

## What's News

## Business &amp; Finance

Many traders have turned this year to exotic exchange-traded products designed to turbocharge investment bets, hoping to exploit market swings driven in part by the war in Ukraine, the global outbreak in inflation and questions about the pace of global growth. **A1**

◆ **The effects of the de facto buyers' strike on Russian crude** that began a month ago, propelling prices to their highest levels in years, are starting to create a second wave of impact on oil markets. **B1**

◆ **Russia's invasion of Ukraine** is driving up the price of renewable-energy projects, which were facing supply-chain strains and raw-materials increases before the war. **B1**

◆ **Socially conscious investors** and global-health activists are turning to shareholders to press Pfizer, Moderna and J&J to make more of their Covid-19 vaccine shots available to people in poorer countries. **B1**

◆ **Volkswagen** is changing its approaches to manufacturing as war, health scares and trade disputes roll back decades of globalization. **B1**

◆ **Aluminum makers** are on a nationwide hunt for more old cans, shredded cars and factory waste to keep up with demand. **B3**

◆ **The turmoil in Chinese tech shares** is damping the financial firepower Japan's SoftBank has for new investments, and prompting debate about whether it might sell some of its stake in Alibaba. **B3**

## World-Wide

◆ **Ukrainian forces** are seeking to roll back Russian gains as Moscow shifts its focus to controlling a swath of the south and east of Ukraine. Western officials saw signs Russia is consolidating its position and Zelenskyy urged the West to provide his army with the heavier weapons it needs to fight the better-armed Russian military. **A1, A6-9**

◆ **Biden's remark** that Russia's Putin "cannot remain in power" came under fire for muddying U.S. policy and threatening to undermine diplomatic efforts to end the war in Ukraine. **A1**

◆ **Shanghai imposed** stringent pandemic restrictions it has long tried to avoid on its 25 million residents that are likely to disrupt commercial activity well beyond the city limits. **A1**

◆ **Biden will propose** a new minimum tax on households worth more than \$100 million as part of his annual budget in a bid to ensure the very wealthiest Americans pay at least 20% in tax on their income and rising asset values each year. **A4**

◆ **Republican Rep. Jeff Fortenberry** of Nebraska said he plans to resign from the House, after a federal jury convicted him of lying to investigators in a campaign-finance case. **A4**

◆ **The FAA said** it selected its safety chief, Billy Nolen, to lead the agency on an acting basis after the current administrator, Steve Dickson, steps down at the end of March. **A3**

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**AFTERMATH:** A woman cleared debris from a school that was damaged by shelling in Kharkiv on Sunday as Russia's attack on Ukraine continued. Western officials saw signs that Russia is consolidating its position to regain the offensive, and President Volodymyr Zelenskyy of Ukraine urged the West to provide his army with heavier weapons.

## Biden's Remark on Putin Stirs Anxiety Among Western Allies

By SABRINA SIDDIQUI  
AND TARINI PARTI

WASHINGTON—President Biden's remark that President Vladimir Putin of Russia "cannot remain in power" came under fire for muddying U.S. policy and threatening to undermine diplomatic efforts to end the war in Ukraine.

Administration officials and Democratic lawmakers said Sunday the off-the-cuff remark was an emotional response to the president's interactions in Warsaw with refugees—some

of whom had fled violence in Mariupol, a Ukrainian southern port city under weeks-long Russian bombardment and attacks on civilians.

Julianne Smith, the U.S. ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, said on CNN that Mr. Biden's comments were "a principled human reaction to the stories that he had heard that day."

President Emmanuel Macron of France and European diplomats, meanwhile, warned the comments could undercut any diplomatic solution.

Speaking in the Polish capital of Warsaw on Saturday, Mr. Biden appeared to issue his strongest condemnation of Mr. Putin to date. "For God's sake, this man cannot remain in power," Mr. Biden said at the conclusion of his speech.

On Sunday, in response to a reporter's question, Mr. Biden denied he was seeking regime change in Russia.

Still, his remark—which Moscow dismissed—marked an escalation in Mr. Biden's verbal attacks on the Russian president, after previously calling

him a butcher and a war criminal. It is also the latest example of his penchant for going off script, overshadowing his intended message and prompting White House aides to clarify his words.

Mr. Biden's aides scrambled to play down the words' meaning and impact. White House officials said they believed Mr. Biden's trip and speech were a success, even as some lawmakers and analysts said the remarks could complicate matters. "It reminds us that message Please turn to page A8

## Shanghai Imposes Covid-19 Lockdowns

By YANG JIE  
AND LEZA LIN

Shanghai imposed stringent pandemic restrictions it has long tried to avoid on its 25 million residents that are likely to disrupt commercial activity well beyond the city limits.

Local authorities said on Sunday they plan to lock down the city in two phases over the next week and a half to try to control an outbreak of the highly infectious Omicron variant of the Covid-19 virus.

All over Shanghai, the government's announcement sparked frenzied scrambles to food markets and grumbling about the disruption to urban life in a city that until recently appeared relatively unaffected by Covid.

China has sought to wear itself off disruptive and costly all-out lockdowns, but faces an immense challenge as the Omicron variant puts stress on the country's healthcare and governance systems.

Any suspension of commercial activity in Shanghai will likely have global ripple effects as the city is one of China's primary centers for finance, manufacturing and goods trade. The city hosts the regional headquarters of hundreds of multinational companies, and manufacturers like car makers Tesla Inc. and General Motors Co. run factories there.

Shanghai reported 2,676 confirmed coronavirus cases for Saturday, all but 45 of them asymptomatic, according to a social media post by the Shanghai government. The total caseload represented more than half of the 5,700 new Covid-19 infections reported nationwide on Saturday. Early Monday, China reported 3,500 new cases in Please turn to page A10

## 'CODA' Wins Best Picture Oscar



The drama 'CODA' on Sunday became the first streamed film to earn best picture at the Academy Awards. The movie's Troy Kotsur is the first deaf man to win best supporting actor. **A12**

## Saying 'Sandwiches' Correctly Can Prompt an Oscar Nomination

Dialect coach to the stars made Kristen Stewart royal; DIANA GIGGLE.MP3

By SARAH BALL

He is British, highly trained and might very well ask you to say, "The rain in Spain stays mainly in the plain."

Or a variation, if he's teaching northern England's Geordie accent: "Jean Paul Gaultier's broken the photocopyer," where the last word sounds like FOH-OH-cop-ee-ah.

Dialect coach William Conacher, 53, shares some similarities with the "Pygmalion" and "My Fair Lady" phonetics legend Henry Higgins—but they differ in at least one way.

"I don't have tuning forks," Mr. Conacher says, sliding in his socks from one room of his north London home to another to fetch an essential tool of his trade. "What I have is this."

He opens a laptop with hundreds of audio files, arranged in folders labeled with arcane subdialects, famous voices (Elvis!), regions of the world and entirely invented places. As one of Hollywood's most in-demand accent whippersnappers, Mr. Conacher is hired to extract from film and television actors the kind of transformative voice performance that results in major awards.

Take Kristen Stewart, who was nominated for her first Academy Award this year, for Best Actress. Ms. Stewart, 31, trained with Mr. Conacher for four months to master the voice of Princess Diana in the biopic "Spencer." Previous Conacher-coached roles that won Oscars, in part for how Please turn to page A10

## A Mother Risks All to Get Her Son

Olena Sirotiuk, in Poland when war broke out, returned to Ukraine for her 12-year-old

By MATTHEW LUXMOORE  
AND NATALIA OJEWSKA

USTRONIE MORSKIE, Poland—Olena Sirotiuk was on the night train moving east toward the front lines in Ukraine when she got a call from her 12-year-old son. "Don't come Mummy," he said. "They're shooting."

Ms. Sirotiuk, a cleaner living in western Poland, was one of the few women on a train packed with men headed back to fight the Russians. She wanted to retrieve her son, Nazariy, from behind what had suddenly become enemy territory.

"You go because your child is there," said Ms. Sirotiuk, 50. "In that moment,

there is no fear." The lights on the train were turned off to avoid alerting Russian army patrols. Ms. Sirotiuk later recalled. Instead, the corridors were illuminated by the glow of cellphone screens detailing news about the war and messages from relatives stuck in bomb shelters or negotiating their way to safety abroad. The train trundled along at about 30 miles an hour, and slowed more when artillery fire or shelling could be heard.

It was the start of what would be a five-day, 2,100-mile journey for Ms. Sirotiuk to the industrial city of Zaporizhzhia and back. Please turn to page A9

## Risky Stock Bets Surge in Popularity

By GUNJAN BANERJI

When technology stocks declined for a fourth straight day in January, Evan Fetter, a 25-year-old in the U.S. military, saw an opportunity to swing for the fences.

He poured \$15,000 into the ProShares UltraPro QQQ, an exchange-traded product that is designed to triple the daily return of the Nasdaq-100 index, bidding for what he called a "once-in-a-lifetime gain."

The trade has been underwater at times, but Mr. Fetter said he hopes to hold the shares until his investment is worth \$50,000, at which point he plans to put the money toward a down payment on a

real-estate property.

"Stuff like this is a buying opportunity," Mr. Fetter said of the 2022 declines in U.S. major indexes. He said he has been stashing away money in stocks for years from his earnings at Chick-fil-A and other eateries and wanted something with the prospect of higher returns.

Mr. Fetter is one of many traders who have turned this year to exotic exchange-traded products that are designed to turbocharge bets on everything from stocks to commodities to esoteric financial derivatives. Market swings driven in part by the war in Ukraine, inflation and questions about Please turn to page A2

## Ukraine Forces Advance As Russia Regroups

Western officials see Moscow consolidating its position as Kyiv seeks to reverse gains

KYIV, Ukraine—Ukrainian forces are seeking to roll back Russian gains as Moscow shifts its focus to controlling a swath of the country's south and east.

By Isabel Coles,  
Max Colchester  
and Yuliya Chernova

Ukrainian forces said on Sunday they drove Russian troops out of Trostyanets, in the northeast near the Russian border, potentially opening a road to the provincial capital of Sumy, which is encircled by the Russians.

Western officials saw signs that Russia is consolidating its position to regain the offensive, and President Volodymyr Zelenskyy of Ukraine urged the West to provide his army with the heavier weapons it needs to fight the better-armed Russian military.

The retaking of Trostyanets comes after Moscow, having faced stiff resistance from the Ukrainians in its initial, multi-front offensive, said on Friday that it would refocus its campaign on the eastern Donbas region, where Russian forces Please turn to page A6

### The Ukraine Crisis

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## Infectious optimism

Living with Covid doesn't mean the threat has gone — ANJANA AHUJA, PAGE 19

## Peru chaos deepens

Castillo sinks into an impeachment quagmire — BIG READ, PAGE 17



## Energy rationing

Will this be the next shock for companies? — ANDREW HILL, PAGE 14

## Chinese walls Shanghai shuts finance district

A woman delivers vegetables to a checkpoint for a Shanghai resident constrained behind perimeter walls in a localised Covid-19 lockdown.

China said yesterday that four-day restrictions would be extended to the city's financial district and nine other areas, starting today. People will have to stay at home and submit to mass testing. Public transport will be suspended.

Shanghai authorities had tried to control the outbreak of mostly asymptomatic cases without resorting to the broad controls that other cities have used. China has, in effect, shut itself off from the rest of the world for more than two years as it battles to curb the virus.

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Anjana Ahuja page 19



Gao Shun/Reuters

# Blinken softens Biden remarks by saying US has no aim to oust Putin

◆ 'No strategy of regime change' ◆ Europe seeks de-escalation ◆ Russia steps up Ukraine threat

HAN SEDDON — RIGA  
HENRY FOY — BRUSSELS

The US has denied that it is seeking to overturn Vladimir Putin's regime after Joe Biden appeared to call for his ousting, as European leaders stressed the importance of avoiding a worsening of geopolitical tensions.

Antony Blinken, US secretary of state, said yesterday that the US had "repeatedly" stated that "we do not have a strategy of regime change in Russia — or anywhere else".

His comments were made the day after the US president spoke in Warsaw, condemning Putin's "brutality" in the invasion of Ukraine and saying, "For God's sake, this man cannot remain in power". Biden also warned transatlantic democracies to steel themselves for a

"long fight ahead" to protect freedom in Europe and called on Nato member states to remain united in confronting Putin and defending Ukraine.

Speaking in Jerusalem, Blinken said Biden had been conveying the message that "quite simply, President Putin cannot be empowered to wage war or engage in aggression against Ukraine or anyone else".

European leaders distanced themselves from the US president's remarks. French president Emmanuel Macron said he would not echo Biden's words and that efforts should be made not to worsen the situation.

"We need to be factual and do everything not to allow the situation to spiral," Macron told France 3 TV. "I will not make those kind of comments... We

shouldn't be in an escalation of words or actions."

Josep Borrell, the EU's chief diplomat, said the bloc was "not after a regime change; that is something for Russian citizens to decide".

A senior British official said the UK was not pushing for Putin to be ousted and believed the Russian president should be offered an "off ramp" from the war in Ukraine because "it's good in principle to incentivise good behaviour, not encourage worse behaviour by suggesting there is nothing left to lose".

Ibrahim Kalin, an aide to Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan, urged other countries not to "burn bridges" with Moscow. Ankara is attempting to mediate in the conflict.

Dmitry Peskov, Putin's spokesman,



Joe Biden ended his speech in Warsaw on Saturday by saying: "For God's sake, this man cannot remain in power".

told the state-run Tass agency that "personal insults narrow the window of opportunity for our bilateral relations [to improve] under the current [US] administration".

Russia's military is pursuing its threat to encircle Ukrainian forces in the country's east, according to western military assessments, after Moscow announced on Friday that it would embark on a "new phase" of the war that would focus on the Donbas region. Russia has stepped up attacks on fuel and food depots across the country, according to Ukraine's interior ministry.

Additional reporting by Andres Schipani, Sarah White and George Parker  
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### Briefing

#### ◆ Fed tipped to make jumbo rate rises

The US Federal Reserve is likely to make a series of half-point interest rate rises this year to combat the highest inflation for 40 years, an increasing number of economists have predicted. — PAGE 2

#### ◆ Iran nuclear accord is not a done deal

A deal to save the Iran nuclear accord is neither imminent nor inevitable, a top US official has said, as Tehran demands Washington remove the terrorist tag on its Revolutionary Guards. — PAGE 4

#### ◆ WTO chief highlights food crisis risks

Export controls risk worsening food shortages as commodity and energy prices soar, the head of the World Trade Organization, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, has warned. — PAGE 2



#### ◆ HSBC criticised over editing of reports

HSBC faces criticism from staff and externally after repeatedly editing its analysts' research reports to remove the word "war" in reference to Ukraine, as the UK bank resists pressure to quit Russia. — PAGE 4

#### ◆ Bolsonaro fuel crisis threatens old ally

Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro's determination to cut fuel prices ahead of elections threatens damage to state-controlled energy group Petrobras and the job of its boss Silva e Luna. — PAGE 4

#### ◆ Credit Suisse pressed on Greensill vote

Shareholders in Credit Suisse are pushing the bank to drop a vote at its annual meeting that would absolve directors and executives for failings around the collapse of finance firm Greensill. — PAGE 10

#### ◆ Macquarie buys into Britain's gas grid

A £4.2bn controlling interest in the UK's National Grid gas transmission and metering business is to be sold to Australian investor Macquarie and British Columbia Investment of Canada. — PAGE 6

### Datawatch

#### Public opinion of Rishi Sunak drops to low

UK chancellor of the exchequer's net favourability score

Source: YouGov

Public approval of Rishi Sunak fell to the lowest ever after last week's Spring Statement. Half of Britons say they have an unfavourable opinion of the chancellor of the exchequer, while just over a third view him favourably.

Additional reporting by Andres Schipani, Sarah White and George Parker  
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## Europe cracks down on Kremlin's network of spies

Keeping track of the Kremlin's espionage activity in the west has become an even more urgent task since Russia invaded Ukraine. A round of expulsions this month points to the scale of the problem. Slovakia, the Baltic states and Bulgaria said they had expelled alleged Russian agents. Poland declared 45 Russian diplomats personae non gratae, alleging all to be using diplomatic cover to undertake intelligence work.

Russian spying — PAGE 2

# US stock buybacks hit record \$319bn as companies exploit market volatility

NICHOLAS MEGAW — NEW YORK

US companies are rushing to repurchase large volumes of shares to take advantage of stock market volatility.

A record \$319bn of new share buybacks have been authorised so far this year according to Goldman Sachs. There were \$267bn of buybacks at the same point in 2021.

Even recently listed companies, which traditionally spend cash to fuel growth rather than return the excess to shareholders, have joined the trend after sharp drops in their stock prices make repurchases more attractive.

"The breadth of different industry groups buying stock is the highest we've seen in a few years, and volumes have increased," said Michael Voris, Goldman Sachs' head of structured equity. "That's much more due to the market

backdrop as opposed to anything else."

Management teams use share buybacks to prop up demand for their stock and increase their profitability on an earnings per share basis by reducing the number of shares in circulation.

The average stock in the broad-based Russell 3000 index has lost more than 30 per cent of its value so far this year, allowing companies that believe their stock is undervalued to buy more for the same price. Earnings growth is forecast to slow as groups battle rising inflation and supply chain problems, increasing the appeal of buybacks as a way to flatten earnings.

"The buyback business, ironically, tends to pick up in periods of volatility because... people who are flush with cash look at their opportunities," said Craig McCracken, co-head of equity capital markets at Wells Fargo. "It's a

sign of underlying strength. Companies expect things will continue to be fairly positive so they're using their cash to buy back shares instead of keeping it on the balance sheet."

A growing number of companies are using accelerated deals to buy large volumes of their own stock as quickly as possible while their share prices are depressed.

"Accelerated repurchases send a strong signal to shareholders because the cash is committed to buy back the stock upfront," said Goldman's Voris. The trend is likely to increase further as companies begin reporting their first-quarter results next month.

The surge in buybacks has provided a rare bright spot for investment banks, which have suffered a drop in fees because of a slowdown in IPOs and other capital raising activities.

### World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Mar 25	prev	%chg		Pair	Mar 25	Prev		price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4543.06	4520.16	0.51	\$ per £	1.099	1.101		£ per \$	0.910	0.909	
Nasdaq Composite	14169.30	14191.84	-0.16	\$ per €	1.319	1.318		€ per \$	0.758	0.759	
Dow Jones Ind	34861.24	34707.94	0.44	€ per £	0.833	0.835		£ per €	1.201	1.198	
FTSE 100	7403.35	7407.39	0.11	¥ per \$	121.985	122.090		¥ per £	133.995	134.358	
FTSE MIB	7403.35	7407.39	0.11	₹ per €	166.534	166.923		₹ per £	81.956	82.144	
FTSE AEX	4165.33	4155.88	0.23	S\$ per €	1.022	1.025		S\$ per £	1.229	1.227	
CAC 40	6553.99	6556.77	-0.03								
Hong Kong	28148.94	28110.39	0.14								
Shanghai	21404.98	21345.95	-0.27								
MSCI World	3641.49	3612.79	0.85	IM WTI \$	113.20	112.34	7.7	US 3m Bill	0.08	0.08	0.02
MSCI EM	1136.35	1140.72	-0.35	IM Brent \$	110.02	110.03	-0.01	US 6m 3m	0.08	0.08	-0.50
MSCI ACWI	708.02	703.14	0.81	IM Gold \$	1966.20	1937.75	1.73	US 3m	1.01	1.00	0.00
FT WTI	5911.01	5929.80	1.41								
FT WTI	46103.45	45944.71	1.40								

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No: 40,974

Printed in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin, Frankfurt, Milan, Madrid, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul, Dubai



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## Mariupol Teetering Amid Signs Russia Is Shifting Focus



Inside the Regional State Administration office in Kharkiv on Sunday. Artillery fire killed seven in the city, including two children.

### Ukraine Says Foe May Concentrate on East in Effort to Split Country

By CARLOTTA GALL

KYIV, Ukraine — Russian forces redoubled attacks on strategic targets across Ukraine on Sunday, with fierce fighting reported around the capital, Kyiv, amid signs that the besieged city of Mariupol was close to falling. As the conflict moved into its second month, Russian forces have largely failed in their first aim to take the largest cities and have narrowed immediate targets to the sieges of the southern port city of Mariupol and the strategically placed city of Chernihiv in the north. Air raid sirens rang out in Kyiv during the day, but otherwise the city remained calm, lending some credence to the Russian Defense Ministry's recent assertion that it was turning its focus away from Kyiv to concentrate on the eastern front. Some Russian units were withdrawing to Belarus in the north to regroup and re-equip, according to the Ukrainian military, but heavy Russian artillery attacks continued around Chernihiv, northeast of Kyiv. Seven people, including two children, died in artillery fire in Kharkiv, in northeast Ukraine, as Russian forces tried to subdue the

city near the border, the Ukrainian news media reported. And missiles hit a fuel depot in western Ukraine as Russia continued to use airstrikes to disrupt supply lines to Ukrainian forces. Ukraine's top military intelligence officer suggested that Russia was changing its military focus to the south and east and might be trying to divide Ukraine between occupied and nonoccupied territories. "In fact, this is an attempt to create North and South Korea in Ukraine," said Brig. Gen. Kyrylo Budanov, the head of the intelligence division of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense. Fighting across the country showed Russian forces were working to consolidate their positions in key spots north of Kyiv and resisting Ukrainian attempts to break their grip there while focusing fully on seizing control of Mariupol. After weeks of siege in the port city, Ukrainian soldiers and civilians trapped there were facing increasingly dire conditions, without food and water, forcing people to use untreated sewage water to survive. Western military analysts and

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**HEALTH CATASTROPHE LOOMS** The war in Ukraine threatens to undo decades of progress with H.I.V., tuberculosis and hepatitis. PAGE A9

**BIDEN'S NINE WORDS** An ad-lib statement captures the attention of foreign policy experts, Congress members and NATO allies. PAGE A13

## How Manchin Aided Coal Industry, and Earned Himself Millions

This article is by **Christopher Flavelle, Julie Tate and Erin Schaff.**

GRANT TOWN, W.Va. — On a hilltop overlooking Paw Paw Creek, 15 miles south of the Pennsylvania border, looms a fortresslike structure with a single smokestack, the only viable business in a dying Appalachian town. The Grant Town power plant is also the link between the coal industry and the personal finances of Joe Manchin III, the Democrat who rose through state politics to reach the United States Senate, where, through the vagaries of electoral politics, he is now the single most important figure shaping

the nation's energy and climate policy.

Mr. Manchin's ties to the Grant Town plant date to 1987, when he had just been elected to the West Virginia Senate, a part-time job with base pay of \$6,500. His family's carpet business was struggling.

Opportunity arrived in the form of two developers who wanted to build a power plant in Grant Town, just outside Mr. Manchin's district. Mr. Manchin, whose grandfather went to work in the mines at age 9 and whose uncle died in a mining accident, helped the developers clear bureaucratic hurdles. Then he did something beyond routine constituent services. He

### A Senator's Fortune Is Tied to a Power Plant in West Virginia

went into business with the Grant Town power plant. Mr. Manchin supplied a type of low-grade coal mixed with rock and clay known as "gob" that is typically cast aside as junk by mining companies but can be burned to produce electricity. In addition, he arranged to receive a slice of the revenue from electricity generated by the plant — electric bills paid by his constituents.

The deal inked decades ago has made Mr. Manchin, now 74, a rich man.

While the fact that Mr. Manchin owns a coal business is well known, an examination by The New York Times offers a more detailed portrait of the degree to which Mr. Manchin's business has been interwoven with his official actions. He created his business while a state lawmaker in anticipation of the Grant Town plant, which has been the sole customer for his gob for the past 20 years, according to federal data. At key moments over the years, Mr. Manchin used his political influence to benefit the plant. He urged

Continued on Page A20

## Nokia Departs, But Cybertools Stay in Russia

This article is by **Adam Satariano, Paul Mazzoni and Aaron Kittle.**

Nokia said this month that it would stop its sales in Russia and denounced the invasion of Ukraine. But the Finnish company didn't mention what it was leaving behind: equipment and software connecting the government's most powerful tool for digital surveillance to the nation's largest telecommunications network. The tool was used to track supporters of the Russian opposition leader Aleksei A. Navalny. Investigators said it had intercepted the phone calls of a Kremlin foe who was later assassinated. Called the System for Operative Investigative Activities, or SORM, it is also most likely being employed at this moment as President Vladimir V. Putin culls and silences antiwar voices inside Russia.

For more than five years, Nokia provided equipment and services to link SORM to Russia's largest telecom service provider, MTS, according to company documents obtained by The New York Times. While Nokia does not make the tech that intercepts communications, the documents lay out how it worked with state-linked Russian companies to plan, streamline and troubleshoot the SORM system's connection to the MTS network. Russia's main intelligence service, the F.S.B., uses SORM to listen in on phone conversations, intercept emails and text messages, and track other internet communications.

The documents, spanning 2008 to 2017, show in previously unreported detail that Nokia knew it was enabling a Russian surveillance system. The work was essential for Nokia to do business in Russia, where it had become a top supplier of equipment and services to various telecommunications customers to help their networks function. The business yielded hundreds of millions of

Continued on Page A10

## Kremlin Purges Reporters' Talk With Zelensky

By **ANTON TROIANOVSKI and IVAN NECHETURENKO.**

It was a remarkable moment in the war in Europe: President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine gave a 90-minute-long Zoom interview on Sunday to four prominent journalists from Russia, the country invading him.

Hours later, the Kremlin responded. A government statement notified the Russian media "of the necessity to refrain from publishing this interview." Journalists based outside Russia published it anyway. Those still inside Russia did not. The episode laid bare the extraordinary, and partly successful, efforts at censorship being undertaken in Russia by President Vladimir V. Putin's government as his bloody invasion of Ukraine enters its second month, along with Mr. Zelensky's attempts to circumvent that censorship and reach the public directly.

In the interview, Mr. Zelensky offered a graphic description of what he claimed was the Kremlin's disregard for both Ukrainian and Russian lives, to the point, he said, that the Russian army was slow to pick up the bodies of its fallen soldiers.

"First they refused, then something else, then they proposed some sort of bags to us," Mr. Zelensky said, describing Ukraine's efforts to hand over the bodies of Russian soldiers. "Listen, even when a dog or a cat dies, people don't do this."

Mr. Zelensky generally speaks Ukrainian in public — his country's official language — but he is a native Russian speaker, and he has repeatedly switched into Russian in the video addresses that he posts to social media, seeking to encourage Mr. Putin's critics inside Russia. But Sunday's interview marked the first time since the war began that Mr. Zelensky had spoken at length with Russian journalists, in their language.

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## Pentagon Seeks To Offset Rival As Arctic Melts

By **MIKE BAKER**

DELTA JUNCTION, Alaska — After parachuting into the frigid Alaska interior, Capt. Weston Lannone and his soldiers navigated mines through deep snow, finally setting up a temporary outpost on a ridgeline next to a grove of lanky spruce trees that were also struggling to survive.

Darkness was setting in, the temperature had fallen below zero, and the 120 men and women who had gathered as part of a major combat training exercise in subarctic Alaska had not yet erected tents. The supply line for fuel, essential to keep warm through the long night ahead, was lagging behind.

"Everything is a challenge, from water, fuel, food, moving people, keeping them comfortable," said Captain Lannone, the 27-year-old company commander, as his soldiers shoveled deeper into the snow in search of a solid foundation to put up their sleeping quarters. "This is inherent training —

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About 8,000 American troops took part in a training exercise near Fairbanks, Alaska, this month.

### INTERNATIONAL A4-15

#### A Hotel in an Ex-War Office

An extravagant conversion is nearly complete on the Old War Office in London, an Edwardian-era monument to Britain's imperial past. PAGE A4

#### 2nd Plane Recorder Is Found

The cause of the crash of China Eastern Flight 5735, which killed 132 people on Monday, remains unknown. PAGE A15

### OBITUARIES A22-23

#### Saved by 'Britain's Schindler'

Vera Gissing, 93, was 10 when train convoys took her and hundreds of other Jewish children to safety. PAGE A22

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#### The One-of-a-Kind Mets

George Vecsey recalls the ineptitude and the Stengelsisms that marked a team's 1962 birth. PAGES D2-3

#### A No. 15 Seed's Run Ends

St. Peter's fell one game short of the men's Final Four, losing to North Carolina. Kansas routed Miami. PAGES D6-8



### NATIONAL A16-21

#### Committee Argues for Charges

The House panel investigating the Capitol riot issued a report on two allies of Donald Trump and their roles in efforts to keep him in power. PAGE A17

#### Inquiry of Lieutenant Governor

Federal prosecutors are examining whether Brian Benjamin of New York took part in a plan to funnel fraudulent contributions to his campaign. PAGE A18

#### States Suspend Gas Taxes

Other states could soon follow actions by Maryland, Georgia and Connecticut to reduce prices at the pump. PAGE A19

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#### That Ellington Swing

Making a case for Duke Ellington works that are still rarely heard from classical ensembles. A review. PAGE C5

#### Big Winners at the Oscars

Will Smith provided a slap and Ariana DeBose made history at the Academy Awards ceremony. PAGE C1



### BUSINESS B1-6

#### Rumble Envisions an Alt-Web

The far-right video platform wants to help build a "free internet" that has no ties to Silicon Valley's titans. PAGE B1

#### Why Chris Wallace Left Fox

Changes following Donald J. Trump's defeat in 2020 influenced the anchor's decision to move to CNN+. PAGE B1

### OPINION A24-25

#### Farah Stockman

PAGE A25





## THE OSCARS



**WILL SMITH**, right, slaps Chris Rock onstage during the 94th Academy Awards at the Dolby Theatre.

Photographs by MYUNG J. CHUN Los Angeles Times

# Chaos in Hollywood

Will Smith takes swing at Chris Rock, then wins best actor award

By JOSH ROTTENBERG

"CODA," a heartwarming, low-budget film released by a global tech giant far better known for smartphones than cinema, won the best picture award at the 94th Academy Awards on Sunday night, a watershed moment not only for the Oscars but for the film industry as a whole.

And Will Smith, one of Hollywood's biggest stars, slapped comedian Chris Rock across the face onstage in front of millions of viewers over a joke about his wife, Jada Pinkett Smith — then went on to win the lead actor prize for his performance in "King Richard."

[See Oscars, A12]



**CAST** of "CODA" after best picture win.

## WINNERS

**BEST PICTURE**  
"CODA"  
**DIRECTOR**  
Jane Campion  
"The Power of the Dog"  
**ACTRESS**  
Jessica Chastain  
"The Eyes of Tammy Faye"  
**ACTOR**  
Will Smith  
"King Richard"

**SUPPORTING ACTRESS**  
Ariana DeBose  
"West Side Story"  
**SUPPORTING ACTOR**  
Troy Kotsur  
"CODA"  
**MORE COVERAGE IN CALENDAR**  
How "CODA" won, high style on the red carpet, and more. **E1**

'CODA' muzzles 'The Power of the Dog' like a true underdog

By JUSTIN CHANG

In "The Power of the Dog," a swaggering man of the West — authoritative, domineering, seemingly invincible — comes face to face with a most unexpected adversary, someone who looks harmless but turns out to be anything but. There's a certain irony, then, that after looking like a clear-cut favorite for much of this awards season, Jane Campion's brooding psychological drama fell victim to its own powerful underdog Sunday night.

Despite entering the Oscar race with a formidable 12 nominations, more than any other contender, "The Power of the Dog" ultimately won just one Oscar — for Campion's direction, the one everyone knew it couldn't lose. It lost the best picture Oscar to "CODA," Siân Heder's scrappy, jugular-pleasing crowd-pleaser about a hearing teenager growing up within a Deaf family.

At what point exactly did "CODA" go in for the kill? Some [See "CODA," A12]

# White House seeks to clarify remark on Putin

Biden says he wasn't calling for the Russian leader's removal. In Ukraine, toll grows.

By PATRICK J. MCDONNELL AND KATE LINTHICUM

**LVIV, Ukraine** — As fighting raged across Ukraine and one of the country's top military leaders warned that Russian forces may seek to split the nation in two, U.S. officials scrambled Sunday to clarify President Biden's off-the-cuff condemnation of Russian President Vladimir Putin a day earlier, saying regime change in Moscow is not on Washington's agenda.

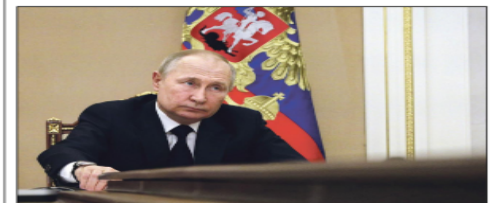
Biden's dramatic declaration Saturday — "For

God's sake, this man cannot remain in power," a reference to Putin — has prompted a frantic effort to walk back what appeared to be a White House endorsement of pushing the Russian leader out of office.

"We do not have a strategy of regime change in Russia, or anywhere else, for that matter," Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken told reporters in Jerusalem on Sunday.

Later, asked by a journalist in Washington whether he was calling for the removal of Putin, Biden replied "no."

Biden's remarks at the end of a rousing, pro-Ukraine speech in Warsaw, where he also described Putin as a "butcher," prompted an outpouring of criticism at a moment when [See Ukraine, A4]



MIRKHA KLIMENTYEV Pool Photo

**THERE** is concern that President Biden's remarks play right into President Vladimir Putin's worldview.

# The ultranationalists who inspired the war

By JAWEED KALEEM

**LONDON** — Russian President Vladimir Putin's ambitions and his ruthless style of achieving them in his invasion of Ukraine can be traced at least in part to a handful of conservative Russian thinkers who, like him, came to prominence in a post-Soviet nation struggling to find its identity, and who have helped mold his ideology.

"You cannot get inside Putin's head at this very moment," said Marlene Laruelle, a historian of Rus-

sia and a political scientist at George Washington University. But "there is a history of advisors, formal and informal, and thinking that has surrounded him over the years that you can look at to understand his perspective."

In justifying the war he started in late February by blaming a decadent West for attempting to chip away at Russian identity, borders and security, Putin echoed key ideas of Eurasianism, a 20th century political theory that modern-day proponents describe [See Putin, A4]

# Circle of Harris confidants shifts

In her toughest days yet, the vice president has been tilting away from California for candid advice

By NOAH BIERMAN AND MELANIE MASON REPORTING FROM WASHINGTON

Vice President Kamala Harris was marinating in a fresh stew of commentary about her public polling that showed her home state approval numbers were almost as dismal as her national ones. Russia had just invaded Ukraine, forcing the vice president to accelerate her on-the-job training as the administration faced a defining foreign policy crisis.

It was the kind of week that has become routine for Harris, replete with stress and scrutiny. But for about an hour on Feb. 28, a cool and cloudy Monday, it felt like the old times, as she hosted 11 close friends and supporters in her ceremonial office in a building next to the White House. They checked out a new bust of Thurgood Marshall in the corner, shared pictures and hugs, and told her to stay strong.

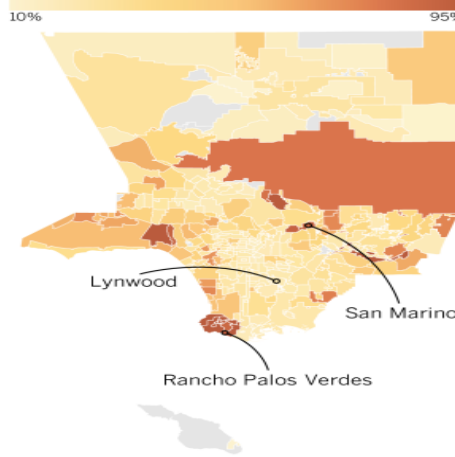
"Of course, we addressed her as Madam Vice President, but she was Kamala to us," said Amelia Ashley-Ward, a Harris friend who is also the publisher of the Sun-Reporter, the Bay Area Black newspaper that gave a greenhorn California politician one of her first big political endorsements. "I assured her that I still had her back."

Harris does not have many moments like that anymore. Since taking office, the roster of confidants she relies on for advice and support has contracted and tilted away from her longtime home base of California. The narrowing of her inner circle reflects the [See Harris, A6]

## Children fully vaccinated

COVID vaccination rates for children ages 5 to 11 differ widely across Los Angeles County.

Percentage of children ages 5-11 fully vaccinated



Data as of March 20. Areas with unreliable data not included. Los Angeles Department of Public Health

Los Angeles Times

# Low vaccination rate for L.A. County kids

Only 30% of youths 5 to 11 are immunized, months after the shots became available.

By EMILY ALPERT REYES AND PHI DO

As kids were spilling out of the gates at Helen Keller Elementary School in Lynwood, outreach worker Alma Aracene tried to talk to the parents crowded outside.

"We're offering COVID vaccines," Aracene said in Spanish to one mother, gesturing to the mobile clinic and tables set up by St. John's Community Health near the school.

The woman, glancing over her shoulder in English, "Her daddy doesn't want her to have it."

In Los Angeles County, some parents jumped at the chance to get kids vaccinated when the shots became available for them. But here and across the country, new immunizations for kids fell after an initial rush.

Only 30% of children ages [See Rate, A7]

## Which families get reparations?

A panel raises only more questions as California endeavors to be the first state to pay the descendants of slaves. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

## El Salvador in emergency state

After 76 are killed, legislators approve president's decree, and police arrest five gang leaders. **WORLD, A3**

## Final Four has familiar names

College basketball blue bloods Kansas and North Carolina join Villanova and Duke in the field. **SPORTS, D1**

**Weather**  
Heavy morning rain. L.A. Basin: 60/50. **B6**

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.





# The Washington Post

Papers may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

Partly sunny 42/25 • Tomorrow: Mostly sunny; chilly 49/36 BS

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, MARCH 28, 2022 • B2

## Criticizing West, Zelensky demands more help

**Biden's remark on Putin could further imperil strained relations**

BY MISSY RYAN

President Biden's declaration that Russian leader Vladimir Putin "cannot remain in power" threatens to push deeply strained U.S.-Russia relations closer to collapse, former officials and analysts said, with potentially serious implications for Washington's ability to help steer the war in Ukraine to an end and avoid a wider conflict.

The remark — an off-the-cuff coda to an address in Poland this weekend — injects a stark new element of personal animus into the standoff between the world's biggest nuclear powers. It capped earlier statements in which Biden has gone well beyond official formulations — calling Putin a "killer," "butcher" and "war criminal."

Samuel Charap, a Russia expert at the Rand Corp., said the administration's attempts to walk back the suggestion of a U.S. goal of regime change would do little to alter views in Moscow because Putin believes the United States is out to replace him and presidential statements have traditionally been seen as official policy.

"It exacerbates existing threat perceptions regarding U.S. intentions," he said. "They might just be much more inclined to do hostile things in response even more than they already are. That is the challenge."

Biden's speech came at the conclusion of a European visit designed to prepare allies for a prolonged campaign of economic punishment targeting Russia, requiring difficult political and financial decisions from leaders on the continent, as Putin's invasion stalemates in the face of Ukrainian resistance.

Biden's speech at a castle in Warsaw, which came hours after an emotional encounter with Ukrainian refugees, was intended to telegraph Western resolve against Russia's actions and, more

SEE TENSIONS ON A12



Svtlana Tykhonova and her neighbor Natalia Sokolovak, right, reach Kyiv, Ukraine, after fleeing Irpin. "Almost every second house was on fire. Missiles hit the houses and they were on fire until there was no fire," Tykhonova said. "No one came to extinguish them."

**Putin faces military and economic limitations as war drags on**

BY PAUL SONNE AND ROBYN DIXON

RIGA, LATVIA — As Russian President Vladimir Putin enters his second month of war against Ukraine, questions are mounting about what limitations he could face as he presses ahead with an invasion that has already inflicted great costs on the Russian military and left the country deeply isolated.

Putin for years has snuffed out dissent, muzzled independent media and bolstered a security state to prevent protests,

meaning he faces far fewer domestic constraints in waging such a war than the leader of a democratic nation would. Continued revenue from foreign oil and gas sales, despite Western sanctions, also is helping him ease the blow of harsh economic sanctions at home.

But Putin does face certain tactical strictures on the battlefield, as well as some geopolitical and economic constraints. They all will probably make his ability to wage a long war in Ukraine more difficult but far

SEE PUTIN ON A11

**Residents escape the fighting with their frightful stories, and little else**

BY SIOBHAN O'GRADY AND SUDARSAN RAGHAVAN

BROVARY, UKRAINE — Vasil Hilko lay quietly in the hospital, recovering from surgery that took the lower half of his right leg. On the edge of his bed perched his wife, wiping away tears. On the floor nearby was a single blue sandal, for his only remaining foot.

In early March, Russian forces invaded the couple's village outside Brovary, they said, forcing civilians to take cover in crowded shelters underground. Each

night, Russian troops would barge in, telling the group of about 20 people to quickly line up for a head count. "If somebody is missing, we'll kill everybody else," Vasil Hilko recalled them saying.

One night, a commander gave them just 10 seconds to line up "before we start shooting," he said. Hilko was the last to reach the line and a soldier carrying a shotgun proceeded to open fire on the 63-year-old's leg as punishment — then left him wounded without medical care.

SEE KYIV ON A10

**NEW WEAPONS AND SANCTIONS SOUGHT**

**He steps up pressure after Biden's speech**

BY SHANE HARRIS, ADELA SULIMAN AND DAVID L. STERN

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky is demanding that the United States and its allies send more weapons and ratchet up sanctions, portraying some leaders as timid in the face of Russian aggression. His escalation of criticism comes one day after President Biden extemporaneously declared that Russian President Vladimir Putin "cannot remain in power."

"I've talked to the defenders of Mariupol today," Zelensky said in a video address on Sunday, praising the southern port city that has come under horrendous bombardment by Russian forces. "Their determination, heroism and firmness are astonishing," he said. "If only those who have been thinking for 31 days on how to hand over dozens of jets and tanks had one percent of their courage."

In a separate interview with the Economist, Zelensky asserted that some countries had drawn a red line at sending more offensive weapons to Ukraine "because they are afraid of Russia. And that's it. And those who say it first are the first to be afraid."

Zelensky was responding to a question about French President Emmanuel Macron, who had said earlier that Biden's remarks about Putin during a speech in Poland risked an "escalation of words and actions." Macron, who is continuing efforts to negotiate as a go-between with Russia and Western allies, also said he wouldn't "use those kinds of terms" when he communicates with Putin.

Zelensky argued that Western nations, which have already imposed historic sanctions on Russia, hadn't gone far enough in their efforts to cripple the country's economy because they "have not completed the sanctions on disconnecting the banking system

SEE UKRAINE ON A8

## 'Is this what a good mother looks like?'

After struggling to get her mentally ill son treated, an act of desperation: Giving up custody

BY WILLIAM WAN

HENDERSONVILLE, N.C. — As she sat in the courthouse parking lot, Lisa Rowe looked at her reflection in her rearview mirror.

"Is this what a good mother looks like?" she wondered.

She still had a bruise on her right arm where her 17-year-old son had grabbed her three weeks earlier, screaming expletives in her face as she was driving him to school. When she closed her eyes, she could still feel his hands around her throat from the year before.

It was during his most recent outburst in January that she finally made up her mind — sometime between the moment he lunged for their knife drawer and when she dialed 911 for the 14th time in less than a year.

The police, as usual, took her son to the emergency room. But this time, when the hospital asked her to pick him up because they couldn't find room for him at a psychiatric facility, she refused.

SEE CUSTODY ON A4



Lisa Rowe at her home in Hendersonville, N.C. For years, she has struggled to get her son help in battles with insurance companies, school districts and treatment centers.

MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

## Brain changes after covid, chemo could be similar

**Studies explore links between conditions that cause fuzzy thinking**

BY ARIANA EUNJUNG CHA

People with "chemo brain" and covid brain fog could not seem more different. Those with "chemo brain" have a life-threatening disease for which they've taken toxic drugs or radiation.

Many of those with covid brain fog, in contrast, describe themselves as previously healthy people who have had a relatively mild infection that felt like a cold. So when Stanford University neuroscientist Michelle Monje began studies on long covid, she was fascinated to find similar changes among patients in both groups, in specialized brain cells that serve as the organ's surveil-

lance and defense system. "It was really quite striking," Monje said.

In cancer patients undergoing treatment, a malfunction in those same cells, known as microglia, are believed to be a cause of the fuzzy thinking that many describe. Scientists have also theorized that in Alzheimer's disease, these cells may be impeded, making it difficult for them to counteract the cellular wear and tear of aging.

Monje's project is part of a crucial and growing body of research that suggests similarities in the mechanisms of post-covid cognitive changes and other long-studied brain conditions, including "chemo brain," Alzheimer's and other post-viral syndromes following infections with influenza, Epstein-Barr, HIV or Ebola.

"There is humongous overlap" between long covid and these

SEE BRAIN ON A17

## IN THE NEWS



NEALSON BARNHART/GETTY IMAGES

**The Oscars** Will Smith took home the award for best actor — and shocked viewers after slapping Chris Rock. Full coverage, C1

**THE NATION** Around the country, GOP lawmakers are pushing a historic wave of bills targeting the rights of LGBTQ youth and their families. A20

**THE WORLD** In Colombia, a former member of a guerrilla group envisions a new Latin American left as he runs for president. A6

**THE ECONOMY** Former safety regulators detail how they've

learned to manage Tesla CEO Elon Musk. A3  
**The Help Desk** explains how to upgrade WiFi with a mesh network. A15

**THE REGION** With eagerness and trepidation, the Washington region is returning from strict coronavirus restrictions to not-quite-normal. B1  
**Rulings** by judges in Virginia on the legality of cellphone dragnets are likely to reverberate nationwide. B1

## THE WEEK AHEAD

**MONDAY** Secretary of State Antony Blinken travels to the Middle East and North Africa.  
**The Supreme Court** releases orders and hears oral arguments in two cases, in addition to cases on Tuesday and Wednesday.  
**The Senate Judiciary** Committee meets to consider the Supreme Court nomination of Ketanji Brown Jackson.

**TUESDAY** President Biden meets

with Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong.

**WEDNESDAY** The House Armed Services Committee holds a hearing on national security threats in Europe.

**THURSDAY** Weekly jobless claims are estimated at 195,000.

**FRIDAY** The Supreme Court meets for a conference. The Labor Department issues its March employment summary.

## INSIDE



**STYLE** Joyful noise The Foo Fighters' Taylor Hawkins understood the boom-bash catharsis of rock drumming. C1  
**Floyd remembered** A powerful musical tribute premieres onstage at Strathmore. C1

**BUSINESS NEWS**.....A15  
**COMICS**.....A18  
**OPINION PAGES**.....A19  
**LOTTERIES**.....B3  
**OBITUARIES**.....B7  
**TELEVISION**.....A6  
**WORLD NEWS**.....A6

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The Washington Post / Post 345, No. 113  
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1939-2022

## Enrique Pinti. Adiós al gran capocómico

—espectáculos

El creador de *Salsa criolla*, que supo entender como pocos la realidad del país y de los argentinos, murió ayer, a los 82 años



## ADVERTENCIA TRAS UN POSIBLE CASO DE SARAMPIÓN

—sociedad

Analizan si una mujer embarazada que llegó de viaje lo contrajo en el exterior; por la alta contagiosidad, instan a completar la vacunación. Página 23

## ÁNGEL DI MARÍA, UNA DESPEDIDA MUY PENSADA

—deportes

El rosarino cumplió con los objetivos en el seleccionado argentino y solo le queda el Mundial de Qatar en el horizonte.

# LA NACION

LUNES 28 DE MARZO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

## Se aceleró la suba de precios, pero el Presidente dijo que la inflación es “autoconstruida”

**ESCALADA.** “Hay diablos que suben precios”, dijo; en una semana, los alimentos aumentaron 7,7%

Las medidas del Gobierno contra la inflación no hicieron mella en el alza de precios en el rubro de alimentos y bebidas, que en la cuarta semana de marzo se aceleró hasta 7,7% respecto de la misma semana de febrero, según mediciones privadas. Con estos datos, la inflación de marzo de este sensible rubro cerraría en 5,4%. Al-

gunos estudios ya revisaron al alza sus pronósticos para todo el año, a entre 60 y 65%.

Ayer, durante una entrevista con la TV Pública, el presidente Alberto Fernández volvió a buscar causas ajenas a la política oficial al explicar el alza de precios. El mandatario sostuvo que hay “diablos que aumentan

los precios y hay que hacerlos entrar en razón”, en referencia a los empresarios. Y dijo que hay “una inflación autoconstruida” en “la cabeza de la gente”. Páginas 12 y 18

**Algo más peligroso ocurre debajo de esta inflación**  
Guillermo Oliveto. Página 19

### EL ESCENARIO

Fernández se abraza a Macri

Claudio Jacquelin  
Página 13

## El golpe de Will Smith que descolocó a Hollywood

**Espectáculos.** Un momento tan incómodo como insólito se vivió anoche en los Oscar. Chris Rock hizo una broma de mal gusto sobre la calvicie de Jada Pinkett, la esposa de Will Smith, y el actor subió al escenario para golpear e insultar al comediante. Envuelto en lágrimas, Smith pidió disculpas poco después al agradecer el premio al mejor actor.



Will Smith dejó su asiento para golpear a Chris Rock tras una broma sobre su esposa, Jada Pinkett

GETTY IMAGES

LA GUERRA EN UCRANIA — DÍA 33

## Putin planea la división de Ucrania

Según Kiev, intenta partir el país siguiendo el modelo de Corea; hoy, nueva ronda de diálogo

**Luisa Corradini**  
CORRESPONSAL EN FRANCIA

PARÍS.— En vísperas de la nueva ronda de negociaciones ruso-ucranianas, que comienza hoy en Turquía, el presidente ucraniano, Vo-

lodimir Zelensky, reconoció que su gobierno estudia “en profundidad” la cuestión de la neutralidad de su país exigida por Moscú. Al mismo tiempo, sus servicios de inteligencia advirtieron que, obligado por los malos resultados de sus fuerzas en

el terreno, Vladimir Putin intenta dividir a Ucrania, basándose en el modelo de Corea del Norte y Corea del Sur, un plan centrado en el control de las regiones separatistas del Donbass, hoy ocupadas por las fuerzas del Kremlin. Continúa en la página 2

**La defensa ucraniana, letal contra los generales rusos**

Página 4

**Qué puede obligar a Putin a cambiar de rumbo**

Página 6

## Lacalle Pou obtuvo un apoyo clave a su plan de reformas

**URUGUAY.** La izquierda no logró la derogación de un paquete de leyes

MONTEVIDEO (De nuestro corresponsal).— En un crucial referéndum en el que se ponía en juego la ambiciosa agenda de reformas de Luis Lacalle Pou, los uruguayos respaldaron ayer por una diferencia ajustada el paquete de leyes que el Congreso había votado entre abril y junio de 2020. La izquierda, liderada por el Frente Amplio, buscaba derogar las reformas, consideradas la piedra angular del gobierno. Página 8

## Corte: más de 50 recursos contra causas de corrupción

**JUSTICIA.** La Corte Suprema se dispone a resolver más de 50 recursos presentados por la vicepresidenta Cristina Kirchner y otros acusados, que intentan frenar unas 17 causas por denuncias de corrupción, según un relevamiento de LA NACION. Se espera que el tribunal comience a responder los recursos en los próximos meses. Página 10

LA NACION EN MALVINAS

## Las islas, hoy. La nueva vida, cosmopolita y diversa

**Hugo Alconada Mon**  
ENVIADO ESPECIAL

PUERTO ARGENTINO.— Shupikay! Chipunza llegó a las islas Malvinas en 2009, tras pisar las zonas más calientes del mundo. Nacido en Zimbabwe, durante 14 años siguió vivo gracias a sus oídos sensibles y manos firmes: desactivó minas explosivas en Irak, Croacia, el Congo y Afganistán. Continúa en la página 16



**ENTREVISTA DA 2ª**  
**Amâncio Oliveira**

**Uso político do Museu do Ipiranga não pegará bem**

**INDEPENDÊNCIA, 200**

O candidato que usar a re-inauguração, prevista para 7 de Setembro, como vitrine eleitoral poderá receber resposta negativa da sociedade, afirma o vice-diretor da instituição. "É um patrimônio cultural do país, não vai pegar bem fazer uso político." **A10**

## Bolsonaro eleva pressão sobre TSE, que tenta censurar festival

Corte acatou pedido do PL após show no Lollapalooza em que Pablo Vittar exibiu imagem de Lula (PT)

O presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) participou de evento em clima de comício ontem em Brasília, apesar das recomendações jurídicas devido ao risco de crime eleitoral. No mesmo fim de semana, sua equipe questionou propaganda pró-Lula em show.

A legislação só permite campanha a partir de 16/8. No encontro, Bolsonaro disse que a eleição de outubro não é luta da esquerda contra a direita, mas "do bem contra o mal", em referência ao ex-presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT).

O PL, partido de Bolsonaro, acionou o TSE por suposta propaganda eleitoral irregular no festival Lollapalooza, em São Paulo. No sábado (26), a cantora Pablo Vittar mostrou uma toalha vermelha com o rosto de Lula e fez um sinal de "L" com a mão.

O tribunal acatou parcialmente o pedido e determinou multa de R\$ 50 mil para o festival se houvesse outras manifestações a favor ou contra qualquer candidato ou partido no evento. Produtora do Lollapalooza, a T4F entrou com recurso.

A defesa do festival disse não ter como fazer cumprir a ordem que "veda manifestações de preferência política". Como se trata de decisão monocrática, tomada pelo ministro Raul Araújo, a ação ainda será levada a plenário. **Poder A4 e Ilustrada C1**



Apesar da decisão do TSE, participantes do Lollapalooza protestaram contra o presidente, como a banda Fresno **Vanessa Carvalho/Brazil Photo Press/Ag. O Globo**

**ANÁLISE****Uirá Machado**

**Tribunal se mete em trapalhada**

Se os artistas não pediram voto e se limitaram a elogiar Lula e criticar Bolsonaro, o que o TSE tem a ver com isso? Era a pergunta que o ministro Raul Araújo deveria ter feito aos advogados do presidente. **C2**

**Delator não apresentou provas contra Alckmin**

Marcelino Seras, ex-presidente do grupo EcoRodovias, mostrou como levantou dinheiro para supostas doações ilegais, mas não provas de contatos que disse ter mantido com o ex-governador. **Política A6**

**Partido Socialista assume Portugal com força para impor agenda**

**Mundo A8**

## Pessimistas com a economia dobram, aponta Datafolha

A parcela de brasileiros que esperam piora na economia dobrou, segundo o Datafolha. Em dezembro, 20% tinham essa percepção. No levantamento mais recente, feito na terça (22) e na quarta (23) com 2.556 eleitores em 181 cidades de todo o país, 40% disseram ver o futuro menos promissor.

Aumentou ainda o número dos que dizem acreditar que crescerão a inflação (74%, contra 46% na pesquisa anterior) e o desemprego (50%, eram 35%) e que o poder de compra do salário vai cair (40%, contra 25%). A margem de erro é de dois pontos percentuais, para mais ou menos. **Mercado p.1**

## Saúde recua de decretar 'fim da pandemia' e mira máscaras

Ministério modulou o discurso e agora quer banir uso de máscaras e reforçar versão de que o governo venceu a Covid. Estratégia é adotar mudanças mais brandas, como não mais restringir exportação de medicamentos. **Cotidiano B1**

## Casos de câncer crescem 26% no mundo, e mortes, 21%

**B2****EDITORIAIS A2****Sob pressão**

A respeito de comando e governança da Petrobras.

**Dura sabatina**

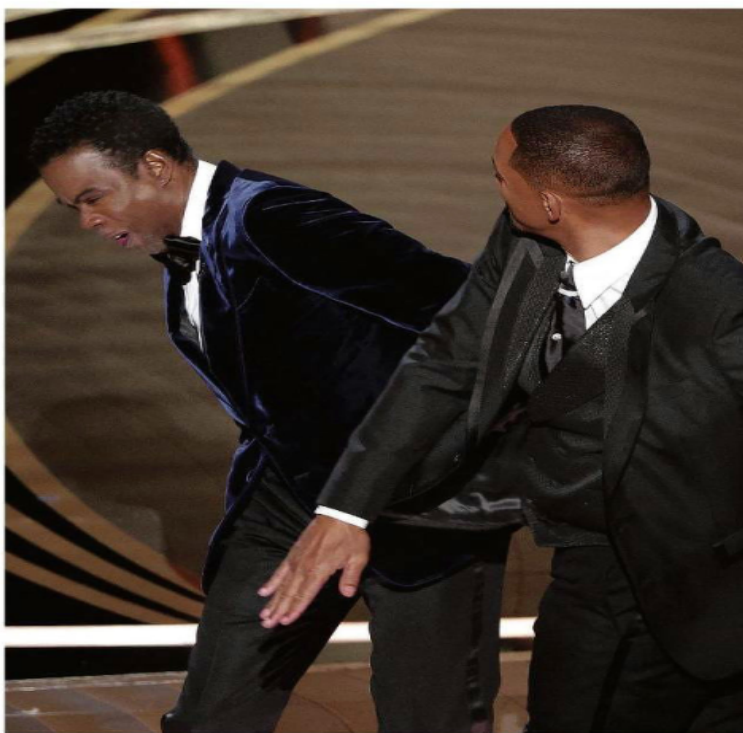
Sobre primeira negra indicada à Suprema Corte.

**ATMOSFERA****São Paulo hoje**

Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br

ISSN 1414-5723

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Will Smith (dir.) agrediu o apresentador Chris Rock após piada sobre sua mulher **Brian Snyder/Reuters**

## Ibama tem R\$ 1 bi em multas que podem prescrever

Levantamento da Folha revela que infrações que somam mais de R\$ 1 bilhão não foram levadas a setores de conciliação, etapa criada pelo governo para enfraquecer a fiscalização. A lista tem, entre outros, madeiras, siderúrgicas e uma ferrovia. **Cotidiano B5**

## Aquário do Pantanal é inaugurado após 11 anos

Ao custo de R\$ 200 milhões e marcada por denúncias de corrupção, a obra tem 32 tanques com cerca de 80% de espécies de peixes da região. Público só poderá visitar em maio. **B2**

**Ilustrada C3**

## Oscar fora do script

Pouco após agredir o apresentador Chris Rock e Jane Campion ser sagrada melhor diretora por "Ataque dos Cães", Will Smith levou seu primeiro Oscar de atuação, por "King Richard". O melhor filme foi "No Ritmo do Coração". **Ilustrada C3**





**Privados denuncian competencia desleal de Petropar, que tiene subsidio**

## Emblemas suben hoy hasta en G. 1.500 sus combustibles

Desde la fecha el nuevo precio del diésel común es de G. 8.550 el litro, naftas suben en el orden de G. 1.000. Cisternas bolivianas llevan carburante desde el puerto de San Antonio.

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Proyecto está en Diputados

**Cartismo busca que inconsistencias en las DDJJ no se penalicen**

PÁGINA 4

Otorgado por Coop. Medalla Milagrosa

**Fiscalía investiga un crédito irregular a la Comuna de Fernando**

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El mundo del espectáculo de luto

**Nos dejaron dos grandes del humor: Pinti y D'Oliveira**

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**Mejorar recolección evitará raudales**



**Irresponsabilidad.** La basura que se deja en las calles genera bloqueos en los desagües y las aguas terminan convirtiéndose en peligrosos raudales.

PÁGINA 15

Hasta ahora no hay convocatoria para tratar el tema  
**Itaipú demora definición de la tarifa mientras Paraguay paga mayor precio**

PÁGINA 10

Proceso a Enzo Cardozo podría llegar a prescribir  
**Con chicanas políticos retrasan sus causas y evitan ir a la prisión**

PÁGINA 36

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## LE FIGARO

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



**ENQUÊTE**  
CES « ANGES GARDIENS »  
QUI PROTÈGENT LES CANDIDATS  
À LA PRÉSIDENTIELLE **PAGE 18**



**ALAIN FINKIELKRAUT**  
« LA GUERRE EN UKRAÏNE NOUS  
RAPPELLE QUE LES NATIONS  
DOIVENT ÊTRE DÉFENDUES » **PAGE 20**

LE FIGARO SANTÉ



Comment  
la réalité  
virtuelle  
transforme  
la pratique  
médicale  
**NOTRE CAHIER  
SPÉCIAL**

**ENVIRONNEMENT**  
Les éleveurs de  
volailles démunis  
face à l'ampleur  
de la grippe aviaire  
**PAGE 10**

**FOOTBALL** Giroud,  
l'histoire sans fin  
chez les Bleus **PAGE 16**

**CINÉMA**  
La nouvelle  
obsession  
de Hollywood  
pour les franchises  
du jeu vidéo **PAGE 30**

**MUSIQUE**  
La chanson à la  
mode de Bretagne  
**PAGE 32**

**CHAMPS LIBRES**  
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la Turquie se  
tourne-t-elle  
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• La tribune  
d'Édouard  
Tétreau  
**PAGES 19 ET 21**

**FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON**  
**Réponses à la question  
de samedi :**  
Faut-il mettre  
un embargo sur le pétrole  
et le gaz russes ?

**OUI 60% NON 40%**  
**TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 141 047**

**Votez aujourd'hui  
sur lefigaro.fr**  
Avez-vous arrêté votre  
choix pour le premier  
tour de la présidentielle ?

ILLUSTRATION : FABIEN CLAIREFOND -  
VINCENT ESORE/IPS PRESS/MAXPPP -  
PAUL DELORT/LE FIGARO



# Kharkiv résiste sous le feu des bombes russes

Le récit de nos envoyées spéciales dans la deuxième ville d'Ukraine, transformée en champ de ruines, mais qui n'est pas tombée aux mains des Russes après un mois d'offensive. **PAGES 4 ET 5**

## Le PDG d'Orpea : « Je présente mes excuses aux résidents et à leurs familles »

Philippe Charrier réagit dans un  
entretien au *Figaro* à la plainte  
envisagée par l'État contre le  
gestionnaire d'Ehpad, à la suite  
du rapport Igas-IGF, qui fait état

« de dysfonctionnements gra-  
ves ». Il dit avoir pris conscience  
de l'émotion légitime suscitée et  
s'engage à collaborer pleine-  
ment avec la justice. **PAGE 24**



## Au Trocadéro, Éric Zemmour réussit le pari de la mobilisation

Le candidat de Reconquête!  
jouait gros ce dimanche. Avec  
des sondages moins favorables,  
le meeting du Trocadéro se de-  
vait d'être une réussite. Reven-

dant 100 000 personnes,  
Zemmour a atteint son objectif.  
Il a également affiché une am-  
bition : « laver les affronts » faits  
à la droite. **PAGE 6**

**ÉDITORIAL** par Yves Thérard [yththread@lefigaro.fr](mailto:yththread@lefigaro.fr)

## La vitalité d'une démocratie

Tous les candidats, ou presque, étaient sur le pont en ce dimanche de printemps. Alors qu'une forte abstention pourrait marquer le premier tour de la présidentielle dans treize jours, sans doute voulaient-ils faire mentir les sondages. Et montrer, du Trocadéro, à Paris, à la plage du Prado, à Marseille, qu'ils attirent les foules, déclenchent les applaudissements, suscitent encore l'espoir d'autres lendemains. Cette détermination à vouloir convaincre les électeurs jusqu'au dernier instant va à rebours des commentaires souvent narquois entendus jusqu'ici. Après des mois de campagne éprouvants et des passages à vide pour chacun des prétendants, elle traduit à sa façon la noblesse du débat politique. Rien n'est effectivement écrit à l'avance, seul le verdict des urnes compte. Et l'expérience nous a appris que celui-ci pouvait réserver beaucoup de surprises. C'est à cette aune-là que la vitalité d'une démocratie se juge, ce que nombre de peuples bâillonnés, y compris en Europe, nous en-voient. On dit cette campagne singulière, car elle serait reléguée au second plan de l'actualité. La

longue crise sanitaire, qui a causé la mort de quelque 140 000 personnes en France, puis la guerre en Ukraine, dont nul ne peut prédire le déroulement, auraient détourné l'attention des électeurs. C'est pourtant l'effet inverse que ces deux événements devraient produire. Dans ce contexte angoissant et en partie inattendu, les questions sur l'avenir de notre pays

### Rien n'est écrit à l'avance

sont plus nombreuses que jamais. Elles portent sur notre indépendance industrielle et militaire, sur les capacités de notre État à remplir ses missions avec efficacité, sur la préservation de notre souveraineté nationale, sur la défense de nos valeurs républicaines...

Ces sujets appellent des réponses qui s'inscrivent dans un projet cohérent, ambitieux, et non dans un catalogue de mesures sans souffle relevant d'un simple esprit gestionnaire. Dans la dernière ligne droite avant le scrutin, les candidats à l'investiture suprême ont donc encore les moyens de faire leurs preuves sur ce front. Et ainsi d'inciter les Français à interrompre leur partie de pêche dominicale. S'il existe un vote utile, c'est bien celui-là, et lui seul... ■



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## Putin wants to split Ukraine in two like Korea, warns Kyiv

**Daniel Boffey**  
Lviv

Vladimir Putin is seeking to split Ukraine into two, emulating the postwar division between North and South Korea, the invaded country's military intelligence chief has said.

In comments that raise the prospect of a long and bitter frozen conflict, Gen Kyrylo Budanov, who foretold Russia's invasion as far back as November, warned of bloody guerrilla warfare.

The grim prediction came as Leonid Pasechnik, the leader of the self-proclaimed Luhansk People's Republic in eastern Ukraine, said he would probably hold a referendum on his territory becoming part of Russia.

"I think that in the near future a referendum will be held on the territory of the republic, during which the people will ... express their opinion on joining the Russian Federation," Pasechnik said.

Budanov said he believed Putin had rethought his plan for full occupation since failing to swiftly take Ukraine's capital, Kyiv, and overthrow Volodymyr Zelenskyy's government. "It is an attempt to create North and South Korea in Ukraine," he said of the new Kremlin strategy.

Officials in Kyiv said they expected troops attacking the capital and the embattled city of Kharkiv to move east within two weeks.

In other developments:

● **Ukrainian told Russian journalists** Ukraine was prepared to discuss adopting a neutral status as part of a peace deal with Russia but it would have to be guaranteed by third parties and put to a referendum. **2 ➔**

● **The French president,**



▲ Ukrainians who live in Lebanon and supporters in Beirut yesterday. The weekend saw pro-Ukrainian rallies held across the world PHOTOGRAPH: WAEL HAMZEH/EPA

**Diplomacy** Warnings against 'escalation' after Biden's ad-lib **Page 4 ➔**

**Aid Ukraine** criticises UN refugee agency over response to war **Page 5 ➔**

**Escape from Irpin** Frail residents finally escape besieged town **Page 6 ➔**

**Refugees** Families settle into their new lives across Europe **Page 8 ➔**

## Plans for big shake-up of English schools revealed

**Richard Adams**  
Education editor

Plans for a major redrawing of the schools system in England will allow councils to establish their own academy trusts and permit schools to leave those that are failing.

The policies come in a new schools white paper to be published today, including a "parent pledge" for families to request additional support for their children that has been dismissed as a "gimmick" by school leaders.

Central to the white paper is a new push for academy trusts to

take over the running of schools in England, with a 2030 target date for council-maintained schools to have converted into academies and joined or be preparing to join a multi-academy trust (MAT).

The white paper also calls for a regulatory review of MATs, potentially paving the way for an independent regulator of school trusts and their operations.

Academies are state-funded schools with higher degrees of autonomy in governance, use of resources and curriculum. But the number of schools converting to academy status

has slowed recently, with a majority of primary schools and a fifth of secondary schools retaining their links to local authorities.

Provisions in the white paper would allow local authorities to establish MATs and gain powers to encourage schools to join one, "where that is the right approach for local schools", in areas lacking high-performing MATs.

Councils may also get significant new powers to force academies to accept children who are without a school place.

Ministers say the change would

help overcome the objections of the remaining maintained and voluntary-aided schools to becoming academies and streamline England's complicated school governance system.

Lucy Nethsingha, of the children and young people board at the Local Government Association, said: "We are pleased **2 ➔**



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