

## What's News

## Business &amp; Finance

**R**ising fuel prices are taking a toll on small businesses, prompting owners of everything from furniture retailers to swimming-pool service companies to trim back work and revise contracts as they try to soften the financial hit. **A1**

◆ **Canadian Pacific trains** were halted Sunday morning, after an impasse in contract negotiations between the railway and its conductors and engineers. **B1**

◆ **State oil giant Saudi Aramco** said its 2021 net profit more than doubled to \$110 billion. **B1**

◆ **Nielsen said it rejected** a roughly \$9 billion takeover offer from a private-equity consortium. **B1**

◆ **Thoma Bravo struck** a deal to buy software maker Anaplan for \$10.7 billion, the latest in a recent string of big leveraged buyouts. **B1**

◆ **Investors are piling back** into U.S. stocks, betting that the domestic equity market can withstand new economic headwinds better than other parts of the world. **B1**

◆ **U.S. importers are starting** to reset supply chains to avoid disruptions ahead of contract talks for West Coast dockworkers. **B3**

◆ **Cargo ships are accumulating** at one of China's busiest ports after another Covid-19 outbreak shut down factories and warehouses in Shenzhen. **B3**

◆ **The Shanghai Disney Resort** has announced that it will close until further notice, citing China's recent wave of infections. **B2**

## World-Wide

◆ **Russia's assault on Ukraine** has forced more than 10 million people to abandon their homes, the U.N. said, with the scale of the humanitarian disaster showing little sign of easing as Moscow presses its attack with missile strikes and artillery fire. **A1, A6-10**

◆ **Air-safety regulators** recently stepped up scrutiny of mid-air collision warnings around the U.S., prompted by an increase of close calls at a handful of busy airports. **A3**

◆ **A substantial risk of severe weather**, including tornadoes, thunderstorms, hail and damaging winds, looms in several states as a storm moves east along the Gulf Coast. **A3**

◆ **The federal commission** charged with commemorating America's sesquicentennial is at war with itself over allegations of featherbedding, favoritism and misappropriation of taxpayer funds. **A3**

◆ **The Biden administration** has transferred a number of Patriot antimissile interceptors to Saudi Arabia. **A12**

◆ **Musk's ties to China** are causing unease in Washington, including among some GOP lawmakers who have been among the entrepreneur's ardent supporters. **A4**

◆ **China reported its first** mainland deaths from Covid-19 in over a year as it battles a surge of Omicron cases across the country. **A13**

◆ **A new Vatican constitution** opens the way for women to run some offices at the Catholic Church that have always been run by men. **A12**

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## Ukraine Assault Uproots 10 Million



A woman on Sunday stands in front of a home destroyed by Russian shelling in the village of Krasylivka, east of Ukraine's capital, Kyiv. Below, a mother embraces her son, who escaped the besieged city of Mariupol.

Attacks on population centers intensify; humanitarian situation in Mariupol worsens

KYIV, Ukraine—Russia's assault on Ukraine has forced more than 10 million people to abandon their homes, the United Nations said, with the scale of the humanitarian disaster showing little sign of easing as Moscow presses its attack with missile strikes and artillery fire.

By Alan Cullison,  
Isabel Coles and  
Matthew Luxmoore

"The war in Ukraine is so devastating that 10 million have fled—either displaced inside the country, or as refugees abroad," said Filippo Grandi, the U.N.'s high commissioner for refugees, on Sunday. That means almost a quarter of the country's prewar population has been uprooted.

About 3.4 million people have left Ukraine since the Russian offensive began Feb. 24, mostly women and children bound for Poland, according to the U.N., which said the number of refugees could reach four million. The flow of people has eased in recent days, but still tops 50,000 refugees a day, according to the latest U.N. figures.

In the southeastern port city of Mariupol, where fighting has reached the streets, the humanitarian situation worsened. Ukrainian officials said an art school, where around 400 people had been sheltering was bombed by Russia, trapping people beneath the rubble. Their condition couldn't be determined.

The incident comes days after

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## Russia's Bid to Cut Its Import Reliance Falls Short

By GEORGI KANTCHEV  
AND ALEXANDER OSIPOVICH

Russia spent years trying to wean itself off imported goods to fortify its economy against Western sanctions.

Now, the impact of sanctions imposed after Russia's invasion of Ukraine has made it clear that Moscow's efforts didn't work. Russia's continued dependence on imports means it is facing a painful economic readjustment.

Parts of Russia's auto industry are shutting down for lack of foreign parts. The country's flagship homemade passenger jet gets its engine and other key parts from overseas suppliers. Foreign pet food and medication have disappeared from store shelves.

"Import substitution has failed to achieve its goal of making Russia less vulnerable to sanctions like these," said Janis Kluge, a specialist in the Russian economy at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs. "The Russian ambitions were unrealistic to start with because a small economy like Russia's isn't able to produce complex and high-tech goods by itself. It's just simply not possible."

Replacing the foreign products could take years, he said.

Import substitution is supposed to replace foreign goods with homemade ones. Though most economists believe that

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## Putin Is Seen as Shifting to Plan B

By MICHAEL R. GORDON  
AND ALEX LEARY

After Russian forces failed to secure a quick victory over Ukraine, senior U.S. officials see signs the Kremlin is shifting to a new strategy to secure key territorial objectives while seeking leverage to compel the Ukrainian government to accept neutrality between Russia and the West.

The U.S. and its allies had widely interpreted Russian

President Vladimir Putin's initial objectives to include the seizure of Kyiv in a matter of days, and the replacement of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky's government with a pro-Russian regime.

None of that has come to pass. A senior U.S. official said indications suggest more than three weeks of grueling combat—in which Ukraine has put up fierce resistance to Russian forces—has prompted Mr. Putin to adjust his tactics.

The new assessment of Mr. Putin's intentions, which is shared by senior officials within the Biden administration, is to compel Kyiv to accept Russian claims to Ukraine's southern and eastern territories. Having seized both Crimea and regions of Donbas in 2014, Russia seeks to secure a "land bridge" between western Russia and the Crimean Peninsula, and to expand Russian control of the Donbas region.

Mr. Putin would also continue his military pressure, including the pummeling of Ukrainian cities, calculating

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## The Ukraine Crisis

- ◆ Pentagon program becomes flashpoint...A6
- ◆ Blame game begins for Russian agencies...A6
- ◆ War takes toll on food supplies...A8

## High Fuel Prices Sting Small Businesses

By RUTH SIMON

Rising fuel prices are taking a toll on small businesses, prompting owners of everything from furniture retailers to swimming-pool service companies to trim services and revise contracts as they try to soften the financial hit.

Keon Enterprises, in Harris-

burg, Pa., has paid as much as \$3,180 for gas in recent weeks, up from about \$1,500 in mid-December. "It's keeping me awake," said Omara Riechi, chief executive officer of the company, which operates under the name Keon Transport and operates 32 vehicles that provide door-to-door transportation to people with disabilities.

"I keep checking gas prices."

Fifty-two percent of small-business owners said higher energy prices were affecting their businesses, according to a March survey of more than 780 small businesses for The Wall Street Journal by Vistage Worldwide Inc., a business coaching and peer advisory

firm. The national average price of gasoline stood at \$4.26 a gallon on March 18, according to AAA, up from \$3.53 a month ago and a pandemic low of \$1.77 in April 2020. Diesel-fuel prices average \$5.07 a gallon, up from \$3.94 a month ago.

Higher fuel costs are the

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## Trombonists Are Sliding Into Starring Roles on Broadway

Horn's sound is hard to replicate, giving players their moment in musicals

By CHARLES PARRY

Broadway, looking to regain its pre-pandemic audiences, is relying on boldface names such as Hugh Jackman, Daniel Craig, Sarah Jessica Parker...and Mike Boschen. Mr. Boschen is in the current revival of "The Music Man." He is a trombonist, and they are having a moment.

In "Hedestown," trombonist Brian Drye appears on stage and interacts with the cast. (As one theater observer noted on Twitter: "Phenomenal cast and all, but the trombone is the real star.") In "Chicago," trombonists Bruce Bonvissuto and James Burton III have coveted places on stage with the rest of the or-

chestra. "We can feel very viscerally the energy coming from the audience," says Mr. Bonvissuto.

Then, there's Mr. Boschen in "The Music Man." "This is probably the coolest trombone part I've ever gotten to play" on Broadway, says the 48-year-old journeyman, who has performed with about 40 productions in a career that includes shows both familiar ("Cats") and forgotten (a musical adaptation of Aristophanes' "The Frogs").

"The Music Man," starring Mr. Jackman, a beloved take on Midwestern life circa early 1900s, is all about the band. Its key numbers include a homage to all things brassy—namely,

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## INSIDE



## U.S. NEWS

Elon Musk's China entanglements draw concerns in Washington. **A4**



## PERSONAL JOURNAL

Tips for paying down debt as the Federal Reserve raises interest rates. **A15**

## Thefts and Burglaries Plague San Francisco

Retailers face security, repair costs; 'these last two years have been insane'

By ZUSHA ELINSON

SAN FRANCISCO—Terry Asten Bennett's family has been running Cliff's Variety Store since 1936. In all that time, they've never experienced the amount of burglaries and property damage that they have recently, Ms. Bennett said.

Thieves smashed a display window and broke down a door to steal items as small as spray paint, and people shattered glass doors on two occasions for no apparent reason.

"These last two years have been insane," she said. "It used to be a rare occurrence."

Although violent crime in

San Francisco is lower than in many other major U.S. cities, business owners, residents and visitors here are dealing with a rash of thefts, burglaries and car break-ins.

Among the 25 largest U.S. cities, San Francisco has had the highest property-crime rate in four of the past six years for which data is available, bucking the long-term national decline in such crimes that began in the 1990s. Property crimes declined in San Francisco during the first year of the pandemic, but rose 13% in 2021. Burglaries in the city are at their highest levels since the mid-1990s. There were 20,663 thefts from ve-

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## War in Ukraine



Foreign banks struggle to make a Russian withdrawal COMPANIES, PAGE 10

EU applies lessons learnt from Syria to refugee crisis ANALYSIS, PAGE 3

Putin's cyber terrorists may still be waiting in the wings CHRIS KREBS, PAGE 21

# Sheltering civilians bombed as fierce fighting grips Mariupol

Russians strike school used as refuge Kyiv and west cast doubts over peace talks

GUY CHAZAN — LVIV  
MAX SEDDON — RIGA  
LAURA PYTEL — ANKARA

Pierce fighting engulfed the Ukrainian city of Mariupol as Russian forces tightened their grip on the besieged area and bombed a school where about 400 residents were sheltering.

The eastern port city, which has been the scene of the heaviest fighting in Russia's three-week war on Ukraine, has been devastated by relentless shelling, with whole neighbourhoods reduced to piles of smouldering rubble. Electricity, gas and water have been cut off and trapped residents are without food.

Ukraine's armed forces said the situation was "difficult: there is famine in the city, street fights, people are trying to leave". Local authorities in Mariupol said "civilians are still under the rubble" after the school bombing.

Russia's advance in Mariupol came after Kyiv said it had been cut off from the strategically important Sea of Azov, a conduit to the Black sea.

Kyiv also said Moscow had used its new hypersonic missiles against civilian areas elsewhere in Ukraine, in the first confirmation that the Kremlin had deployed the weapons in the conflict.

Moscow said it used the Kinzhal missiles, which it claims can travel at 10 times the speed of sound, to destroy a fuel depot in southern Ukraine and to target a munitions storage facility in the west. Turkey, which is mediating in peace talks between Russia and Ukraine alongside Israel, said they had edged closer to an agreement on key aspects of a potential peace deal.

But Kyiv and its western allies fear Vladimir Putin could be buying time in the talks in a bid to replenish Moscow's forces and launch a broader offensive. Mariupol's status is a key sticking point because it is part of the Ukrainian-held territory claimed by Moscow-backed separatists, according to two people briefed on the peace efforts.

In a televised speech to officials from his country's ruling party, Mevlut Cavusoglu, Turkey's foreign minister, said



Civilians are evacuated in groups from Mariupol under the control of pro-Russia separatists yesterday  
Anadolu Agency via Getty

that "the parties are close to agreement on fundamental issues". He added: "There is momentum."

Turkey's pro-government Hurriyet newspaper reported that the issues included Kyiv's declaring neutrality and abandoning its drive for Nato membership, "demilitarising" Ukraine in exchange for collective security guarantees, what Russia calls "denazification" and lifting restrictions on the use of Russian in Ukraine.

But Linda Thomas-Greenfield, US ambassador to the UN, accused Moscow of failing to fully participate in the talks. "The negotiations seem to be one-sided," she said.

Volodymyr Zelensky, Ukraine's president, said the talks were worth pursuing even if they had a "1 per cent

chance of success" and warned that a failure of negotiations would risk "a third world war". He told CNN: "We have demonstrated the dignity of our people and our army... But unfortunately our dignity is not going to preserve lives... we have to use any format, any chance, in order to have the possibility of negotiating."

Zelensky said that Russian leaders had told him Ukraine would not be allowed to join Nato or the EU.

Despite invitations from the Ukrainian government, US president Joe Biden is not planning to travel to Ukraine when he visits Europe this week to attend Thursday's Nato summit in Brussels, the White House said yesterday.

Ukraine has ruled out making territorial concessions under any circumstances. Kyiv could offer token concessions such as banning certain groups or changing the names of streets, said two people briefed on the talks.

Additional reporting by Kiran Stacey

## Briefing

**Listing freeze hits Wall Street for \$4.6bn**  
Morgan Stanley, Bank of America, Goldman Sachs, JP Morgan and Citigroup have suffered a big revenue blow from the freeze in equity raisings because of recent market volatility. The biggest US banks have pulled in a cumulative \$6.45bn this year compared with \$5.3bn in the same period in 2021. — PAGE 8

**CVC chooses Amsterdam for flotation**  
Europe's biggest private equity group has told potential investors it will take its multibillion-euro initial public offering to Amsterdam's Euronext exchange, shunning the London market. — PAGE 11

**Gross casts doubt on Fed rates strategy**  
Investor Bill Gross has warned that although the central bank lifted rates last week, it won't be able to push through a series of planned rises as the economy would "crack". — PAGE 8

**Brussels rethinks sustainable food plan**  
The EU has launched a review of its strategy after a strong push against planned reforms by member governments, farmers and the agriculture industry as the Ukraine war raises fresh concerns. — PAGE 4

**Competition boosts top ESG salaries**  
Asset managers have resorted to poaching staff from each other as soaring demand for sustainable investing experts ramps up pay in the field, with salaries for top hires rising 50 per cent. — PAGE 11

**Sony-backed group feels metaverse pull**  
H2L, founded a decade ago, has designed an armband to detect the flexing of muscles, enabling an avatar to copy body movements and allowing users to feel objects in the metaverse. — PAGE 11

## Lex and Business Life

The Lex column, Pillita Clark's Business Life column and today's crossword can be found on Page 15.

## Datavatch

**New Europeans**  
Recipients of EU member state citizenship, 2020 ('000)



Some 725,000 people acquired citizenship of an EU state where they lived in 2020. Syrians, Moroccans and Albanians were the biggest group. About 16,000 Britons acquired citizenship, mainly in Germany, France or Sweden.

Source: Eurostat



## Russian property owners seek a Manhattan transfer

How do you exit from a market without alerting buyers to your need for urgency? New York property brokers are receiving a growing number of inquiries from Russians seeking to sell their assets through discreet "whisper" listings as they face up to the threat of sanctions. The situation poses some awkward questions: if an apartment in a luxury building is hit by sanctions, will it affect the value of others? And will the lender take a hit?

Property boom ends — PAGE 3

# Saudi Aramco will spend billions more to boost oil output and meet demand

TOM WILSON — LONDON  
SAMER AL-ATRUSH — RIYADH

Saudi Aramco will boost spending on oil production to meet rising energy demand as Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the subsequent sanctions which Moscow faces threaten to hit global oil supplies.

The world's biggest oil exporter said years of under-investment in the industry threatened global energy security.

Rising oil consumption, low inventories and declining spare production capacity meant that supply and demand were tightly balanced, Amin Nasser, chief executive, said. Substantial investment is needed to arrest global supply that is declining by as much as 7 per cent a year, he added.

"We are doing our part but it is not enough. Other players need also to do

their part and increase their investment," he said.

Saudi Aramco will increase its maximum production capacity from 12mn to 13mn barrels a day by 2027. Capital expenditure in 2021 was \$31.9bn and would increase to between \$40bn and \$50bn in 2022, the company said.

Saudi Aramco and rivals including Chevron, ExxonMobil and BP have benefited from the global economic recovery and supply constraints which have pushed oil prices above \$100 a barrel for the first time in more than seven years.

Prices have been driven even higher by fears that a growing boycott of Russian oil could remove up to 2.5mn b/d of crude oil and petroleum products from the market, and the reluctance of Saudi Arabia and its allies in the Opec+ group to boost production to compensate.

Saudi Aramco said average crude oil

production in 2021 was 9.2mn b/d, as it gradually replaced the output cut in 2020 when the coronavirus pandemic crushed demand.

The company cashed in on rising prices, reporting its highest annual earnings since an initial public offering in 2019 in annual results announced yesterday. Net income more than doubled in 2021 to \$110bn, Saudi Aramco said, and the oil group maintained its full-year cash dividend at \$75bn.

The state-backed group, which had reported earnings of \$49bn a year earlier, said the 124 per cent increase was driven by "higher crude oil prices, stronger refining and chemicals margins and the consolidation of Sabic's full-year results". The company acquired a 70 per cent stake in Sabic, the Saudi petrochemicals company, in 2020.

Qatar gas accord page 2

## World Markets

### STOCK MARKETS

	Mar 18	prev	%chg
S&P 500	4460.12	4411.67	1.17
Nasdaq Composite	13850.84	13614.78	2.05
Dow Jones Ind	34754.93	34480.76	0.80
FTSE 100	1772.68	1780.19	0.71
Euro Stoxx 50	3952.44	3985.32	0.44
FTSE 100	7405.90	7395.34	0.28
FTSE All-Share	4136.37	4120.17	0.37
ZAC 40	8620.24	8620.24	0.00
Sensex 500	14413.09	14399.06	0.17
Nikkei	29827.43	29932.89	0.85
Hang Seng	21412.40	21501.23	-0.41
MSCI World	2981.31	2936.33	1.53
MSCI EM	1120.93	1091.00	2.69
MSCI ACWI	686.25	683.17	1.77
FT Worldw 2500	5768.14	5692.94	1.32
FT Worldw 5000	45077.16	44484.54	1.33

### CURRENCIES

	Mar 18	prev	%chg
Pair	Mar 18	Prev	
\$ per €	1.105	1.111	-0.54
£ per \$	0.905	0.900	0.56
€ per \$	0.758	0.760	-0.26
£ per €	0.839	0.844	-0.59
¥ per €	119.175	119.440	-0.22
¥ per \$	131.671	131.581	0.07
Index	81.311	81.430	-0.15
SFR per €	1.032	1.039	-0.67
SFR per \$	1.230	1.230	0.00

### INTEREST RATES

	price	yield	chg
US Gov 10 yr	95.01	2.15	-0.01
UK Gov 10 yr	99.67	1.50	-0.07
Ger Gov 10 yr	98.40	0.37	-0.01
Jpn Gov 10 yr	99.98	0.20	0.00
US Gov 30 yr	107.90	2.43	-0.01
Ger Gov 2 yr	-	-0.36	-0.02

### COMMODITIES

	Mar 18	prev	%chg
Oil WTI \$	104.31	102.98	1.29
Oil Brent \$	107.19	106.64	0.52
Gold \$	1948.05	1913.20	1.81

	price	yield	chg
Fed Funds Eff	0.08	0.00	0.00
US 3m Bill	0.40	0.44	-0.04
Euro Libor 3m	-0.58	-0.50	0.00
UK 3m	1.04	1.04	0.00

Prices are latest for edition. Data provided by Morningstar

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## Russia Bombards Strategic Port From Land, Air and Sea

### War Threatens to Cause a Global Food Crisis

By JACK NICAS

The war in Ukraine has delivered a shock to global energy markets. Now the planet is facing a deeper crisis: a shortage of food. A crucial portion of the world's wheat, corn and barley is trapped in Russia and Ukraine because of the war, while an even larger portion of the world's fertilizers is stuck in Russia and Belarus. The result is that global food and fertilizer prices are soaring. Since the invasion last month, wheat prices have increased by 21 percent, barley by 33 percent and some fertilizers by 40 percent.

The upheaval is compounded by major challenges that were already increasing prices and squeezing supplies, including the pandemic, shipping constraints, high energy costs and recent droughts, floods and fires.

Now economists, aid organizations and government officials are warning of the repercussions: an increase in world hunger.

The looming disaster is laying bare the consequences of a major war in the modern era of globalization. Prices for food, fertilizer, oil, gas and even metals like aluminum, nickel and palladium are all rising fast — and experts expect worse as the effects cascade. "Ukraine has only compounded a catastrophe on top of a catastrophe," said David M. Beasley, the executive director of the World Food Program, the United Nations agency that feeds 125 million people a day. "There is no precedent even close to this since World War II."

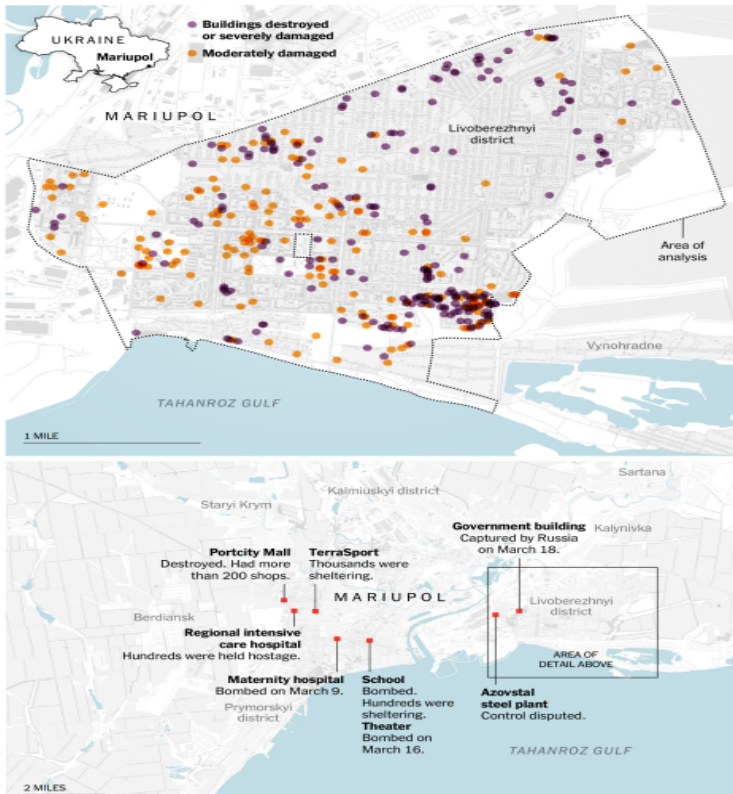
Ukrainian farms are about to miss critical planting and harvesting seasons. European fertilizer plants are significantly cutting production because of high energy prices. Farmers from Brazil to Texas are cutting back on fertilizer, threatening the size of the next harvests.

China, facing its worst wheat crop in decades after severe flooding, is planning to buy much more of the world's dwindling supply. And India, which ordinarily exports a small amount of wheat, has already seen foreign demand

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### Widespread Attacks in Residential Areas of Mariupol

An analysis of satellite images found at least 391 buildings in a residential area of the besieged city were damaged or destroyed. Russian attacks on civilian targets continued on Sunday.



Sources: Unlabeled/Unlabeled (damage analysis); OpenStreetMap | Note: Analysis excludes military area near center of map and accounts only for damage apparent in satellite imagery as of March 14.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

### For Putin, 'Truth' Is Just Another Front Line

By STEVEN LEE MYERS and STUART A. THOMPSON

In the tense weeks before Russia invaded Ukraine on Feb. 24, Russian officials denied that it planned anything of the sort, denouncing the United States and its NATO allies for stoking panic and anti-Russian hatred. When it did invade, the officials denied it was at war.

Since then, the Kremlin has cycled through a torrent of lies to explain why it had to wage a "special military operation" against a sovereign neighbor. Drug-addled neo-Nazis. Genocide. American biological weapons factories. Birds and reptiles trained to carry pathogens into Russia. Ukrainian forces bombing their own cities, including theaters sheltering children.

Disinformation in wartime is as old as war itself, but today war unfolds in the age of social media and digital diplomacy. That has given Russia — and its allies in China and elsewhere — powerful means to prop up the claim that the invasion is justified, exploiting disinformation to rally its citizens at home and to discredit its enemies abroad. Truth has simply become another front in Russia's war.

Using a barrage of increasingly outlandish falsehoods, President Vladimir V. Putin has created an alternative reality, one in which Russia is at war not with Ukraine but with a larger, more pernicious enemy in the West. Even since the war began, the lies have gotten more and more bizarre, transforming from claims that "true sovereignty" for Ukraine was possible only under Russia, made before the attacks, to those about migratory birds carrying bioweapons.

Russia's message has proved successful domestically, where the Kremlin's claims go unchallenged. Surveys suggest a majority of Russians support the war effort. Internationally, the campaign has seeped into an information ecosystem that allows them to spread virulently, reaching audiences that were once harder to reach.

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### Art School Is Hit as Hundreds Try to Hide

This article is by Valerie Hopkins, Marc Santora and Catherine Porter.

LIVIU, Ukraine — Firing rockets and bombs from the land, the air and — probably for the first time — warships in the Sea of Azov, Russian forces broadened their bombardment of the Ukrainian city of Mariupol on Sunday and have forcibly deported thousands of residents, according to city officials and witnesses.

Among the freshly devastated was an art school, where about 400 residents were hiding, according to city officials who claimed it had been bombed by Russian forces targeting civilians. The number of casualties was not known.

Into the fourth week of the Russian assault on the country, the coastal city — a strategic port that would give Russia control over much of Ukraine's southern coast — has increasingly become a grim symbol of Russian frustration that its superior manpower and weaponry has not forced the quick capitulation of the country. And it has come to symbolize Russia's brutality, with its forces increasingly targeting civilian sites with long-range missiles to crush the public's spirit and break the Ukrainian military resistance.

The city has been without food, water, electricity or gas since the early days of the Feb. 24 invasion. But its situation deteriorated even more over the weekend, with reports of street battles and Russian forces successfully conquering three neighborhoods.

On Sunday morning, the Azov battalion, a Ukrainian regiment that has drawn far-right fighters from around the world and is charged with the city's defense, said four Russian naval vessels had shelled the city. With Mariupol largely cut off from the outside world, the toll on civilians there is difficult to assess.

Last week, a Mariupol theater shielding hundreds of people was reduced to rubble. The word "children" was written in huge letters on the pavement, clearly visible from the air. Even now, the fates of

Continued on Page A10

### Tracking Route Of Biden Diary To Provocateur

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT and ADAM GOLDMAN

A month before the 2020 election, Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s daughter, Ashley, received a call from a man offering help. Striking a friendly tone, the man said that he had found a diary that he believed belonged to Ms. Biden and that he wanted to return it to her.

Ms. Biden had in fact kept a diary the previous year as she recovered from addiction and had stored it and some other belongings at a friend's home in Florida where she had been living until a few months earlier. The diary's highly personal contents, if publicly disclosed, could prove an embarrassment or a distraction to her father at a critical moment in the campaign.

She agreed with the caller to send someone to retrieve the diary the next day.

But Ms. Biden was not dealing with a good Samaritan.

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### When the Russians Came and Took Their Homes

As Russian forces pushed toward Kyiv, they stormed an apartment complex in a nearby suburb and held the residents hostage. Some of it was caught on camera. Page A8.



### At Harvard, Jackson Weighed Race, Justice and Academics

By ERICA L. GREEN

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — When a Confederate flag was hung from the window of a dormitory at Harvard University more than 30 years ago, members of the Black Students Association saw it as an attempt to tell them they did not belong there.

They sprang into action, "being vocal, agitating, militating, marching, doing all that great stuff," Antoinette Coakley, one of the students, recalled recently. But the voice of another member — Ketanji Brown, a classmate who was soon to become one of Ms. Coakley's best friends — cut through the noise.

"Ketanji said, 'Wait a minute, as we're doing this, we're missing out on classes. As we're fighting against this injustice, we're actually doing them a service because we're going to be failing,'" Ms. Coakley, now a law professor at Northeastern University, recalled.

"So we protested, but we made sure we were in class," she added.



Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson at Harvard in 1989-1990.

"We were going to show them that by showing up the way that we did — excellently — that they were wrong."

The Confederate flag incident was one of several at Harvard in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when a tense debate about whether it was a justifiable form of free speech roiled the campus. The university administration ultimately decided it could not force

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NATIONAL A13-19

**How Climate Affects the Mind**  
Experts and psychologists are racing to understand how a volatile, unpredictable and warming planet shapes our minds and mental health. PAGE A18

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**Tech Blooms in Toronto**  
For all the excitement around the growing hubs in places like Austin, Texas, and Miami, the biggest expansion has been in Canada's largest city. PAGE B1

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**Enticed by the Web**  
TikTok and Instagram are fueling interest in an exhibition featuring the work of Tomás Saraceno, an artist exceptionally fond of spiders. PAGE C2

SPORTS D1-8

**Krzyzewski's Run Continues**  
Duke, a No. 2 seed, put off the retirement of Coach Mike Krzyzewski, outlasting No. 7 Michigan State to advance to the men's round of 16. PAGE D6

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**Thomas L. Friedman** PAGE A23



JOSEPH GORDON-LEVITT KYLE CHANDLER UMA THURMAN

# SUPER PUMED

The Battle For Uber

NOW STREAMING SHOWTIME



## Bloody Ukraine stalemate predicted



**A BOMB** squad inspects a crater in Ukraine's capital. Russia's failures to seize Kyiv and other main cities have created conditions for a stalemate that could last for weeks or months, says the Institute for the Study of War.

FELIPE DANA Associated Press

## Clinics struggle to hire workers

'We can't pay what the market demands,' says one health center chief executive.

By EMILY ALPERT REYES

A community clinic in Huntington Park has two dentists eager to come back to work — a coveted service for poor and uninsured patients who often go without dental care.

But dentists need dental assistants to prepare rooms, run X-rays and help with equipment. And South Central Family Health Center has been unable to hire enough of them.

That amounts to more than 2,000 patients annually going without dental care they could otherwise have had, said David Roman, communications director for the center, which operates clinics from South L.A. to Cudahy.

Without three more assistants, "we can't bring back two dentists," Roman said. "And it's not just us."

Community clinics, which provide primary and preventive care to poor and uninsured patients, have

[See Clinics, A8]



**A WOMAN** embraces her son upon his arrival in Lviv, Ukraine, after he escaped from Mariupol, a port city in southern Ukraine devastated by Russian forces.

BERNAT ARMANQUE Associated Press

## Asia grapples with Omicron

By DAVID PIERSON AND STEPHANIE YANG

**SINGAPORE** — The repurposed AsiaWorld Expo center in Hong Kong echoes with the moans of elderly COVID-19 patients. Kept in 8-foot cubicles, many go weeks without fresh air, sunlight or a bath. Some take their last breaths under the harsh glow of the convention hall lights. On a good day, an ambulance will arrive in an hour to carry their bodies away.

"It's a nightmare," said

Lily, a 22-year-old nurse at the isolation facility. "Sometimes we call for an ambulance because a patient needs to go to a hospital, and we're told it will take one to two days to arrive. It's really shocking."

The nurse, exhausted by having to care for more than 150 patients with one other co-worker, declined to give her last name because staffers were ordered not to speak to the media about the conditions at the site, which have come to exemplify the runaway COVID-19 crisis in Hong Kong.

In just a matter of weeks, the city of more than 7 million has transformed from one of the safest places during the pandemic to having what's believed to be the highest rate of COVID-19 deaths in the world.

On Feb. 18, Hong Kong had a total of 259 COVID deaths since the pandemic began. A month later, the number had soared to nearly 4,600 — on par with the reported total in China, a country of 14 billion.

With an alarmingly low vaccination rate among its

[See Asia, A6]

Kremlin is accused of bombing an art school and forcibly deporting thousands to Russia.

By PATRICK J. McDONNELL, MARCUS YAM AND KATE LINTHICUM

**LVIV, Ukraine** — Amid a growing consensus that Russia's invasion of Ukraine is morphing into a bloody stalemate that could last months, Ukrainian officials on Sunday blamed the Kremlin for a new spate of deadly attacks on civilian targets, including the bombing of an art school in the embattled port city of Mariupol where hundreds had taken shelter.

Ukrainian officials also accused Russian forces of seizing several thousand Mariupol residents and deporting them against their will to "remote cities in Russia."

Ukraine's human rights spokesperson, Lyudmila Denisova, said on the messaging app Telegram that residents were being transported across the border to a Russian city about 60 miles from Mariupol and then sent by train farther into the Russian interior.

Mariupol Mayor Vadym Boychenko likened the alleged deportations to the expulsion and slaughter of millions of Jews by Nazi Germany during the Holocaust,

a theme also evoked Sunday by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy in a virtual address to lawmakers in Israel. "What the occupiers are doing today is familiar to the older generation, who saw the horrific events of World War II," Boychenko said.

The reports of forced removals could not be independently verified given that few journalists or humanitarian aid workers have been able to enter Mariupol, where machine-gun battles rage daily between Russian forces and Ukrainian defenders. The Kremlin has not responded to the allegations, although Russian state media reported that buses filled with what they described as refugees have been arriving from Ukraine in recent days.

Linda Thomas-Greenfield, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, told CNN on Sunday that she could not confirm the reports but added it would be "unconscionable for Russia to force Ukrainian citizens into Russia and put them in what will basically be concentration and prisoner camps."

Mariupol, a strategic city of nearly 450,000 on the Sea of Azov, has become a vivid symbol of the devastation wrought by the unprovoked invasion, with massive waters opened by bombs and artillery shells and 90% of the city's buildings reportedly damaged or destroyed.

The apparent bombing [See Ukraine, A4]

### ANALYSIS

## Trump's shadow lingers over the war

Experts say Putin was emboldened by the ex-president's actions toward Ukraine.

By TRACY WILKINSON AND SARAH D. WIRE

**WASHINGTON** — The last time (and maybe the first time) most Americans heard of Volodymyr Zelenskyy, the Ukrainian president, was at the center of a scandal that would lead to the impeachment of then-President Trump.

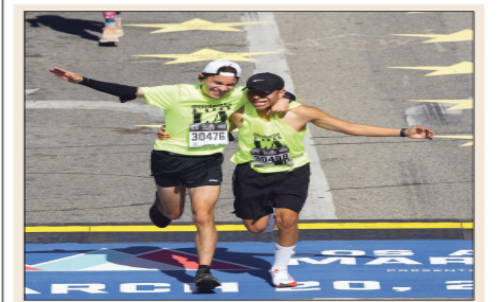
Trump in 2019 threatened to hold up weapons deliveries to Ukraine — caught even then in a simmering war with Russian proxies — unless Zelenskyy helped him dig up political dirt on rival

Joe Biden.

Today, the shadow of that scandal lingers. How much did Trump's toying with Ukraine, cozying up to Russian President Vladimir Putin and, ultimately, Trump's acquittal on charges of abuse of power and obstruction of Congress influence Putin's decision to invade Ukraine?

Putin had already bitten off bits of Ukraine with the illegal annexation of the Crimean peninsula in 2014, and a swath of neighboring Georgia six years earlier. But nothing compared with the massive attack he launched across Ukraine, a former Soviet republic, on Feb. 24.

Numerous experts and current and former officials say Putin was emboldened [See Trump, A4]



MYUNG J. CHUN Los Angeles Times

### MARATHON GLORY

On a cool day, runners in the 37th annual Los Angeles Marathon cross the finish line on Avenue of the Stars in Century City. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

### Taylor Fritz's moment in sun

He upsets Rafael Nadal in the BNP Paribas Open tennis final in Indian Wells. **SPORTS, D1**

### The 'genocide' of the Rohingya

The U.S. plans to make the long-anticipated designation on Monday. **WORLD, A3**

**Weather**  
Mostly sunny, warmer.  
Windy tonight.  
L.A. Basin: 79/58. **B6**

7 85944 00200 5

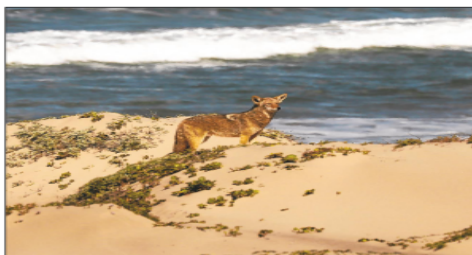
## Turbine plans draw tribal opposition

A proposal to build offshore generators collides with efforts for marine sanctuary.

By LOUIS SAHAQUN

**LOMPOC, Calif.** — Along the wind-blashed shores of the Gaviota Coast, near the rocket gantries of Vandenberg Space Force Base, lazy breakers claw at the base of sandy bluffs and dunes, while farther out to sea, great white sharks cruise beneath churning whitecaps.

It's a stunning and uniquely Californian vista, a place where pristine headlands overlook the sub-



**A COYOTE** runs through Surf Beach this month in Santa Barbara County, where companies aim to build wind power generators less than three miles offshore.

AL SEIB For The Times

merged remains of sacred Chumash villages and launchpads fire the nation's newest and most secret technology into orbit.

But in recent months, this stretch of the Santa Barbara County coastline has become a bitter collision point for several national and global imperatives — the reduction of planet-warming greenhouse gases, the conservation of natural habitats and the atonement for injustices committed against Indigenous populations.

A plan by private corporations to float up to eight wind power generators less than three miles offshore has run headlong into ef-

[See Turbines, A12]



# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington

50 11 12 13 14

Sunny 70/48 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 71/49 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, MARCH 21, 2022 • B2

## Fierce fight for control of Mariupol

As Russian advances slow, a stalemate may be on the horizon

BY LIZ SLY  
AND DAN LAMOTHE

Russia's attempt to conquer Ukraine could be headed toward a stalemate as heavy casualties and equipment losses take a toll on unprepared Russian forces that have failed so far to achieve any of their initial objectives, Western officials and military experts say.

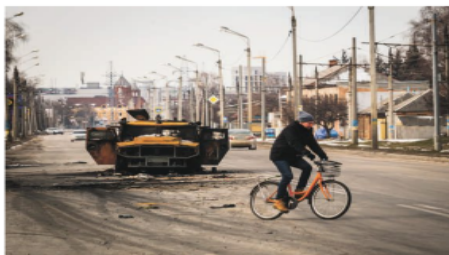
The front lines have barely moved in more than a week. Russians are being killed or injured at the rate of up to 1,000 a day, according to Western intelligence estimates, and even more according to Ukrainian ones.

Videos of burned-out tanks and abandoned convoys stream constantly on Ukrainian social media accounts, alongside footage of dead Russian soldiers, hungry Russian soldiers stealing chickens from local farmers and, increasingly, the mangled bodies of Ukrainian civilians dying in missile and artillery attacks.

The ferocity of the Russian assault has only intensified as the advances have slowed, with Russia substituting harsh bombing for Russian troops.



ATEF SAFA/EPH-CFE/SHUTTERSTOCK



WOJCIECH GRZECINSKI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



WIMM GHRDA/ASSOCIATED PRESS



ANDREW MARENKO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: A destroyed Russian army vehicle sits on a road in the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv. A convoy of cars evacuating civilians from Irpin passes what remains of a Russian tank. Another damaged Russian vehicle in Kharkiv. A cyclist passes a burned-out vehicle in Kharkiv. The Russian military remains bogged down in many parts of the country, including outside Kyiv.

### ZELENSKY AGAIN SEEKS PEACE TALKS

Russia tries to claim 1st strategic win in Ukraine

BY LOVEDAY MORRIS,  
DAN LAMOTHE,  
ANNABELLE TINSIT  
AND KAREEM FAHIM

DNIPRO, UKRAINE — Intense fighting spread Sunday into all neighborhoods in the southern port city of Mariupol, officials said, thrusting Russian and Ukrainian forces into pitched battles as Russia tries to claim its first strategic victory since invading even as its advance remains stalled in most of the country.

The urban combat included the bombing by Russian aircraft of an art school that was sheltering 400 people, according to Mariupol Mayor Vadym Boychenko. Communications in the city largely have been cut, and industrial areas linked to the city's steel production have become a major battlefield, said Lt. Col. Sergiy Bachynskyj, a spokesman for the military hospital in Dnipro, a city about 200 miles northwest of Mariupol.

The state-sponsored media site Tass reported that Russian officials would allow armed Ukrainians to leave Mariupol unharmed during a two-hour window on Monday.

SEE UKRAINE ON A14

### Is Europe's new playbook enough to sustain refugees?

BY ISAAC STANLEY BECKER,  
SOUD MEKHENNET AND  
WILLIAM NOAH GLUCROFT

BERLIN — Squat white container homes line the runways of the former Tempelhof Airport, used 75 years ago for the airlift that sustained West Berlin through the Soviet blockade.

Now it's sustaining Lena, 48, who fled her home outside Kyiv with hopes of reaching Tel Aviv; her 14-year-old son clutched a paper printout with directions to

a local health and social affairs office said to be helping with plane tickets.

Different plans preoccupied 29-year-old Vika, who expected to remain in Berlin, find work and send her son to kindergarten. A third mother had her sights set on Stockholm.

"After war, this is very good," said Lena, a dressmaker. "We have a bed, bathroom and good food. But it's not forever."

These mothers and many like them have refuge from Russia's

assault on Ukraine thanks to a vast humanitarian response facilitated by rail companies, international organizations and everyday citizens. But their aspirations depend also on Western governments, whose initial reaction, say critics, was delayed and undermined by wishful thinking.

As the scale of the crisis became clear, European leaders forged political consensus absent from prior humanitarian disasters, setting aside procedures still

SEE REFUGEES ON A18

### Signed up to fight, some foreigners wait in frustration

BY SUDARSAN RAGHAVAN

KYIV, UKRAINE — Before he decided to buy a one-way plane ticket to Ukraine, Adam worked two jobs, as a security guard and as a cashier at a dollar store. He owned guns and fired them on shooting ranges, but the only fighting he had ever done was in mixed martial arts classes.

That didn't stop the tall, lanky 24-year-old from Thousand Oaks, a Los Angeles suburb, from flying to this war-torn capital earlier

this month. He joined a new international legion set up to fight Russian forces about 15 miles outside the city.

Adam, sporting camouflage pants, is unfazed by his inexperience in combat. He will rely, he said, on sheer determination — to save Ukraine and protect American values.

"Democracy and freedom are very important to the whole world," said Adam, seated in the lobby of a Kyiv hotel, along with other foreigners dressed in their

new military camouflage who have joined his unit. "What [Russian President Vladimir] Putin is doing is simply wrong. And Ukraine is the underdog, so they need help."

Since Russia invaded Ukraine, thousands of Americans and other foreign nationals have signed up to fight for Ukraine, answering a call to action by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky. Now, with the conflict in its fourth week, a growing number

SEE KYIV ON A11

## The death spiral of an American family

A son reckons with an inheritance of debt, desperation and a fall from the middle class

BY ELI SASLOW

LINCOLN PARK, MICH. — Dave Ramsey Jr. walked into the funeral home with \$60 in cash, hoping to settle one more of his father's outstanding debts. He followed an employee into a private bereavement room, where she took his final payment and said she'd look in the storage room for his father's remains.

"It was just a basic cremation, right?" she asked. "Yeah," he said. "The cheapest one."

"And did you order any kind of urn, or a memory book, or —?" "No. Sorry," he said. "I know he deserved a lot better."

It had been almost a month since Dave, 39, found his father lying unresponsive in bed next to his cellphone and a bill from a collections agency, having died of a heart attack at age 70, and ever since Dave had been trying to make sense of what his father had left behind. He'd read through his

SEE DEBT ON A6



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Dave Ramsey Jr. smokes as he reviews documents and bills. His father lost money in real estate during the Great Recession and went thousands of dollars into medical debt.

## Judge Jackson takes the stage at Senate hearings

Members will try to pin down how she would rule on national issues

BY ROBERT BARNES  
AND ANN E. MARIMOW

Despite her years on the federal bench and as a lawyer in private practice and public service, Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson has had little engagement with many of the hot-button issues dominating the Supreme Court's attention.

Nevertheless, her supporters think they know she's on their side, on the basis of her past affiliations and the Democratic president who nominated her. That's also enough for her opponents to have formed some opinions.

Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee on Monday will begin the notoriously difficult

Watch live today at 10:30 a.m. Hearings on Ketanji Brown Jackson nomination [washingtonpost.com](https://www.washingtonpost.com)

job of trying to pin down a Supreme Court nominee on specifics about how she would approach the job or confront the national issues in which the high court now increasingly plays an outsized role.

Jackson's nomination is historic — she's the first Black woman named to a court that for hundreds of years was populated only by White men. In the short term, her replacement of Justice Stephen G. Breyer, a man who once hired her as a clerk, would be unlikely to shift the court's ideological balance or its six-judge conservative supermajority.

But justices generally serve for life, and they bring their own life experiences to the job. When senators questioning her on her nomination to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit asked

SEE JACKSON ON A4

### IN THE NEWS



KATHERINE FREY/THE WASHINGTON POST

March Madness As NCAA tournament action continues, Maryland's women advance to the Sweet 16 and Duke's men move on. DI

**THE NATION**  
New York Mayor Eric Adams is caught between pledges to close the infamous Rikers Island jail complex and crack down on crime. A2  
**Supreme Court** Justice Clarence Thomas was hospitalized with an infection on Friday and is being treated with intravenous antibiotics, the court announced. A2

**THE WORLD**  
Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro is using

the war in Ukraine to justify the exploitation of Indigenous land. A8

**THE ECONOMY**  
The Help Desk explains how to evaluate the privacy of browsers or messengers. A15

**THE REGION**  
Metro's next series of rail cars will be built at a \$70 million plant in Hagerstown that will employ nearly 500 people. B1

### THE WEEK AHEAD

**MONDAY**  
Vice President Harris travels to Louisiana to discuss expanding rural Internet access.  
**The Senate Judiciary** Committee kicks off hearings on the Supreme Court nomination of Ketanji Brown Jackson.  
**The Supreme Court** hears arguments in two cases, in addition to cases on Tuesday and Wednesday.

**TUESDAY**  
The Senate Foreign

Relations Committee holds a hearing on Iran nuclear negotiations.

**WEDNESDAY**  
President Biden is expected to travel to Brussels for a NATO summit.

**THURSDAY**  
Jobless claims are estimated at 210,000.

**FRIDAY**  
U.S. climate envoy John F. Kerry travels to Qatar to attend a forum and discuss the climate crisis.  
**The Supreme Court** meets for a conference.

### INSIDE



**STYLE**  
A hoodie's journey: A decade after Trayvon Martin's killing, his belongings have found their place in history. C1  
**Inessential work**  
Theater series "WeCrashed" lacks a sense of purpose. C1

**BUSINESS NEWS**.....A16  
**COMICS**.....A16  
**OPINION PAGES**.....A16  
**LOTTERIES**.....B3  
**OBITUARIES**.....B6  
**TELEVISION**.....A8  
**WORLD NEWS**.....A8

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## Otro acusado del ataque a la AMIA al que no detienen

La Justicia advirtió que el ministro iraní Ahmad Vahidi (foto) saldría de su país hacia Pakistán, pero la Cancillería tardó un mes en informarlo a Interpol. **Página 16**



## TRAS LOS INCENDIOS, IBERÁ APUESTA A LA VUELTA DEL TURISMO

—sociedad

Ante la caída de los visitantes, el sector afirma que gran parte de los esteros no fue afectada por el fuego que arrasó a parte de Corrientes. **Página 21**

## ARAMBURÚ: CRÓNICA DE UNA NOCHE VIOLENTA EN PARÍS

—deportes

Un entredicho en un bar elegante, una pelea en el Barrio Latino y el asesinato del ex-Pumas, con un extremista de derecha como el principal sospechoso. **Contratapa**

# LA NACION

LUNES 21 DE MARZO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

## El Gobierno amenaza con sanciones por los aumentos de precios

**INFLACIÓN.** El ministro Kulfas dijo que hubo "remarcaciones injustificadas" y advirtió que tomarán "medidas drásticas"

Tras haberle declarado la "guerra" a la inflación con varios días de anticipación, el Gobierno se mostró preocupado por los aumentos de precios que se vienen observando en las góndolas. Ayer, el ministro de Desarrollo Productivo, Matías Kulfas, dijo que en muchos casos se trata de "remarcaciones injustificadas" de precios, advirtió que se les exigirá a los empresarios que den marcha atrás con esas subas y dijo que, si es necesario, aplicará "medidas drásticas", como las leyes de abastecimiento y de defensa de la competencia.

El funcionario detalló que hay varios alimentos que aumentaron por el impacto de la invasión de Rusia en Ucrania en el precio internacional

del trigo, y que a resolver esos casos está destinado el fideicomiso creado por el Gobierno. Pero sobre los que aumentaron sin esa justificación dijo: "Ya tenemos hecho un análisis de la estructura de costos y compararemos eso con los datos que traigan los empresarios. Va a haber una mesa de diálogo, pero si vemos que no encontramos una respuesta adecuada, actuaremos con el peso de la ley".

Expertos consultados por LA NACION opinaron que, al igual que en otras oportunidades en las que se recurrió a estas medidas, tendrán escaso impacto en los precios.

Kulfas se reunirá hoy con empresarios de la alimentación y de los supermercados para explicarles las medidas en detalle. **Página 17**

## Admiten el momento "crítico" en el oficialismo

A través de un mensaje que fue consensuado con el presidente Alberto Fernández, el canciller Santiago Cafiero reconoció ayer el "momento crítico" que atraviesa el Gobierno por el enfrentamiento con el kirchnerismo a raíz del acuerdo con el FMI, y llamó a evitar una ruptura de la coalición. La respuesta llegó a través de la senadora Juliana Di Tullio, cercana a Cristina Kirchner, quien apuntó contra la falta de "dureza" de la Casa Rosada en la negociación con el Fondo. **Página 10**

### EL ESCENARIO

## Una coalición obligada a reinventarse

Claudio Jacquelin

—LA NACION—

El horizonte que en la Casa Rosada auguraban tras la aprobación del acuerdo con el FMI se ensombreció demasiado rápido. La cruda realidad le acaba de confirmar al Presidente que las limitaciones propias, de su equipo y de su gestión son tanto o más poderosas que las trabas externas. **Continúa en la página 13**

LA NACION EN UCRANIA — DÍA 25

## Ultimátum de Putin: exige la rendición de Mariupol

Intensifica el cerco sobre la estratégica ciudad; alarma de Occidente

Elisabetta Piqué  
ENVIADA ESPECIAL

LVIV.— Otra impactante intervención por videoconferencia del presidente ucraniano, Volodimir Zelensky, ante el Parlamento israelí, en la que recordó que Golda Meir era de Kiev y comparó a los rusos con los nazis, marcó el día

25 de la invasión rusa de Ucrania.

Los feroces bombardeos en el sur de esta ex república soviética continuaron durante todo el día con el ataque a una escuela de arte en la sitiada Mariupol, donde se refugiaban 400 personas. En esta estratégica ciudad portuaria crecía anoche la alarma tras un ultimátum del Kremlin a Ucrania para que entre-

guea primera hora de hoy el control a las tropas rusas. La caída de Mariupol puede significar, para Rusia, la apertura de un corredor hacia las regiones separatistas.

En esa ciudad, y en otras tantas, se extendían también las denuncias de deportaciones forzadas de civiles hacia territorio ruso y otras atrocidades. **Continúa en la página 2**

## Boca no perdonó un error y se llevó el clásico

Agazapado, Boca esperó la oportunidad y acertó. Pese a que River desplegó una propuesta más audaz, los xeneizes ganaron el superclásico 1-0 porque el colombiano Villa se aprovechó de un error defensivo de González Pirez. El otro pilar del triunfo fue el arquero Agustín Rossi con su estupenda tarea en el Monumental. **Deportes**



La felicidad del plantel de Boca y la desazón de River en su cancha

NATACHA PISARENKO/AP



## ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Jeff Crisp Europa tem duplo padrão na recepção de refugiados

O britânico, com 35 anos de experiência em instituições para refugiados, diz que ficou positivamente surpreso com a receptividade da Europa a ucranianos que fogem da guerra. O outro lado, porém, é a diferença com que esses mesmos países lidam com os refugiados de outras nacionalidades, como sírios e afegãos. **A12**

## Ilustrada C1 Paz em meio à guerra

Após 32 anos, Remake da novela 'Pantanal' propõe trazer calma a um Brasil envolto em chamas

## Esporte B7

Charles Leclerc vence GP do Bahrein em dobradinha da Ferrari no pódio

# Telegram atende exigências e volta a ser liberado no país

Plataforma cumpriu determinações do ministro Alexandre de Moraes, do STF

O ministro Alexandre de Moraes, do Supremo Tribunal Federal, decidiu ontem permitir a volta do funcionamento do Telegram no Brasil, após o cumprimento, pela empresa, de determinações feitas pelo magistrado. Em decisão divulgada na sexta, ele havia atendido à Polícia Federal e Imposto o bloqueio da plataforma.

No sábado, o ministro estabeleceu prazo de 24 horas para que o Telegram cumprisse todas as condições fixadas, incluindo principalmente a exclusão de perfis bolsonaristas destinados à difusão de notícias falsas. O prazo terminaria às 16h44 do domingo. A empresa informou o cumprimento das medidas às 14h45.

O presidente da Anatel (Agência Nacional de Telecomunicações), Wilson Welisch, deve ser comunicado para a adoção de providências no sentido de manter o funcionamento do Telegram, que não chegou a ser suspenso em massa. O mesmo deve ocorrer com empresas como Apple, Google e provedoras de Internet.

O Ministério Público Federal em São Paulo acionará o canal de comunicação disponibilizado pelo Telegram ao STF para requisitar dados sobre moderação de conteúdo e combate à desinformação, como parte das investigações que os procuradores conduzem para tentar enquadrar o aplicativo de mensagens. **Política A4 e A7**



Kazime Xavier/Folhapress

## SERVIÇO PÚBLICO PATINA NA INCLUSÃO DE PESSOAS COM DOWN NO PAÍS

Luan Almeida (esq.), Adenilson Santos e João Marcos Ribeiro (ao fundo), em Campinas (SP); falta vaga para concursados com deficiência intelectual **Cotidiano B3**

## Moradores de Mariupol se veem reféns em casa

Famílias que fugiram de Mariupol, na Ucrânia, relatam ao enviado André Li-ohn que moradores não alcançam corredores humanitários e estão cercados pelo Exército russo. Depois de 15 dias de ataques intensos, 80% das casas foram destruídas. **Mundo A9**

## EDITORIAIS A2

**Perdendo da inflação**  
Sobre redução da renda apesar de alta do emprego.

**Primeiro o teto**  
Acerca de políticas para sem-teto em São Paulo.



Diário de Petrópolis/Reprodução

## TEMPORAL FAZ PETRÓPOLIS (RJ) ACIONAR SIRENES

Área alagada no centro histórico da cidade no Rio de Janeiro neste domingo (20); há pouco mais de um mês, fortes chuvas deixaram 233 mortos e quatro desaparecidos **Cotidiano B4**

## Cortes de impostos deverão somar R\$ 54 bi neste ano

Medidas de redução de impostos já adotadas e em preparação por parte de governo e Congresso vão resultar em um custo de pelo menos R\$ 54,2 bilhões para União, estados e municípios só neste ano — e a renúncia de receitas prosseguirá no próximo mandato presidencial.

O impacto pode aumentar, a depender dos próximos movimentos do Planalto. O presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) tem cobrado iniciativas para uma agenda popular às vésperas do calendário eleitoral, e entre as prioridades estão respostas à inflação. **Mercado A13**

## Economia estuda incentivar setor de semicondutores

O Ministério da Economia discute medidas para estimular a produção nacional de semicondutores, componentes que passam por problema global de oferta e são cruciais para o funcionamento de produtos como brinquedos, celulares e aviões. **Mercado A13**

## Projeto pró-armas motiva pressões sobre senadores

Senadores que analisam o projeto de lei que beneficia CACs (colecionadores, atiradores e caçadores), já votado pela Câmara, passaram a sofrer ameaças dos grupos. Também se tornaram alvo da pressão de lobistas de armas e até do clã Bolsonaro. **Cotidiano B1**



**El ajuste de gastos parece no alcanzar a 1.880 empleados de Hacienda**

## Descarado privilegio: MH dio casi USD 1 millón a sus funcionarios

La gratificación se entregó bajo el apelativo de ayuda escolar. Algunos llegaron a cobrar G. 11,4 millones. Otorgan cuestionable sobresueldo en un momento económico complicado.

PÁGINA 8

Archivamiento de juicio político

### Lenta investigación fiscal para diputados fieles a Quiñónez

PÁGINA 2

Facultades operan irregularmente

### 60% de carreras de Enfermería funcionan sin control de calidad

PÁGINA 15

Guerra en Europa golpea a la región

### Inflación en América Latina, daño colateral de la invasión rusa

PÁGINA 34



## Burocracia del IPS está por matar a enfermos

**En terapia.** La pandemia retrasó el tratamiento de muchos pacientes con cuadros delicados. La previsual se muestra incapaz de apurar una solución.

PÁGINA 16

Revelación de la Senad en informe sobre A Ultranza Py

### El asesinato de Schwartzman fue porque se convirtió en informante

PÁGINA 36

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



Des habitants d'Ayen (Corrèze).

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**Réponses à la question  
de samedi :**  
Le programme  
d'Emmanuel Macron  
est-il de droite ?

**OUI 49% NON 51%**

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 29 301

**Votez aujourd'hui  
sur lefigaro.fr**  
Après le Grand Chelem,  
le XV de France peut-il  
remporter la Coupe  
du monde 2023 ?

ROMAIN LONGIERAS POUR LE FIGARO

# Les partis déjà dans la bataille des législatives

En coulisses, à trois semaines du premier tour de la présidentielle, tous les scénarios du « deuxième match » sont échafaudés dans la fièvre par les candidats et leurs écuries.

Pour ne pas perturber les Français, déjà peu mobilisés par la présidentielle, les partis font mine de ne pas encore parler des législatives. Emmanuel Macron l'a dit lui-même récemment :

« Chaque chose en son temps. » Pourtant, non seulement le sujet est dans toutes les têtes, mais les tractations en coulisses vont bon train. À droite, on anticipe tous les scénarios. La première

force d'opposition avec ses 104 députés pourra-t-elle conserver ses positions ? Au sein de LREM et du MoDem, les 347 députés sortants ont peur de faire les frais d'une recomposi-

tion de la majorité autour de récents transfuges. Chez Reconquête, les équipes qui rêvent de recomposition identifient les circonscriptions gagnables, tandis qu'au RN 350 investitures

ont d'ores et déjà été arrêtées. Enfin, à gauche, les élus socialistes sont tétanisés à l'idée de voir leur groupe diminuer, tandis que les Verts espèrent entrer dans l'Hémicycle.

→ **CHRISTIAN JACOB :** « EMMANUEL MACRON A CONSTRUIT UNE STRATÉGIE CYNIQUE » → **POUR LA MAJORITÉ, LE CASSE-TÊTE DES NOUVEAUX ALLIÉS**  
→ **ÉRIC ZEMMOUR RÊVE DE LÉGISLATIVES RECOMPOSANT L'ÉCHIQUIER À DROITE** → **MARINE LE PEN JOUE LA CARTE DE L'HYPERPROXIMITÉ** → **LES SOCIALISTES ESPÈRENT CONSERVER LA TAILLE DE LEUR GROUPE À L'ASSEMBLÉE** PAGES 2, 4 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



En battant les Anglais samedi, les Bleus ont signé le 10<sup>e</sup> Grand Chelem de leur histoire dans le Tournoi des six nations. Un triomphe essentiel sur la route du rendez-vous planétaire organisé en France en 2023. PAGES 16 ET 17

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

## Fausse querelle, vrai péril

Il y a quelque chose d'accablant à rappeler des vérités premières. Si, comme le disent les enquêtes d'opinion, Emmanuel Macron l'emportait au soir du 24 avril, la majorité des suffrages exprimés lui donnerait une légitimité démocratique indiscutable. On peut légitimement juger cette campagne pauvre, voire escamotée ; regretter que, de pandémie en guerre, l'événement matriciel tende, médiatiquement et politiquement, à écraser toutes les autres délibérations ; considérer que le chef de l'État tire profit de ces situations extrêmes : il suffit alors de se rendre aux urnes pour mettre dans une enveloppe l'un des bulletins - l'offre est riche - qui dénonce cet état de fait. Plutôt que pinailler à l'avance sur un mauvais résultat, il serait peut-être judicieux de jeter toutes ses forces dans la bataille pour tenter de l'améliorer. Rien n'est écrit avant que le rendez-vous des urnes n'ait lieu.

L'abstention préoccupante qui se profile et que l'on peut encore espérer déjouer n'altère en rien la légitimité de l'élu (sinon, maires et présidents de région peuvent déjà remettre leurs mandats), elle est un des effets de la véritable maladie de la démocratie contemporaine : la crise de la représentation.

Souhaitons que les élections législatives du mois de juin ne renforcent pas ce sentiment d'impuissance que nombre de citoyens éprouvent. Il est à craindre, pourtant, qu'une fois encore les forces électorales puissantes de l'élection présidentielle n'arrivent déprimées à l'heure du Parlement. Le RN, La France insoumise et Reconquête ! dépassent à eux trois 40 % dans les sondages ; combien peseront-ils dans l'Hémicycle ? Emmanuel Macron s'est dit personnellement favorable à la proportionnelle intégrale. C'est l'une des pistes pour surmonter cette défaillance démocratique, il faudrait qu'elle soit enfin explorée jusqu'au bout.

Sinon, le transformisme macronien continuera de décourager toute alternance franche et renverra les prétendants dans les marges accidentées de l'opposition éternelle. Le rôle historique de la droite de gouvernement n'est pas de se perdre dans les querelles de légitimité mais plutôt de répondre, par le courage et l'intelligence, à la défiance qu'inspire une démocratie que beaucoup jugent inaccessible. ■

## Les enfants, premières victimes de la guerre en Ukraine

Selon les autorités ukrainiennes, 115 enfants ont été tués et 140 autres ont été blessés depuis le début du conflit. Un bilan qui, à en juger par le pilonnage incessant de plusieurs villes, devrait vite s'alourdir. À Marioupol, qui comptait 450 000 habitants avant la guerre, les chars russes opèrent depuis vendredi dans le centre-ville. À Kiev, un abri blindé accueille 20 bébés conçus dans le cadre de GPA, industrie naguère florissante en Ukraine. PAGES 6, 8 ET 9

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# Thousands from Mariupol 'being forced into Russia'



**'Disturbing' claims as Russia gives Ukrainian forces in city 5am deadline to surrender**

**Lorenzo Tondo** *Lviv*  
**Jon Henley**  
**Daniel Boffey**

Forced civilian deportations from Mariupol to Russia are "disturbing" and "unconscionable" if true, the US has said, after Ukrainian officials accused Moscow of transporting thousands of people against their will out of the devastated port city.

It came as Russia gave Ukrainian forces a 5am Moscow time (2am GMT) deadline today to lay down

their arms in Mariupol, where Moscow said a "terrible humanitarian catastrophe" was unfolding. Col Gen Mikhail Mizintsev, the director of the Russian national centre for defence management, added that humanitarian corridors for civilians would be opened eastwards and westwards out of Mariupol at 10am.

Linda Thomas-Greenfield, the US ambassador to the UN, said she could not yet confirm the allegations of deportations, made on Saturday by Mariupol city council and repeated in detail yesterday by Ukraine's human rights spokesperson, Lyudmyla Denisova. "I've only heard it. I can't confirm it," she told CNN. "But I can say it is disturbing. It is unconscionable for Russia to force Ukrainian citizens into Russia and put them in what will basically be concentration and prisoner camps."

**UK politics** Sunak says PM was not comparing conflict to Brexit [Page 3](#) →

**Volunteer fighters** The South Americans heading for Ukraine [Page 5](#) →

**Refugees** Families torn apart as women and children flee [Page 6](#) →

**TikTok** Officials work to counter disinformation on popular app [Page 8](#) →

▲ A mother embraces her son at Lviv railway station yesterday after his escape from besieged Mariupol  
PHOTOGRAPH: BERNAT ARMANGUE/AP

As the UN said 10 million people - about a quarter of Ukraine's pre-war population - had been displaced and Ukrainian authorities accused Moscow of bombing an art school in Mariupol where more than 400 people had taken shelter, Denisova said Russian troops had "kidnapped" residents and taken them to Russia.

"Several thousand Mariupol residents have been deported to Russia," she said on Telegram. After processing at "filtration camps", some had been transported to the Russian city of Taganrog, about 60 miles from Mariupol, and sent by rail "to various economically depressed cities in Russia", she said.

## Zelenskiy likens Putin to Nazis in appeal for Israeli help

**Daniel Boffey**

Volodymyr Zelenskiy drew links between Vladimir Putin's "final solution" for Ukraine and the Nazi extermination of the Jews as he challenged Israel over its failure to impose sanctions on Russia in an uncompromising address to the Knesset.

Speaking via video link, Ukraine's president warned that indifference cost lives and that there could be no mediating between good and evil, as he challenged Israel over both the lack of sanctions and the failure to come to Ukraine's aid with weapons.

Warning Israelis that they would have to live with their choices, Zelenskiy, who is Jewish, said Russia's president was waging an "all-out war, illegitimate, intended to destroy our people, our country, our cities, our culture and our children. Everything that makes Ukrainians Ukrainian."

"The Russians use the terminology of the Nazi party, want to destroy everything," he said. "The Nazis called this 'the final solution' to the Jewish question. And now ... in Moscow ... they're using those words, 'the final solution'. But now it's directed against us and the Ukrainian question."

Israel has condemned the invasion of Ukraine, but has not followed the west in imposing sanctions on Moscow. Under Israeli law, it can only do so to a state **4** →



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