

## What's News

## Business &amp; Finance

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has set the stage for faster-rising consumer prices, with the mayhem of war driving up manufacturing costs for food, consumer goods and machinery in places far from the battlefield. **A1**

◆ **Carl Icahn** exited from a big bet on Occidental Petroleum, selling the last of what was once a roughly 10% stake in the oil-and-gas producer as its shares surge. **B1**

◆ **Ryan Cohen**, the co-founder of pet-products retailer Chewy, has a big stake in Bed Bath & Beyond and is pushing it to streamline its strategy and explore strategic alternatives. **B1**

◆ **Rival North Dakota** shale drillers Oasis Petroleum and Whiting Petroleum are close to a deal to merge, according to people familiar with the matter. **B3**

◆ **Vista CEO Robert Smith** played a larger role than previously known in the \$2 billion alleged tax evasion of his former business partner, recently filed court documents show. **B1**

◆ **"The Batman,"** Warner Bros.' reboot of the standalone Batman franchise, grossed \$128.5 million in its opening weekend, the studio said. **B2**

◆ **China set a 5.5% goal** for economic growth this year, paving the way, economists say, for more-aggressive stimulus measures in the coming months. **A18**

## World-Wide

◆ **Russian forces** intensified strikes across Ukraine, pushing toward the capital, Kyiv, and the country's second-largest city, Kharkiv, while killing dozens of civilians and disrupting evacuation efforts. **A1, A5-9**

◆ **Biden is caught** between conflicting demands that he tame rising consumer prices while banning Russian oil imports to punish Moscow for invading Ukraine. **A1**

◆ **Congressional negotiators** were rushing to complete the text of legislation funding the government beyond Friday, with the Biden administration's request for \$10 billion in aid to Ukraine adding to pressure to meet a looming deadline. **A4**

◆ **Fresh demands** from Russia threatened to derail talks to restore the 2015 Iran nuclear deal, as Moscow said it wanted written guarantees Ukraine-related sanctions won't prevent it from trading broadly with Tehran under a revived pact. **A18**

◆ **Federal prosecutors** filed fraud charges against the leader of a financial firm that received funding from a company affiliated with basketball legend Earvin "Magic" Johnson to issue loans through the government's Paycheck Protection Program. **A4**

◆ **Florida lawmakers** are poised to pass legislation that would stiffen inspection and funding requirements for condo buildings following the Surfside, Fla., tower collapse last year. **A3**

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How to Avoid an IRS  
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## Attacks Take Heavy Civilian Toll



Above, a man, woman and child were killed on Sunday by a Russian artillery shell while they were trying to flee Irpin, Ukraine. Below, a woman reached Ukrainian-controlled land in Bilohorodka, on the outskirts of Kyiv, on Sunday.

Russia targets routes for people leaving Ukraine as troops press closer to Kyiv, Kharkiv

Russian forces intensified strikes across Ukraine, pushing toward the capital, Kyiv, and the country's second-largest city, Kharkiv, while killing dozens of civilians and disrupting evacuation efforts.

By Yaroslav Trofimov  
in Kyiv, Ukraine,  
and Alan Cullison  
in Lviv, Ukraine

After beating off an initial Russian offensive, Ukraine is now preparing for a second wave of Russian attacks focused on major population centers around the country, Ukraine's national security adviser, Oleksiy Danilov, said in a social-media post Sunday.

The Russian plan, he said, is to encircle Ukrainian forces and "create a situation of humanitarian disaster for the civilian population."

Officials in Kharkiv said several civilians were killed after a Russian Grad multiple-launch rocket system fired on a line outside a grocery store. Images from the scene showed at least five bodies and streaks of blood on the snow. There were several other attacks in the city that killed civilians, officials said.

Russian airstrikes hit the local TV station, disrupting broadcasts, as well as several residential neighborhoods and government buildings. Kharkiv officials said two Russian bomber jets were downed over the city, providing footage to corroborate their claims.

Around Kyiv, Russian forces engaged in a heavy fight with Ukrainian forces northwest of the capital city, seizing parts of the town of Irpin. As thousands of civilians streamed out of Irpin, Russian shelling of the evacuation route killed eight people, local authorities said.

"We will defend Kyiv at any price," Mayor Vitali Klitschko said as he visited the city's defenses Sunday. "The capital of Ukraine today is the outpost of Europe."

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## Evacuees Face Deadly Bombardment

By Yaroslav Trofimov

**IRPIN, Ukraine**—A line of yellow school buses pulled up on a forested roadside in this once-prosperous suburb of Kyiv on Sunday, ready to evacuate Ukrainian civilians. Then the Russian shells started falling.

People dived for cover, hugging the ground. Frightened pets ran into the woods. A man, woman and child were killed. The three bodies fell near one another by a monument to local soldiers who died fighting Germany in World War II. Their gray suits stood nearby, untouched by the blast.

In total, eight Irpin civilians were killed by the afternoon, as relentless shelling continued, Mayor Oleksandr Markushyn said. A nearby house was on fire after receiving a direct hit. In the distance, plumes of gray smoke rose above Irpin, where Ukrainian forces fought to repel a



Russian attack on what is a critical gateway to Kyiv.

Russia's military insists it isn't targeting civilians and blames Ukrainian "national-

ists" for shelling their own, without any evidence. But deaths are mounting from Russian strikes on residential areas in cities throughout the

country, while agreements to evacuate other towns and cities have fallen through.

On Sunday, Ukrainian air

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## Accelerating Inflation Complicates U.S. Bid To Ban Moscow's Oil

By Timothy Puko  
And Lindsay Wise

President Biden is caught between conflicting demands that he tame rising consumer prices while banning Russian oil imports to punish Moscow for invading Ukraine, a sanction that would threaten even more inflation and raise pressure on allies with more dependence on oil imports.

The U.S. said on Sunday it is in active discussions with allies about a ban. Those talks come as the Biden administration

has faced criticism for months over inflation levels that have reached 40-year highs, driven by surging demand, supply chain constraints and labor shortages. But rising energy costs are also among the biggest contributors to higher consumer prices, with oil, gas and other commodity prices soaring to the highest levels in years.

Even as prices rise, outrage over Russian bombing of civilian facilities in Ukraine has now prompted lawmakers

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## War Pinches Supply Chain, Driving Up Prices Globally

By Patrick Thomas  
And Alistair Macdonald

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has set the stage for faster-rising consumer prices, with the mayhem of war driving up manufacturing costs for food, consumer goods and machinery in places far from the battlefield.

The conflict is stressing an already strained global supply chain, and its economic impact will likely be felt in households worldwide, at supermarkets, retailers and the gas pump. While higher costs will take time to work their way

from producers to consumers, executives and analysts expect the war's fallout to worsen inflation already stoked by shortages of goods and workers.

"It seems to be overshadowing everything now and reversing the improvement that we were seeing," said Kathy Bostjancic, chief U.S. economist at Oxford Economics.

The short-term consequences have been serious. Grain markets recently hit a 14-year high in anticipation of a diminished harvest in Ukraine, which would raise costs to feed the world's cattle

and poultry.

Aluminum prices rose in anticipation of sanctions on Russia, a major supplier of the metal used in autos, aircraft and construction, as well as on fears that Moscow could halt exports.

Crude oil prices rose 25% last week, to more than \$118 a barrel, the highest level since 2013. Gas prices have gone up an average of 43.7 cents a gallon in the U.S., according to data from price tracker GasBuddy. On Sunday, the national average was \$4.02 a gallon, according to GasBuddy.

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Russia's missteps helped blunt its advance **A5**

Thousands of protesters are detained in Russia **A6**

U.S. seeks Venezuelan oil to replace Russian supplies **A9**

Russian banks cut off from West turn to China **A9**

Dollar builds strength in safe-asset search **B1**

## In India, a Fish on the Campaign Trail Can Help at the Ballot Box

Candidates play up symbols, which help the illiterate vote; a kettle, a TV, a plow

By Shan Li  
And Rajesh Roy

**LOHARAPALI, India**—A candidate running for local village chief in the eastern Indian state of Odisha has been buying a live fish from the market nearly every day during his recent campaigning.

Instead of eating it, Prabhudatta Goud cradles the flopping animal with his bare hands while meeting voters door-to-door. The fish gets dunked back into a five-gallon bucket of water between stops.



Remember me

The 32-year-old politician wants voters to remember the fish because an image of one will appear next to his name on the ballot. It is part of a long tradition in India to ensure any voters who are illiterate can identify their preferred candidate. The symbols have become even more important lately. Covid restrictions have banned large gatherings—including the country's raucous rallies where politicians usually make their mark. Amid the hordes of can-

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## INSIDE



**BUSINESS & FINANCE**  
Carl Icahn sells off the last of his stake in Occidental as crude prices soar. **B1**

**SPORTS**  
Mets pitcher Max Scherzer emerges as the public face of the MLB players union. **A14**

## Surge in Shootings Rattles Seattle

Downtown hospital sees stream of young gunshot victims, some for a second time

By Dan Frosch  
And Zusha Elinson

**SEATTLE**—Dr. Deepika Nehra knew the only way to save the man on her operating table dying of a gunshot wound was to slice open his abdomen.

Nights like this have become routine at Harborview Medical Center, where this once-peaceful city's mounting toll of shootings has played out again and again during the past year.

When the 39-year-old

trauma surgeon tried to cut into the man's midsection to stanch the bleeding, a brick of scar tissue blocked her way. It was from a previous gunshot wound. Unable to break through it quickly enough, she couldn't stop the bleeding.

Long one of America's safest cities, Seattle had 612 shootings and shots-fired incidents last year, nearly double its average before the pandemic. The city has just experienced its two worst

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Conflict shows us how our networks can be weaponised — RANA FOROOGHAR, PAGE 17

# West weighs banning Russian oil as Moscow steps up Ukraine onslaught

US discussions with Europe • White House policy U-turn • Mariupol evacuation fails again • Odesa expects attack

JOHN REED — LVIV  
STEFANIA PALMA — WASHINGTON

US secretary of state Antony Blinken said Washington was in "very active discussions" with its European partners about a ban on oil imports from Russia, as Ukraine braced for a widening offensive against its urban centres.

Restrictions on Russian oil would be a step up in the west's response to Moscow over its invasion of Ukraine with potentially serious ramifications for the global economy. It would also mark an about-turn by the White House, which had rejected bipartisan calls to ban Russian oil imports to the US, saying that an embargo would limit global supply and raise prices for consumers.

Blinken told NBC yesterday that he had spoken to Joe Biden, the US president, and the cabinet about such a move. His comments came as Ukrainian civilians bore the brunt of the Kremlin's widening offensive which brought thousands of Russians on to the streets of Moscow and other cities in protest.

"We are now in very active discussions with our European partners about banning the import of Russian oil to our countries, while of course at the same time maintaining a steady global supply of oil," Blinken said.

The US wanted a co-ordinated response with its partners but Blinken added: "I'm not going to rule out taking action one way or another, irrespective of what they do."

A senior French official said that further sanctions were being examined by European and "other" partners, without detailing how advanced the discussions were.

"The question today is to see how we can resort to strategic reserves to stop prices from spiralling even further on oil and gas markets, and also, in the longer term, how we manage our stocks and our supplies," the official said.

British officials did not rule out a ban on Russian oil imports but one described the idea as "a drastic move". Liz Truss, UK foreign secretary, has asked officials to explore a gradual "ceiling" on Russian energy imports to mitigate the economic shock.



Local people run from Irpin, near Kyiv, amid reported shelling of their escape route — Carol Santa-Ribera

Russian forces continued to attack populated areas and civilian infrastructure across Ukraine yesterday, the 11th day of Vladimir Putin's invasion.

Attempts to evacuate 200,000 people from the besieged port city of Mariupol, where many have been living since last week in freezing cellars without basic services and under heavy Russian bombardment, failed for a second day running. In Irpin, west of Kyiv, Russian

forces reportedly fired on people fleeing the town, killing eight.

Volodymyr Zelensky, Ukraine's president, said that Russia planned to attack his country's third-largest city Odesa, a move defence officials have been expecting as Putin's troops advance across the coast, threatening Ukraine's access to the Black Sea and Sea of Azov.

After Russia fired cruise missiles deep into western Ukraine and hit the airport in Vinnytsia, Zelensky again pleaded with the international community to impose a no-fly zone — an idea Nato has dismissed as it risks direct confrontation between the alliance and Russia.

In a two-hour telephone call with Emmanuel Macron, France's president, Putin denied that his forces had targeted civilians, according to the French official. Defence analysts said Russian troops were facing unexpectedly stiff resistance from Ukraine's military and angry local residents.

In Kherson, the largest city to be occupied, videos posted online showed residents gathering in large numbers and confronting Russian troops. Protests were also reported in Melitopol, Berdyansk and other Russia-held cities.

Thousands of people across Russia protested against the war yesterday,

defying the threat of lengthy prison terms. More than 4,500 people were detained in 56 cities, according to independent monitor OVD Info.

The UK ministry of defence said that Russia was targeting populated areas. The assault was "an effort to break Ukrainian morale" similar to Moscow's devastating bombing campaigns in Chechnya in 1999 and Syria in 2016, it said. Russia has bombed civilian targets including residential buildings, schools and healthcare facilities.

Additional reporting by Sarah White in Paris and George Parker in London  
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## Main developments

- The US works with Poland on a deal to provide Ukraine with fighter jets as Kyiv pleads with the west
- VTB Bank prepares to wind down its European operations after feeling the effects of western sanctions
- Russian lenders play down the impact of a move by Visa and Mastercard to halt business in the country
- Total sticks to its decision to remain in Russia, despite global pressure and the retreat of rivals BP and Shell
- Western companies are resorting to security contractors to extract staff from Russia and Ukraine
- The Netherlands warns over debt sustainability despite the economic challenges posed by Ukraine

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## Isolated 'Russian Google' left to face home truths

Web portal Yandex, once seen as the jewel in Russia's tech scene, has had to rein in its plans for overseas expansion as western partners beat a retreat in the wake of Moscow's invasion of Ukraine. The group — widely known as Russia's Google — has yet to make an official statement on the conflict. But its former head of news explains that although it is not a state broadcaster, its news filters are amplifying a Kremlin-sanctioned message.

Ambitions shattered — PAGE 8

## Europe faces biggest refugee crisis since second world war with 1.5mn on the move

JAMES SHOTTER — WARSAW

The flood of people escaping Ukraine has become the fastest-growing refugee crisis in Europe since the second world war, the UN's high commissioner for refugees has warned.

Filippo Grandi said "more than 1.5mn" people had fled Ukraine in the past 10 days, and officials in neighbouring countries said they expected the number to rise rapidly.

More than half of those fleeing went to Poland, which has close linguistic and cultural affinities with Ukraine and is already home to more than 1mn of its citizens.

Poland's border force said that 922,000 people had entered from Ukraine since the start of the war, including a record 129,000 on Saturday alone.

Hungary, Moldova and Slovakia have taken in more than 100,000 refugees each, according to the UNHCR.

The surge in refugees has presented a logistical challenge for Ukraine's neighbours. Natalia Gavrilita, Moldova's prime minister, warned that her country, one of the poorest in Europe, would need urgent support from the international community.

"We are committed to helping all refugees in Ukraine. The government has implemented the most comprehensive humanitarian operation in the history of the Republic of Moldova," she said at a meeting with Antony Blinken, US secretary of state, in Moldova's capital Chisinau.

"But the flow of people is a challenge, and we need the assistance of our friends and partners."

The flood of refugees has also trig-

gered a big humanitarian response, with volunteers from across Europe flocking to Ukraine's borders to provide aid.

In the main train station in Przemyśl in south-eastern Poland, 15km from the border, volunteers have been handing out free food, drink, blankets and SIM cards. Others have offered free accommodation, while Poland's railway has laid on free trains carrying people to bigger cities such as the capital Warsaw.

Poland has promised financial support to Poles who help refugees, and tax changes allowing companies to include aid to refugees in their costs. "For a short period, two months, more or less, we want to support financially those Poles who are devoting their time, their own financial resources, to taking in people from Ukraine," Mateusz Morawiecki, prime minister, said.

## World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Mar 4	prev	%chg		Mar 4	prev	%chg		price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4328.87	4363.48	-0.79	\$ per €	1.092	1.106	-0.757	US Gov 10 yr	148.29	1.71	-0.13
Nasdaq Composite	13313.44	13537.94	-1.66	\$ per £	1.322	1.334	-0.907	UK Gov 10 yr	1.21	-0.09	
Dow Jones Ind	33614.00	33794.66	-0.53	€ per \$	0.826	0.829	-0.361	Ger Gov 10 yr		-0.07	-0.09
FTSEurofirst 300	1651.90	1713.80	-3.61	¥ per \$	114.815	115.635	-0.718	Jpn Gov 10 yr	110.79	0.15	-0.02
Euro Stoxx 50	3558.01	3741.78	-4.96	₩ per \$	151.763	154.282	-1.643	US Gov 30 yr	110.29	2.14	-0.07
FTSE 100	6887.14	7238.85	-4.86	S\$ per €	1.003	1.018	-1.481	UK 3m	104.01	-0.74	-0.10
FTSE AEX	3884.43	4023.90	-3.47	€ per \$	0.916	0.904	1.326				
CAC 40	6081.66	6378.37	-4.92								
Xetra Dax	13094.54	13698.40	-4.41								
Nikkei	25885.47	26577.27	-2.23								
Hang Seng	21905.29	22467.34	-2.50								
MSCI World \$	2942.45	2984.24	-0.74								
MSCI EM \$	1172.56	1168.41	0.36								
MSCI ACWI \$	690.75	694.88	-0.61								

COMMODITIES			
	Mar 4	prev	%chg
Oil WTI \$	115.17	107.67	6.97
Oil Brent \$	118.13	110.46	6.94
Gold \$	1929.60	1928.50	0.06

FIXED INCOME			
	price	prev	chg
Feed Funds Eff	0.08	0.08	0.00
US 3m Bills	0.38	0.34	0.04
Euro Libor 3m	-0.58	-0.56	0.00
UK 3m	-0.95	-0.87	0.08

Prices are latest for addition Date provided by Bloomberg

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## OUTGUNNED UKRAINE FENDS OFF ATTACKS



### But Its Control of Black Sea Line Is Tenuous

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ  
MYKOLAIV, Ukraine — The remains of a Russian Tiger fighting vehicle sat smoldering on the side of the road, as Ukrainian troops lounged outside their trenches smoking cigarettes. Nearby, a group of local villagers was tinkering with a captured T-90 tank, trying to get it running again so that the Ukrainian Army might put it to use.  
For three days, Russian forces had fought to take Mykolaiv, but by Sunday, Ukrainian troops had driven them back from the city limits and retaken the airport, halting the Russian advance along the Black Sea, at least temporarily.  
"Few expected such strength from our people because, when you haven't slept for three days, and when you only have one dry ration because the rest burned up, when it's negative temperature out and there is nothing to warm you, and when you are constantly in the fight, believe me, it is physically very difficult," an exhausted Col. Sviatoslav Stetsenko, of the Ukrainian Army's 59th Brigade, said in an interview. "But our people endured this."

Taking Mykolaiv remains a key objective for Russian forces, and the thump of artillery in the distance on Sunday suggested that the Ukrainians had not pushed them back that far. But the unexpected Ukrainian success of defending this critical port, about 65 miles from Odessa, underscores two emerging trends in the war.

Russia's failure to seize Mykolaiv and other cities quickly, as President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia appears to have intended, is largely a function of its military's faltering performance. Russian forces have suffered from logistical snafus, baffling tactical decisions and low morale.

But it is the fierce and, unexpectedly capable defense by Ukrainian forces, who are significantly outgunned, that has largely stalled the Russian advance and, for now, prevented Mykolaiv from falling into Russian hands.

For three days, troops from the Ukrainian Army's 59th Brigade, together with other military and territorial defense units, have been defending Mykolaiv from Russian attack along several fronts, facing down punishing artillery barrages, helicopter attacks and rocket strikes, some of which have hit civilian neighborhoods.

Civilians elsewhere in Ukraine on Sunday bore the brunt of an unrelenting Russian assault. For the second day in a row, Ukrainians

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### Weapons Flow From the West In a Vast Airlift

This article is by David E. Sanger, Eric Schmitt, Helene Cooper, Julian E. Barnes and Kenneth P. Vogel.

On a snowy tarmac at Amari Air Base in northern Estonia on Sunday morning, pallets of rifles, ammunition and other weapons were being loaded onto one of the largest cargo planes in the world, an Antonov AN-124, belonging to the Ukrainian air force. It is an artifact of the Cold War, built and purchased when Ukraine was still part of the Soviet Union.

Now it is being turned back against the Russian invasion of Ukraine, part of a vast airlift that American and European officials describe as a desperate race against time, to get tons of arms into the hands of Ukrainian forces while their supply routes are still open. Scenes like this, reminiscent of the Berlin airlift — the famed race by the Western allies to keep West Berlin supplied with essentials in 1948 and 1949 as the Soviet Union sought to choke it off — are playing out across Europe.

In less than a week, the United States and NATO have pushed more than 17,000 antitank weapons, including Javelin missiles, over the borders of Poland and Romania, unloading them from giant military cargo planes so they can make the trip by land to Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, and other major cities. So far, Russian forces have been so preoccupied in other parts of the country that they have not targeted the arms supply lines, but few think that can last.

But those are only the most visible contributions. Hidden away on bases around Eastern Europe, forces from United States Cyber Command known as "cybermission teams" are in place to interfere with Russia's digital attacks and communications — but measuring their success rate is difficult.

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### As Shell Falls, Family's Dash To Safety Ends

By LYNSEY ADDARIO and ANDREW E. KRAMER

IRPIN, Ukraine — The bridge was just a skeleton of its old self, blown up days earlier by Ukrainian soldiers intent on slowing the Russian advance on the capital, Kyiv, but battered as it was, it offered a lifeline to civilians desperate to flee the fighting.

On Sunday, as Ukrainian refugees were milling near the entrance to the structure, calculating their odds of making it safely over the Irpin River, a family laden with backpacks and a blue roller suitcase decided to chance it.

The Russian mortar hit just as they made it across into Kyiv. A cloud of concrete dust lofted into the morning air. When it settled, Ukrainians could be seen running madly from the scene. But not the family. A mother and her two children lay still on the roadway, along with a family friend.

Russia's president, Vladimir V. Putin, has repeatedly denied that his forces are targeting civilians fleeing battle zones. He did so again on Sunday, a day after a railroad track used to evacuate Ukrainians came under fire. But only a handful of Ukrainian troops were near the bridge when mortar shells began raining down. The soldiers there were not engaged in combat but in helping refugees carry their children and luggage toward the capital.

"The military is the military and that is one thing," one soldier said bitterly. "But these are civilians, people who waited until the last moment."

The attack at the bridge was witnessed by a New York Times team, including the photojournalist Lynsey Addario, a security adviser and Andriy Dubchak, a free-

Continued on Page A5

Above, Ukrainian soldiers rushed to aid a family hit by Russian mortar fire on Sunday in the village of Irpin, but there was little to be done. Below, a Ukrainian soldier ran to check on the family.



### Painful Goodbyes at the Border As Men Stay to Fight Russians

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN and MONIKA PRONCZUK

MEDYKA, Poland — Iryna Dukhota has been married to her husband for 26 years. She met him when they were young, as he was riding his bike through her neighborhood in Kyiv, Ukraine's capital.

But a few days ago, on a gray, windswept morning, with thousands of people rushing around them, the couple stood at the Ukraine-Poland border, lips quivering. After all these years, it was time to say goodbye.  
"I told him 'I love you' and 'We will see each other soon,'" Ms. Dukhota said, her eyes pooling.

Now, she says, she does not know when or even if she will ever see him again.

As the Russian Army bears down on Ukraine from the north, south and east, a mass migration

of millions of civilians is gathering like a storm over the plains.

But the international border gates are a painful filter, splitting families apart. The Ukrainian government has mandated that men aged 18 to 60 are not allowed to leave the country, so the crowds pouring into Poland, Hungary and other neighboring nations are eerily devoid of men. It is almost exclusively women and young children who pass through the checkpoints after heartbreaking goodbyes. The Ukrainian men, whether they want to or not, turn back to fight.

Some Ukrainian women referred to the separations as "a little death."

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### Talking to Relatives in Russia, Ukrainians Hear, 'What War?'

By VALERIE HOPKINS

"No, no, no, no stop," Mr. Katsiur said of his father's initial response.

He started to tell me how the things in my country are going," said Mr. Katsiur, who converted his restaurants into volunteer centers and is temporarily staying near Ternopil, a city in western Ukraine. "He started to yell at me and told me: 'Look, everything is going like this. They are Nazis.'"

As Ukrainians deal with the devastation of the Russian attacks in their homeland, many are also encountering a confounding and almost surreal backlash from family members in Russia, who refuse to believe that Russian soldiers could bomb innocent people, or

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#### Muting a Powerful Sound

In Burundi, the drum is a revered symbol of culture and unity. But after a 2017 decree, only men can play.

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#### Women's Marches in Pakistan

What began in 2018 as a single rally has become an annual event in multiple cities. Opposition is rising.

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#### Little Recourse for Zelle Fraud

The payments platform is a popular target of scammers. But banks have been loath to make fraud victims whole, despite owning the system.

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#### The Business With Russia

Of E.U. countries, Germany has by far the most business ties with Russia, and for many, those ties have become personal. Now come hard choices.

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#### More Internet Options, Maybe

Americans pay more for worse internet service. But fresh congressional funding and advances in technology may finally bring change.

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#### Convoy Encircles Washington

Truckers protesting Covid mandates slowed traffic on the Beltway for hours before fading in the afternoon.

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#### Seeking Safety From Attacks

Younger Asian Americans in New York are less likely than their elders to back traditional policing solutions.

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#### Not Her First 'Mockingbird'

Six decades after she played the little girl Scout in the film version of Harper Lee's novel, Mary Badham takes on the role of a mean, racist neighbor in the play's national tour.

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#### Satisfyingly Creepy Viewing

Netflix's 'Archive 81,' Epix's 'From' and Starz's 'Shining Vale' all offer clever variations on a horror genre that is a perfect fit for our stir-crazy age.

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Boris Johnson

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#### One Last Night at Home

Mike Krzyzewski walked Cameron Indoor Stadium's sideline for the last time on Saturday, and a coaching legacy at Duke was celebrated.

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## GOP pushes crime as top '22 issue

Republicans seize on hot button that could be a weak spot for California Democrats.

BY PHIL WILSON  
AND HANNAH WILEY

SACRAMENTO — A little-seen attack ad roasting state Atty. Gen. Rob Bonta as an “anticop politician” may be just a blip in the social media universe, but it serves as a flashing neon sign warning Democrats what to expect in California’s election season.

“How can someone who cares more about criminals’ rights than victims’ rights, and is routinely at odds with law enforcement, serve as our state’s top cop?” the ad says. “It’s time for a change.”

The criticism comes from an independent political committee backing attorney general candidate Anne Marie Schubert, the Republican-turned-independent district attorney of Sacramento County.

The ad also takes a swipe at Gov. Gavin Newsom, who faces a similar barrage from the right in his run for reelection for promising to close two prisons, imposing a moratorium on the death penalty and appointing Bonta as the state’s top cop.

After more than a decade [See Crime, A7]

### COLUMN ONE

## Leaving L.A. in hope of a better life

After the city sank them into debt, one family heads to a tiny Central Valley town.

BY ALEJANDRA REYES-VELARDE

Luz Puebla began the long drive north, her three younger children piled into their old minivan.

Ahead, her husband and oldest son led the way in a U-Haul, 10 years of their lives packed inside.

On the Golden State Freeway, Puebla glanced at the downtown Los Angeles skyline.

“Look,” she said. “It might be the last time you see the city in some time.” There was no response from her kids, who had nodded off.

They drove through the Tejon Pass, through miles of valleys, then orchards sprinkled with fruit trees and “Recall Newsom” signs.

Like so many immigrants before her, Puebla had come to Los Angeles with little more than a change of clothes and a vision of a grand, wealthy place where her dreams could come true.

But in recent years, it seemed as though she and her husband, Eliazar Cabrera, couldn’t get ahead.

The rent on their South Gate apartment was set to increase. In the COVID-19 pandemic, Cabrera’s hours as a maintenance man were cut.

[See Family, A12]

## Ukraine’s civilian toll spikes



THREE MEMBERS of a family were killed when an incoming mortar round struck as they tried to flee Irpin, Ukraine. The town on Kyiv’s northwestern flank saw fierce clashes between Ukrainian and Russian troops.



A WOMAN clears rubble, some of it bloodstained, at the site of a home that was destroyed in Markhalivka, Ukraine, on Saturday. Six people were killed in the attack, suspected to have been a Russian airstrike.

## Answers sought after soccer riot

Mexicans mourn brawl among fans, question that there were no deaths

BY KEVIN BAXTER

The images coming out of the main soccer stadium in the central Mexican city of Querétaro are as indelible as they are indefensible.

On Saturday, early in the second half of a Mexican league game between visiting Atlas, the reigning champion, and Querétaro FC, a team that has never finished better than sixth in the standings, a riot broke out in Estadio Corregidora, named for a hero in Mexico’s war of independence.

Fans attacked one another with chairs, metal bars, knives, belts, fists and feet,



FANS CLASH Saturday during a Mexican soccer league match between host Querétaro and Atlas.

with official reports saying as many as 26 people were hospitalized, three in critical condition. A competing report said the number was nearly twice that high.

On Sunday, the local government said there were no fatalities, but images of bloody and unconscious bodies — including one of a man lying naked in a pool of his own blood — as well as interviews with some victims and family members indicated fans were killed.

Reports cited by independent observers, including TV Azteca journalist David Medrano, said 17 people had died. Others reported more.

[See Brawl, A5]

## Vulnerable patients struggle to find antibody treatment

Evusheld can protect immunocompromised people from COVID, but many say getting it is too complicated.

BY EMILY ALPERT REYES

Leanne Cook was glum but unsurprised when the tests confirmed what she and her doctors had expected: Even after three shots of a vaccine, she had no antibodies to protect her against COVID-19.

Her immune system had been hampered by the drugs she takes for her condition, a rare disease affecting her kidneys. As other vaccinated people began to let down their guard last year, Cook continued to minimize trips outside her home in Mission Viejo.

Then Cook heard about something that could plug those missing antibodies into her system — a preventive pair of injections called Evusheld. But health officials cautioned that there was only so much to go around.

Cook said that one medi-

cal provider told her, “We didn’t get any of this,” she recalled. “And I’m like, ‘No, no, you guys got doses — I can see it on this website.’”

Cook ultimately secured the treatment in January, which finally gave her some antibodies to combat COVID-19 — and enough peace of mind to chance her first trip to a hair salon since the pandemic began. But it took networking, internet savvy and a costly consultation that landed her with an unexpected bill.

“I felt I was at their mercy to get a dose,” Cook said.

[See Treatment, A8]

### COVID-19 toll nears 6 million

Pandemic, in third year, is far from over, with some countries seeing soaring death rates. **WORLD, A3**

### Outcry over school’s plan

Long Beach district pauses gender-neutral locker room proposal after parents’ opposition. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

### Weather

Lots of sunshine. L.A. Basin: 71/46. **B6**

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.



## Zelensky again urges the West to impose a no-fly zone

BY NABIH BULOS

KYIV, Ukraine — With Russian troops besieging cities in Ukraine’s south, spurring a humanitarian catastrophe even as they press their offensive around the capital, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky warned Sunday that the strategic coastal city of Odesa would soon be under attack and he repeatedly urged Western countries to create a no-fly zone.

“Russians have always visited Odesa, felt only warmth in Odesa... And now what? Bombs on Odesa? Artillery on Odesa?” Zelensky said in an impassioned video address. “It will be a war crime. It will be a historical crime.”

His pleas came as Ukrainian authorities tried and failed for a second consecutive day to evacuate civilians from Mariupol and Volnovakha, two cities in eastern Ukraine’s Donetsk region. Mariupol, a port city of half a million people, is a key part of Russia’s offensive to deny Ukraine any exit to the sea. An earlier cease-fire on Saturday broke down with the Ukrainian and Russian sides each accusing the other of violations.

Both cities have in recent days suffered cutoffs of electricity, heat and food amid the encirclement by Russian forces who have expanded their reach across the south.

But the cease-fire didn’t materialize Sunday. Though a “regime of silence,” or cease-fire, was set to begin at 10 a.m. and last for 11 hours.

[See Ukraine, A4]

## A threat against climate action

Will Russia’s war torpedo remaining hopes for global cooperation on warming? **WORLD, A3**

## Taiwan watching conflict anxiously

Officials view Moscow’s invasion as a warning to step up defense against a hostile China. **WORLD, A4**

## A new Cold War in Latin America

China’s influence in El Salvador is a prime example of its regional battle with the U.S.

BY KATE LINTHICUM

SAN SALVADOR — El Salvador’s president and the Chinese ambassador traded flattery recently as they broke ground on a new national library, one of a slew of gifts China has promised this small, mountainous nation as part of its vigorous quest to gain influence across Central America.

As they smiled for photos, Ambassador Ou Jianhong expressed her “greatest respect” for President Nayib Bukele, a polarizing leader who has assailed El Salvador’s democratic institutions and clashed repeatedly with U.S. officials. Bukele, in turn, praised Chinese President Xi Jinping, an authoritarian who has engineered China’s rise at the expense of civil liberties.

[See El Salvador, A5]

**BUSINESS INSIDE:** Fashion Nova owner wins auction for mega-mansion “The One.” **A9**



# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington



Thunderstorm 81/45 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 54/40 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, MARCH 7, 2022 • B2

## Russians hit airfields, renew port city attack



Several fires burn after strikes on Irpin, Ukraine, where at least eight people were killed in an artillery barrage as families were preparing to board buses to flee the area.

### War could be a global economic 'game changer,' not just for now

BY DAVID J. LYNCH

Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the financial reckoning imposed on Moscow in response are proof that the triumphant globalization campaign that began more than 30 years ago has reached a dead end.

Fallout from the fighting in Ukraine will take a meaningful bite out of the global economic recovery this year, with the greatest impact in Europe, economists said. A spike in oil prices to more than \$110 per barrel and renewed supply chain disruptions — including fresh headaches for the auto industry — also are likely to aggravate U.S. inflation, already at a 40-year high.

But the war's long-term consequences could be more profound. Even before Russian President Vladimir Putin sent tanks and missiles hurtling toward Ukraine, years of deteriorating U.S.-China relations and failed global trade talks had stalled the tighter integration of finance and trade flows that had been anticipated during globalization's heyday.

What comes next is unlikely to mirror the Cold War's distinct blocs. Even as the global economic order fractures, no rival ideologies compete for supremacy. And China's harsh authoritarian turn

SEE ECONOMY ON A12

### West prepares for a Ukrainian government-in-exile and a long insurgency

BY SHANE HARRIS,  
MICHAEL BERNBAUM,  
JOHN HUDSON,  
DAN LAMOTHE  
AND DAVID L. STERN

The Ukrainian military has mounted an unexpectedly fierce defense against invading Russian forces, which have been dogged by logistical problems and flagging morale. But the war is barely

two weeks old, and in Washington and European capitals, officials anticipate that the Russian military will reverse its early losses, setting the stage for a long, bloody insurgency.

The ways that Western countries would support a Ukrainian resistance are beginning to take shape. Officials have been reluctant to discuss detailed plans, as they're premised on a Russian

military victory that, however likely, hasn't happened yet. But as a first step, Ukraine's allies are planning how to help establish and support a government-in-exile, which could direct guerrilla operations against Russian occupiers, according to several U.S. and European officials.

The weapons the United States has provided to Ukraine's military, and that continue to flow

into the country, would be crucial to the success of an insurgent movement, officials said. The Biden administration has asked Congress, infused with a rare bipartisan spirit in defense of Ukraine, to take up a \$10 billion humanitarian aid and military package that includes funding to replenish the stocks of weapons that have already been sent.

SEE INSURGENCY ON A9



Lesya Filimonova and Valeriy Filimonov, members of the Ukrainian Territorial Defense Forces, stand before the priest at their wedding ceremony held near the front line in Kyiv on Sunday.

### For a Ukrainian bride in fatigues, all's still fair in love, if not war

BY SIOBHÁN O'GRADY  
AND KOSTIANTYN KHUDOV  
IN KYIV, UKRAINE

The groom wore a helmet. The bride wore fatigues. So did the priest and the wedding party, with comrades in the Ukrainian defense forces who lined up for the marital procession, carrying shoulder-fired rocket-propelled grenades and antitank missiles.

Others guests included Kyiv Mayor Vitali Klitschko, who wore a bulletproof vest and took a selfie with the bride, and a throng of journalists invited to watch the spectacle of a wedding next to a checkpoint in the midst of Russia's war on Ukraine.

Despite the surreal nature of Lesya Filimonova and Valeriy Filimonov's marriage in the Ukrainian capital on Sunday, the

moment in some ways offered a glimpse of normality amid the conflict.

It showed, the mayor said, that "life continues and the people live and their love helps the war."

Just over a week ago, the couple were "normal people" with no plans to carry weapons, he noted. Now, "they want to defend our city together."

The wedding took place as Russian troops continue to press toward the capital. On Sunday, several civilians were killed in a mortar attack while trying to flee from the neighboring suburb of Irpin.

With stores and businesses shuttered across the capital, civilians have joined the fight en masse. Many of them, like Filimonova and Filimonov, have joined the Territorial Defense

SEE WEDDING ON A13

## D.C. road deaths' 14-year high hurts low-income areas most

BY LUZ LAZO,  
SAHANA JAYARAMAN  
AND DYLAN MORIARTY

Lower-income neighborhoods in the District recorded eight times more traffic fatalities in recent years than the city's wealthiest area, an analysis shows, as residents call for more enforcement and road improvements following the deadliest year on city streets in more than a

decade.

The 40 traffic fatalities in the nation's capital last year were the most since 2007, fueled by what authorities say is a proliferation of unsafe driving during the coronavirus pandemic that reflects an alarming rise in traffic deaths nationwide. The toll has fallen disproportionately on the city's two poorest wards, which contain less than one-quarter of

SEE TRAFFIC ON A18

## Pandemic worsens access to mental health care

BY LENNY BERNSTEIN

Angelle Haney Gullett lost her father in September and knew she would need grief counseling. She contacted 25 therapists in the Los Angeles area, where she lives, between early October and Christmas, nearly tracking her efforts on a spreadsheet.

None would accept a new client. In most cases, their waiting lists were closed as well, even though Gullett was willing to pay hundreds of dollars in cash for

### After 2 years of trauma, more are turning to an already-strained system

each session. She spent February's Super Bowl in tears, watching the Cincinnati Bengals, the team her father rooted for.

"I'm in a big city. I'm in L.A. We have a lot of therapists," she said. "So it's just kind of wild to me that

that many people are at capacity."

It has been difficult to find mental health counseling in much of the United States for years, long before the coronavirus pandemic began. But now, after two years of unrelenting stress, turmoil and grief, many people seeking help are confronting a system at or beyond capacity, its inadequacy for this moment plainly exposed.

It is even more difficult to find specialized care for children, or those with lower income. Assis-

tance of any kind is in short supply in rural areas, where all health-care choices are more limited than they are for residents of cities and suburbs. Those hoping to find a Black or Latino therapist face even more limited options.

While all of those circumstances have long been true, the pandemic has significantly worsened conditions, according to mental health practitioners, officials at professional associations, people seeking care and a wide

SEE COUNSELING ON A2

## IN THE NEWS

**A return to form** Donald Trump mused about Ukraine, China, Kim Jong Un and Vladimir Putin in a speech to GOP donors. **A3**

**THE WORLD** In Peru, an oil spill has upended an ancestral fishing tradition. **A4**

**THE ECONOMY** The Help Desk tackles questions about working in the metaverse. **A14**

## THE REGION

**Going in circles** The "People's Convoy" rounded the Beltway for hours and plans to do so again on Monday. **B1**



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## deportes

## Horror en México

Batalla en la cancha, caos y sospechas

Temen hasta 17 muertos en el cruce de barras, pero el gobierno no reconoce víctimas mortales.



## HISTÓRICA VISITA DE VETERANOS INGLESES DE MALVINAS

—sociedad

A 40 años de la guerra, se reunieron con exsoldados argentinos en una misa y un almuerzo en Buenos Aires; las actividades continuarán hoy en la provincia. Página 21

## DESIGNAN A 13 JEFES NUEVOS EN LA LUCHA CONTRA EL NARCO

—seguridad

Los cambios que aplicó el ministro Berni no alcanzaron a la delegación de San Martín, que está bajo la lupa desde que la droga adulterada provocó 24 muertes. Página 22

## LA NACION

LUNES 7 DE MARZO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

GUERRA EN UCRANIA — DÍA 11

## Rusia bombardea blancos civiles y avanza sobre Kiev

Los ataques impiden la evacuación de las ciudades; nueva amenaza a los países vecinos



La imagen que conmovió al mundo: la madre y sus dos hijos muertos mientras el padre agoniza tras el ataque ruso, en Irpin

LYNSEY ADDARIO/NYT

Luisa Corradini  
CORRESPONSAL EN FRANCIA

PARÍS.— Los bombardeos contra blancos civiles se multiplicaron ayer en Ucrania con una inusitada intensidad en varias ciudades, once días después de iniciada la invasión rusa. Hospitales, escuelas, jardines de in-

fantes son destruidos por obuses y misiles sin solución de continuidad, mientras el Ejército del Kremlin rompió por segundo día consecutivo la tregua que debía permitir la evacuación de la población de Mariupol. Mientras avanzaba en varios frentes sobre Kiev, Vladimir Putin recurrió a una vieja estrategia de propaganda rusa: culpó a

la resistencia ucraniana y reafirmó su determinación de ir "hasta el final. Por la negociación o por la guerra". La Casa Blanca, en tanto, reveló que tuvo acceso a "reportes creíbles" que informan la intencionalidad de los ataques a civiles, y que está registrando esas acciones que podrían constituir crímenes de guerra. Continúa en la página 2

## El drama de escapar de las bombas con lo puesto

Elisabetta Piqué  
Página 4

## Estimada China: ¿de qué lado están en Ucrania?

Thomas L. Friedman  
Página 8

## Apoyo parcial de la oposición al acuerdo con el FMI

LEY. Votará a favor de la refinanciación, pero no se definió sobre las medidas

Tras más de dos horas de reunión virtual, la dirigencia de Juntos por el Cambio alcanzó anoche un acuerdo parcial sobre cómo votarán los legisladores del bloque en el Congreso el pacto entre el Gobierno y el FMI. La idea es apoyar el artículo 1° del proyecto de ley, que aprueba la refinanciación de la deuda con el organismo, pero aún no se definieron sobre el artículo 2°, que contiene los anexos con el plan del Gobierno para cumplir las metas pactadas con el Fondo. "Le decimos sí a la refinanciación y no al programa económico, que nos lleva a más decadencia", afirmó a LA NACION Patricia Bullrich, presidenta de Pro y referente de los halcones de JxC. Página 12

## Guzmán trató de calmar las críticas de los diputados oficialistas

Página 13

## EL ESCENARIO

## Políticos entre la semántica y la hipocresía

Claudio Jacquelin

—LA NACION—

Página 14



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Soldados ucranianos tentam resgatar homem ao lado de parentes mortos. Lynsey Addario / NYT

## Bolsonaro e agro determinam acenos do Brasil à Rússia

Planalto, que criticou fornecimento de armas à Ucrânia e sanções, teme por impacto na importação de fertilizantes

Declarações simpáticas a Vladimir Putin por parte do presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) e pressões do agronegócio foram determinantes para que o Itamaraty inclua acenos à Rússia em manifestações nas Nações Unidas sobre a guerra.

O governo endossou resoluções na ONU que condenam a invasão, mas reforçou argumentos defendidos pela gestão de Putin.

As posições do Itamaraty têm sido definidas no mais alto nível e passado pelo crivo do Planalto. Em alguns casos, o ministro da Defesa, Braga Netto, também é chamado a opinar.

O receio de governos contrários a Putin é o de que as referências pró-Moscou sejam um prenúncio de mudança nos votos do país, hoje membro do Conselho de Segurança da ONU.

O Brasil criticou os pilares da estratégia de resposta ao ataque russo (fornecimento de armas à Ucrânia e sanções econômicas).

O governo federal teme ser prejudicado no fornecimento de fertilizantes russos, essenciais para o agronegócio brasileiro. Durante 2021, a Rússia respondeu por 22% do total desses insumos comprados por produtores rurais. **Mundo A10**

## Caça russo é abatido; cessar-fogo volta a ser desrespeitado

Um avião caça-bombardeiro tático Sukhoi Su-34, estrela do arsenal russo, foi abatido ao norte de Kiev no fim de semana — o que indica que a guerra aérea na Ucrânia está entrando em nova fase, mais intensa como aventou Vladimir Putin.

Rússia e Ucrânia completaram 11 dias de guerra sem sinal de arrefecimento e com mortes de civis em alta.

O cessar-fogo prometido para permitir a saída de refugiados falhou pelo segundo dia, com civis ucranianos mortos nas cercanias da capital. No sábado, um negociador ucraniano que vinha se reunindo com a delegação russa na Belarus foi morto — o que, questiona-se, pode ter ocorrido ao ser preso sob acusação de trair seu governo. **Mundo A10 a A13**

## Moscou perde força na guerra de desinformação

Antes considerada imbatível, a propaganda da Rússia não vem resistindo ao ativismo digital dos ucranianos e de seu presidente, Volodimir Zelenski, e à operação de desmascaramento preventivo empreendida por EUA e União Europeia para detectar mentiras. **Mundo A11**

### OPINIÃO

**Maxim Osipov**  
O papel do meu país em um conflito fratricida

Participei da manifestação contra a guerra em nossa pequena Tarusa, com uma placa que dizia: "Calm, onde está Abel?" Esta guerra deve ser chamada pelo que é: fratricida. **Mundo A13**  
É escritor e cardiologista russo

## Marcos Vasconcellos

### Risco de falta de fertilizantes e uma onda na Bolsa

Ameaça de queda na oferta russa gerou alta nas ações da Heringer, de fertilizantes, que depende de insumos importados. Mais do que apostar em previsões de oferta e demanda, investir exige compreender se há espaço para crescimento. **Mercado A19**  
Passa a escrever às segundas

## ENTREVISTA DA 2ª

### Tainah Pereira

### Eleição de mulher negra não beneficia só negras

A coordenadora do Movimento Mulheres Negras Decidem, Tainah Pereira, 28, afirma que falta de acesso a recursos é principal dificuldade encontrada pelo maior grupo demográfico do país para superar a sub-representação na política. Negras são 28% da população e ocupam apenas 2% das cadeiras do Congresso Nacional. **A14**

## Venda de munição para colecionador, atirador e caçador dobra em 2021

Cotidiano B1

## Renda com lucros e dividendos aumenta durante a pandemia

Isentos de imposto, recursos atingem R\$ 384 bi em 2020, valor 7% maior que o registrado em 2019. De cada R\$ 100 declarados, R\$ 70 estavam com o 1% mais rico. **Mercado A15**

## Só fechamento do espaço aéreo pode salvar Odessa, diz prefeito

No sábado (5), o conselho de Odessa convocou reunião, relata André Liohn. A poucos quilômetros, no mar Negro, a frota russa aguarda uma ordem para atacar. **Mundo A12**

## Esporte B4

### Morte no futebol

Confronto de torcedores de Atlético e Cruzeiro deixa um morto, em Belo Horizonte, antes da partida entre as duas equipes.

## Ilustrada C1

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## Sem Arthur do Val, Moro perde o palanque em SP

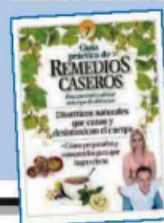
A saída de Arthur do Val da disputa pelo governo de SP após ter áudios sexistas expostos tirou de Sergio Moro seu maior palanque regional. Seu partido, o Podemos, deve agora se alinhar ao tucano Rodrigo Garcia no estado. **Política A4**

## EDITORIAIS A2

**Desafio americano**  
Sobre atuação dos EUA ante a guerra na Ucrânia.

**Contra o tempo**  
A respeito de Eletrobras e programa de privatização.





**Adalberto Martínez asumió como nuevo titular de Arquidiócesis de Asunción**

## Arzobispo percibe “negros nubarrones de inestabilidad”

Subraya grave deterioro de la calidad de vida de los más carenciados y de la clase media. Acusa que crimen organizado ha corrompido tejido social, político, económico y religioso.

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**La cadena Marriott se  
hará cargo del hotel  
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**Humillación  
para trabajadores**

**Tirados en la calle.** El gremio de transportistas se burla de sus usuarios, sobre todo de los que salen de sus labores diarias. Regulada es ya vergonzosa.

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Modificar Ley de Financiamiento Político es poco, dice experta

**Esperan un compromiso real de los  
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sacar hoy dinero de sus cuentas**

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**LE FIGARO**

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

**JACQUES JULLIARD**  
« VIVE L'UKRAINE LIBRE ! »  
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**LE FIGARO SANTÉ**  
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**FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON**

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FABIEN CLAIREFOND

# Face aux critiques, Macron assume son bilan

Alors que les ralliements en faveur du chef de l'État se multiplient, les rivaux d'Emmanuel Macron, malgré la guerre en Ukraine, veulent souligner les échecs de son quinquennat.

En meeting ce week-end, les principaux rivaux d'Emmanuel Macron ont ciblé le bilan de son quinquennat. Valérie Pécresse a dénoncé « un dépôt de bilan », Marine Le Pen a fustigé « cinq années d'un dé-routant et pervers "en même temps" », tandis qu'Éric Zemmour moquait « la froideur » et « l'ennui » provoqué par la « Lettre aux Français » du chef de l'État. Même s'il est absorbé par la guerre en Ukraine, Emmanuel Macron, à l'heure de la remise en jeu de son mandat, tient à montrer qu'il a été fidèle à la promesse de réformer la France. « Sur tout, je fais ce que j'ai dit », a-t-il coutume de répéter. Il peut revendiquer, selon l'analyse détaillée de son bilan réalisée par *Le Figaro*, un taux d'accomplissement de près de 80 %, un chiffre qui peut apparaître comme satisfaisant mais avec de réelles insuffisances comme sur la sécurité et sur l'immigration.

➔ SÉCURITÉ, JUSTICE, ÉCOLOGIE, IMPÔTS, EMPLOI... SECTEUR PAR SECTEUR, LE BILAN DU QUINQUENNAT PAGES 10 À 13 ET L'EDITORIAL



**Sur le front avec les hommes de Petro Poroshenko, l'ancien président ukrainien**

Ancien chef de l'État de 2014 à 2019, le riche homme d'affaires participe désormais à la défense territoriale, pourvoyant aux besoins des réservistes et des volontaires du bataillon 206. Dépassant sa brouille avec son successeur, Volodymyr Zelensky, il affirme l'union sacrée de toutes les forces ukrainiennes contre l'envahisseur russe. PAGES 2 ET 3

## Moscou sur la défensive dans la bataille de l'information

Face à la campagne de fake news déployée par la Russie dès avant son invasion, l'Ukraine occupe tous les canaux informationnels pour contrer l'assailant, avec succès jusqu'ici. Le président Zelensky est lui-même un acteur majeur de la contre-offensive, grâce aux vidéos qu'il diffuse sur les réseaux sociaux. La communication stratégique ukrainienne valorise la résistance armée, quitte à l'exagérer, tandis qu'à Moscou le Kremlin s'emploie à museler les médias indépendants, russes et étrangers. PAGES 4 ET 5

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

### Peur sur la France

Les grandes peurs auront-elles raison des démocraties libérales ? Une épidémie a mis en sommeil la délibération collective et réduit au strict minimum deux scrutins importants - municipal et régional - de notre calendrier électoral ; les bombes russes qui tombent sur l'Ukraine emportent dans leur souffle la campagne présidentielle. Le point de fixation unique dénature la politique, qui n'est plus la recherche de la vie bonne mais l'instrument de la survie. Survivre au Covid, survivre à Poutine, mais aussi, selon la couleur de votre inquiétude, survivre au réchauffement climatique, survivre au basculement démographique provoqué par l'immigration de masse. Toutes ces craintes sont légitimes, mais, à chaque fois, c'est la peur qui commande, comme si nous avions basculé dans un régime d'« anxiocratie ». Les candidats aiment à disqualifier leurs adversaires (en général de droite) en soulignant qu'ils « jouent sur les peurs », mais, en vérité, tout le monde joue cette partition de l'angoisse. La sécurité et la protection deviennent les deux piliers de l'exercice du pouvoir dans une victoire sans partage du Léviathan sur la personne. « Le citoyen réduit à n'être plus le souverain mais sim-

plement l'objet de la sollicitude de ceux qui le gouvernent et prétendent non le servir mais le protéger », disait fort justement François Sureau, il y a quelques jours, dans son très beau discours de réception à l'Académie française. Entendons-nous : l'union nationale s'impose quand une menace existentielle se dessine et que le chef de l'État (ce qui, en l'espèce, est le cas) tient la bonne ligne. Cela n'oblige pas à croire ceux qui, dans une lecture inversée de Clausewitz, utilisent la guerre comme un autre moyen de faire de la politique et habillent leurs ralliements opportunistes à Emmanuel Macron d'une tunique jaune et bleu. Si l'esprit de responsabilité impose la retenue dans l'expression, la hauteur d'approche en ces jours incertains, il ne doit jamais renoncer, dans le tourbillon permanent d'images et d'informations, à pratiquer le discernement. Celui-ci nous rappelle que, si la guerre d'Ukraine assombrit l'horizon, elle ne doit surtout pas le rétrécir en un seul motif. Quand la démocratie devient unidimensionnelle, elle se vide de sa substance. ■

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**'Life is split into before and after'**  
Refugees tell of flight from ruins of Volnovakha

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# Plea for safe passage after second ceasefire disaster



▲ People fleeing from the city of Irpin, north-west of Kyiv, take cover along the road as Russian forces target the area with shells yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: EMIN SANSAR/ANADOLU/GETTY

**Macron presses Putin over humanitarian crisis while Zelenskiy tells Russians: 'Don't be silent'**

**Peter Beaumont** Lviv  
**Daniel Boffey** Brussels

Emmanuel Macron yesterday implored Vladimir Putin to let civilians flee Ukraine's besieged cities during a marathon call as a second attempt to evacuate Mariupol ended under Russian bombardment.

It had been hoped that 200,000 of the 430,000 residents in the bombed-out port city would leave during a nine-hour ceasefire yesterday. But only a few hundred are believed to have made their escape on a day marked by reports of more civilian deaths in Irpin, on the outskirts of the capital, Kyiv.

Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelenskiy, spoke in a televised address to people in Russia, beseeching them to not "keep silent" amid the bloodshed. "For you, this is a struggle not only for peace in Ukraine, this is a fight for your country," he said in Russian. "If you keep silent now, only

your poverty will speak for you later. And only repression will answer." Russians faced a choice "between life and slavery", he said.

In a later broadcast he said there had been a promise of humanitarian corridors. "But there are no humanitarian corridors... they can only make bloody ones." He said that a family of four, including two children, were killed as they tried to leave Irpin. "We will not forgive. We will not forget. We will punish everyone who committed atrocities in this war," he said. "The audacity of the aggressor is a clear signal for the west that the imposed sanctions aren't enough."

**Refugees** UN warns of fastest-growing crisis since 1945 [Page 4](#) →

**Sanctions** UK accused of moving too slowly on oligarchs [Page 6](#) →

**Protests** More than 4,000 arrests as Kremlin clamps down [Page 8](#) →

The International Red Cross implored the two sides to renegotiate: "Amid devastating scenes of human suffering in Mariupol, a second attempt today to start evacuating 200,000 people out of the city came to a halt. The parties should agree between themselves not just in principle, but also on the details and parameters."

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