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REVIEW

WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND

The Dress-Shirt Dilemma

OFF DUTY

DOW JONES | News Corp \*\*\*\*\*

SATURDAY/SUNDAY, APRIL 9 - 10, 2022 - VOL. CCLXXIX NO. 82

WSJ.com ★★★★★ \$6.00

What's News

World-Wide

A Russian missile attack on a train station in the eastern Ukrainian city of Kramatorsk killed at least 52 people and injured more than 100 trying to flee the eastern Donbas region, Ukrainian authorities said, in one of the largest single attacks on evacuees since the conflict began. **A1, A5-7**

◆ A federal jury found two men not guilty and deadlocked on two others in a trial accusing the four of conspiring to kidnap Michigan Gov. Whitmer. **A3**

◆ Far-right leader Marine Le Pen is tapping public frustration over energy and food prices to close in on French President Macron before voters head to the polls on Sunday. **A8**

◆ A test-taking whiz was sentenced to four months in prison and a former USC water polo coach was found guilty in the sprawling admissions-fraud case known as Varsity Blues. **A3**

◆ Will Smith was banned from attending Oscars ceremonies for the next 10 years for slapping Chris Rock, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences said. **A3**

Business & Finance

◆ Roger Ng, a former Goldman Sachs banker, was convicted of helping to plunder billions of dollars from Malaysia's IMDB sovereign-wealth fund in one of the world's largest financial scandals. **A1**

◆ Major U.S. stock indexes posted losses for the week, with the S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow industrials down 1.3%, 3.9% and 0.3%, respectively, while investors sold off government bonds. **B1**

◆ Starbucks said it is bringing aboard a new senior executive specialized in worker relations as more baristas at the coffee chain's cafes this week voted to unionize. **B1**

◆ Spirit Airlines said it would entertain JetBlue's unsolicited \$3.6 billion bid to buy the carrier and start talks with its new suitor. **B3**

◆ Private astronauts blasted off on a SpaceX rocket for a mission to the International Space Station arranged by Axiom Space. **B3**

◆ Twitter said it would host a town hall at which employees could question Musk, the company's newest director and largest shareholder. **B3**

NOONAN

Can Anyone Tame Big Tech? **A13**

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A5-9



Bodies were covered after Friday's attack on a train station in Kramatorsk. People from across eastern Ukraine had gathered at the station to wait for evacuation after Ukrainian officials warned of a renewed Russian offensive in Donbas.

Dire Message From Mariupol: 'Help, SOS, We're in Trouble'

By DAN FROSCH  
AND IAN LOVETT

The message came from an unfamiliar Ukrainian number while Anastassia Vitkovitsky and her family were drinking tea in their Toronto home: "Help, SOS, we're in trouble."

It was from her cousin, Katya Aksenko, in the city of Mariupol, whom no one had been able to reach for nearly a week. Russian troops were shelling Ms. Aksenko's home, the message said. She and her parents were hiding in a basement bomb shelter. With no power or

cell service, she'd managed to reach a friend in Ukraine, whom she begged to send word to her family in Canada. Now at least Ms. Vitkovitsky knew her cousin was alive. But where? And how, exactly, to help her?

Over the next month, the 27-year-old Ms. Vitkovitsky, along with Ms. Aksenko's friends in Ukraine, launched a frantic effort to find her cousin. They spoke to volunteers running civilian rescue operations in Mariupol. They plastered her information across social media. They caught glimpses of her

Former Goldman Banker Convicted

By JAMES FANELLI

A former Goldman Sachs Group Inc. banker was convicted Friday of helping to plunder billions of dollars from a Malaysian sovereign-wealth fund in one of the world's largest financial scandals.

After deliberating over the course of four days, a federal jury in New York found Roger Ng guilty of conspiring to launder money and bribe officials in Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates. Mr. Ng was also convicted of violating Goldman's internal accounting controls under the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act.

The verdict capped a nearly two-month trial and delivered a win to the Justice Department in its yearslong push to hold individuals accountable for the looting of 1Malaysia Development Bhd., a state-controlled economic development company known as IMDB.

The global scandal has been a black mark for Goldman and led to the conviction of a former prime minister in a Malaysian court.

Federal prosecutors accused Mr. Ng of conspiring with a well-connected financier and a former Goldman partner to pay off officials to win the Wall Street bank lucrative business deals with IMDB. Goldman raised \$6.5 billion in bond offerings for IMDB in 2012 and

EXCHANGE



**'NEW COLLAR'**  
Low-wage workers are jumping into tech jobs. College degrees are optional. **B1**

**Jeff Koons Launches A Moonshot**  
Artists are racing to exhibit works on lunar surface

By KELLY CROW

Jeff Koons is in a race to be the first man to display his art on the moon, an exhibit that could net him a fortune.

Mr. Koons, the world's most-expensive living artist, is known for creating mirrored steel sculptures evoking balloon animals that have sold for as much as \$91 million. Now, the artist has made an

Surging Interest Rates Start To Ripple Through Economy

The market is finally getting the message that the era of cheap money is ending.

Just look at mortgage rates. At the beginning of 2022, the average interest rate on a 30-year mortgage hovered above 3%. Today it stands at 4.72%, according to Freddie Mac. That translates into sharply

higher borrowing costs for Americans looking to buy a home—and it is only the beginning.

By Orla McCaffrey,  
Sam Goldfarb  
and AnnaMaria Andriotti

For the better part of the past 15 years, households and businesses paid very little to borrow. Americans could get cars and homes and the appliances to fill them at interest rates in the low single digits. Companies, especially profitable ones, could practically

New Virus Outbreak Corners China's Xi

After two years of relying on broad, hard-edged lockdowns to control Covid-19, Chinese leader Xi Jinping tried something new in Shanghai.

By Lingling Wei,  
Stella Yifan Xie  
and Natasha Khan

Mindful of the economic toll and public anger from China's zero-Covid strategy, Mr. Xi gave the city leeway to tackle local outbreaks, people close to the government's decision-making said. The idea was to let Shanghai target only affected neighborhoods with lockdowns. If successful, the approach would offer a template for coexisting with the virus in the years ahead.

Instead, China's most populous city saw Covid-19 cases surge by nearly five times

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## How to become a tech titan

## Seven lessons on launching a start-up

LIFE & ARTS

# Fifty dead after missile strike on railway station in Ukraine town

◆ Eastern hub of Kramatorsk hit ◆ Russia denies involvement ◆ EU increases military aid

FT REPORTERS

Russian missiles killed dozens of people at a railway station yesterday in one of the deadliest attacks in Ukraine's six-week war, hitting a hub in the east of the country where residents were gathering to flee a renewed Moscow offensive.

At least 50 people were killed, including five children, at the station in Kramatorsk and about 100 were injured, the Donetsk administration said. "Thousands of people were at the station during the missile strike, as residents of Donetsk province are being evacuated to safer regions of Ukraine," said Pavlo Kyrylenko, head of the region's military-civilian administration.

The attack came as Ukraine braced itself for Moscow to step up assaults on areas it does not control in the Donbas region — comprised of the Donetsk and Luhansk provinces — having largely withdrawn from territory north of Kyiv. Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy said that the station was hit by Russian tactical ballistic missiles. "This evil has no bounds," he added.

Charles Michel, president of the European Council, described the attack as "horrifying", adding that more sanctions against Russia were needed.

The bloc is already discussing new measures, having agreed a package this week targeting Russian coal exports and dozens of oligarchs after the mass killing of civilians in Bucha. The EU and UK yesterday announced extra funding for military supplies to Ukraine. The bloc, which yesterday reopened its represen-



Police in Kramatorsk examine the remains of a rocket bearing the Russian words 'For our children'

Fabrizio Sennar/AFR via Getty Images

### Inside

- Full news and analysis Pages 2-4
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- The horror of Kramatorsk, FT View, Page 8
- Companies Page 10

tation office in Kyiv, is increasing funds by €500mn to a total of €1.5bn.

"It is impressive to witness here first-hand that the government of Ukraine is fully functioning, even under the very difficult circumstances," said the EU's high representative Josep Borrell on a visit to Kyiv with European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen.

The UK will also boost military support to Ukraine, through £100mn worth of equipment including Starstreak anti-aircraft missiles and 800 anti-tank missiles. More helmets and body armour will also be sent.

Russia's invasion had struck at "the

very foundations of the security of Europe", British prime minister Boris Johnson said during a joint press conference with Olaf Scholz, the German chancellor. "The Europe we knew just six weeks ago no longer exists."

Johnson condemned the "unconscionable" attacks of civilians fleeing from Kramatorsk train station, and said the UK and Germany shared a sense of "horror and revulsion" at the scale of the brutality being unleashed.

In Kramatorsk, witnesses recalled hearing two explosions after missiles hit the station as people were waiting to board a train. Dmytro Kuleba, Ukraine's

foreign minister, called the attack a "deliberate slaughter". He added: "We will bring each war criminal to justice."

Russia's defence ministry initially said that it had used rockets to attack three Ukrainian railway stations hosting "Ukrainian reserves' armaments and military equipment".

But after the scale of the civilian casualties became clear, it denied involvement in the attack, saying it had "nothing to do with reality". Reporting by Andres Schipani in Dnipro, Roman Gheorghy in Bucha, Max Seddon in Riga, Henry Foy in Brussels and Jasmine Cameron-Chillesh in London

## The meaning of mushrooms

Inside the secret world of fungi

LIFE & ARTS



## Back to the noughties

Katie Martin on forex markets

THE LONG VIEW



## Rural idylls

Countryside living special

HOUSE & HOME



## Art of Fashion

British brands

SEPARATE MAGAZINE



## Apathy threatens to play big role in French elections

Public disillusionment before the first round of voting in national elections has given far-right candidate Marine Le Pen, above, her best shot at taking the French presidency. Such a result would upturn French politics, echoing the anti-establishment triumphs of the Brexit vote and Donald Trump's win as US president. Abstinence is forecast to be as high as 30 per cent, which makes tomorrow's result difficult to predict.

Anger and apathy ► PAGE 5  
Sylvie Kauffmann ► PAGE 9

# Ex-Goldman banker Ng faces up to 30 years in jail after 1MDB guilty verdict

STEFANIA PALMA — WASHINGTON

A US jury has convicted former Goldman Sachs banker Roger Ng in connection with the multimillion-dollar 1MDB embezzlement, handing prosecutors a victory in a scandal that has reverberated from Malaysia to Wall Street.

After a trial lasting nearly two months, and four days of deliberation, jurors yesterday found Ng, 49, guilty on all three counts, including conspiring to violate US anti-bribery laws and conspiring to launder money. He faces up to 30 years in prison.

The conviction is a landmark win for US authorities who have dedicated years to bringing a case in connection with the fraud, in which the US Department of Justice alleges \$4.5bn was misappropriated from the Malaysian state investment fund.

Ng, his former boss Tim Leissner and Malaysian financier Jho Low were all charged by the DoJ. Leissner has pleaded guilty and is awaiting sentencing, while Low maintains his innocence and remains at large.

Kenneth Polite, head of the DoJ's criminal division, said Ng had "participated in a massive and unprecedented bribery and money laundering scheme" that included the corruption of senior officials in Malaysia and Abu Dhabi as well as money laundering in the US.

The government argued that Ng was a critical link to 1MDB and Low.

As Goldman's former head of investment banking in Malaysia and later as a member of the bank's securities division in Asia, Ng was involved in the bank's arrangement of 1MDB bond deals.

The Wall Street bank arranged three transactions in 2012 and 2013 that

raised approximately \$6.5bn, a chunk of which was misappropriated to pay bribes to officials in Malaysia and Abu Dhabi, according to US authorities.

The stolen funds were used to buy expensive art, luxury real estate and even to finance *The Wolf of Wall Street*, the Oscar-nominated film on financial malfeasance, among other things.

The government accused Ng, who did not testify during his trial, of pocketing about \$35mn in stolen 1MDB funds and trying to cover his tracks by eliminating entire email accounts.

Marc Agnifilo, Ng's lawyer, argued his client had nothing to do with the payment, which he said was linked to an unrelated investment involving his wife.

The trial was underpinned by a tense showdown between Ng and Leissner, an ex-Goldman partner who became the government's star witness in Ng's trial.

## World Markets

STOCK MARKETS					CURRENCIES					INTEREST RATES				
	Apr 8	prev	%chg		Pair	Apr 8	Prev				price	yield	chg	
S&P 500	4910.38	4900.21	0.24		\$ per €	1.067	1.061			US Gov 10 yr	83.38	2.86	0.06	
Nasdaq Composite	13826.47	13807.30	-0.51		\$ per £	1.301	1.302			UK Gov 10 yr	123.43	1.75	0.03	
Dow Jones Ind	34835.49	34803.57	0.73		€ per €	0.806	0.805			Ger Gov 10 yr	93.56	0.70	0.02	
FTSEurofirst 300	1805.51	1790.89	1.38		¥ per \$	124.405	123.925			Japan 10 yr	99.68	0.23	-0.01	
Euro Stoxx 50	3951.84	3902.61	1.31		¥ per €	161.832	161.926			US Gov 30 yr	91.46	2.72	0.02	
FTSE 100	7669.56	7654.81	1.96		Sfr per €	1.016	1.018			Ger Gov 2 yr	100.04	0.06	0.07	
FTSE All-Share	4258.23	4190.46	1.43											
CAC 40	6548.22	6461.68	1.34											
Xetra Dax	14263.67	14078.15	1.45											
Nikkei	29986.80	29886.57	0.36											
Hang Seng	21872.03	21806.98	0.29											
MSCI World	3074.09	3072.24	0.06											
MSCI EM	1128.06	1142.50	-1.44											
MSCI ACWI	762.39	763.14	-0.11											
FT Wilshire 2500	5883.71	5844.85	0.32											
FT Wilshire 5000	45796.39	45648.40	0.31											

COMMODITIES					INTEREST RATES				
	Apr 8	prev	%chg			price	prev	chg	
Oil WTI \$	90.40	90.03	0.58						
Oil Brent \$	101.03	100.58	0.45						
Gold \$	1932.40	1933.15	0.12						

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**Late Edition**  
Today, breezy with times of clouds and sunshine, high 52. **Tonight**, clear to partly cloudy, winds diminishing, low 41. **Tomorrow**, partly sunny, high 58. Weather map is on Page 24.

## Russia Resets Military Command as Western Arms Pour In



Police officers and forensic workers exhumed bodies from a mass grave on Friday in Bucha, Ukraine. Justice for war crimes is most often applied by conquerors.

### Onslaught Is Feared in Eastern Ukraine

This article is by Eric Schmitt, Jane Arraf and Michael Levenson.

Russia reorganized the command of its flagging offensive in Ukraine on Saturday, selecting for the mission a general accused of ordering strikes on civilian neighborhoods in Syria, as Western nations poured more weapons into the country in anticipation of a renewed Russian assault in the east.

The appointment of the general, Aleksandr V. Dvornikov, as the top battlefield commander came as Britain announced that it was sending missiles that target aircraft, tanks and even ships, and as Slovakia handed the Ukrainian military a long-range S-300 air defense system, with the blessing of the United States.

In another show of support for Ukraine, Prime Minister Boris Johnson of Britain made a surprise visit on Saturday to Kyiv, the capital, where he met with Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, and discussed a "new package of financial and military aid," the British government said.

Mr. Zelensky called on other Western leaders to similarly provide military aid to Ukraine and impose further sanctions on Russia.

"Other Western democratic countries should follow the U.K.'s example," Mr. Zelensky said after meeting with Mr. Johnson.

The two leaders walked through the mostly empty cobbled streets of Kyiv in a show of confidence that the Ukrainian capital was now safe from Russian attacks. Outside a shop, one man warmly greeted them, thanking Mr. Johnson for Britain's support in offensive Ukrainian as Mr. Zelensky translated.

"In the last few weeks the world has found new heroes, and those heroes are the people of Ukraine," said Mr. Johnson.

"What Putin has done in places like Bucha and Irpin, his war crimes, have permanently polluted his reputation and the reputation of his government," he added. "There is a huge amount to do to make sure that Ukraine is successful, that Ukraine wins and that Putin fails."

The effort by Mr. Johnson to bolster Ukraine came as fears of a new Russian onslaught escalated.

Continued on Page 12

### War Crimes Often Avoid A Reckoning

This past week, as Ukrainian forces retook the town of Bucha to find its streets littered with the bodies of bound and shot civilians, and as rockets rained on a train station packed with fleeing families, killing dozens, two words were on the lips of diplomats, world leaders and rights groups: war crimes.

But as investigators comb Ukraine for evidence, which could be used to bring charges, an uncomfortable fact hangs over their work.

Members of sitting governments and their militaries, no matter how horrifying the evidence against them, virtually never face international prosecution for their country's conduct in war.

There have been many successful war crimes trials since the foundations of such proceedings were laid at the end of World War II. But look closely and a pattern emerges that is not encouraging to hopes that the perpetrators in this war will be similarly held to account.

In practice, justice for war crimes has been applied by conquerors, as in postwar Germany or American-occupied Iraq; by victors in civil war, as in Rwanda or Ivory Coast; or by a new government overthrowing an old one, as in Serbia or Sierra Leone.

Champions of international law argue that the International Criminal Court and similar bodies apply rulings dispassionately and transparently. Trials typically stretch on for years and sometimes end in acquittals: It is hardly brute victor's justice.

Still, the fact remains that perpetrators almost never arrive in the dock unless they are delivered there by the victors in a war or power struggle that has deposited them.

Continued on Page 10

### Putin, Rooting Out War Critics, Turns Russians Against Russians

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

Marina Dubrova, an English teacher on the Russian island of Sakhalin in the Pacific, showed an uplifting YouTube video to her eighth-grade class last month in which children, in Russian and Ukrainian, sing about a "world without war."

After she played it, a group of girls stayed behind during recess and quizzed her on her views. "Ukraine is a separate country, a separate one," Ms. Dubrova, 57, told them.

"No longer," one of the girls shot

back.

A few days later, police officers came to her school in the port town of Korsakov. In court, she heard a recording of that conversation, apparently made by one of the students. The judge handed down a \$400 fine for "publicly discrediting" Russia's Armed Forces. The school fired her, she said, for "amoral behavior."

"It's as though they've all plunged into some kind of madness," Ms. Dubrova said in a phone interview, reflecting on the pro-war mood around her.

With President Vladimir V. Putin's direct encouragement,

### Echoes of Stalin With Citizens as Informers

Russians who support the war against Ukraine are starting to turn on the enemy within.

The episodes are not yet a mass phenomenon, but they illustrate the building paranoia and polarization in Russian society. Citizens are denouncing one another in an eerie echo of Stalin's terror, spurred on by vicious official rhetoric from the state and enabled by far-reaching new laws that criminalize dissent.

There are reports of students turning in teachers and people telling on their neighbors and even the diners at the next table.

In a mall in western Moscow, it was the "no to war" text displayed in a computer repair store and reported by a passer-by that got the store's owner, Marat Grachev, detained by the police. In St. Petersburg, a local news outlet documented the furor over suspected pro-Western sympathies at the public library; it erupted after a library official mistook the image of a Soviet scholar on a poster for

Continued on Page 6



EVE EDLHEIT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Florida's beloved manatees are dying in large numbers because pollution has destroyed their food.

### Can 101 Tons of Lettuce Save Florida Manatees?

By PATRICIA MAZZEI

INDIAN RIVER LAGOON, Fla. — At first, the manatees stayed away from the romaine lettuce.

It was an extraordinary experiment in dire times: humans dumping pallets of leafy greens to feed Florida's beloved manatees in the warm waters of the Indian River Lagoon, where decades of pollution have destroyed their delicate sea grass diet.

Eventually, a pair of bold manatees approached. With their prehensile lips — they are distantly related to elephants — they grabbed the lettuce and nibbled. More followed. On the coldest days, hundreds came, and over the three-month feeding period, the hungry mammals ate every scrap of the 202,000 pounds of lettuce hurled from above.

Floridians cherish manatees,

rotund and gentle giants that have long captured the human imagination, but people have failed to care for the animals' environment, putting the species' survival at risk. Now, as manatees are disappearing in large numbers, humans are trying crisis rescue measures in desperate attempts to keep them alive.

It may not be enough. The iconic manatee remains in trouble.

Continued on Page 20

### As Migrants Surged at Border, Biden Aides Fought Each Other

This article is by Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Michael D. Shear and Eileen Sullivan.

WASHINGTON — President Biden was livid.

He had been in office only two months and there was already a crisis at the southwest border. Thousands of migrant children were jammed into unsanitary Border Patrol stations. Republicans were accusing Mr. Biden of flinging open the borders. And his aides were blaming one another.

Facing his bickering staff in the Oval Office that day in late March 2021, Mr. Biden grew so angry at their attempts to duck responsibility that he erupted.

Who do I need to fire, he demanded, to fix this?

Mr. Biden came into office promising to dismantle what he described as the inhumane immigration policies of President Donald J. Trump. But the episode, recounted by several people who attended or were briefed on the meeting, helps explain why that effort remains incomplete: For much of Mr. Biden's presidency so far, the White House has been divided by furious debates over how — and whether — to proceed in the face of a surge of migrants crossing the southwest border.



A 6-year-old from Honduras who arrived in Roma, Texas, unaccompanied on Thursday.

Senior aides have been battling one another over how quickly to roll back the most restrictive policies and what kind of system would best replace them.

Now, Mr. Biden finds himself the target of attacks from all sides: Immigration activists accuse him of failing to prioritize the human rights of millions of immigrants. Conservatives have pointed to surges of migrants at the border as evidence that the president is weak and ineffective. And even some moderate Demo-

Continued on Page 22



#### INTERNATIONAL 4-17

##### Pakistan Ousts Prime Minister

The country will now face early elections after Imran Khan was removed in a no-confidence vote on Sunday. PAGE 14

##### Reuniting With Australia

After two years or more stuck abroad because of Covid, the much yearned-for homecoming isn't always easy. PAGE 16

#### NATIONAL 18-26

##### N.F.L. Quarterback Dies at 24

Dwayne Haskins, a standout at Ohio State and backup with the Pittsburgh Steelers, was hit by a truck early Saturday in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. PAGE 26

##### New Jersey's Covid Challenge

A large share of a county's residents have not been vaccinated, and its virus death rate is the state's highest. PAGE 19

#### SUNDAY BUSINESS

##### A Philanthropist's Story

MacKenzie Scott, the former wife of Jeff Bezos, gives away billions while rewriting old rules for donors. PAGE 1



#### METROPOLITAN

##### Panicky Wartime Pleas

Many people in the New York area are struggling to persuade their loved ones to flee Ukraine, to no avail. PAGE 1

##### Little Tokyo's Mystery Mogul

In the 1970s, Tony Yoshida brought Japanese culture to a New York City block, building a small empire. PAGE 1

#### SPORTS 30-33

##### Lots of Movement at Augusta

In the third round of the Masters, Cameron Smith moved up, Tiger Woods fell out of contention and Scottie Scheffler maintained his lead. PAGE 32

#### SUNDAY STYLES

##### A Rare Theatrical Nod

Ayodele Casel, a master tap dancer who will make her Broadway debut, says "Funny Girl" has a singular creative billing: tap choreographer. PAGE 8

#### SUNDAY REVIEW

##### David Brooks

PAGE 4

#### The New York Times Magazine







THE WORLD'S largest aircraft sits destroyed after fighting at Antonov Airport, where Vladimir Putin's vision of victory ran aground.

## ANALYSIS

# Russia's blunder in the battle for Kyiv

Ukrainian resistance at key airport caused plans for a lightning strike to implode.

By PATRICK J. MCDONNELL

**HOSTOMEL, Ukraine** — Days after Russian forces retreated from Kyiv, the northern outskirts of the Ukrainian capital are littered with the charred remains of blown-up and abandoned Russian tanks, armored personnel carriers and other equipment.

The debris is a stark testament to an assault that was meant to oust the Ukrainian government but became a humiliating blunder for Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Russia's failure to take the capital came down to a series of misjudgments and strategic errors: an emphasis on vulnerable armored columns, inadequate use of air power, an attack plan that overstretched supply lines, and — most significantly — a clear miscalculation. [See Blunder, A4]

## Civilians flee eastern Ukraine

With Russian forces amassing for a new offensive, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy warns of a "hard battle" ahead. **WORLD, A3**

The Lakers weren't a sure thing; they were, though, the surest thing for bettors.

At the SuperBook inside the Westgate Las Vegas Resort and Casino just off the Strip, more tickets were printed predicting the Lakers would be champions than for any other team, the betting public cementing their status as favorites by picking them ahead of the Phoenix Suns, Golden State Warriors, Milwaukee Bucks and Brooklyn Nets.

Money handed over to the SuperBook wagering on the Lakers to win the title accounted for nearly a quarter — 22% — of every dollar bet on 2022 title futures. From the mo-

# Lakers fall far short of their 2020 vision

Retooled team seemed certain to win a title ... until reality of age, injuries set in

By Dan Woike and Broderick Turner

ment the Lakers built this team until they were eliminated from postseason contention, no team had more money riding on them.

How could they not be favorites? It was a casual gambler's dream — LeBron James, Anthony Davis and a buffet of familiar names.

Two seasons before, the Lakers were champions. The season after that, they looked like favorites again until injuries sidelined their hopes. In an aggressive response to that, the Lakers cashed in the few remaining assets they had in the offseason.

They dealt for former MVP [See Lakers, A14]

# Killing surge is met with iron hand

As gangland slayings soar, El Salvador's president suspends civil liberties.

By KATE LINTHICUM AND NELSON RAUDA

**SAN SALVADOR** — After a dramatic spike in killings here over a single weekend last month, Salvadoran President Nayib Bukele's reaction was swift — and extreme.

He sent soldiers into poor neighborhoods to round up thousands of people who he claimed were gang members, then paraded them in front of news cameras in their underwear and handcuffs.

He tweeted pictures of detainees who had been bruised and bloodied by security forces, suggesting they "maybe fell" or "were eating fries with ketchup." And he started feeding the nation's prisoners two meals a day instead of one, warning that if violence continued, "I swear to God that they won't eat a single grain of rice."

It is a distinct look for Bukele, who has been focused in recent months on presenting himself to the world as a modern tech innovator on a quest to turn El [See El Salvador, A6]



A BABY winter-run Chinook salmon at a hatchery near Shasta Dam.

# Can California save its endangered salmon?

As dams and drought push the fish to the brink of extinction, a rescue plan is taking shape

Text by Ian James | Photography by Allen J. Schaben  
REPORTING FROM REDDING, CALIF.

Shasta Dam stands more than 600 feet tall, the height of a 55-story building, with a colossal spillway that towers over the Sacramento River in a curved face of concrete.

Since its completion in 1945, the dam has created California's largest reservoir, which provides water for farms and cities across the state. But it has also blocked Chinook salmon from returning upstream to the cold, spring-fed streams near Mt. Shasta where they once spawned.

Cut off from that chilly egg-laying habitat, endangered winter-run Chinook have struggled to survive. They've had help from an elaborate spawning operation at a government-

run fish hatchery, which is intended to function like a life-support system for the salmon.

But that support system is no longer enough. As global warming fuels worsening drought conditions and extreme heat, experts say winter-run Chinook are being pushed to the brink of extinction.

Last year, the water flowing from Shasta Dam got so warm that it was lethal for winter-run salmon eggs. Most of the eggs and young fish died. State biologists estimated that only 2.56% of the eggs hatched and survived to swim downstream, one of the lowest estimates of "egg-to-fry" survival yet. [See Salmon, A12]

# For this family, still no back to normal

As officials have cast off virus protections, immunocompromised people feel forgotten.

By EMILY ALPERT REYES

For Kaia Brooke, little has changed this spring, even as others declare that California and the country are finally getting back to normal.

She has not gone out to dine inside a restaurant or sat down in a movie theater. She avoids going out much, save for outdoor walks and drives, and is still wearing her KN95 mask when she ventures out of her Monrovia home.

"We can't move on like everyone else has been doing," said the 24-year-old autistic woman, who has chronic illnesses, including a metabolic disorder that requires iron

infusions.

At times, she said, "it's hard to shake the feeling of our lives feeling disposable."

As government agencies have loosened pandemic protections, advocates for immunocompromised and disabled people have raised concerns. "We're doing all the things that don't protect people with disabilities," said Bethany Lilly, senior director of income policy at the Arc, which advocates for people with intellectual and developmental disabilities.

Mask mandates have been rolled back, but crucial medications to prevent COVID-19 in immunocompromised people can still be hard to get. Federal money for testing and treating uninsured people has been drying up just as a coronavirus subvariant that has driven spikes in Europe is on the rise.

Health officials have [See COVID, A16]

## USC rallies behind fired custodian

Faculty and students demand investigation, saying theft arrest is a misunderstanding. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

## Crying foul over balls in humidors

Major League Baseball's latest grand experiment is fueling skepticism and mistrust among players. **SPORTS, D5**

**Weather**  
Mostly cloudy.  
L.A. Basin: 75/55. **B10**

## Times critic's Coachella picks

Harry Styles, the Idles and six other acts to watch at this year's festival. **CALENDAR, E5**





Off the clock A lack of affordable care for older adults is keeping many out of work **BUSINESS**



30 minutes to pack Residents displaced by a gas blast given little time to gather belongings **METRO**



Masters Scottie Scheffler takes a three-shot lead into the final round at Augusta **SPORTS**

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## Pakistani premier is ousted by lawmakers

'No confidence' vote sinks Imran Khan, who calls on allies to protest

BY PAMELA CONSTABLE

ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN — Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan was voted out of office early Sunday after a confused and chaotic day in which a "no confidence" vote in Parliament was repeatedly delayed.

Khan made a last-ditch effort to cling to power, producing a document that he said proved that U.S. officials had conspired against him in league with his legislative opponents. But as a tense nighttime confrontation loomed, with police and paramilitary troops blanketing the capital, the vote was finally held. In the end, 174 members voted to remove Khan, two more than required.

A charismatic politician and former jet-setting cricket star, Khan, 69, swept to power in 2018, inspiring voters with his anti-establishment rhetoric and a vision of building a "new Pakistan" — an Islamic welfare state based on opportunity, justice and independence for the nuclear power and impoverished Muslim-majority nation of 220 million.

But in recent months, he had struggled to control rampant inflation, foreign debt and other economic woes. While many of his promised reforms and civic

SEE PAKISTAN ON A26



NFL player Dwayne Haskins died after being hit by a truck in Florida on Saturday.

## Haskins, former QB in Washington, dies at 24

BY NICKI JHARVALA

Dwayne Haskins, an NFL quarterback whose enticing talent and record-setting collegiate career made him a first-round draft pick, died Saturday morning after being struck by a truck in South Florida. He was 24.

According to a Florida Highway Patrol spokeswoman, Haskins was attempting to cross on foot the westbound lanes of Interstate 595 in Broward County against oncoming traffic when he was struck by a dump truck. The accident was reported at 6:37 a.m. Saturday, and Haskins was pronounced dead on the scene. A traffic homicide investigation remains open, according to the spokeswoman.

Haskins, drafted by Washington in 2019 and signed by Pittsburgh two years later, had been training in Boca Raton, Fla., ahead of organized team activities with the Steelers. Social media posts published as recently as Friday evening showed him on a field alongside teammates Mitchell

SEE HASKINS ON A25

'DMV LEGEND': Teammates, coaches react to QB's death. D1

## Ukraine's east girds for bloodier fight



ZOHRA BENSEMRA/REUTERS

Natalia Titova, 62, shows her destroyed home Saturday in Chernihiv, Ukraine. She and her family were staying in the basement. At least 170 children have died and more than 320 have been injured since the war began, the country's prosecutor general said.

### As battlefield shifts, West is ready to supply Kyiv heavier weapons

BY WILLIAM BOOTH, EMILY RAUHALA AND MICHAEL BIRNBAUM

Ukrainian officials are clear on what they want from the United States and Europe: weapons. Big, heavy weapons. Not helmets. Tanks.

They say they need these weapons now, not later. And a lot of them.

The message has been broadly the same from the start of Russia's invasion, when Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy reportedly said "I need ammunition, not a ride," to this past week, when Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba told NATO leaders in Brussels that he had a threefold

agenda: "weapons, weapons and weapons."

But in the United States and Europe, the discussions over what types of weapons to send are far different from what they were just six weeks ago.

This is a pivotal moment of the war, and as the battlefield shifts, the sorts of weapons Ukrainian forces need are changing, too. There is no longer a fear that the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, could fall within days. Russian forces are repositioning for a fight over eastern Ukraine — what many predict will be full-scale confrontation on flat, open, rural terrain, between infantry armor and artillery, in the kind of engagements not seen

SEE WEAPONS ON A18

### Russia may gain edge as conflict moves from forests to open terrain

BY LIZ SLY AND DAN LAMOTHE

Ukraine is bracing for a new and potentially more challenging phase in its war to repel Russia's invasion as the battles shift east to new terrain that could give more of an advantage to the Russians.

The wide-open spaces will make it harder for the Ukrainians to run guerrilla operations as they did in the forests of the north and west and play to Russia's ability to muster large mechanized formations of tanks and other armored vehicles.

But much will depend on whether the Russians can rectify the mistakes they made in the

first phase of their invasion, from supply line failures, logistical problems and poor planning to deploying insufficient manpower for the size of the area they were attempting to seize, analysts say.

That the Ukrainians have not only managed to hold the Russian army at bay but also forced its troops into a humiliating retreat from the north of the country is testament both to their fighting ability and to the Russians' poor performance so far, experts say.

Russian forces have now completely withdrawn from the areas around Kyiv and Chernihiv in the north, where their attempt

SEE EAST ON A20

### NEXT PHASE LOOKS TO BE LONG, BRUTAL

Civilians urged to run, but many too terrified

This article is by Dalton Bennett, David L. Stern, Yasmeen Abutaleb, Claire Parker and Andrew Jeong

DNIPRO, UKRAINE — Residents of the beleaguered regions of eastern Ukraine continued to evacuate Saturday after officials agreed on 10 humanitarian corridors, as government officials increasingly worry that the next phase of the war could become a full-scale confrontation not seen in generations.

Serhiy Haidai, the governor of Luhansk, a province in eastern Ukraine, on Saturday urged residents to immediately leave as more Russian troops arrived and shelling intensified. But Haidai noted that residents were fearful after a ballistic missile attack on Friday, suspected to be a Russian airstrike, hit a train station in the eastern city of Kramatorsk, where thousands of people were jammed at a train station waiting to leave.

The horrific attack killed more than 50 people as fears rose of dangers facing civilians as Russian forces regroup to concentrate on capturing southern and eastern Ukraine. "Compared to other days, there were far fewer people willing," Haidai wrote on the Telegram messaging app. "The tragedy affected this."

Haidai said authorities would continue to try to persuade people to leave. "We are not stopping," he said during a Ukrainian television interview. More than 6,600 people fled embattled areas in those regions through humanitarian corridors on Friday, according to Kyiv, the highest count this week.

SEE UKRAINE ON A14

### MORE INSIDE

A new era: Germany's Scholz embraces a big-stick military. A12

Mykolajiv on edge: Bracing for bloodshed as Moscow pivots. A21

Wheat siloed: Key global supplier Ukraine can't send vital crop. A24

Eyes in Bucha: Photojournalist documents the horror. Outlook, B1

## Carpet cleaner and secret savant

Vaughn Smith speaks more than two dozen languages in the nation's capital, where interpreters can earn six figures

BY JESSICA CONTRERA



ASTRID RIECKEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Growing up, Vaughn Smith became entranced by every language he encountered. French record albums. A German dictionary. The library became one of his favorite places.

SEE SMITH ON A16

## As cases spread in social scene, D.C.'s elite party on

Gala guests undeterred as A-listers test positive for the coronavirus

BY ROXANNE ROBERTS

To party or not to party? That is the question.

Washington got a crash course in risk-reward ratios after a spate of boldface names tested positive for the coronavirus last week. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) got it. D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) got it. Attorney General Merrick Garland, Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo and Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine) all announced they got it after attending the exclusive Gridiron Club dinner on April 2.

But none of this has slowed down the juggernaut that is the city's elite social scene. After two years at home, the power brokers of the nation's capital are determined to get back to the serious business of having fun. The calculation: The rewards, at least

for the vaccinated and boosted, outweigh the possible risk of catching the milder variants of the disease.

And so 450 people packed into the National Gallery of Art for Thursday's opening of "Afro-Atlantic Histories," a groundbreaking exhibition of Black art and artists at the city's most prestigious art museum. Vice President Harris celebrated during the day after presiding over the landmark confirmation of Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson to the Supreme Court, and then at night by touring the show and addressing the crowd.

"A lot of history is being made today," said Harris with a broad smile. "Tonight is exceptional because it is unlike any other in the National Gallery's history." The exhibit, she added, is "so extraordinarily significant and important. It tells the story of our shared past but also our shared future."

"It's one of the few things in the last two years we haven't thought about canceling," said NGA Director Kaywin Feldman.

SEE COVID-19 ON A10

ARTS ..... B1  
BUSINESS ..... B1  
CLASSIFIEDS ..... C9

COMICS ..... INSERT  
EDITORIALS/LETTERS ..... A29  
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OUTLOOK ..... B1  
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TRAVEL ..... F1  
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## Macron llega a las urnas con poca ventaja sobre Le Pen

Los franceses votan hoy en primera vuelta; en el último tramo, un resurgimiento de la líder de ultraderecha arroja dudas sobre la continuidad del presidente. **Página 9**



## deportes

### TIGER NO SE DA POR VENCIDO Y HACE UN GRAN ESFUERZO

Llega a la última instancia del Masters de Augusta con evidente fatiga; ayer tuvo su peor vuelta, pero cosechó aplausos; hoy es el desenlace. **Página 6**

### El polo femenino, una atracción mundial en Palermo

Con un triunfo de Argentina frente a Irlanda (7 a 3), comenzó ayer el primer Mundial de polo jugado por mujeres; el martes, con Inglaterra. **Página 7**

# LA NACION

DOMINGO 10 DE ABRIL DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

## Kicillof se prepara para resistir los ajustes que prevé el Gobierno en la provincia

**CRISIS.** Advierte que saldrá a dar batalla contra los recortes de subsidios y de transferencias

Dentro de la larga disputa interna de la coalición gobernante, el dato más novedoso de la semana fue la incorporación de Axel Kicillof al coro de críticos públicos del Gobierno. Su frase de que "en el conurbano y el interior [de la provincia] no da más la situación social" fue el puntapié de una secuencia que se prolongó hasta el viernes.

Se trata de la primera expresión de una estrategia más amplia, que

incluye un alistamiento para resistir cualquier medida que adopte la Casa Rosada que implique algún tipo de ajuste o recorte sobre la provincia de Buenos Aires.

Por ahora los preparativos discursivos, pero también de acción política, se centran en dos temas críticos. El primero es el impacto de la reducción de subsidios a la luz y el gas, que tiene al territorio bonaerense como uno de los grandes

objetivos, junto con el portefolio.

El otro foco de inquietud gira en torno a la posibilidad de que el gobierno de Alberto Fernández avance en la disminución de las transferencias discrecionales (aquellas que no están fijadas por la coparticipación), tal como se comprometió en el acuerdo con el FMI. En 2021, esas transferencias fueron de 239.000 millones de pesos. **Página 12**

## EL ESCENARIO

### Cristina, ante un adversario sin reacción

Martín Rodríguez Yebra

Página 16

## EL ANÁLISIS

### Un peronismo dividido y radicalizado

Joaquín Morales Solá

—LA NACION—

Máximo Kirchner no influye en su madre, pero anticipa las posiciones de su madre. El último discurso del hijísimo, en el que hasta justificó a los piqueteros que cortaron durante días la avenida 9 de Julio porque "tienen hambre", señaló ya no una ruptura de Cristina Kirchner con el Presidente. Para ser precisos, anunció que la vicepresidenta pasó a militar en una abierta oposición a Alberto Fernández. Continúa en la página 39

## Para un juez, tomar tierras "de día" no es delito

**FALLO.** Ramos Padilla dice que la usurpación de un predio en La Plata es legal

El juez federal Alejo Ramos Padilla dispuso archivar la causa por una megatoma de tierras de La Plata, al considerar que la usurpación de lotes no fue ilegal por haber sido realizada "de día" sobre terrenos "ociosos". **Página 20**

## Bloqueos de camioneros para presionar a la Justicia

**PIQUETES.** Exigen la liberación de dirigentes detenidos por extorsión

El gremio de camioneros aplica bloqueos intermitentes en los accesos a San Nicolás para exigir que una jueza de esa ciudad libere a dos gremialistas detenidos por extorsión a una empresa de San Pedro. **Página 22**



Gustavo Zerbino, sobreviviente del accidente, con su hija Lupe, en el Valle de las Lágrimas

—el berlinés

## El milagro de los Andes, 50 años después

Texto Inés Capdevila | Foto Tomás Heinrich Enviados especiales

**VALLE DE LAS LÁGRIMAS.**—Gustavo Zerbino es uno de los 16 jóvenes que, en 1972, sobrevivieron 72 días en los Andes luego de que su avión se estrellara cerca de Chile, en una historia que aún conmueve al mundo. Ahora regresó con su familia al Valle de las Lágrimas para honrar a las 29 personas que murieron y celebrar la vida de los que volvieron.

## LA NACION EN UCRANIA

### El espanto tras el paso de fuerzas rusas cerca de Kiev

Elisabetta Piqué  
ENVIADA ESPECIAL

**MAKARIV.**—Llovizna, hace frío y hay un tanquero ruso destruido en la avenida principal de Makariv, localidad ubicada 50 kilómetros al oeste de Kiev que es otra postal de la destrucción y el espanto que dejaron a su paso los soldados rusos en esta zona de Ucrania martirizada. Aunque aquí no hubo fosas comunes, según dice a LA NACION Vadym Tocar, el alcalde de esta ciudad, si se han contabilizado 133 civiles muertos en los feroces combates que hubo en este distrito, entre los cuales hay varios "torturados". Continúa en la página 4

Niall Ferguson.

"La región podría convertirse en parte de China" Juana Libedinsky

LN Revista



## ENTREVISTA Ciro Nogueira Corrupção no governo é virtual, não aconteceu

O ministro da Casa Civil diz serem "corrupção virtual" suspeitas de pedido de propina por pastores indicados por Jair Bolsonaro (PL) para intermediar reuniões no MEC. Chamado de "amortecedor" no governo, ele diz não acreditar que o episódio atrapalhe o discurso anticorrupção da gestão. "Não houve corrupção." **Política A8**

## Propostas no Congresso sobem gastos em R\$ 46 bi

**Mercado A17**

## Teremos um novo presidente ano que vem, diz Lemann

O empresário Jorge Paulo Lemann afirmou ontem que o Brasil terá um novo presidente no ano que vem. O bilionário brasileiro deu a declaração ao comentar sobre a educação do país, durante um debate da Brazil Conference, nos EUA. **Mercado A21**

## Casos de violência na escola crescem no pós-pandemia

Nos dois primeiros meses de aula do ano, foram registrados 4.021 casos de agressão física na rede estadual paulista, —48,5% a mais que no mesmo período de 2019, pré-pandemia. O comportamento é atribuído a isolamento e a perdas na família. **Cotidiano B2**

## A pandemia em 9.abr

Dados das 20h

### População vacinada no Brasil

1º ciclo vacinal completo (dose única ou 2ª dose) **75,4%**

### Óbitos

Médias móveis **154** ↓ -35%\* **Em 24 h 88**

Total **661.270**

\*Variação em relação a 14 dias

## EDITORIAIS A2

### De roubos e robôs

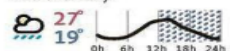
Acerca de indícios de malversação de verba no MEC.

### Suprema insignificância

Sobre casos de furtos que chegam ao STF e ao STJ.

## ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



Rio	23 27	22 29
Brasília	17 31	18 31
Ribeirão	20 32	20 32

Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br



# Bolsonaro afrouxa licitações para acelerar verba a aliados

Com aval do TCU, obras indicadas por emendas na Codevasf, controlada pelo centrão, sobem 240%

O governo Jair Bolsonaro (PL) passou a usar em larga escala uma manobra que afrouxa critérios de licitações para acelerar a distribuição de bilhões de reais a aliados por meio de emendas parlamentares, relatam Flávio Ferreira e Mateus Vargas. A prática estimula corrupção e má qualidade.

Ela é centrada na estatal Codevasf (Companhia de Desenvolvimento dos Vales do São Francisco e do Parnaíba), sob comando do centrão, grupo que dá sustentação a Bolsonaro.

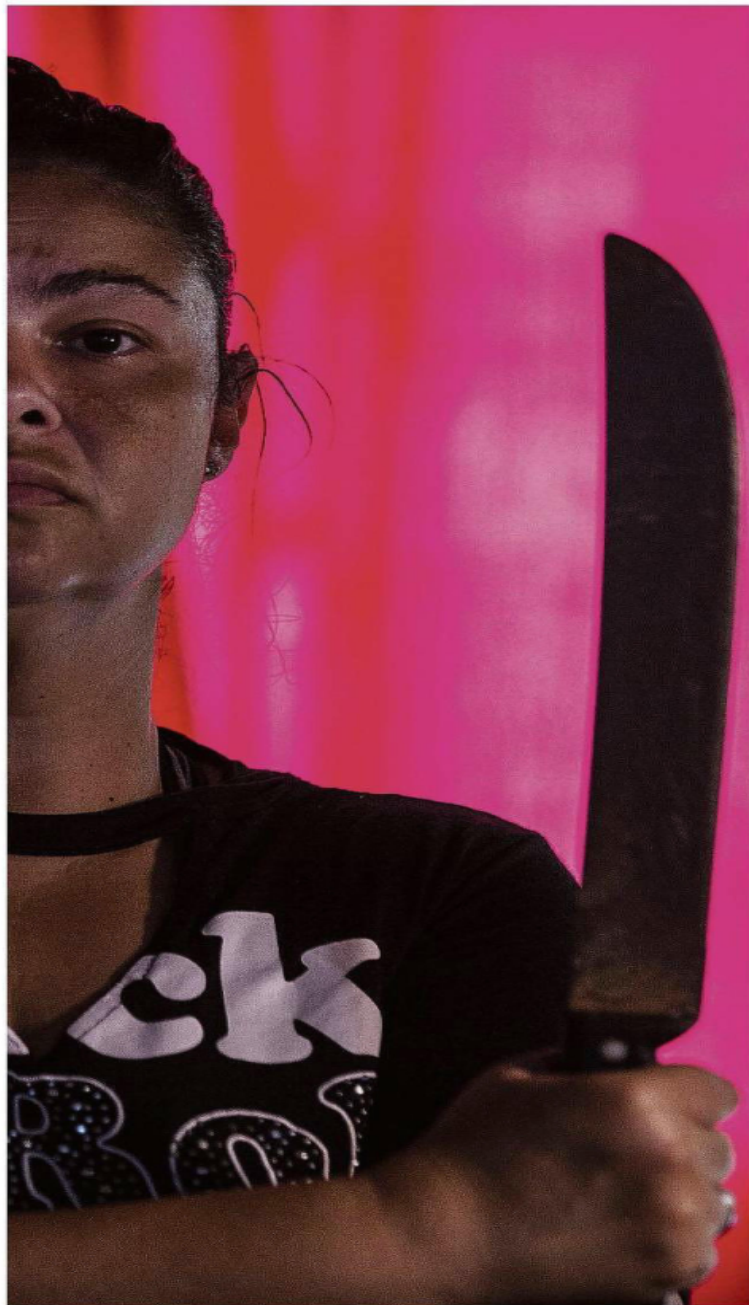
Nela, licitações usam critérios fictícios ao avaliar obras, permitindo a liberação mais rápida de recursos.

Assim, invertendo a lógica da administração pública, as obras são subordinadas em tão ao desejo expresso nas emendas, particularmente as chamadas de relator, utilizadas por Bolsonaro para cooptar o apoio do centrão. Só neste ano, estão disponíveis R\$ 16,5 bilhões para esses gastos arbitrários.

Isso é feito com o aval do Tribunal de Contas da União. No ano passado, contra a recomendação da sua área técnica e da Controladoria-Geral da União, o tribunal liberou o afrouxamento.

Assim, as licitações genéricas na Codevasf passaram de 29 para 99 de 2020 para 2021, um aumento de 240%.

A estatal defende a aplicação da medida. Diz que é uma forma de dar celeridade à aplicação dos recursos. "As ações da companhia são empreendidas com abordagem técnica e servem ao interesse social." O TCU afirma que assim é possível atender mais rapidamente as comunidades. **Política A4**



Marlene Bergamo/Folhapress

## Macron e Le Pen miram votos da esquerda no primeiro turno

Presidente francês busca reeleição em disputa apertada contra candidata da ultradireita. Ambos almejam eleitores de Jean-Luc Mélenchon, da esquerda radical e 3º na corrida. Pleito que começa hoje deve ir a 2º turno. **Mundo A12**

## Chamar de racista pode não ajudar, diz psicólogo social

Para Jack Glaser, da Universidade da Califórnia, racismo difere de viés racial implícito, processo não consciente ao qual todos estão sujeitos. "Dizer que as pessoas são racistas só vai levá-las a levantar barreiras defensivas", afirma à Folha. **Cotidiano B4**

## Por cidadania para filhos, russas vêm ao Brasil dar à luz

Mirando um passaporte mais aceito no mundo para seus filhos, em especial em tempos de isolamento diplomático devido à guerra na Ucrânia, russas fazem turismo de parto para dar à luz no Brasil. Segundo agências, algumas decidem ficar. **Mundo A14**

ilus  
trís  
sima  
trada  
!us

Descoberta do navio Endurance é novo capítulo de saga de sobrevivência **C4**

**MÔNICA BERGAMO**  
Conto minha história para mostrar que o amor é possível, diz Sidney Magal **C2**

## Marcelo Leite Aras comete fake news no Supremo

Nas sessões da "pauta verde" no STF sobressaiu a mentira do procurador-geral da República, Augusto Aras, ao dizer que há 3.000 ONGs na Amazônia e 300 no resto do país. Do PGR se desejava mais independência institucional — mas não de Aras. **Ambiente B5**



Tripulação da Endurance em foto de Frank Hurley

## PRISÃO DE AGRESSOR DE MULHER EM SP AUMENTA 43%

A guia de turismo Meri Xavier, 38, era agredida desde os 21 anos por seu companheiro; população carcerária com esse perfil aumentou de 2.612 para 3.737 em cinco anos **Cotidiano B1**



**Concejal Julián Vega hacía de mandadero para la estructura criminal**

## Guardias facilitaron reuniones de narcos en el penal de Emboscada

Audios revelan encuentro entre Édgar Cantero, detenido en caso estancia El Tigre, y otros miembros de su organización para delegar responsabilidades. Delinquentes se refieren a la cárcel como la "Facultad".

PÁGINAS 2 y 3

Mañana se estudia en Diputados

### Hacienda pide cambios claves a la ley que subsidia combustibles

PÁGINA 14

Variada oferta para Semana Santa

### Tras parón de dos años, turismo religioso vuelve a convocar a las masas

PÁGINA 25

Relaciones con el BCP están tensas

### Senadores negocian para modificar la ley de secreto bancario

PÁGINA 5

Se superaría nuevamente la meta

### Analistas temen que la inflación sea mayor a registrada en 2021

PÁGINA 15



Una historia que se repite. Como ya es habitual luego de cada precipitación, calles y ciertos puentes quedaron peligrosamente dañados y requieren urgente reparación.

PÁGINA 24

#### DOMINGO

Proyecto trancado en el Congreso

Políticos con negocios con el Estado traban ley de conflicto de intereses

PÁGINAS 4

César Barreto Otazú, economista

No "electoralizar" la economía

PÁGINA 23



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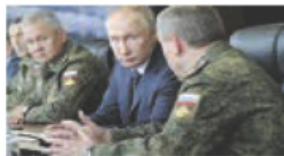
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## LE FIGARO

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



**RUSSIE**  
AU CŒUR DE L'IDÉOLOGIE QUI  
A MENÉ POUTINE À LA GUERRE  
PAGES 20 ET 21

**IMMOBILIER**  
L'INFLATION SONNE-T-ELLE  
LA FIN DES BONNES  
AFFAIRES ? PAGES 24 ET 25



# La France à l'heure du choix

À l'issue d'une campagne atone éclipsée par la guerre en Ukraine, douze candidats se disputeront dimanche les suffrages des Français pour le premier tour de l'élection présidentielle.

PAGES 2 A 10 ET L'EDITORIAL



BENOIT TESSIER/REUTERS

## ISRAËL

Face aux attentats, Bennett promet une guerre « totale »

PAGE 15

## TENNIS

Alcaraz, le « nouveau Nadal » qui fait bouger les lignes

PAGE 17

## CHAMPS LIBRES

• La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté

PAGE 19

## FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de vendredi :

Approuvez-vous le choix de Nicolas Sarkozy de rester silencieux avant le premier tour de la présidentielle ?

OUI 52% NON 48%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 134 776

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr

Les candidats éliminés doivent-ils donner des consignes pour le second tour ?

MIKHAIL KLIMENTYEV/AFP - JEAN-PAUL COMPARNI/JEAN-PAUL COMPARNI - STOCKADOB.COM - FADEL SENNA/AFP

## Covid : après un rebond, l'épidémie recommence à décroître

Même après la levée des mesures de contrôle, l'immunité collective, grâce aux vaccins et aux pré-infections, a été suffisante pour enrayer la croissance du nombre de contami-

nations de Covid-19. Une bonne nouvelle qui ne s'est pas encore traduite par un effet sur l'hôpital, où les admissions quotidiennes continuent de croître. PAGE 16



## En Ukraine, des dizaines de civils tués dans le bombardement d'une gare

Au moins 50 personnes, dont 5 enfants, ont été tuées vendredi dans un bombardement sur la gare de Kriviy Rih, dans le Donbass, pendant l'évacuation de ci-

vils. Le président Zelensky a dénoncé le « mal sans limite » de la Russie, qui accuse l'Ukraine d'avoir délibérément visé sa propre population. PAGES 12 ET 13

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

### Jour du peuple

Les dés sont jetés. Le silence s'impose pour quelques heures sur la grande machinerie médiapolitique. Les candidats sont invisibles, les sondages qui roulaient sans cesse matin, midi et soir sont à l'arrêt, les commentateurs n'ont plus rien à commenter, les prédicateurs, enfin, se taisent : la France retient son souffle. Demain, tout un pays se retrouvera dans un rituel vieux comme la Grèce pour décider de son avenir. Les sachants, les puissants ne vaudront pas plus que les petits et les sans-grades : c'est l'heure du peuple. Le peuple ? Non pas une catégorie sociologique, mais l'ensemble des citoyens d'un État. On nous dira que ce scrutin est déjà escamoté par une campagne indiscernable, qu'il n'y a pas eu de délibération civique, de confrontation féconde, de débat de fond. On se plaindra du pouvoir écrasant de l'image sur la vie de l'esprit, du poids des émotions médiatiques sur la raison, du triomphe de l'épiderme sur les profondeurs de la conscience, des ravages de l'inculture sur le discernement. On dira, avec Michel Onfray, que ce sont toujours les mêmes qui l'emportent ; avec Winston Churchill, que

« le meilleur argument contre la démocratie est cinq minutes de conversation avec l'électeur médian ». On louera la sagesse des régimes parlementaires et l'imprudence de l'élection du président au suffrage universel direct... La litane des déceptions et des déplorations pourrait s'étendre indéfiniment. Système imparfait, régime par défaut, la démocratie, c'est à ça qu'on la reconnaît, autorise plus de critiques, de déceptions, de remontrances que tous les autres systèmes. Reste que le bulletin de vote, et plus encore lors d'une élection présidentielle, est l'expression à la fois fragile et décisive de la liberté individuelle et de la souveraineté collective. S'il est enfantin d'y chercher un pouvoir absolu, il est honteux de s'en priver par paresse, légèreté ou ressentiment. Plutôt que de donner des « consignes de vote » (ce qui est un oxymore), il est un devoir d'État à rappeler à tous les Français : l'avenir de notre pays est entre vos mains. Rendez-vous aux urnes : il ne doit manquer personne. ■

Le vote,

expression

fragile et

décisive de

la liberté

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