

A humiliated and cornered Putin is likely to become more dangerous — GIDEON RACHMAN, PAGE 17

Russian rockets pound Kharkiv

● Civilians killed as Ukraine's second city menaced by heavy bombardment

● Rouble falls 20% against dollar and Moscow exchange suspends trading

● Kyiv and Kremlin talks fail to yield ceasefire while Macron tackles Putin



GUY CHAZAN — LVIV
JOHN REED AND
JOHN OLEARCHYK — KYIV
MAX SEDDON — MOSCOW

Vladimir Putin's forces launched an intense bombardment of Ukraine's second city Kharkiv hours after Russian markets were rocked by an unprecedented wave of western sanctions.

The rouble fell 20 per cent against the US dollar in offshore trading while citizens formed long queues to withdraw money from cash machines in Russia.

Authorities in the eastern city said heavy shelling in residential areas had killed and wounded civilians. Footage shared on social media showed a barrage of strikes around apartment blocks, with multiple explosions and plumes of smoke rising from buildings. "We still believe that they are trying to encircle Kharkiv and to employ long-

range fire into there," said a senior US defence official.

Moscow was employing similar tactics in Kyiv, the official said, adding that Russian forces had advanced roughly 5km over the past 24 hours and were now within 25km of the capital's centre.

Another western official warned that the rising artillery fire on Kharkiv and Kyiv "risks being far more indiscriminate... As a consequence, we are going to see an increase in civilian casualties."

As Russia faced increasing international isolation over its invasion of

'As a consequence of [indiscriminate fire], we are going to see an increase in civilian casualties'

Ukraine, President Emmanuel Macron of France phoned Putin to demand he end the offensive and negotiations between officials from Moscow and Kyiv failed to yield a settlement.

Macron urged the Russian leader to stop all strikes against civilians, preserve civil infrastructure and provide safe access to main roads, Macron's office said. The Elysée said Putin "confirmed his willingness to pursue these three points".

But according to the Kremlin, Putin told Macron that a settlement was possible "only if Russia's legitimate security interests are unconditionally taken into account". Putin has demanded the surrender of Ukraine's army and the removal of the government.

In southern Ukraine, Russian attempts to cut Ukraine off from the Black Sea appeared to be succeeding,

with Moscow's forces capturing the towns of Berdyansk, on the Sea of Azov, and Enerhodar, according to a Russian defence ministry statement.

Reports suggested the port of Mariupol, the last stronghold of Ukrainian resistance that has stopped Russia from connecting the eastern border region of Donbas to Crimea, was surrounded.

Ukraine's military said Russian troops continued to attack airports, air defence systems, critical infrastructure and residential areas and had launched missile strikes on buildings in the cities of Zhytomyr and Chernihiv. Russian and Ukrainian military claims could not be independently verified.

While Russian forces pounded Kharkiv, Russia's central bank more than doubled its main interest rate to 20 per cent, saying that "external conditions" for its economy had "drastically

changed". The emergency move came after the US, EU and UK unleashed measures aimed at cutting the country off from the global financial system.

The rouble dropped to almost 118 against the US dollar in offshore trading and dealing in shares and derivatives on the Moscow Exchange was suspended, with the central bank lacking an obvious mechanism to stabilise its economy.

Putin introduced capital controls yesterday, banning Russians from transferring foreign currency abroad or from servicing loans in foreign currency outside the country from today.

He also ordered Russian exporters to sell 80 per cent of their foreign currency revenue dating back to January 1 in an effort to offset the rouble's sharp fall.

Additional reporting by Henry Foy in Brussels and John-Paul Rathbone, Katie Martin and Tommy Stabington in London

Main developments

● Ukraine revealed a 'war bond' plan to fund its forces, to reassure global investors it would not default on debt

● Talks between Ukrainian and Russian officials near the Belarus border showed little sign of a breakthrough

● The US banned dealings with Moscow's central bank, its toughest step towards crippling Russia's economy

● The UN said half a million Ukrainians had fled and more than 100 civilians and children had been killed

● Russian bonds tumbled as the possibility increased that Moscow could default for the first time since 1998

● Western governments pushed Big Tech groups to ditch Russian state-backed media from their platforms

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Hong Kong loses control of China's worst Covid wave

The 34,666 new Covid cases reported in Hong Kong yesterday worsened an outbreak that has led to bodies piling up at hospitals and mortuaries. The 7.4m population has reported more than 205,000 cases — compared with 109,000 for the rest of China. The city went for long periods with no cases but failed to jab many of the elderly, who are now dying in record numbers. Mistrust after 2019's pro-democracy protests hindered the vaccine rollout. Mortuaries fill up ► PAGE 5

Shell joins corporate rivals by quitting energy ventures with Russian groups

NEIL HUME AND TOM WILSON — LONDON

Shell is walking away from its biggest Russian ventures and ending involvement with the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline, as the global corporate backlash builds against Moscow's invasion of Ukraine.

The UK-listed oil major has taken rival BP's lead — which has said it will divest its near 20 per cent stake in Russian oil company Rosneft — by ending its joint ventures with Kremlin-backed Gazprom, including its 27.5 per cent stake in the huge Sakhalin-2 liquefied natural gas project. Other shareholders in Sakhalin include Japan's Mitsui and Mitsubishi. The UK-listed oil major did not say whether it would sell its share, either to Gazprom or to a third party, or write off the value of the stakes.

Norway's Equinor also yesterday

pledged to exit all of its joint ventures in Russia. The three announcements have raised pressure on other groups such as TotalEnergies, ExxonMobil, Trafigura, Vitol and Glencore to do the same.

"We are shocked by the loss of life in Ukraine, which we deplore, resulting from a senseless act of military aggression which threatens European security," said Ben van Beurden, Shell's chief executive.

Kwasi Kwarteng, the UK business secretary, who met van Beurden yesterday to discuss the company's involvement in Russia, welcomed the decision. "Shell has made the right call to divest from Russia — including Sakhalin-2," Kwarteng wrote on Twitter. "There is now a strong moral imperative on British companies to isolate Russia. This invasion must be a strategic failure for Putin." Gazprom declined to comment.

The decision to quit the joint ventures in Russia would trigger impairment charges, Shell said, adding that it had around \$30n in non-current assets in the ventures at the end of 2021.

"Our decision to exit is one we take with conviction. We cannot — and we will not — stand by," said van Beurden. Sakhalin-2 produced 11.6m tonnes of LNG in 2020, of which 3.2m tonnes flowed to Shell, representing about 10 per cent of its global production.

Shell was also one of five international energy groups that each pledged to fund 10 per cent of the Nord Stream 2 pipeline between Russia and Germany.

Last week Germany said it was halting certification of the pipeline indefinitely and the US placed sanctions on the Gazprom subsidiary building it.

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Feb 28	prev	%chg		Feb 28	prev	%chg		price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4380.48	4384.65	-0.10	\$ per £	1.123	1.125	-0.145	US Gov 10 yr	142.38	1.87	-0.11
Nasdaq Composite	13782.82	13894.82	-0.84	£ per €	1.342	1.342	0.000	UK Gov 10 yr	1.28	-0.08	-0.08
Dow Jones Ind	33626.38	34058.75	-0.39	€ per \$	0.837	0.838	-0.001	Ger Gov 10 yr	0.13	-0.08	-0.08
FTSE100	1771.81	1775.26	-0.21	¥ per \$	115.175	115.588	-0.358	Jpn Gov 10 yr	110.47	0.18	-0.02
Euro Stoxx 50	3826.28	3870.69	-1.12	¥ per €	154.535	155.079	-0.348	US Gov 30 yr	103.43	2.20	-0.08
FTSE 100	7456.25	7489.46	-0.42	CHF per €	1.030	1.044	-0.014	Ger Gov 2 yr	103.82	-0.95	-0.16
FTSE All-Share	4157.77	4167.09	-0.22	€ per \$	0.890	0.895	-0.005				
CAC 40	6558.83	6752.43	-1.39								
Nikkei	14461.02	14597.23	-0.73								
Hsinchi	28526.82	28476.50	0.18								
Hong Kong	22713.02	22767.18	-0.24								
MSCI World \$	2980.20	2985.94	-0.19	Oil WTI \$	95.93	91.58	4.74	Fed Funds Eff	0.08	0.08	0.00
MSCI EM \$	1171.99	1154.86	1.48	Oil Brent \$	98.28	94.12	4.42	US 3m Bills	0.33	0.32	0.01
MSCI ACWI \$	698.53	691.96	1.08	Gold \$	1894.80	1906.30	-0.60	Euro Libor 3m	-0.58	-0.58	0.00
								UK 3m	0.85	0.86	-0.01

Prices are latest for addition Data provided by Bloomberg

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ROCKET ASSAULTS KILL CIVILIANS IN UKRAINE AS TIGHTENING SANCTIONS ISOLATE MOSCOW

Anxious Russians Feel Sting of Penalties

This article is by Anton Trunovskiy, Ivan Nepochurenko and Sergey Ponomarev.

MOSCOW — For two decades under President Vladimir V. Putin, Russians reaped the bounties of capitalism and globalization: cheap flights, affordable mortgages, a plethora of imported gadgets and cars.

On Monday, those perks of modern life were abruptly disappearing, replaced by a crush of anxiety as sanctions imposed by the West in retaliation for Moscow's invasion of Ukraine rattled the foundations of Russia's financial system.

The ruble cratered, losing a quarter of its value, and the central bank shuttered stock trading in Moscow through Tuesday. The public rushed to withdraw cash from A.T.M.s, and Aeroflot, the national airline, canceled all its flights to Europe after countries banned Russian planes from using their airspace.

Concern about travel was so great that some people rushed to book seats on the few international flights still operating.

"I've become one concentrated ball of fear," said the owner of a small advertising agency in Moscow, Azaliya Idrisova, 33. She said she planned to depart for Argentina in the coming days and was not sure whether her clients would still pay her.

Compounding the pain was the decision by Western countries to restrict the Russian central bank's access to much of its \$643 billion in foreign currency reserves, undoing some of the Kremlin's careful efforts to soften the impact of potential sanctions and making it difficult for the bank to prop up the ruble.

Other moves struck at the heart of critical Russian industries. Shell, a company that for years helped Russia profit from its energy riches, said it was exiting all its joint ventures with Gazprom, Russia's state-owned gas giant.

Continued on Page A13

CENTRAL BANK IS FROZEN OUT
Taking aim at a key weakness for Russia: its currency. PAGE B1



A shelter at a children's hospital in Kyiv on Monday. Russians bombed a residential area of Kharkiv, Ukraine's second-largest city.

Using Commerce and Culture, World Turns Its Back on Russia

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — In Switzerland, the Lucerne music festival canceled two symphony concerts featuring a Russian maestro. In Australia, the national swim team said it would boycott a world championship meet in Russia. At the Magic Mountain Ski Area in Vermont, a bartender poured bottles of Stolichnaya vodka down the drain.

From culture to commerce, sports to travel, the world is shunning Russia in myriad ways to protest President Vladimir V. Putin's invasion of Ukraine. Not since the frigid days of the Cold War have so many doors closed on Russia and its people — a worldwide repudiation driven as much by the impulse to show solidarity

with besieged Ukrainians as by any hope that it will force Mr. Putin to pull back his troops. The boycotts and cancellations are piling up in parallel with the sanctions imposed by the United States, Europe, and other powers. Although these grass-roots gestures inflict less harm on Russia's economy than sweeping restrictions on Russian banks or the mothballing of a natural gas pipeline, they carry a potent symbolic punch, leaving millions of ordinary Russians isolated in an interconnected world.

Among the most visible targets of this opprobrium are cultural icons like Valery Gergiev, the conductor and a longtime backer of

Continued on Page A10

As War Grinds Into 5th Day, Kremlin Starts Hitting Harder

By STEVEN ERLANGER

BRUSSELS — When Russia launched its invasion of Ukraine with nearly 200,000 troops, many observers — and seemingly President Vladimir V. Putin himself — expected that the force would roll right in and the fighting would be over quickly.

Instead, after five days of war, what appears to be unfolding is a Russian miscalculation about tactics and about how hard the Ukrainians would fight.

No major cities have been taken after an initial Russian push toward Kyiv, the capital, stalled. While Russia appeared to pull its punches, Ukraine marshaled and armed civilians to cover more ground, and its mili-

tary has attacked Russian convoys and supply lines, leaving video evidence of scorched Russian vehicles and dead soldiers.

But the war was already changing quickly on Monday, and ultimately, it is likely to turn on just how far Russia is willing to go to subjugate Ukraine. The Russian track record in the Syrian civil war, and in its own ruthless efforts to crush separatism in the Russian region of Chechnya, suggest an increasingly brutal campaign ahead.

Signs of that appeared on Monday in Ukraine's second-largest city, Kharkiv, when Russia accelerated its bombardment of a residential district where

Continued on Page A10

Alarm in Kharkiv — Talks Yield No Progress

This article is by Valerie Hopkins, Steven Erlanger and Michael Schwartz.

KYIV, Ukraine — The first talks between Ukraine and Russia aimed at halting the Russian invasion were eclipsed Monday by a deadly Russian rocket assault on Kharkiv, Ukraine's second-largest city, that raised new alarms about how far the Kremlin was willing to go to subjugate its smaller neighbor.

The bombardment of a residential area of Kharkiv, which may have included internationally banned cluster munitions, killed at least nine civilians and wounded dozens.

With the Ukrainian-Russian talks ending with little more than an agreement to meet again, the bombardment signaled a potential turn in the biggest military mobilization in Europe since World War II, in which Russia has met unexpectedly stiff resistance by Ukrainians and strong condemnation from much of the world.

"Today showed that this is not only a war, it is the murder of us, the Ukrainian people," Kharkiv's mayor, Igor Terekhov, said in a video posted on Facebook. "This is the first time in its many-year history that the city of Kharkiv has been through something like this: shells that hit residential homes, killing and maiming innocent citizens."

Russian forces have been shelling the outskirts of Kharkiv, an eastern Ukrainian city with 1.5 million people, since launching an invasion last week. But they appeared to be avoiding heavily populated areas.

On Monday, the fifth day of the Russian assault, that changed when Kharkiv was hit by a barrage of rockets.

Mr. Terekhov said four people had been killed when they emerged from a bomb shelter to find water. And he said a family of five — two adults and three children — was burned alive when a shell hit their car. Another 37 people were injured.

Continued on Page A12



What Afghans Couldn't Leave Behind

More than 120,000 people were airlifted out of Afghanistan last August, most with just a few hours to gather their belongings. Here are some of the keepsakes they chose. Pages A6-7.

Time Is Running Out to Fix Climate, Report Says

This article is by Brad Plumer, Raymond Zhong and Lisa Friedman.

The dangers of climate change are mounting so rapidly that they could soon overwhelm the ability of nature and humanity to adapt, creating a harrowing future in which floods, fires and famine displace millions, species disappear and the planet is irreversibly damaged, a major new scientific report concluded.

The report, released on Monday

Warming May Outstrip the Ability to Adapt

by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, a body of experts convened by the United Nations, is the most detailed look yet at the threats posed by global warming. It concludes that nations are not doing nearly enough to protect cities, farms and coastlines from the hazards that climate change has already un-

leashed, such as record droughts and rising seas, let alone from the even greater disasters in store as the planet keeps heating up.

Written by 270 researchers from 67 countries, the report is "an atlas of human suffering and a damning indictment of failed climate leadership," said António Guterres, the United Nations secretary general. "With fact upon fact, this report reveals how people and the planet are getting clobbered by climate change."

In the coming decades, as

Continued on Page A8

Justices Dispute E.P.A. Power to Curb Emissions

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — Members of the Supreme Court's conservative majority on Monday questioned the scope of the Environmental Protection Agency's ability to regulate carbon emissions from power plants, suggesting that the

justices could deal a sharp blow to the Biden administration's efforts to address climate change.

The questioning during the two-hour argument was mostly technical, and several conservative justices did not tip their hands. But those who did sounded skeptical that Congress had meant to give the agency what they said

was vast power to set national economic policy.

Climate change was mentioned in passing and only to buttress the point that an executive agency should not be allowed to tackle so large an issue without express congressional authorization.

A ruling against the E.P.A. Continued on Page A16

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Biden Speech Gets a Rewrite

The Ukraine crisis has supplanted the president's domestic agenda as the primary focus of his State of the Union address on Tuesday. PAGE A18

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Jeter and Marlins Part Ways

A Hall of Famer used to excellence with the Yankees was an odd fit as chief executive of a franchise reluctant to spend, our columnist writes. PAGE B9

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Delving Into Dark Topics

The Belgian musician Stromae marries serious subjects with dancey beats. His first album in years, "Multitude," expands his spectrum of sounds. PAGE C1

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T. Rex, Relatively Speaking

A new paper argues that Tyrannosaurus rex is not one but three species. Many experts disagree, saying the assertion requires more proof. PAGE D1

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Michelle Goldberg

PAGE A23

Carmen
Georges Bizet



JULY 1-AUG 27

The Barber of Seville
Gioacchino Rossini



JULY 2-AUG 26

Falstaff
Giuseppe Verdi



JULY 16-AUG 25

Tristan und Isolde
Richard Wagner



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Ainda a salvo, Lviv é porta de saída para o mundo

Uma fila de mais de 50 km se estende da cidade de Lviv à fronteira com a Polônia. A cidade do oeste da Ucrânia é porta de saída para civis. Muitos abandonam veículos e seguem a pé, sem saber onde poderão comer ou descansar, relata André Liohn. O Exército ucraniano tem detido o avanço dos russos até a região. **Mundo A12**

ANÁLISE Gideon Rachman Acosado, Putin fica mais perigoso

A resistência ucraniana e a reação global se mostraram muito mais fortes do que Putin esperava. É possível que, humilhado, ele se torne mais perigoso. Analistas alertam para o risco de uso de mísseis termobáricos. **Mundo A11**

Brasil critica ações de Moscou e de potências na ONU

Em rara reunião extraordinária da Assembleia-Geral da ONU e um dia após o presidente Jair Bolsonaro declarar neutralidade, o Brasil voltou a condenar a ofensiva russa na Ucrânia. Mas também criticou países ocidentais por armar os ucranianos. **Mundo A10**

Cultura ucraniana originou clássicos de cinema e literatura

Mundo A14

J. P. Coutinho Make Russia Great Again

Não é todos os dias que vemos a extrema esquerda e a extrema direita unidas por uma causa. Aconteceu. Vladimir Putin faz as delícias de comunistas e fascistas — e a invasão da Ucrânia sentou-os à mesma mesa. Bizarro? Não é. Partilham a mesma doença: a nostalgia. **Ilustrada B9**

MBL faz críticas a Lula e Bolsonaro e fala em ir ao front

O deputado estadual Arthur do Val, o Mamãe Falei, pré-candidato ao Governo de SP pelo Podemos, e Renan Santos, também do MBL, dizem que vão à Ucrânia falar com a população e criticam posições de presidente Jair Bolsonaro e Lula em relação ao conflito bélico. **Política A5**

Presidente repete roteiro em sua 10ª ida a Guarujá
Giro de Bolsonaro em SP, com passeio de moto e jet-ski, ocorre sob pressão sobre guerra e após desgaste com folga no fim do ano. **A7**



Pacientes do Hospital Pediátrico Okhmadet, em Kiev, são abrigados no porão durante ofensiva russa. **Umit Bektas/Reuters**

Negociação com Ucrânia não avança, e Rússia reforça ataque

Human Rights Watch relata uso de bombas de fragmentação por russos no quinto dia de ofensiva

A primeira rodada de negociação entre os governos de Rússia e Ucrânia não produziu avanço, e as delegações enviadas a Gómel, em Belarus, concordaram apenas em marcar um encontro futuro. No território ucraniano, os combates se intensificaram.

Moscou, pressionada por um pacote de sanções internacionais que praticamente exclui seus bancos do sistema financeiro global, entrou no quinto dia de guerra intensificando os ataques em Kiev e sobretudo em Kharkiv, a segunda cidade do país.

Observadores internacionais, como a Human Rights Watch, relataram o uso de bombas de fragmentação, que disparam estilhaços ao explodir e são mais letais. O governo local diz que os russos atacaram áreas residenciais e 11 civis morreram.

Imagens de civis ucranianos com armas ou refugiados em porões, estações de metrô e locais que sirvam de bunker se proliferaram. Pouco foi divulgado da negociação: o Kremlin não disse o que exigiu. Kiev pediu cessar-fogo e a saída russa.

Em telefonema ao francês Emmanuel Macron, Vladimir Putin prometeu parar o ataque se forem atendidos seus interesses de segurança, como a desmilitarização da Ucrânia e o reconhecimento da Crimeia como território russo. **Mundo A9 e A14**



Representantes da Ucrânia e da Rússia reunidos para negociações na Belarus. **Sergei Kholodilin/Beta/AFP**

Ilustrada B6

Paris desfila sob tensão

Semana de Moda acontece sob expectativa de que conflito afete mercado mundial de luxo

Comida B11

Após dois infartos, Carla Pernambuco, chef do Carlota, faz 30 anos de carreira

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Receita gasta

Sobre corte do IPI promovido por gestão Bolsonaro.

Arma sem paradeiro

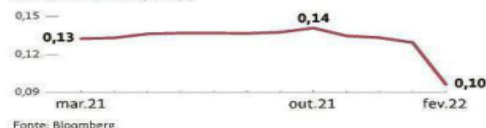
Acerca de deficiência em sistemas de rastreamento.

Sanções derrubam mercado russo, e petroleiras deixam país

Ações de banco e rublo despencam, e a Bolsa de Moscou fechou após sanções do Ocidente. O governo vetou remessas ou empréstimos para o exterior. As petroleiras BP e Shell decidiram não operar no país. **Mercado A15 e A17**

Variação do rublo russo frente ao dólar

Nos últimos 12 meses, em US\$



Fonte: Bloomberg.

Fifa tira equipe russa da Copa do Qatar; Uefa segue decisão

B5

Crise do clima eleva migração e desnutrição, aponta ONU

Segundo o novo relatório do IPCC, a mudança do clima já causa prejuízos à saúde, alimentação, economia e infraestrutura das cidades. Os impactos são observados em todas as regiões do planeta, que está em média 1,1°C mais quente que durante a era pré-industrial.

O estudo do Painel Intergovernamental de Mudanças do Clima da ONU, lançado ontem, foi elaborado por 270 cientistas, a partir de 34 mil artigos. **Ambiente B1**

Economia brasileira está entre as mais afetadas pelas mudanças **B1**



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FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON
Réponses à la question
de lundi :
La France doit-elle
envoyer des armes
aux Ukrainiens ?
OUI 70% NON 30%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 225 118

Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr
Faut-il accélérer
l'adhésion de l'Ukraine
à l'Union européenne ?

NICOLAS GUYONNET / HANS LUCAS VIA
REUTERS CONNECT ;
UESLEI MARCELINO/REUTERS



A Athènes, des militaires
grecs préparent l'envoi
pour Kiev de fusils d'assaut
et d'armes antichars.

L'Europe se dresse face à Poutine

Sanctions sévères, aide militaire aux Ukrainiens, main tendue de l'UE à Kiev : l'agression russe suscite une riposte musclée des Européens, qui prennent conscience de la nécessité de se défendre. PAGES 6 À 13, 18, 22, 23, 28 À 33 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

En Ukraine, un dialogue de sourds et des combats meurtriers

Les négociations amorcées lundi à la frontière de la Biélorussie entre délégations russe et ukrainienne n'ont pas permis de percée diplomatique. Pendant ce temps, les affrontements se sont intensifiés sur le terrain, notamment à Kharkiv, dans le nord-est de l'Ukraine. Kiev s'attendait hier soir à subir le pilonnage de l'aviation et de l'artillerie russes.

Comment l'Allemagne tourne le dos à soixante-dix ans de pacifisme

C'est une métamorphose : Olaf Scholz, dont les débuts timides à la Chancellerie suscitaient la raillerie des Allemands, est apparu dimanche à la tribune du Bundestag en chef de guerre. « Face au changement d'époque (...), ce qui est nécessaire pour garantir la paix en Europe sera fait, et l'Allemagne y apportera sa contribution solidaire... » Un chancelier de fer est-il né ?

Mateusz Morawiecki : « Poutine a déclaré la guerre à tout l'Occident »

Dans une tribune au Figaro, le premier ministre Polonais appelle à accélérer le processus de réarmement de l'Europe et à renforcer immédiatement le flanc oriental de l'Otan. Il demande que l'on prive la Russie de toute source de financement pour l'armement et préconise l'utilisation de la cyberdiplomatie contre Vladimir Poutine.

ÉDITORIAL par Philippe Gélie pgelie@lefigaro.fr

Réveil européen

Vladimir Poutine, Joe Biden et Volodymyr Zelensky ont gagné leur place dans les livres d'histoire. La brutalité du Russe, la prudence de l'Américain et l'audace de l'Ukrainien se sont conjuguées pour infliger un électrochoc au Vieux Continent assoupi : elles ont plus fait avancer « la cause d'une Europe puissante en trois jours qu'en trente ans », note Jean-Dominique Giuliani, président de la Fondation Robert Schuman. Par quelle magie ? Le premier fonctionne au moyen de la terreur : l'invasion de l'Ukraine et le recours à la menace nucléaire sont censés montrer que rien ne l'arrêtera. L'UE a compris qu'il est entraîné dans une fuite en avant résultant de ses mauvais calculs, et qu'elle risque d'être la prochaine sur la liste. Le second a renoué avec le « leadership from behind », oxymore inventé par Obama pour tirer les ficelles sans se mouiller : en excluant d'intervenir, il a donné préavis à l'Europe pour qu'elle se prenne en main. À Kiev, enfin, le jeune « résistant en chef » Zelensky a frappé aux tripes. Aux Vingt-Sept, jeudi dernier, il a demandé une aide concrète et « une réponse honnête » à la demande d'adhésion de son pays à l'UE. L'Europe allait-elle pousser la lâcheté jusqu'à aban-

donner ceux qui « meurent pour ses idéaux » ? Le sursaut est spectaculaire. La présidente von der Leyen s'exclame : les Ukrainiens « sont des nôtres, nous les voulons avec nous » (chose plus vite dite que faite) et annonce qu'elle achètera des armes sur les fonds destinés aux initiatives de paix. Berlin double son budget de défense, révolution copernicienne qui postule le recours à « la force pour imposer des limites aux fauteurs de guerre ». Jusqu'aux petits pays de l'UE, qui ne craignent plus de défier l'ogre du Kremlin en livrant des armes létales à l'Ukraine. Celui-là fait entrer l'Europe dans le monde réel, dangereux, des rapports entre puissances. L'alternative était de se laisser écraser par celles qui la méprisent. Depuis le temps qu'Emmanuel Macron plaçait pour plus de réalisme... Il trouve aujourd'hui à ses côtés un chancelier allemand surprenant d'esprit de décision. « C'est à la fois un défi et une chance », a dit Olaf Scholz. Le défi : « renforcer la souveraineté de l'Europe » ; la chance : « le maintien de l'unité » face au voyou russe. ■



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