prevê que plataformas se com mais de dez milhões de usuários no país paguem a empresas responsáveis pelo conteúdo. Texto dev e servido esta semana. [leia mais](#)

## Secretaria de apostas esportivas terá PF e Coaf para investigar fraudes

A Secretaria Nacional de Políticas e Apostas Esportivas terá agentes da Polícia Federal e do Conselho de Controle de Atividades Financeiras (Coaf) para apurar fraudes. Setor em processo de regulamentação. [leia mais](#)

## USP discute mudanças de olho nas 50 maiores universidades do mundo

Esta a melhor universidade da América Latina e USP tem em mente, Universidade de São Paulo discute mudanças no currículo para aproximar os alunos do mercado de trabalho e chegar ao topo da elite acadêmica global. [leia mais](#)



## RIO GASTRONOMIA

### Almoço especial com gosto de festa

Muitas famílias comemoram em o Dia dos Pais no Rio Gastronomia, que comemora ao Jockey Club na quinta-feira para mais quatro dias de boa comida e diversão. [leia mais](#)



Novos anos. Neymar deve atuar com o Al Hilal por uma temporada

## ESPORTES

### Sem espaço na Europa, Neymar acerta com futebol saudita

A tacante brasileiro aceita oferta do Al-Hilal para receber 160 milhões de euros por ano, ou cerca de R\$ 71 milhões em reais. Negociação sem a rixa foi oficializada, mas Neymar deve realizar exames médicos hoje, em Paris, e ser apresentado na quarta-feira. Colunistas do GLOBO analisam a escolha do jogador. [leia mais](#)

RODRIGO CAPELO

Competição com dinheiro do Arábia Saudita é desigual

# LE FIGARO

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

## L'été du FIGARO



### TOURISME : LE CHARME DES CAPITALES OUBLIÉES

BOGOTA, CHRONIQUE D'UNE RENAISSANCE ANNONCÉE PAGE 13

### ÉCONOMIE

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### CES ÉCOLES D'AUTREFOIS

LES ÉCOLES NORMALES D'INSTITUTEURS PAGE 10

### DES VACANCES (SURTOUT) PAS COMME LES AUTRES

### LES VACANCES SAVOUREUSES DES FRANÇAIS PASSIONNÉS DE GASTRONOMIE

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### LES LICORNES DU NOUVEAU MONDE

COUPANG, « L'AMAZON DE CORÉE » PAGE 24

### JEUX D'ÉTÉ

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Arthur Banga : « Les putschistes sont un danger pour la région »

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### PATRIMOINE

De Nantes au Kentucky, l'histoire chaotique des dernières statues de Louis XVI

PAGE 9

### CHAMPS LIBRES

• Propriété de l'Arabie saoudite, le club de Newcastle en anti-PSG  
• La tribune de Pierre Vermeren  
• La tribune de M<sup>re</sup> Matthieu Rougé

PAGES 18 ET 19

### FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de samedi : Êtes-vous favorable au rapatriement des djihadistes français de Syrie ?

OUI 6% NON 94%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 198171

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr Élection présidentielle : Gérard Darmanin serait-il un bon candidat pour la droite ?

ERIC MARTIN POUR LE FIGARO - MICHAEL BORGERS/REEBRUGH/STOCK.ADOBE.COM

# Synodalité : la ligne du pape François trouble l'Église

## Poids des laïcs, ordination d'hommes mariés, diaconat féminin... La révolution de la gouvernance de l'Église catholique voulue par le pape suscite scepticisme et inquiétude.

Après le succès rassurant des Journées mondiales de la jeunesse au Portugal cet été, l'Église catholique s'apprête à vivre une rentrée agitée, sous la volonté réformatrice du pape. Poids accru des laïcs pour une « Église synodale »,

ordination d'hommes mariés, diaconat féminin, bénédiction des couples homosexuels... Autant de changements que François voudrait voir adopter lors du prochain synode, réunissant trois cents évêques et experts laïcs -

choisis en majorité pour leur opinion en faveur de la réforme - et dont la première session aura lieu en octobre prochain au Vatican. Dévoilées en juin dans un « document de travail » qui a fait couler de l'encre, ces orientations se-

ment un trouble inédit chez des prêtres modérés et chez bon nombre d'évêques comme au sein des laïcs. Beaucoup s'inquiètent de cet assaut jugé autoritariste de François pour une réforme qu'ils estiment confuse.

➔ FRÈRE JACQUES-BENOÎT RAUSCHER : « L'ÉGLISE N'EST PAS UNE COLLECTION DE GROUPES DE PRESSION »

➔ CES DEUX CARDINAUX CHOISIS PAR FRANÇOIS POUR PILOTER UN SYNODE DÉCISIF PAGES 2, 3 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



À Hawaï, la désolation après les incendies fulgurants qui ont ravagé l'île de Maui. D'une intensité et d'une vitesse exceptionnelles, les feux ont pris les habitants par surprise et tout détruit sur leur passage, faisant près d'une centaine de victimes. Les critiques fusent contre la gestion du drame par les autorités. PAGE 8

### ÉDITORIAL par Étienne de Montety edemontety@lefigaro.fr

## Entendre la jeunesse

Le document de travail (Instrumentum laboris) publié le 20 juin dernier, en vue du synode qui s'ouvrira en octobre prochain, ne laisse pas d'inquiéter les fidèles, laïcs, prêtres et même les évêques. Rédigé en amont, il évoque, entre autres, la question des lieux de décision dans l'Église, celle de la place des femmes et celle du sacerdoce dans un texte où est scandé le « marcher ensemble » (sic), formule qui reflète la vision ecclésiologique et le vocabulaire de ses rédacteurs - et dit clairement leur âge. Ce document provisoire est-il représentatif des préoccupations spirituelles des milliers de participants des pèlerinages mariaux de ce 15 Août (au premier rang desquels le national de Lourdes) et des récentes JMJ ? Soyons francs : ces sujets de « structures » et de fonctionnement ne les concernent pas - adoptées, elles auraient pourtant des conséquences importantes pour la vie de l'Église. Le pape François, qui a voulu ce synode, a vu à Lisbonne une partie de ces catholiques du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle, il les a rencontrés et entendus. Ces jeunes aspirent à être enseignés par leurs aînés, ils veulent approfondir leur foi, parfois récente et fragile. Ils ont soif de recevoir les

sacrements au cours de liturgies qui soient belles, joyeuses et recueillies. Enthousiastes, ils sont prêts à parcourir le monde pour partager avec leurs contemporains le trésor que constitue leur rencontre avec Jésus-Christ. Alors la « synodalité » et le « marcher ensemble »... Respectueux, mais lucides, ils font confiance aux pères synodaux pour prendre avec discernement cet instrumentum laboris hétéroclite et pour décider avec sagesse ce que doit être l'Église, non celle d'hier, mais bel et bien l'Église de demain, dont ils sont déjà le visage rayonnant. Pour eux, si elle a besoin de réforme, c'est d'abord de celle des cœurs afin que grandissent en son sein (et, partant, dans le monde) la foi et la charité - quel chrétien pourrait s'extraire de cette ardente obligation ? Ils ont la conviction que cette institution, qu'ils aiment, vieille et magnifique à la fois, ne demande pas aujourd'hui des coachs en organisation : elle demande des saints. ■

## Tourné vers 2027, Gérard Darmanin affiche ses ambitions

Décidé à rebondir après l'échec de son opération Matignon, le ministre de l'Intérieur dévoile au Figaro les raisons qui le poussent à lancer une grande rentrée politique cette année. L'occasion de s'adresser aux classes populaires, et de poser de premiers jalons sur la longue route qui le sépare de la prochaine présidentielle. Rendez-vous pour lequel il faudra « incarner », selon lui, la « volonté politique » qui manque à son camp pour espérer être présent au second tour. PAGES 4 ET 5

SAUVIGNON BLANC par nature

fumées blanches SAUVIGNON BLANC

LE FIGARO

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## MP Dawn Butler on racism, rivalry and surviving cancer

→ G2



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# The Guardian

Newspaper of the year

# Lower-income pupils expected to be hit hardest by 'grade deflation'

A-level and GCSE results gap predicted to widen as pre-Covid regime returns

**Richard Adams**  
 Education editor

Disadvantaged students are likely to bear the brunt of "grade deflation" when this year's A-level and GCSE results are published, according to experts, who said the government's

decision to impose pre-pandemic grading in England was premature.

This week hundreds of thousands of sixth-formers in England, Wales and Northern Ireland will receive the results of their A-levels, BTecs and other exams. But a survey of students by the Social Mobility Foundation (SMF) found those from disadvantaged or low-income backgrounds in England were less likely to have received help to restore learning lost during the Covid pandemic.

As a result, the gap in top grades received by disadvantaged students

compared with their better-off peers is expected to widen for the second year in a row, after examination boards were ordered to return to grading last seen in 2019.

"We all feel the desire to say that the impact of Covid needs to be over. But all the evidence shows that it is premature to say that its impact has ended on this generation of young people," said Sarah Atkinson, the SMF's chief executive. "Many young people will be celebrating on Thursday and that's how it should be. But we are afraid that too many young

people on low incomes will not get the outcome they deserve.

"These are young people who have done everything that was asked of them. They've worked hard, shown resilience and determination, and they should get the opportunities that they deserve at this stage. There is a risk that they are bearing the burden of this policy.

"We're expecting the attainment gap based on income to grow, and we also saw last year that the regional gaps - the north-east compared with London, for example - were wider

in terms of top grades. And we are worried that is going to happen again this year."

The 2022 A-level results had the widest "disadvantage gap" since statistics were first published seven years ago, with average point scores between disadvantaged and wealthier pupils greater than in 2019 when formal exams were last sat, before the onset of the pandemic.

In 2020 and 2021 formal exams were scrapped and grades instead awarded through teacher assessment, with sharply

## Ukraine desperate for help clearing mines, says defence minister

**Exclusive**  
**Daniel Boffey**  
 Donetsk oblast

Ukraine is now the most heavily mined country on Earth and is suffering from a critical shortage of men and equipment able to clear the front-lines, its defence minister has said, as soldiers spoke of heavy casualties in the engineering brigades.

In an urgent appeal to allies, Oleksii Reznikov told the Guardian his soldiers were unearthing five landmines for every square metre in places, laid by Russian troops to thwart Ukraine's counteroffensive. He said the vast minefields could be traversed, but it was critical to "expand and expedite" the training already being provided by some countries, including Britain.

The number of sappers, or combat engineers, in the Ukrainian armed forces was said to be nowhere near enough to get through the complex Russian defences on the vast 600-mile front, with mine-clearing units targeted by heavy fire.

Defence ministry officials in Kyiv suggested there was an opportunity for countries



▲ Mine clearing in Donetsk. Ukraine is now the 'most heavily mined country on Earth', with up to five devices per square metre PHOTOGRAPH: ERKIN ERTURK/ANADOLU/GETTY