



Battle looms over Dalai Lama's succession

FT BIG READ, PAGE 15

Why is Canada such an economic laggard?

TEJ PARIKH, PAGE 17

Russia's banks propped up by Chinese cash after sanctions

- Lending quadrupled to \$9.7bn
- Drive to create rival global currency

OWEN WALKER — LONDON
CHENG LENG — HONG KONG

Chinese lenders stepped in to extend billions of dollars to Russian banks as western institutions pulled out in the year after Moscow's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, new data shows.

China's exposure to Russia's banking sector quadrupled in the 14 months to the end of March this year, according to the latest official data analysed for the Financial Times by the Kyiv School of Economics.

The lenders took the place of western banks, which came under acute pressure from regulators and politicians in their home countries to exit Russia, while international sanctions made doing business much harder.

The moves by four of China's biggest banks are part of Beijing's efforts to promote the renminbi as an alternative global currency to the dollar.

The Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, Bank of China, China Construction Bank and Agricultural Bank of China increased their combined exposure to Russia from \$2.2bn to \$9.7bn, according to Russian central bank data, with ICBC and Bank of China accounting for \$8.5bn of the assets between them.

The data indicates a shift by Russia to adopt the renminbi rather than the US dollar or euro as a reserve currency.

"The loans by Chinese banks to Russian banks and credit institutions, which are for the most part a case of the yuan taking the place of dollars and euros, show the sanctions are doing their job," said Andrii Onopriienko, deputy development director at the Kyiv School of Economics, who compiled the data.

The rise of renminbi trading highlights Russia's economic pivot to China as trade between the two countries hit a record \$185bn in 2022.

Before last year's invasion, more than 60 per cent of Russia's payments for its exports were made in what the country's authorities now refer to as "toxic currencies", such as the dollar and euro, with renminbi accounting for less than 1 per cent.

"Toxic" currencies have since dropped to less than half of export payments, while the renminbi accounts for 16 per cent, according to data from Russia's central bank.

Austria's Raiffeisen Bank is one of the few western banks that has kept a significant presence in Russia.

In the year to March Raiffeisen, the foreign bank with the biggest exposure to Russia, increased its assets in the country by more than 40 per cent, from \$20.5bn to \$29.2bn.

But reforms by the Kremlin last summer have made it much harder for foreign banks to sell their Russian subsidiaries. On Friday, Russia's deputy finance minister Alexei Moiseev reaffirmed the government's position to obstruct foreign bank sales.

The European Central Bank is increasing pressure on lenders it supervises, including Raiffeisen, to exit Russia. Raiffeisen said it was trying to find ways of selling or spinning off its Russian business while staying compliant with local and international laws and regulations. Since March, Raiffeisen has reduced its assets in Russia to \$25.5bn.

ICBC, Bank of China, China Construction Bank and Agricultural Bank of China all declined to comment.

Muddy 'hellscape' Thousands of Burning Man festival-goers left stranded in Nevada desert



Therese Hughes/USA Today Network via Reuters

A festival-goer tramps through thick sludge at the annual Burning Man gathering in the Nevada desert, where thousands of people have been left stranded after torrential rainfall transformed the area into a muddy "hellscape".

The storms shut roads and trapped more than 70,000 people in a camping area where food and water are being rationed and portable toilets have

stopped functioning. The nearby airport is closed and no driving is permitted at the venue except for emergency vehicles.

Burning Man was once a symbol of American counterculture but has turned into an annual end-of-summer destination for social media influencers and celebrities. The event is named after the burning of a human effigy at a venue known as the playa, a ritual that

was postponed because of the rain. Local police said they were investigating one death. Wet conditions made it "virtually impossible" for vehicles to traverse the playa, the police said.

"Welcome to Burning Man aka Hellscape," a user named Thatcher posted on TikTok, showing a clip of hundreds of mountain bikes sinking into inches of thick mud.

Desert downpour page 4

Briefing

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Sale of once high-flying hedge fund turns nasty

When Sculptor Capital Management formerly Och-Ziff, listed in 2007 it was worth \$12bn. Its current attempt to sell itself to real estate specialist Rithm Capital for just \$639m has come under fire from Daniel Och, the hedge fund's founder, who says it is being sold on the cheap. But the board is fighting back, accusing Och of orchestrating a campaign of "retribution" and a "years-long smear campaign against the company's management" since his exit. Och's fight against Sculptor... PAGE 7

Germany's construction industry calls for help as more developers go bust

GUY CHAZAN — BERLIN

Business groups and economists have called on the German government to intervene to help the crisis-hit construction industry as a wave of insolvent claims a growing number of high-profile property developers.

Builders are facing a perfect storm of rising interest rates, more expensive construction materials, a dire shortage of skilled workers and slowing demand for new developments, leading to financing problems across the industry.

"We are at the end of a 10 to 15 year property boom," said Moritz Schularick, head of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy in Germany. "The financial cycle is now such that every day another property developer is going bust... The old funding models are no longer

sustainable." Developers filing for insolvency in the past few weeks include Düsseldorf-based firms Gerch, Centrum Group and Development Partner as well as Euroboden of Munich and Project Immobilien Gruppe of Nuremberg.

Landlords such as Vonovia and Aroundtown have announced big write-downs of their property portfolios.

"With interest rates rising so quickly, a lot of projects are just not profitable any more," said Clemens Fuest, head of the Ifo institute in Munich, a think-tank. "Demand in residential housing has just collapsed."

Some experts think the situation could deteriorate further. "With developers that bet on rising prices, I expect to see an increasing number of insolventcies in the market," said Dirk Salewski, head of BFW, the German association of independent real estate and housing

companies. "The most highly indebted are the most vulnerable."

The crisis is a problem for Olaf Scholz, chancellor, who came to office vowing to build 400,000 flats a year. Just 295,500 dwellings were built last year and industry executives expect the numbers for this year and next to be even lower.

Ministers have adopted measures to help. Scholz's cabinet passed a €7bn package of corporate tax relief that included new rules on the depreciation of investment costs for builders.

Building minister Klara Geywitz said that should help "really rev up" housing construction. But Salewski of BFW called it a "drop in the ocean".

Tim-Oliver Müller, head of HDB, the central federation of the German construction industry, said: "It doesn't solve the main problem, which is a lack of liquidity."

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Sep 1	Prev	%Chg		Sep 1	Aug 25			Sep 1	Aug 25	Chg
S&P 500	4503.17	4607.86	-0.10	\$/£	1.081	1.077	0/5	0.925	0.929	0.004	0.004
Nasdaq Composite	13989.21	14034.97	-0.33	\$/€	1.262	1.255	0/5	0.792	0.797	0.005	0.005
Dow Jones Ind	34736.84	34721.91	0.04	\$/¥	0.056	0.058	0/1	1.168	1.165	0.003	0.003
FTSE100	1912.07	1912.24	-0.01	\$/S\$	146.020	146.980	0/6	157.823	157.874	0.051	0.051
Euro Stoxx 50	4283.70	4297.11	-0.31	\$/HK\$	184.284	183.979	0/1	82.436	82.864	0.428	0.428
FTSE All-Share	4069.21	4059.53	0.24	\$/INR	0.956	0.955	0/1	1.116	1.113	0.003	0.003
CAC 40	7236.77	7216.70	0.27	CRYPTO							
Nikkei	15940.34	15947.08	-0.07	Bitcoin (B)	25698.11	25008.20	-0.15				
Hang Seng	18382.06	18482.86	-0.55	Ethereum	1634.22	1645.78	-0.70				
MSCI World \$	2986.02	2991.52	-0.18	COMMODITIES							
MSCI EM \$	993.33	989.30	0.41		Sep 1	Aug 25	%Week				
MSCI ACWI \$	696.15	697.86	-0.25	Oil WTI \$	85.14	79.54	7.04				
FT Wilshire 2500	5834.96	5841.57	-0.11	Oil Brent \$	88.16	84.10	4.83				
FT Wilshire 5000	45468.60	45521.30	-0.12	Gold \$	1942.30	1917.05	1.32				



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Muck, Danger And Partying In the Desert

Crowd at Burning Man Shakes Off a Deluge

This article is by Finn-Olaf Jones, Anna Betts and Amanda Holupch. BLACK ROCK DESERT, Nev. — The torrential rains that turned roads and grounds into muck and left thousands of people stranded at the Burning Man festival also put off the climax of the carefree celebration of art, music and counterculture: The annual burning of a manlike figure did not happen on Sunday night as had been planned.

A social media account affiliated with the Burning Man Project's website said the burn would instead happen on Monday night, adding that the muddy conditions and rain had made moving heavy and fire safety equipment to the site unfeasible. The announcement was the second postponement of the burn, which had been initially scheduled for Saturday night.

It was an unusual turn of events that tested the resolve of participants, who were told to conserve food and water, at a more than three-decade-old festival that prides itself on grit and self-reliance and normally battles excessive heat and, sometimes, excessive partying.

True to form, some were taking it in stride.

"Burning Man is an all-weather state of mind," said Star Heart-song, 43, a tech entrepreneur who came from Austin, Texas, had said earlier. He added that "when it's time to leave, we'll leave."

"Burners aren't victims," he said, using the name that attendees are known by. But the authorities were investigating the death of one participant, and the worsening conditions on Sunday — it was raining harder in the afternoon than on the previous two days — could delay people leaving the event, which ends Monday and in normal conditions causes a lengthy traffic backup.

On Sunday afternoon, a White House official said that President Biden had been briefed on the situation. *Continued on Page A14*



The authorities advised people at the flooded Burning Man festival in Nevada to conserve food and water. Thousands were stranded. *JOSE LEASE, VIA AGENCIE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES*

Seeing Threats Everywhere, China Enlists Public as Spy Catchers

By VIVIAN WANG

BEIJING — Beijing sees forces bent on weakening it everywhere, embedded in multinational companies, infiltrating social media, circling naïve students. And it wants its people to see them, too. Chinese universities require faculty to take courses on protecting state secrets, even in departments like veterinary medicine. A kindergarten in the eastern city of Tianjin organized a meeting to teach its staff how to "understand and use" China's anti-espionage law.

China's Ministry of State Security, a usually covert department that oversees the secret police and intelligence services, has

even opened its first social media account, as part of what official news media described as an effort at increasing public engagement. Its first post: a call for a "whole of society mobilization" against espionage.

"The participation of the masses," the post said, should be "normalized."

China's ruling Communist Party is enlisting ordinary people to guard against perceived threats to the country, in a campaign that blurs the line between vigilance and paranoia. The country's economy is facing its worst slowdown in years, but China's authoritarian leader, Xi Jinping, appears more fixated on national security and preventing threats to

Stoking Unease About the U.S. as Early as Kindergarten

The party's control.

"We must be prepared for worst-case and extreme scenarios," Mr. Xi told China's National Security Commission in May. He called on officials to "enhance real-time monitoring" and "get prepared for actual combat."

The sense of urgency may be heightened by the fact that Beijing is confronting some of its biggest challenges since Mr. Xi's ascension more than a decade ago. Be-

yond the economic gloom, China's relations with the West are increasingly tense. And unexplained personnel changes at the highest tiers of power — including the sudden removal in July of China's foreign minister and two high-ranking generals — suggest that Mr. Xi may have feared threats to his control.

In July, China revised its anti-espionage law to broaden an already sweeping scope of activities that it regards as spying. It is offering rewards of tens of thousands of dollars to people who report spies.

While the call for mass vigilance has inspired widespread caution, it is unclear to what extent *Continued on Page A10*

UKRAINE REMOVES CHIEF OF MILITARY AS WAR DRAGS ON

SEEKS NEW DIRECTION

Ministry Under Pressure From Investigation Into Corruption

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — President Volodymyr Zelensky said on Sunday that he was replacing his minister of defense, the biggest shake-up in the leadership of Ukraine's war effort since Russia's full-scale invasion began, citing the need for "new approaches" as the war stretches toward a second year.

The fate of the defense minister, Oleksii Reznikov, had been the subject of increasing speculation in Ukraine as financial improprieties in the ministry came to light and the government started several investigations into official corruption.

Mr. Zelensky said in a statement that Mr. Reznikov, who has not been personally implicated in the widening investigations into mishandling of military contracts, would be replaced by Rustem Umerov, the chairman of Ukraine's State Property Fund. Mr. Zelensky said he expected Ukraine's Parliament, which must approve the change, to sign off on his request.

"Oleksii Reznikov has gone through more than 550 days of full-scale war," Mr. Zelensky said in a statement announcing his decision on Sunday night. "I believe that the ministry needs new approaches and other formats of interaction with both the military and society at large."

The decision to replace Mr. Reznikov atop the Defense Ministry comes as Ukraine is in the midst of a major counteroffensive, slowly gaining territory in the south and the east. Last week, Ukrainian officials said they had captured the southern village of Robotyne, suggesting that the offensive had penetrated the first *Continued on Page A7*

Biden on Attack As G.O.P. Talks Of Impeaching

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — Just before 8 p.m. on Thursday, Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene posted a video of herself at a town hall in her Georgia district declaring that she "will not vote to fund the government" unless the House holds a vote to open an impeachment inquiry against President Biden.

It took just 68 minutes for the White House to fire back with a blistering statement that such a vote would mean that House Republicans had "caved to the hardcore fringe of their party in prioritizing a baseless impeachment stunt over high-stakes needs Americans care about deeply," like drug enforcement and disaster relief.

The White House, as it turns out, is not waiting for a formal inquiry to wage war against impeachment. With a team of two dozen lawyers, legislative liaisons, communications specialists and others, the president has begun moving to counter any effort to charge him with high crimes and misdemeanors with a best-defense-is-a-good-offense campaign aimed at dividing Republicans and taking his case to the public.

The president's team has been *Continued on Page A12*

For Ukrainians, Leveling of a Dam Has Unleashed Suffering That Has Lingered

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN

ZELENODOLSK, Ukraine — Sunset along the Kakhovka Reservoir in central Ukraine, especially in summer, used to be gorgeous: kids played in the shallow water near the shore, men fished and young couples walked under the pine trees as the last traces of sunlight reflected off the water.

But after the destruction of a major dam just downriver, that shimmering lake, one of Europe's biggest, simply disappeared. Now all that remains is a 150-mile-long meadow. For 60-plus years, the Bezhan family ran a fishing business on these shores. They bought boats, nets, freezers and enormous rumbling ice-making machines, and generation after generation made a living off the fish. But now there are no fish.

"If the war ended tomorrow, and I don't think it will," said Serhii Bezhan, the family's broad-chested patriarch, "it would take five years to rebuild that dam and then at least two more for the reservoir to fill up. Then it would take another 10 years for the fish to grow — for some species, 20."

He looked away as his eyes misted up. "I'm 50," he said quietly. "I don't know if I'll even be around that long."

On June 6, seismic meters hundreds of miles away detected an enormous explosion at the Kakhovka dam along the Dnipro River. The reinforced concrete



The Kakhovka Reservoir's draining has resulted in a drinking-water crisis, left, dead fish, center, and an irrigation plight for farmers. *PHOTOGRAPHS BY FINN O'REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES*

walls, more than 60 feet high and as much as 100 feet thick, crumbled, and 4.8 trillion gallons of water gushed out.

Scientific evidence indicates that the dam was blown up from the inside, almost certainly by the Russian forces occupying it. In one stroke, they unleashed epic floods on Ukraine and an ensuing drought that, taken together, brought a stunning level of de-

struction to the environment, the economy and the lives of civilians already enduring the hardships of war.

This summer, a team of New York Times journalists traveled hundreds of miles from Zaporizhzhia in central Ukraine to Odessa on the Black Sea to assess the full impact. What we found were homes still soggy and smeared with mud; dead fish ly-

ing in droves; underwater mollusk colonies destroyed; a drinking-water crisis; an irrigation crisis for farmers; entire communities without work; and a yawning sense of loss whose dimensions have not yet been established.

During this war, the Russians have deliberately bombed power plants and grain silos, leaving no shortage of scorched-earth brutality. But the destruction of the

Kakhovka dam stands out as perhaps the single most devastating and punitive blow even if the military intent was to flood the area and slow down Ukrainian troops. The way Ukrainians see it, the invading Russians are simply expressing a hatred of the land — and the people — that they are claiming as theirs.

This was a "katastrofa," Mr. *Continued on Page A7*



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True Cultural Immersion
Swimming in Paris offers intimate views into the French psyche, as well as mostly coed showers. *PAGE A4*

Cluster Bomb Victims Reflect
U.S. veterans' grim memories of the munitions were revived by the decision to send them to Ukraine. *PAGE A8*

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Making Their Vacations Work
Taking a break from the presidential campaign trail is risky. History is littered with cautionary tales of candidates who got it wrong. *PAGE A11*

Traffic-Stop Trickery?
Auditors say Connecticut state troopers falsified tens of thousands of records in a bid to seem more productive. *PAGE A14*

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Coneheads and Tonys
Franne Lee, a costume designer who worked on "Sweeney Todd" and also on "Saturday Night Live," was 81. *PAGE A20*



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The Cubicle or the Couch?
Hybrid work patterns across the globe depend on cultural norms, home size and pandemic experience. *PAGE B1*

A.D.H.D., Women and Money
A diagnosis of the disorder in adulthood has solved a mystery for some, helping them rein in their finances. *PAGE B1*

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Betrayed by a Revolution
Reflections on the perils of power by Sergio Ramirez, a key figure in Nicaraguan literature and politics for decades, carry much weight. His latest crime novel is out in English. *PAGE C1*

Beyond 'Margaritaville'
Jimmy Buffett was best known for the song about a lost soul in need of a shaker of salt, among other things. But his tunes weren't all smiley and one-dimensional, Jon Pareles says. *PAGE C1*

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Maia Szalavitz *PAGE A18*



SPORTS D1-7

A Very American Open
It has been several decades since U.S. players have dominated en masse this deep into their home Grand Slam event. Above, Ben Shelton. *PAGE D1*





Photographs by ROBERT GAUTHIER, Los Angeles Times

PARTS OF STATE Route 190, one of Death Valley National Park's main thoroughfares, were washed away by Tropical Storm Hilary.

Hilary reshaped Death Valley



PARK RANGER Matthew Lamar leads a media tour along Badwater Road, where crews are working to clear mud and debris.

Tropical storm forged new gullies, displaced rocks and undercut roads

By HAYLEY SMITH

DEATH VALLEY JUNCTION, Calif. — Clouds of thick white dust billowed through Death Valley National Park last week as crews maneuvered bulldozers and Big Cats to clear the remnants of a rare and record-breaking tropical storm.

On Aug. 20, Tropical Storm Hilary tore through the park near the border of Nevada, dropping more than a year's worth of rain — 2.2 inches — in one day, forever transforming one of the hottest and driest places on Earth.

"Two inches of rain does not

sound like a lot, but here, it really does stay on the surface," said Matthew Lamar, a park ranger. "We have these hard, rocky areas — there's nothing to absorb that water, and so it comes off the mountains, into the canyons and through the washes and drainages and up into the infrastructure. Two inches of rain here can have a dramatic impact."

As Hilary bore down, torrents of water rushed through Death Valley, forging new gullies, displacing heavy rocks and undercutting roadways, including State Route 190, one of the park's main thoroughfares.

[See Hilary, A12]

Burning? Man, it's wet and muddy at fest

Storms douse Nevada desert event and lead to road closures and rescues. But the fun doesn't stop for some.

By DAKOTA SMITH AND SONJA SHARP

The phone calls started Saturday morning and didn't stop.

EuroBank helicopter charter operator Ivan Arnold was inundated with calls from partygoers at the Burning Man festival in northwestern Nevada. Heavy rains turned the desert site into a swamp, stranding thousands.

"They're frantic, they're crying, saying, 'Get me out of here!'" Arnold said.

A hedonistic celebration on the dusty flatlands, Burn-



TARA SAYLOR

RAINSTORMS have turned the annual Burning Man festival into a muddy mess at Black Rock Desert in northwestern Nevada. Above, the scene on Saturday.

ing Man turned into a soggy but spirited mess this year. Rainstorms doused the annual festival at Black Rock Desert, but also caused road closures and rescues across the state. Authorities on Sunday were investigating the death of one festival-goer.

Arnold, who helped deliver supplies to San Bernardino Mountains residents trapped by snowstorms earlier this year, wanted to offer free rides to high-risk people stuck at the festival.

But he was told there was no air traffic of any kind allowed in the area.

Burning Man organizers reported the festival site received 0.6 to 0.8 of an inch of rain between Friday night and Saturday morning. On Sunday morning, the area was unusually cool.

The mud trapped cars and made bikes, a popular [See Burning Man, A12]

Families express CARE Court doubts

Mental illness law's voluntary-compliance aspect leaves some wary as several counties near rollout.

By THOMAS CURWEN

Nan Ibarra knows what psychosis looks like and wonders whether politicians do.

Not long after her older son became convinced that she was Satan, he took a baseball bat to their Laguna Hills home, smashing windows, framed pictures and a curio cabinet.

Then his brother began taking spoonfuls of sugar into the backyard because ants told him they were hungry.

Having watched the effects of schizoaffective disorder on her two sons, Ibarra knows how unpredictable its symptoms are. In the last 3½ years, her younger son has been hospitalized 45 times, she said; his brother is in a sober-living home.

So when Ibarra first heard about the Community Assistance, Recovery and Empowerment Act, she wondered why lawmakers were so focused on voluntary compliance.

"I am open to CARE Court," she said, "but am naturally recoiling because of its voluntary nature. My sons have never done any program that allows them to choose."

Ibarra, who now lives in Idaho but oversees her sons' care and treatment on regular trips to Orange County, is voicing a concern that has emerged among some families as details of the legislation have become clearer in recent months.

"Dealing with someone with serious mental illness is very unpredictable," said Elaine Tan of Irvine, whose son has been diagnosed as having schizoaffective disorder. "How many people with serious mental illness will voluntarily follow through with their care? It's part of the illness not to. It's part of the brain deficiency that they won't." (Tan asked to be referred to by her maiden name to protect her son's privacy.)

With just weeks before CARE courts in select counties begin accepting cases, a complicated picture has emerged of families that believe the new law does too little to treat those with severe mental illness and civil liberties warriors who fear it will do too much.

Although the law does not explicitly address what can be done if a person refuses to comply with a treatment plan prescribed by the court, Clare Cortright, pol- [See CARE, A8]

Efforts to reduce pedestrian deaths failing

San Francisco and L.A. have tried to tame streets, but the toll still rises

By VANESSA ARREDONDO

SAN FRANCISCO — The sounds will haunt Michelle Svelti forever.

She and her boyfriend were talking in her San Francisco apartment when they heard a loud bang out-

side. Then came the screams.

They rushed to the window and saw that an SUV had slammed into a pole at an intersection where vehicle traffic from a nearby freeway ramp crosses a light-rail line.

A little girl in a red dress

was trapped underneath, her stroller completely wrapped around the SUV.

"The parents were holding her and wailing — it was the worst sound I've ever heard," Svelti said.

Svelti's boyfriend ran downstairs to help as she recorded video on her phone,

hoping that it could help detectives. Good Samaritans rushed to lift the car.

The father and 4-year-old child were taken to a hospital with life-threatening injuries. The girl did not survive.

After the Aug. 15 crash, [See Pedestrians, A6]

Overdose deaths rose near Skid Row

Over a five-year period, fentanyl caused more than 70% of those fatalities, data show. CALIFORNIA, B1

A plan to boost Trump's agenda

In case he returns, a conservative coalition prepares to tear up and replace the federal government. NATION, A4

Weather Partly sunny. L.A. Basin: 79/62. B6

How workers can demand more

Unions should shun gag orders and be transparent, a labor organizer says. BUSINESS, A9

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The Washington Post

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Very humid 100/77 • Tomorrow: Very humid 100/75 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 2023 • B3

A grocer hopes for stability on its shelves

Giant Food says it needs new anti-theft tactics to remain a lifeline in D.C.

BY JACLYN PEISER

In the coming weeks, a Giant Food market in D.C. will clear its beauty and health aisles of all national labels. No more Tide, Colgate or Advil — only store brands. Shoppers also will have to present their receipts to an employee before exiting the store.

It's the regional supermarket chain's most overt gambit against the rampant theft that's plaguing retailers of all sizes. It's also a potential last-ditch effort to avoid shutting down the unprofitable store on Alabama Avenue SE — the only major grocer east of the Anacostia River in Ward 8.

"We want to continue to be able to serve the community, but we can't do so at the level of significant loss or risk to our associates that we have today," said Giant President Ira Kress.

Shoplifting, organized crime and violence have become significant concerns for regional and national retailers. Home Depot, Target, Lowe's, Dollar Tree, Dick's Sporting Goods and Ulta are among those that flagged shrink — the depletion of inventory caused by something other than sales — during their second-quarter earnings calls. Growing losses have spurred giants such as Walmart to shutter locations.

"Our team continues to face an unacceptable amount of retail theft and organized retail crime," Target chief executive Brian Cornell told investors last month. "During the first five months of this year, our stores saw a

SEE THEFT ON A13

Workers cast aside the 9-to-5 grind

BY ABHA BHATTARAI

White-collar workers are back in the office. Just don't expect them to stay for eight hours. As more companies tell American workers to return to their cubicles for two, three or even four days a week — part of a new wave of even tougher return-to-office mandates kicking in this fall — one thing is clear: The era of sitting at your desk from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. is over.

Instead, in a transformative shift to the workday, employees are cashing in on an unspoken new flexibility. They are returning to the office on their own terms, coming in late after a workout, or leaving early to grab groceries or pick up their children before logging back on.

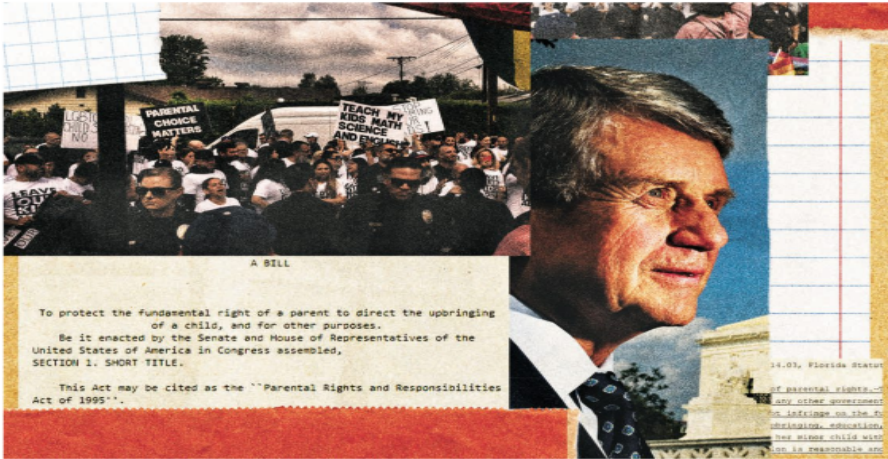
And while many employers are now asking people to come in a certain number of days a week, hardly any are tracking exactly how long they stay. In most of the country, only about half of office visits now last for at least six hours at a time, according to WiFi data from Baskin, a workplace occupancy analytics firm. That is in stark contrast to before the pandemic, when a majority of visits, 84 percent, lasted six hours

SEE OFFICE ON A15

HOME-SCHOOL NATION

"He is really good at taking these more extreme positions and presenting them as if they are something that would just be based on common sense."

R.L. Stollar, children's rights advocate, speaking about Michael Farris



NATALIE VINEBERG/WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST; RICHARD VOGEL/AP; HANDOUT; GETTY IMAGES

The home-schooler who made 'parental rights' a GOP rallying cry

BY EMMA BROWN AND PETER JAMISON

The message Michael Farris had come to deliver was a simple one: The time to act was now.

For decades, Farris — a conservative Christian lawyer who is the most influential leader of the modern home-schooling movement — had toiled at the margins of American politics. His arguments about the harms of public education and the divinely endowed rights of parents had left many unconvinced.

Now, speaking on a confidential conference call to a secretive group of Christian millionaires seeking, in the words of one member, to "take down the education system as we know it today," Farris made the same points he had made in courtrooms since the 1980s.

Public schools were indoctrinating children with a secular worldview that amounted to a godless religion, he said.

The solution: lawsuits alleging that schools' teachings about gender identity and race are unconstitutional, leading to a Supreme Court decision that would mandate the right of parents to claim billions of tax dollars for private education or home schooling.

"We've got to recognize that we're swinging for the fences here, that any time you try to take down a giant of this nature, it's an uphill battle," Farris said on the previously undisclosed July 2021 call, a recording of which was obtained by the watchdog group Documented and shared with The Washington Post. "And the teachers union, the education establishment and everybody associated with

SEE FARRIS ON A10



MICHAEL LUTZKY/THE WASHINGTON POST

Michael Farris, the founder and president of Patrick Henry College, chats with students and faculty in 2000 at the campus in Purcellville, Va. It was the first U.S. school to cater specifically to home-schoolers.



TREVOR HUGHES/USA TODAY NETWORK/REUTERS

A washout in the desert

Two festivalgoers trek through the mud at Burning Man in Black Rock City, Nev., where a deluge of rain has forced road closures that have stranded an estimated 70,000 attendees. Story, A4

As the Supreme Court shifts, Kennedy's legacy is dissolving

Two former clerks — Justices Neil M. Gorsuch and Brett M. Kavanaugh — are leading the charge

BY ROBERT BARNES

Retired Justice Anthony M. Kennedy was in the front row of the Supreme Court's marble-columned courtroom last fall when the justices reconsidered a question he had answered years ago: the reach of the Clean Water Act's protections of the nation's streams and wetlands.

Since 2006, industry challenges of Kennedy's opinion, which expanded the government's ability to set pollution regulations in environmentally sensitive areas, had consistently failed.

But it was a different Supreme Court that assembled last October. And when it handed down a decision six months later, the protections Kennedy had established were significantly stymied. Not a single justice — including two former Kennedy clerks nominated by President Donald Trump — endorsed the rules Ken-

nedy had written 17 years earlier. And so it goes across a wide swath of American law.

During his three decades on the court, Kennedy, nominated by President Ronald Reagan in 1988, was almost sure to be found in the majorities that prevailed on the nation's most monumental concerns. A center-right moderate who sometimes sided with the court's liberals, he cast the vote that established a constitutional right for same-sex couples to marry and determined how far government may intrude on the right to an abortion, and whether attempts to curtail the corrupting influence of campaign contributions violated free speech. Kennedy controlled when universities could take race into account to seek diverse student bodies, and how schools could sort pupils to ensure desegregation.

SEE KENNEDY ON A12

IN THE NEWS

Classroom conflict President Biden has begun pushing back on hot-button issues related to education, albeit cautiously. A3

Tuskegee Airmen Previously unidentified remains recovered after World War II are those of a member of the famed Black unit whose plane went down in 1944. A3

THE NATION

A guide to the latest developments in Donald Trump's four pending criminal trials. A4

Across the Hawaiian islands, residents fear the next inferno could spark close to home. A6

THE WORLD

International adoptions are on hold in Ukraine, leaving orphans in limbo. A8

Demand for Ozempic is surging in the Persian Gulf, where obesity rates run high. A9

THE ECONOMY

The Help Desk's Tatum Hunter offers tips on texting etiquette, including advice on group messages and workplace boundaries. A14

THE REGION

The District failed to house 98 percent of homeless young adults last year, data shows. B1

Even as standardized

test scores improved modestly in D.C., achievement gaps between White students and children of color widened. B1

People with ancestors sold by Jesuit enslavers to settle Georgetown University's debts gathered to swap stories. B1

STYLE

The hit "Try That In a Small Town" is from an artist who has cultivated a provocative image. But Nashville insiders worry it could alienate untapped markets. C1

Jimmy Buffett gave men of a certain age and demographic a template to live by. C1

BUSINESS NEWS.....A4
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CONTENT ID 3223

The Washington Post

July 14, 2023

Page 146, No. 53596



USA TODAY WEEKEND

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | SEPTEMBER 1-4, 2023



AMERICAN ANNIHILATION

A horrendous crime has become a uniquely disturbing phenomenon: Murder by a loved one.

In Weekend Extra

ILLUSTRATION BY TRACIE KEETON/USA TODAY; AND GETTY IMAGES



CLEMSON FOOTBALL COACH DABO SWINNEY BY KEN RUINARD/USA TODAY SPORTS

College Game Day rituals celebrated

From rubbing Howard's Rock, left, to running with Ralphie, we rank top football traditions. In Sports

A treasure worth bingeing: 'One Piece'

A live-action adaptation of the popular Japanese manga, pirate show offers wild ride. In Life

2022 hate crimes up 10% over prior year

Study shows new record for the 10 largest cities

Will Carlless
USA TODAY

The man who opened fire in a Dollar General store in Jacksonville, Florida, on Saturday targeted Black people because of their race, local police said. Using a rifle with a swastika drawn on it, he killed three people, deliberately targeting Black patrons, according to local authorities.

"He hated Blacks, and I think he hated just about everyone that wasn't White," Jacksonville Sheriff T.K. Waters told CNN. "He made that very clear."

The events that unfolded in Jacksonville were tragic, but hardly unique. In recent years, other racist shootings left people dead in Allen and El Paso, Texas; and in Buffalo, New York. Hate crimes also expand far beyond those headlines.



Jacqui Burns holds a sign Monday at a rally in James Weldon Johnson Park in downtown Jacksonville, Fla.

COREY PERRINE/USA TODAY NETWORK

A leading group of experts, in a new study provided exclusively to USA TODAY, has found the number of hate crimes reported to police in 42 major U.S. cities rose 10% last year from the year before.

And in just the country's largest 10 cities, the number of reported hate crimes rose even more — 22% from 2021 to 2022, making last year the second consecutive year they hit a record high.

What constitutes a hate crime varies by locale; it includes murder, but also offenses such as assault and stalking. In general, a hate crime is determined by the way a perpetrator targets a specific kind of victim.

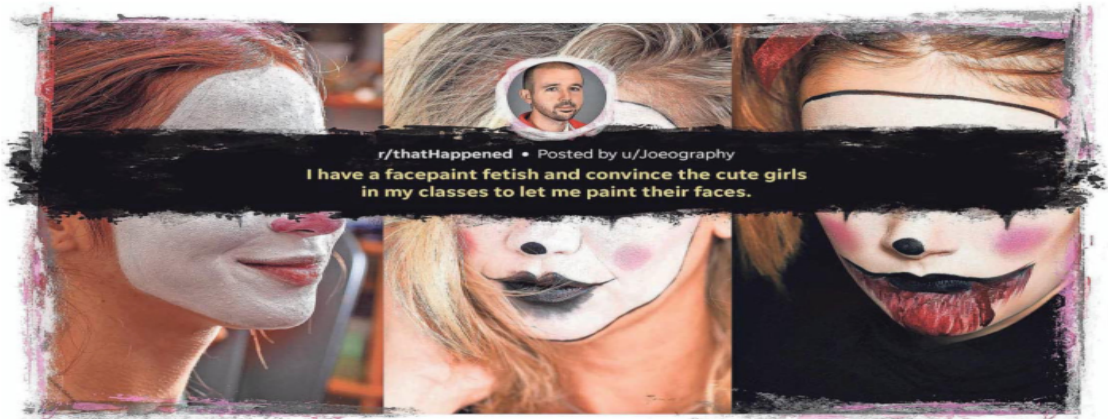
Last year, as has been the case every year since the count began, most hate-crime victims were Black, according to the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University-San Bernardino, which collects and analyzes official state and municipal hate crime data sets.

Brian Levin, professor emeritus at the center, who has been helping

See HATE CRIMES, Page 3A

How a 'clown fetish' went unchecked

Professor didn't hide his actions, yet he held his jobs



Former Nicholls State University professor Joseph Tokosh posted publicly about his clown fetish.

ILLUSTRATION BY KYLE SLAGLE/USA TODAY NETWORK

Chris Quintana and Colin Campo USA TODAY

The geography professor didn't hide his clown fetish or the fact that he sometimes indulged his urges by recruiting students as subjects. He posted regularly about it on social media. • "I have a facepaint fetish and convince the cute girls in my classes to let me paint their faces," he once wrote. • Yet Joseph Tokosh held jobs at two colleges and was on the tenure track at a third before student journalists at Nicholls State University in Louisiana exposed his behavior. He submitted his resignation the same day their story was published.

Over the years, two students reported him to campus police; others complained online. He left Kent State University after pleading no contest to something different: a theft charge that involved entering his peers' offices without permission and taking a USB drive. Tokosh has not been charged with any other crime.

Tokosh's career trajectory exposes inadequacies in the background check system that colleges and universities are supposed to have in place to protect students — especially when evidence of the concerning behavior

resides largely on the internet. Nicholls State, for example, told USA TODAY Network reporters it does not routinely check social media for new hires.

A federal law intended to ensure the academic privacy of students also makes it difficult to determine how Tokosh was able to move so freely from campus to campus. Both Kent State and Northern Illinois University — where he taught while finishing his doctorate — noted

See PROFESSOR, Page 6A



Talk of UFOs zooms into the mainstream

Reports exposed secret monitoring program

Eric Lagatta
USA TODAY

Across a storied 45-year career as a New York Times staff reporter, Ralph Blumenthal had extensively covered weighty topics like the Italian Mafia and Nazi war criminals. But never suspected alien spaceships.

That changed in 2017 when Blumenthal, by that time a retired contributor for the Times, connected with investigative journalist Leslie Kean, who had come across an extraordinary tip.

Kean, who has long reported on UFOs, was able to attend a confidential meeting that October where she learned of a top-secret Pentagon program that

"We happened to capture the moment of interest and did change the dialogue."

Ralph Blumenthal
Former New York Times reporter

had for years operated in the shadows. Its mission? To investigate reported sighting of mysterious objects in the skies.

The discovery was monumental, not least because it directly undermined the government's public position of more than 50 years that unidentified flying objects were not worth studying.

Naturally, Blumenthal was intrigued. "The government always took the position that there's nothing to this, that

See UFOS, Page 2A

"The government always took the position that there's nothing to this, that these are all hoaxes or hallucinations, but nothing real," Ralph Blumenthal says of reports about UFOs. "This was a pretty good story, I thought — a great story."

PROVIDED BY DEBORAH BLUMENTHAL



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deportes

Boca volvió a perder, aturcido en su propuesta desconcertante

Cayó en la Bombonera 1-0 ante Tigre, que no había ganado en el torneo y tuvo el debut de su DT, Pusineri.



La lupa en el Mundial de rugby: ¿quiénes pueden ser las revelaciones?

Figuras para seguir: Jordan (Nueva Zelanda), Morgan (Gales) y Moodie (Sudáfrica). **Página 4**

Max Verstappen también ganó en Monza y reescribe los libros de la Fórmula 1

El neerlandés estableció un récord: nadie había triunfado en 10 carreras consecutivas. **Página 7**



LA NACION

LUNES 4 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2023 | LANACION.COM.AR

El Gobierno archivó su investigación sobre el reparto de la obra pública

CORUPCIÓN. Pese a las denuncias de los cuadernos de las coimas, descartó una cartelización

A cuatro meses del cambio de gobierno, la Comisión Nacional de Defensa de la Competencia (CND), que depende del Ministerio de Economía, archivó su investigación por la presunta cartelización de la obra pública. Según argumentó, no encontró evidencias contundentes de arreglos entre las empresas del rubro para re-

partirse los negocios, según consta en las copias del dictamen y de la resolución, a las que accedió LA NACION.

La investigación comenzó en 2018, a partir de las revelaciones de la causa de los cuadernos de las coimas, y expuso un entramado de corrupción que involucró a la cúspide del kirchnerismo y a empresarios, con

decenas de arrepentidos y detenidos que deberán afrontar un juicio oral. El expediente debía determinar si, además de los pagos de coimas, las empresas se habían cartelizado para simular que competían. Pero los funcionarios argumentaron que no pudieron probarlo y clausuraron la investigación. **Página 8**

El titular de los peajes durante el kirchnerismo, a un paso del juicio. **Página 9**

La jueza Figueroa sigue cobrando el sueldo
Hernán Cappiello
Página 10

EL ESCENARIO

Un cambio profundo en la dirigencia y la sociedad

Claudio Jacquelin
—LA NACION—

El casi perfecto reparto en tres de la torta electoral en las PASO expresa mucho más que la organización de la oferta de candidatos de La Libertad Avanza, Juntos por el Cambio (JxC) y Unión por la Patria. O alrededor de Javier Milei, Sergio Massa y Patricia Bullrich, según los votos obtenidos individualmente.

Debajo de esa foto de enorme potencia práctica y simbólica asoma un proceso mucho más profundo de fragmentación, autonomización y reorganización de la dirigencia política y del electorado. **Continúa en la página 13**

arteba, un “refugio emocional” ante la crisis



FABIÁN MARELLI

cultura—Obras que superaron los US\$300.000 se vendieron en la edición de la feria que cerró ayer en el Centro Costa Salguero, y que atrajo a más de 40.000 visitantes; en plena crisis económica y en un tenso clima preelectoral, el fenómeno fue similar al de otras ediciones de arteba realizadas en años inciertos. Los expertos lo atribuyen tanto a la reserva de valor del arte argentino, de alta calidad, como al bienestar que produce. **Página 24**

Ucrania quebró las poderosas defensas rusas en el sur

GUERRA. Tras meses de estancamiento, logró un avance clave cerca de Zaporizhja. **Página 2**

EL PULSO DEL CONSUMO

Frente al miedo, asoman los instintos primitivos

Guillermo Oliveto
—PARA LA NACION—

En la semana del 14 al 21 de agosto, luego de las PASO, al concretarse la devaluación que llevaría el dólar oficial mayorista a los \$350 y el paralelo a los

\$730 actuales (+40% vs. el 14 de julio), y contra lo que intuitivamente podría suponerse, el consumo de bienes básicos en las grandes cadenas de supermercados no solo

no cayó, sino que además creció vertiginosamente: +27% interanual. Hasta entonces, sus ventas subían 7% promedio en el año. **Continúa en la página 19**

Prepagas: se congelan las cuotas desde octubre

SALUD. Finalmente, el Gobierno llegó a un acuerdo con las empresas de medicina prepaga para congelar las cuotas del servicio hasta diciembre. El congelamiento, sin embargo, se hará efectivo con la cuota de septiembre, que se paga en octubre. La que vence este mes tiene incluido un aumento de 7,18%. El nuevo beneficio se aplica a familias cuyos ingresos no superen los \$2 millones mensuales. **Página 18**

Nuevo video del presunto asesino del ingeniero

CRIMEN EN PALERMO. Una cámara de seguridad lo captó en otra plaza, pocas horas antes del homicidio de Mariano Barbieri **Página 26**

Imunização cresce, mas só uma vacina atinge a meta

O Brasil chega aos 50 anos do Programa Nacional de Imunizações ensaiando a retomada na cobertura das principais vacinas infantis, mas em 2022 apenas uma delas, contra tuberculose grave, atingiu a meta do Ministério da Saúde.

Os dados são do projeto Observa Infância. Quatro imunizantes essenciais tiveram aumento de seu emprego, após quatro anos de declínio. Saúde B1

Luiz Felipe Pondé Herança cínica faz do Brasil uma câmara de tortura

Ilustrada C6

Crise e corrupção derrubam chefe da Defesa da Ucrânia

O presidente da Ucrânia, Volodimir Zelenski anunciou o nome de um ex-negociador de paz com os russos para o cargo de ministro da Defesa. Crise na condução da ainda lenta contraofensiva de Kiev e corrupção no Exército derrubaram Oleksii Reznikov do cargo. Mundo A8



Fátima Ângela, 53, não tomou vacina contra pólio, contraiu a doença e hoje sofre com síndrome. Zanone Fraissat/Folhapress

Mais escolarizados têm queda maior de renda na década

Segundo dados do IBGE, quem estudou mais perdeu em média até 16,7% dos rendimentos e caiu na informalidade

Na última década, os esforços de brasileiros para estudar mais, terminar o ensino médio e conseguir um diploma universitário não se traduziram em melhor renda e qualidade de emprego superior para essas pessoas.

Ao contrário, aqueles que estudaram de 12 a 16 anos, ou mais, tiveram a perda média de renda mais acentuada (queda de 11,2% a 16,7%) ante os menos escolarizados.

Além disso, houve um grande aumento da informalidade nesse grupo mais escolarizado de trabalhadores, fenômeno que atingiu também aqueles que estudaram de 9 a 11 anos.

Os dados são de um estudo do Instituto Brasileiro de Economia da Fundação Getúlio Vargas com base em dados do IBGE, da Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios Contínua.

Em 2012, a vantagem comparativa de quem estudava mais de 16 anos em relação aos que passaram menos de um ano na escola era indicada por um retorno positivo na renda de 641%. Agora, isso caiu para 353%.

O cenário descortina uma economia pouco produtiva, com vagas que pagam pouco e alta informalidade, o que ameaça o potencial de crescimento do país. Mercado A10

Investigações da PF aumentam mal-estar com Forças Armadas

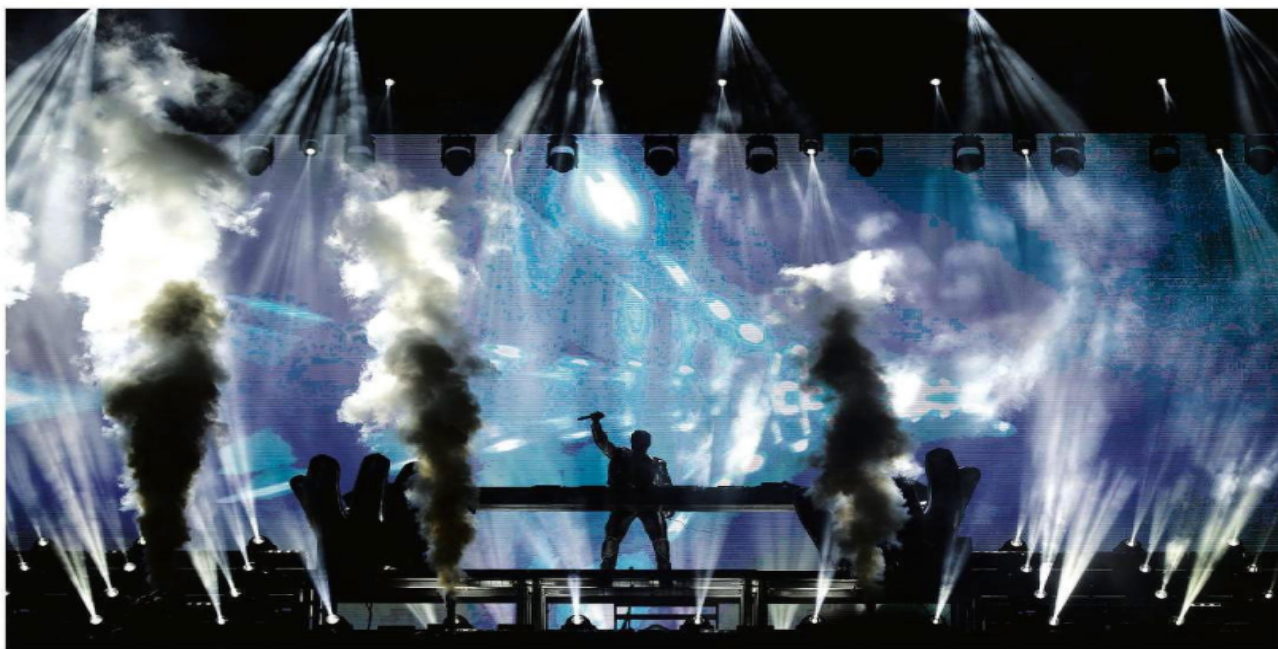
Avanço de investigações da Polícia Federal envolvendo militares, como no caso do 8/1, tem ampliado o mal-estar entre as Forças Armadas e a corporação. José Múcio (Defesa) trabalha para tentar mitigar danos. Política A4

Abusos de Bolsonaro no 7/9 podem levar a condenação

Política A5

Zanin vira alvo da esquerda em seu 1º mês no STF

Cristiano Zanin chega ao fim de seu primeiro mês como ministro do Supremo sob ataque da esquerda, que cobra do ex-advogado do presidente Lula posicionamentos alinhados ao campo após votos conservadores. Flávio Dino (Justiça) vê incompreensão política. Política A7

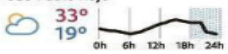


Adriano Vizoni/Folhapress

CHUVA DÁ TRÉGUA NO SEGUNDO DIA DO FESTIVAL THE TOWN EM SP

O DJ Alok no segundo dia do The Town, festival em SP que não teve a chuva para atrapalhar como no sábado, quando o destaque foi Post Malone Ilustrada C4

ATMOSFERA



Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br



Ilustrada C1

Pares de tênis raros se transformam em objetos de desejo e chegam aos museus

Esporte B7

Brasil perde talentos muito cedo, afirma o técnico da seleção olímpica de futebol

Concessão de parques é aprovada por 28% em SP

O Datafolha aponta que 28% dos paulistanos aprovam a concessão de parques públicos, como o Ibirapuera, à iniciativa privada. Já 35% afirmam que o serviço ficou igual e 18%, que piorou. Cotidiano B2

Morre José Gregori, ministro sob FHC

José Gregori, ministro da Justiça e secretário nacional de Direitos Humanos no governo FHC, morreu ontem, aos 92 anos, em São Paulo. Ele estava internado havia mais de dois meses. Política A6

EDITORIAIS A2

Desmate acelerado Sobre dados que abrangem as últimas décadas.

A surpresa do PIB Acerca de bom desempenho no segundo trimestre.

ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Satish Kumar

Economia é baseada na natureza, não vive sem ela

Fundador do Schumacher College, faculdade de sustentabilidade britânica que homenageia o inspirador do movimento de comércio justo, o indiano Satish Kumar afirma que a economia deve ser o meio para o bem-estar, não um fim em si. "Se não houver água, solo, madeira, animais, de onde virá a economia?", questiona. A18

Lira tenta salvar semana de feriado e obriga presença

Tentando garantir a votação do programa de renegociação de dívidas Desenrola Brasil, o presidente da Câmara, Arthur Lira (PP-AL), determinou a presença de deputados em reunião nesta segunda. O objetivo é acelerar o projeto antes do feriado do 7 de Setembro. Mercado A10

Esta semana conformarán Comisión Bicameral para estudiar Presupuesto

Estado prevé mantener a 18 funcionarios por legislador

PGN 2024 contempla 2.870 empleados en el Congreso Nacional. Mensualmente representan un costo de USD 3,5 millones. De la nómina, 558 recibirán aparte pagos extras.

PÁGINA 8

Investigación de IDEA sobre elecciones

La ANR es débil en el sector campesino, pese a clara victoria de abril

PÁGINA 4

Censo revela que 533.000 personas dejaron el país y nunca más volvieron

PÁGINA 9

Aparece dinero perdido en el caso del pagaré adulterado con embargo ilegal

PÁGINA 37

CON ESTA EDICIÓN FASCÍCULO DE BUENAS PRÁCTICAS EN HOTELERÍA N° 13	COMPRA OPCIONAL COLECCIÓN DE AUTOS RÁPIDOS Y FURIOSOS N° 7 G. 70.000
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Paraguay despide a un ciudadano digno

Luto nacional. Falleció Evelio Fernández Arévalos, protagonista de la transición democrática. De gran trayectoria política, honorable, ilustrado y muy respetado por todos.

PÁGINA 5

Existen pasos críticos desatendidos
Navegantes cuestionan nuevo dragado innecesario en el río Paraguay

PÁGINA 11

Hace un año que RGD cumple pena e investigan a otros miembros del clan

PÁGINA 36

Informe de un estudio de Salud
Trastornos mentales tienen un alto impacto en la vida de las personas

PÁGINA 15

MEGA GARAGE



LA MEGA FERIA DEL GRUPO TOYOTOSHI

09 AL 17 DE SEPTIEMBRE

08:00 A 20:00 HS

- BONOS DE HASTA US\$ 4.500
- PAGÁS TU IRA. CUOTA CUANDO QUIERAS
- ENTREGA INMEDIATA
- TASACIÓN INMEDIATA

CASA CENTRAL DEL GRUPO TOYOTOSHI. AVDA. MARISCAL LÓPEZ ESQ. GÓMEZ DE CASTRO

IMPEACHMENT TRIAL

Paxton allies pledge to act

Backers vow retribution if AG is convicted and removed from office

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

As Ken Paxton's impeachment trial nears, a small but vocal band of supporters are pledging political retribution if the suspended attorney general is convicted and removed from office.

In recent days billboards have appeared in North Texas urging Texans to rally around Paxton and defeat what's described as a Democratic Party scheme, though an overwhelming majority of House Republicans voted to impeach the attorney general.

The billboard campaign is in concert with pressure tactics that Paxton supporters are aiming to force a vote on his removal.

See **PAXTON** Page 3A

EXTREME WEATHER

Disasters cut into policies

Insurance firms limit coverage as climate worsens damage

By JACOB BOGAGE
The Washington Post

In the aftermath of extreme weather events, major insurers are increasingly no longer offering coverage that homeowners in areas vulnerable to those disasters need most.

At least five large U.S. property insurers — including Allstate, American Family, Nationwide, Erie Insurance Group and Berkshire Hathaway — have told regulators that extreme weather patterns caused by climate change have led them to stop writing coverages in some regions, exclude protections from various weather events and raise rates.

See **NATURAL** Page 10A

How did we get here?

Easy-to-get fentanyl kills often, its victims are young, and no end is in sight



Tom Fox/Staff Photographer

Family members stood with posters of loved ones lost to the synthetic opioid fentanyl during a May 6 rally at the old Tarrant County Courthouse to raise awareness about synthetic drugs. In Texas, 2,161 people were killed by fentanyl last year — nearly half of all drug fatalities in the state.

By CLAIRE BALLOR, SHARON GRIGSBY and MAGGIE PROSSER
Staff Writers

A Plano cheerleader. A 21-year-old Dallas Army veteran. A Carrollton eighth grader. A Frisco grad working two jobs. A young Fort Worth man who was proud to be a mama's boy.

They are among the more than 1,100 North Texans who have died since 2021 from the deadliest drug threat in American history — fentanyl.

Incredibly potent and easy to get, the synthetic opioid has overtaken heroin as the drug most frequently involved in overdose deaths in the United States. It is linked to more fatalities of Americans under 50 than any other cause of death, including heart disease, cancer and suicide.

In Texas, an average of five people died from the drug every day in 2022. A string of

overdoses among school kids and young adults has left the state scrambling for solutions amid mounting pressure from families who have lost loved ones.

The highly addictive painkiller — used legally in medical settings for traumatic injuries, egg retrievals and colonoscopies — has gripped a new generation looking to self-medicate or experiment with drugs. It hides in counterfeit pills that look exactly like those prescribed for pain.

Fentanyl is cheaper to manufacture, easier to traffic and more potent than other opioids, driving illicit drug makers to use it deceptively in place of other substances. Just 2 milligrams of fentanyl, the equivalent of 10 to 15 grains of table salt, can be deadly, according to the Drug Enforcement Administration.

See **FENTANYL** Page 4A

DEADLY FAKE
30 days inside fentanyl's grip on North Texas

Editor's note: This story is part of The Dallas Morning News' month-long series, *Deadly Fake: 30 Days Inside Fentanyl's Grip On North Texas*.

Find more stories from the series at dallasnews.com/deadlyfake

A lethal dose of fentanyl will fit on the tip of a pencil



Michael Hogue/Staff Artist

Tiny dose hits the brain fast

By ADITHI RAMAKRISHNAN
Staff Writer
adithi.ramakrishnan@dallasnews.com

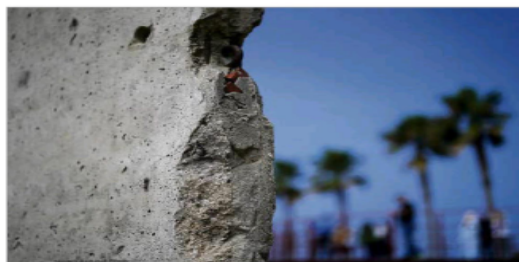
Fentanyl's effects are fast and dangerous.

The highly addictive opioid is the deadliest drug threat in American history. It's linked to more fatalities under age 50 in the country than any other cause of death, including heart disease, cancer and suicide.

Here's how it affects the brain and body.

See **TINY** Page 5A

Marcos Cline, owner of the shard, said he was turned away at the White House when he tried delivering the Berlin Wall relic to Donald Trump. He then trucked it across the country to find a suitable home.



Gregory Bull/The Associated Press

U.S.-MEXICO BORDER

Piece of Berlin Wall serves as a 'lesson'

Barrier personal, political to Tijuana mayor, locals

By ELLIOT SPAGAT
The Associated Press

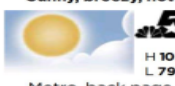
TIJUANA, Mexico — As the U.S. government built its latest stretch of border wall, Mexico made a statement of its own by laying remains of the Berlin Wall a few steps away.

The 3-ton pockmarked, gray concrete slab sits between a building, a lighthouse and the border wall, which extends into the Pacific Ocean.

"May this be a lesson to build a society that knocks down walls and builds bridges," reads the inscription below the towering Cold War relic, attributed to Tijuana Mayor Montserrat Caballero and titled, "A World Without Walls."

For Caballero, like many of Tijuana's 2 million residents, the U.S. wall is personal and political, a part of the city's fabric and a fact of life. She considers herself a migrant, having moved from the southern Mexico city of Oaxaca when she was 2 with her mother, who fled "the vicious cycle of poverty, physical abuse and illiteracy."

See **BERLIN** Page 10A



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Burning Man wet all over
The spirit of some Burning Man revelers remained unbroken as a late-summer storm left many stranded in a muddy mess. **2A**

State job gains outstrip cuts
Employers have cut over 16,000 jobs in Texas this year, but the total cuts amount to only about half of the state's typical monthly jobs gain. **1B**

Cowboys in beastly division
The NFC East looks to be an even bigger beast than it was a year ago. Will the Cowboys be up to the challenge? **Tim Cowlishaw, 1C**

Chicago Tribune



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MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 2023

BREAKING NEWS AT CHICAGOTRIBUNE.COM

What's behind Biden's Illinois focus?

State is solidly blue, but reelection effort has spent much time here this summer

By Rick Pearson
Chicago Tribune

For the last two months, Chicago and the state of Illinois have resembled a Midwestern home for President Joe Biden's reelection campaign, starting with a June visit to debut his "Bidenomics" recovery strategy and followed

by repeated stops from Vice President Kamala Harris, a visit from first lady Jill Biden and countless tours by Cabinet officials.

Illinois has voted Democratic in presidential contests since 1992, and rejected former President Donald Trump by 17 percentage points in both 2020 and 2016. So the attention the Biden campaign

is devoting to a reliably blue state might appear to run counter to the need to hit competitive states that will be crucial in the 2024 election.

Running up a popular vote for Biden against Trump, or whoever becomes the eventual Republican nominee, is irrelevant to the stakes for the White House given it is a state's winner-take-all Electoral College votes that decide the presidency.

"It's not what you normally would expect. You normally would expect him to focus, of course, on

the swing states," Christopher Mooney, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Illinois at Chicago, said of Biden.

But leading Democrats and Democratic consultants said there are a variety of factors at play for the White House's interest in Chicago and Illinois — most notably making an early effort to build enthusiasm amid signs that the Democratic base has become base in a donor-rich state that will host the Democratic National Convention next August.

And if enthusiasm for Biden is problematic in Illinois, it also portends problems in the rest of the nation, including the all-important swing states.

"There is some very obvious softness in the president's numbers with the Democratic base, and you're not going to be successful in 2024 without an enthused Democratic base. It's just good politics to pay attention to them," said Democratic political strategist

Turn to Biden, Page 2



Berto Garcia cools off in Crown Fountain at Millennium Park on Sunday. EILEEN T. MESLAR/CHICAGO TRIBUNE PHOTOS

Labor Day forecast hot, but short of August peak

Temps shouldn't be too high to curb holiday fun. Still, experts urge caution.

By Adriana Perez
Chicago Tribune

After a relatively dry August with normal temperatures and just a few spikes in rain and heat, Labor Day is coming in hot — but not so much as to disrupt holiday activities.

Despite the Aug. 23-24 heat wave, the average temperature in Chicago hovered around 74 degrees throughout August. And unlike the hot stretch that prompted the summer's first excessive heat warning in the city, the National Weather Service said temperatures will likely remain in the low to

mid-90s Monday.

Cyclists, paddle boarders, loungers and joggers enjoyed the warm sun rays at Belmont Harbor on Sunday afternoon. In a small stretch of beach, dogs waded into the water chasing after Frisbees and tennis balls.

Josh McCoy and Jordan Sasek from St. Louis stood by as Baylee, their 4-year-old Dalmatian, took in the sights and sounds. It was her first time swimming in a big body of water. After a short time by the harbor, McCoy led Sasek and their dog to a grassy area and got down on one knee. He asked

Turn to Heat, Page 4



Josh McCoy proposes to Jordan Sasek while visiting the Belmont Harbor Dog Beach with their dog, Baylee, on Sunday.

Workers demand more respect

Labor Day witnesses reinvigorated push with strikes, activism

By Wyatt Grantham-Philips
Associated Press

NEW YORK — Labor Day is here, along with the big sales and barbecues that come with it. But the activist roots of the holiday are especially visible this year as unions challenge how workers are treated — from Hollywood to the auto production lines of Detroit.

The early-September tribute to workers has been an official holiday for almost 130 years — but an emboldened labor movement has created an environment closer to the era from which Labor Day was born.

Like the late 1800s, workers are facing rapid economic transformation — and a growing gap in pay between themselves and new billionaire leaders of industry, mirroring the stark inequalities seen more than a century ago.

"There's a lot of historical rhyming between the period of the origins of Labor Day and today," Todd Vachon, an assistant professor in the Rutgers School of Management and Labor Relations, told The Associated Press. "Then, they had the Carnegies and the Rockefellers. Today, we have the Musks and the Bezoses. ... It's a similar period of transition and change and also of resistance — of working people wanting to have some kind of dignity."

Between writers and actors on strike, contentious contract negotiations that led up to a new labor deal for 340,000 unionized UPS workers and active picket lines across multiple industries, the labor in Labor Day is again at the forefront of the holiday arguably more than it has been in recent memory.

The origins of Labor Day date to

Turn to Labor Day, Page 10

'We're getting the same story for 44 years'



Dick Ovington, brother of Sue Ovington, stands in his home in Crystal Lake on Friday. This year is the 44th anniversary of the slayings of Sue Ovington and Elyon Bender. STACEY WESCOTT/CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Family, friends hope bigger reward will crack the case of two teens killed in Morton Grove

By Robert McCoppin
Chicago Tribune

In 1979, teenagers in Morton Grove often hung out by a river in a patch of woods. They would smoke pot there or just goof around, generally away from authority figures.

But on Sept. 5 that year, the community was shocked when two 17-year-old girls were found shot dead there. The girls, friends Elyon Bender and Sue Ovington, were well-liked, and homicides were almost unheard of in the north suburb.

Forty-four years later, the

case remains unsolved. Family members are frustrated that no charges have been filed and little information has been shared about the case. Ovington's parents went to their graves not knowing who did it, and Bender's parents remain suspicious of various people connected with the case.

Now, a family friend has come forward and offered to increase the Cook County Crime Stoppers' reward in the case to as much \$10,000. Tom Sprague, who like the girls was a senior at Niles

Turn to Case, Page 4

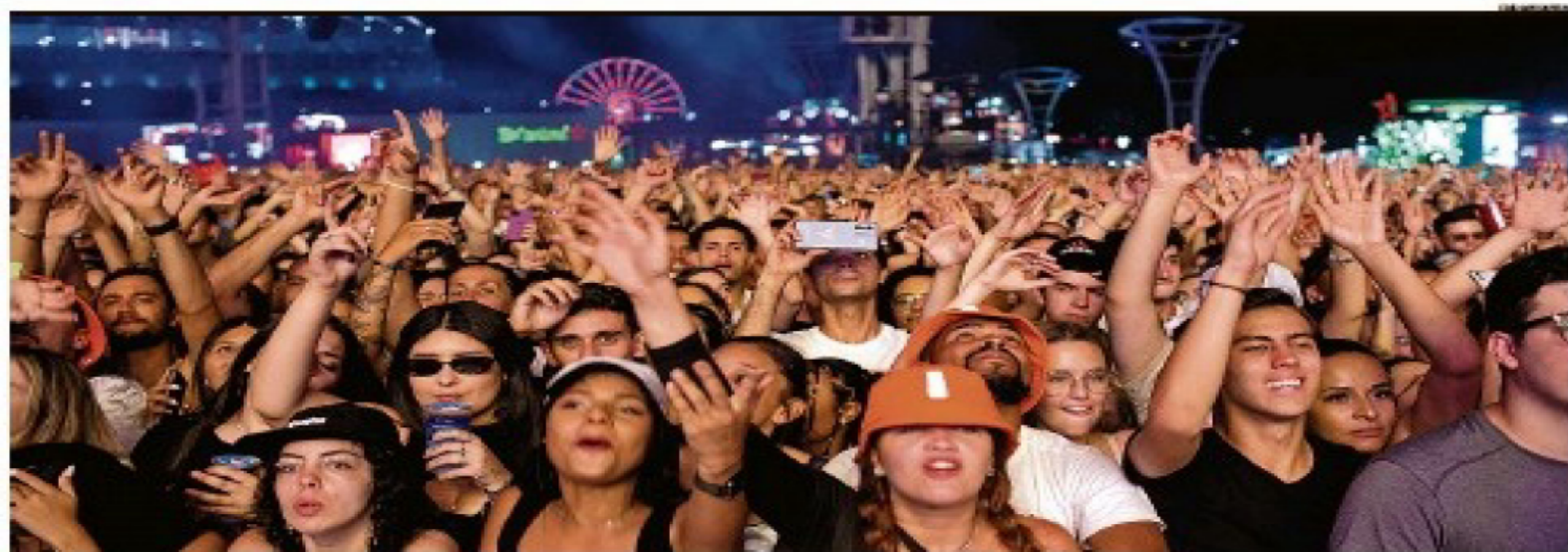
Thousands turn out for Bike the Drive

About 16,000 bicycle riders participated in the 22nd annual Bike the Drive event on DuSable Lake Shore Drive on Sunday morning, with the road closed to cars for a 30-mile loop between Bryn Mawr Avenue and 57th Street. **Chicagoland, Page 3**

Cubs break away from Reds in 8th

The Cubs delivered the decisive blow in a 15-7 victory in Cincinnati with a seven-run eighth inning after they exchanged leads with the Reds four times through the first two innings, salvaging a split in the four-game series. **Chicago Sports**





The Town dá festa e pede bis

Após a estreia marcada pela chuva, o festival The Town, em São Paulo, teve seu segundo dia ainda mais festivo e descontraído, com atrações que empolgaram como os americanos Bobe Rocha e Leon Bridges e os brasileiros Alak e Luísa Sonza. Também se apresentaram Ney Matogrosso, Seu Jorge e Bruno Mars. A festa segue quinta-feira, com novos shows em Itaipavinhos. [www.oglobo.com.br](#)

DESBUROCRATIZAÇÃO

Mudança na regra do MEI deverá beneficiar até meio milhão de empresas

Governo e Congresso articulam ampliar faixa de regime tributário simplificado

O governo e o Congresso articulam a aprovação de um projeto de lei que amplia dos atuais R\$ 81 mil para R\$ 144 mil a faixa de faturamento anual de empresas inscritas na Receita como Microempreendedor Individual (MEI). Os MEIs têm um sistema mais vantajoso, que in-

clui pagar tributação mensal fixa, ter menos declarações a fazer e poder abrir e fechar o CNPJ de forma digital. Segundo levantamento de associações comerciais, há hoje no país cerca de 470 mil empresas com o faturamento na faixa incluída, e que poderão aderir à categoria. [www.oglobo.com.br](#)

FERNANDO GABEIRA

Por que a Índia, e não o Brasil, já chegou à Lua? [www.oglobo.com.br](#)

DEMÉTRIO MAGNOLI

Fala do Papa na Rússia vai ao encontro de sua narrativa de Putin [www.oglobo.com.br](#)

RACIEL MALA

O terceiro setor ajuda a tornar a sociedade mais inclusiva [www.oglobo.com.br](#)

JOAQUIM FERREIRA DOS SANTOS

Pela simplicidade nos restaurantes, sem rejeitar a de pratos [www.oglobo.com.br](#)

Partidos não prestam contas sobre uso do fundo partidário

Esgotado o prazo de informar à Justiça Eleitoral como gastaram os recursos públicos, sete a cada dez diretórios partidários no país não cumpriram a exigência. [www.oglobo.com.br](#)

Tem que Ler, um produto de conteúdo exclusivo para assinantes do GLOBO

O GLOBO publica a partir de hoje um novo produto dedicado aos assinantes. O primeiro especial Tem que Ler é da área de saúde, e dez dos melhores médicos do país vão dividir seus conhecimentos sobre vida saudável e longevidade com os assinantes, em diversos formatos, como vídeos, lives e reportagens. [www.oglobo.com.br](#)

Pacientes do SUS vão à Justiça por tratamentos contra câncer

Pelo menos 11 medicamentos aprovados há tempos pelo Ministério da Saúde ainda não chegaram à população no SUS. Alto custo dos remédios atrasa incorporação. [www.oglobo.com.br](#)

Entrevista em Brasília



— Vamos em frente?

Músico do Ultraje a Rigor é baleado na cabeça em Paraty

O batedor do Ultraje a Rigor, Rinaldo Oliveira Amarel, o Mingua, foi atirado a tiros no bairro Ilha das Colinas, em Paraty, na noite de sábado. A polícia prendeu um suspeito. [www.oglobo.com.br](#)

ESPORTES

Fluence, Vasco empata e Botafogo segura Bruno Lage

O tricolor derrotou o Fortal em a e segue no bloco de cima. Na estreia de Payet, Vasco ficou no 1 a 1 com Bahia. Botafogo tenta conformar mal-estar com seu técnico.

É preciso dar voz às vítimas*

A ex-gestanta Laila Souza derrubou a abusos que sofreu após ficar tetraplégica. "Que milhões palavras ajudem a salvar pessoas".

Novos rumos para a velha estação

Suntuosas colunas do grandioso da gare da antiga Estação Ferroviária Dário de Mauá fazem parte das relíquias ainda guardadas no prédio da Leopoldina. União promete restaurar e prefeitura quer negociar terreno. [www.oglobo.com.br](#)



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LE FIGARO

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



JORDAN BARDELLA
« AUX ÉLECTIONS EUROPÉENNES, JE CONDUIRAI NATURELLEMENT LA LISTE DU RN » PAGES 4 ET 5



GILLES KEPEL
ISLAMISME, WOKISME, ÉMEUTES : LES EXTRAITS EXCLUSIFS DE SON NOUVEAU LIVRE PAGE 22

LE FIGARO SANTÉ
Une campagne de vaccination contre les HPV lancée au collège
NOTRE CAHIER SPÉCIAL

Abaya à l'école : une rentrée sous haute surveillance

L'application de l'interdiction des tenues religieuses décidée par Gabriel Attal s'annonce difficile dans les établissements scolaires les plus touchés par les atteintes à la laïcité.

Ce lundi, quelque 12 millions d'élèves font leur retour à l'école. Une rentrée marquée par la volonté du nouveau ministre de l'Éducation, Gabriel Attal, de « faire bloc » sur la laïcité avec l'interdiction des tenues religieuses. Si la mesure fait l'unanimité chez les enseignants, sa mise en œuvre s'annonce difficile aux grilles de certains collèges et lycées, confrontés à une explosion du port de l'abaya chez les jeunes filles. Alors que l'association Action droits des musulmans (ADM) a saisi le Conseil d'État pour faire suspendre l'interdiction, des élèves partagent sur les réseaux sociaux des idées de tenues amples pour cacher leurs formes sans être associées au vêtement banni. « Dans certains établissements, où les abayas se sont comptées par dizaines, voire par centaines, nous ne pourrions gérer seuls », alerte Didier Georges, au SNPDEN-Unsa, le premier syndicat des personnels de direction.

→ CETTE « MODEST FASHION » QUI SÉDUIT DE JEUNES FRANÇAISES → LA DROITE DÉFEND LA FERMETÉ ET LES SAVOIRS ESSENTIELS PAGES 6, 7, 23 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

GUERRE EN UKRAÏNE
Erdogan en Russie pour tenter de ressusciter l'accord céréalière
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CIGARETTE ÉLECTRONIQUE
Élisabeth Borne annonce l'interdiction des « puffs »
PAGE 26

THÉÂTRE
Les pièces les plus attendues de la rentrée
PAGES 34 ET 35

CHAMPS LIBRES
En République dominicaine, le calvaire des migrants haïtiens
Les Nations unies peuvent-elles se réinventer ?
Les chroniques de Nicolas Baverez et de Samuel Fitoussi
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FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON
Réponses à la question de samedi :
La limitation à deux mandats présidentiels consécutifs est-elle une « funeste connerie » ?

OUI	NON
27%	73%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS: 138 690

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr
Rentrée scolaire : êtes-vous favorable au port de l'uniforme à l'école ?
FABIEN CLAIREFOND-FRANÇOIS BOUCHON / LE FIGARO



Les militaires au pouvoir à Niamey avaient exigé le départ des troupes françaises du pays avant ce lundi. PAGES 16 ET 17

ÉDITORIAL par Laurence de Charette ldecharette@lefigaro.fr

Ceci n'est pas une robe

« Quand je la porte, plus rien n'a d'importance. » Un plaisant roman de Paul Gallico, adapté au cinéma l'année dernière, met en scène les aventures d'Ada Harris, discrète et besogneuse femme de ménage londonienne qui, émerveillée par la toilette d'une de ses clientes, décide, un beau matin, de consacrer sa pension de veuve de guerre à l'acquisition d'une robe haute couture. Folie, évidemment, que ce voyage de l'Anglaise dans les arcanes parisiennes ! Une simple robe ? Non, on parle ici d'un rêve et d'un accomplissement : la fin de l'invisibilité. Comme dans les contes, la parure révèle son modèle et Ada la servante au cœur bienveillant renait, non pas en mannequin ou en bimbo, mais bien en reine. Grand est le pouvoir allégorique d'une robe ! Les contes, le cinéma, la littérature ne cessent en réalité de célébrer, à travers elle, la grâce de la féminité et, au-delà, la beauté du monde. Il faut donc bien se rendre à l'évidence : l'abaya, vêtement destiné à soustraire la personne qui le porte aux yeux des autres, à effacer ses contours, n'a vraiment rien à voir avec une « robe ». Quoi qu'en dise le CFCM, elle s'impose aujourd'hui comme un étendard islamiste, et c'est donc à raison que Gabriel Attal l'inclut dans le cadre de la loi de 2004 interdisant les signes religieux à l'école. Ce n'est pas tout : l'abaya n'est pas non plus un signe de « pudeur » - nul besoin, on s'en doute, de porter un tel tissu pour préserver sa dignité -, mais bien un étai rivé sur le corps et l'âme des jeunes femmes, une forme ambulatoire de captivité et un outil séparatiste qui, à ce titre, entre en collision frontale avec la mission même de l'Éducation nationale. Certains feront mine de voir dans cette interdiction une « stigmatisation », quand il n'est question, en profondeur, que de respect et de liberté. Les études ne montrent-elles pas que l'interdiction des signes religieux à l'école a permis d'améliorer significativement les résultats scolaires des jeunes filles de familles musulmanes ? Les mêmes chercheront pourtant à poursuivre l'offensive en hystérisant les portes des établissements et en s'arrimant aux craquelures du droit. Mais Gabriel Attal, gageons-le, l'a bien compris : il n'est pas d'avenir de la nation sans la sauvegarde de son école. ■

Immobilier, exportations, croissance... L'économie chinoise en panne

L'euphorie de la reprise à la fin de la pandémie a été de courte durée. Principal moteur de la croissance chinoise, l'immobilier est en crise : les prix chutent et le premier promoteur local est en quasi-faillite. À cause de faibles commandes, les exportations baissent et les usines tournent au ralenti. La consommation intérieure, qui devait servir de relais, n'est pas au rendez-vous, et de plus en plus d'industriels étrangers renâclent à investir dans le pays. PAGES 23, 28 ET 29

MERCREDI 6 SEPTEMBRE

La foire aux VINS

L'ABUS D'ALCOOL EST DANGEREUX POUR LA SANTÉ, À CONSOMMER AVEC MODÉRATION

Is that really Ramsay Street?

The souped-up return of Neighbours

G2



Au revoir la puff Disposable vapes facing ban in France

News



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The Guardian

Newspaper of the year

Schools crisis: no extra cash for repairs, says Treasury

Rajeev Syal
Ben Quinn
Richard Adams

Jeremy Hunt was accused yesterday of abandoning children disrupted by the concrete crisis in schools after the government admitted there would be no extra cash for the education budget to cover repairs and closures.

As dozens of schools closed buildings for weeks and prepared to evacuate children to other sites as they were due to begin the new term, Whitehall sources said additional costs for headteachers such as transport to alternative venues and catering would not be covered by central government.

The deepening row over the presence of reinforced autoclaved aerated concrete (Raac), which is threatening to engulf parliament this week, comes after the chancellor said the government would "spend what it takes" to deal with the crisis.

Hunt, the chancellor, told the BBC's Laura Kuenssberg yesterday that he would not speculate on the potential cost of fixing the problem, but said: "We will spend what it takes

to make sure children can go to school safely, yes."

But hours later, Treasury sources briefed that any such funding would come from the Department for Education's existing budget for buildings - and not from additional funds. Whitehall sources said schools, academies and local authorities forced to bus their pupils to alternative sites would not be given extra cash either.

The briefings prompted Labour, union leaders and a senior Conservative to demand clarity from ministers about who would pay for the fallout from the Raac crisis.

Priti Patel, the Conservative former home secretary, who has five schools with Raac facing closures in her Essex constituency of Witham, said the government should offer money to struggling schools coping with the crisis.

"Many of the affected schools are maintained local authority schools and single academy trusts which cannot afford the costs of repairs. It is also unrealistic to place the funding burden on local councils which are already feeling the brunt of national policy costs," she told the Guardian.

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

On the climate crisis, Trump and why America has never had a female president

Exclusive interview
Pages 18-19 →



PHOTOGRAPH: J SCOTT APPELWHITE/AP PHOTO

Homicide cases failed after evidence was lost

Exclusive
Hannah Devlin
Science correspondent

More than a dozen homicide cases and more than 100 sexual offence cases collapsed before trial in England and Wales last year as a result of

lost or missing evidence, the Guardian has learned.

The findings, obtained by a freedom of information request by researchers, raise concerns about police handling of evidence used to prosecute the most serious crimes, such as DNA samples, CCTV footage, weapons, drugs and phone data.

The figures show that lost or unavailable materials were responsible for the pre-trial collapse of 7,316 cases between September 2021 and September 2022, including 16 homicides (1.3% of the total) and 123 sexual offences (1%). In the previous three years, in forces across England and Wales, between October 2018 and August 2021, 20,838 cases were dropped, including 42 homicides (1.1% of the total) and 364 sexual offences (1.2%).

"This is the stark reality of a criminal justice system with massive holes in it," said Prof Carole McCartney, a

criminologist at the University of Leicester. "If you've lost the evidence, you can't prosecute people, you can't appeal if you're wrongly convicted, you can't solve a cold case."

The figures, obtained by McCartney and Louise Shorter, an independent criminal justice researcher, come as the police and the Criminal Cases Review Commission (CCRC) face intense criticism over the handling of forensic evidence in the Andrew Malkinson case. Malkinson was exonerated last month after spending more than 17 years in prison for a rape

Burning Man turns into a quagmire

Thousands told not to leave site in middle of Nevada desert after storm creates mudbath

News Page 3 →