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Down and
Dirty
With
Nature
REVIEW

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Décor Is
Blooming
Again
OFF DUTY

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What's News

World-Wide

Ukrainian officials accused Russia of burying thousands of civilians in mass graves outside Mariupol, as a senior Russian military official said Moscow's territorial goals extend well beyond Ukraine's eastern Donbas region. **A1, A6-7**

◆ **France will choose** between President Macron and far-right leader Le Pen in the second round of the country's election on Sunday amid deepened voter discontent. **A1**

◆ **Trump said** his relationship with the House minority leader remains good after a recording emerged of McCarthy, days after the Capitol attack, telling other GOP lawmakers that he would advise the then-president to resign. **A5**

◆ **Florida Gov. DeSantis** signed into law a bill that would terminate a special tax district that has allowed Disney to self-govern the land that houses its Orlando-area theme parks, hotels and resorts. **A3**

◆ **Lawmakers in the EU** reached a deal on the main points of a new law aimed at forcing tech firms to take more responsibility for the content their users post online. **A9**

◆ **Rank-and-file Democrats** are pressing Biden and congressional leaders to take quick action on policy issues when lawmakers return to work next week. **A4**

Business & Finance

◆ **Major U.S. stock indexes** sank, with the Dow experiencing its worst day since 2020. The S&P 500 fell at least 1% for the third consecutive week, while the Nasdaq lost at least 2% for a third straight week. Bond yields extended their gains, rising for three consecutive weeks. **A1**

◆ **Economic growth** is slowing in large parts of the globe as businesses struggle to navigate the effects of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, pandemic-prompted lockdowns in China and high inflation. **A2**

◆ **In the latest** in a line of large thefts, a hacker exploited a new algorithmic stablecoin project called Beanstalk on Sunday, draining it of \$182 million worth of digital assets. **A1**

◆ **Verizon's first-quarter** profit fell 13%, and executives warned that earnings would be further pressured in the months ahead. **B1**

◆ **French prosecutors** have zeroed in on bonus payments from Renault to an Omani dealership they suspect ended up in companies controlled by Ghosn and his family, according to people familiar with the matter. **B1**

◆ **Bed Bath & Beyond** is fielding interest from potential acquirers of its Buy-Baby business. **B3**

NOONAN
Joe Biden Has
A Presentation
Problem **A13**

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Earnings, Rate Worries Hit Stocks

Dow's percentage drop is biggest since 2020 as broad indexes fall for a third straight week

By HARDIKA SINGH
AND CAITLIN MCCABE

Worries about slowing corporate earnings and the Federal Reserve's plans to rapidly raise interest rates dragged the Dow industrials to their worst day since 2020. Friday's declines, which

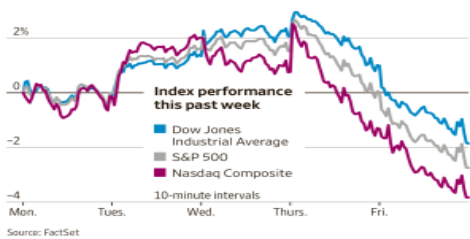
deepened throughout the session, undid gains from earlier in the week, extending a slide for stock markets. The broad-based S&P 500 fell at least 1% for the third consecutive week, while the tech-focused Nasdaq Composite Index lost at least 2% for a third straight week. Bond yields extended their gains, rising for three consecutive weeks.

Investors this past week parsed first-quarter financial results from a range of firms in search of clues about the health of the economy, the

consumer outlook and companies' ability to cope with inflation. Of companies that have reported so far, about 80% have beaten analyst expectations, according to FactSet, which has helped provide some stability to the U.S. stock market.

Downbeat reports from healthcare and retail stocks, Please turn to page A2

◆ **Economic growth** loses steam in many parts of the globe. **A2**
◆ **Some of the pandemic's** hot stocks are cooling now..... **B2**



Emergency workers on Thursday recover the incinerated remains of civilians killed by a Russian rocket attack in Kharkiv.

On Kharkiv's Battered Streets, Survivors Struggle to Hold Out

By YAROSLAV TROFIMOV

KHARKIV, Ukraine—During lulls in the Russian shelling that has turned much of northern Kharkiv into a landscape of eviscerated high-rises, shrapnel-littered streets and burned-out cars, Tatyana Yevtukhova left her building's basement to light a fire in what used to be a playground.

Ms. Yevtukhova, 63, who lives with her son Pasha and their cat Motik, hasn't had electricity or running water since her nine-story housing block in

the North Saltivka neighborhood was first hit on March 3. They are alive because a shell went right through her apartment and came out on the other side, without exploding.

"Luckily there is a stream nearby, and we can fetch some water," she said as a neighbor hacked down a tree branch for firewood. "We are a family, all three of us taking care of each other."

A Ukrainian army chaplain had just delivered hot soup and some camping stoves. His daily visits are the main source of

food for the residents of the housing block who are refusing to leave their hometown, Ukraine's second-largest city before the Russian invasion, despite the intensifying barrages.

"Usually, it seems empty, like nobody lives here," Ms. Yevtukhova said. "But when volunteers arrive with food, people come out of their hiding everywhere."

Indeed, several other residents warily made their way into the courtyard, their ears attuned to the hiss of incoming shells and the staccato of Grad

multiple-launch rocket systems.

Russia, which says that it doesn't target civilians, has inflicted on Kharkiv some of the worst devastation Europe has seen since World War II. Some 2,000 high-rises have been destroyed, according to the municipality. The mayor, Ihor Terekhov, this week urged residents of North Saltivka and Please turn to page A7

◆ **Kyiv accuses Russia** of burying civilians in mass graves..... **A6**
◆ **Budweiser brewer AB InBev** joins Russia pullout..... **A7**

Malaise Grips French Elections

By STACY MEICHTRY
AND NOEMIE BISSERRE

PARIS—Inflationary shock, fueled by Russia's invasion of Ukraine, has deepened anxiety among French voters who worry that citizens can no longer attain the standard of living of previous generations—a phenomenon known as *le grand déclassement*.

The growing malaise has pushed up public support for candidates on the far right and far left in election after election. The tide of voter discontent with the political establishment has now risen to a level that's testing the foundations of French democracy.

On Sunday, voters will choose between President Emmanuel Macron and far-right leader Marine Le Pen in the second stage of France's two-round electoral system. They were the winners in the first round of the election last week, in which more than half the votes went to the far right or far left, including to candidates who want to rewrite France's constitution or simply tear it up.

Far-left firebrand Jean-Luc Mélenchon, who garnered 22% of the vote, campaigned on the idea of replacing France's modern Fifth Republic with a sixth that weakens the executive powers of the presidency and can legislate by public referendum.

Ms. Le Pen, who finished second with 23.2%, her highest ever first-round tally, wants to change the constitution to give priority to French nationals over immigrants, including Please turn to page A8

◆ **Le Pen's party** pays Russian military contractor..... **A8**

Japan's Geisha Stage A Revival

Entertainers try to lift fading art with shows, tote bags

By MIHO INADA

KYOTO, Japan—On Christmas Day last year, three dozen geisha danced, sang and talked before several hundred guests at a luxury hotel in Japan's ancient capital.

Their ancient sisters would have been shocked.

For centuries, Kyoto's geisha reserved their art for a moneyed few behind closed paper doors. Dressed in ornate kimono, they danced in customary styles, played the stringed shamisen and served Please turn to page A10

EXCHANGE



TRIPLE SHOT
Howard Schultz is back and trying to help Starbucks fix its identity crisis. **B1**

Hackers Get Bolder In Crypto Capers

By PAUL VIGNA

Cryptocurrency hacks are getting bigger.

In the latest in a line of large thefts, a hacker exploited a new algorithmic stablecoin project called Beanstalk on Sunday, draining it of \$182 million worth of digital assets.

The hack wiped out all of the ether, a cryptocurrency, that was held by the fund. Once the ether was removed, the value of the stablecoin itself, called Bean, collapsed to 10 cents from \$1 on Sunday, according to data firm CoinGecko.

Most recently it was trading Please turn to page A4

Toll in Shanghai Is Likely Worse

Number of Covid-19 victims at one nursing home is higher than the city-wide total

By WENXIN FAN

Late last month, dozens of migrant housemaids and nannies queued up for new jobs at Donghai Elderly Care Hospital in Shanghai. No experience or certification was required, just proof they were vaccinated against Covid-19.

People who scared easily shouldn't apply, one said she was told by an employment agent.

The ones who stayed entered a hospital in disarray. Doctors and nurses, stricken with the virus, were locked in quarantine. Residents were dying after they caught

Covid. New hires were pressed into tasks normally done by trained workers.

One of them, a woman in her 40s in the job for less than a week, said she and three others carried a body to a room used as a morgue at midnight. They struggled to help a veteran male orderly zip the body of the swollen woman into a thick yellow bag and move it away. She said she counted half a dozen bodies in the room.

Shanghai, which has been in near complete lockdown for a month to contain the current wave of the virus, the Please turn to page A9



Which way will France turn?

'Macron is still bursting with energy and ideas'
PERSON IN THE NEWS

France's long battle between order and dissent
LIFE & ARTS

Le Pen and the evolution of populism
LIFE & ARTS

Fed's hawkish tone feeds market anxiety over runaway inflation

◆ 'Break-even' gauge at 20-year high ◆ Bond rout intensifies ◆ Traders expect big rate rises

TOMMY STUBBINGTON — LONDON
COLBY SMITH — NEW YORK

Investors' expectations for US inflation have shot to their highest level in decades even as the Federal Reserve signalled that an aggressive tightening of monetary policy was imminent, underscoring the challenge central banks face in convincing markets they can tame runaway price growth.

A historic bond rout has intensified this week as officials from both the Fed and the European Central Bank stepped up their inflation-fighting rhetoric. But the hawkish message has done little to arrest a rise in long-term inflation

expectations, which are watched closely by central bankers concerned that they can become self-fulfilling.

The US 10-year break-even — a closely watched gauge of market inflation expectations over the next decade — climbed to 3.08 per cent yesterday, the highest level in at least two decades. Break-evens measure the difference in traditional US government bond yields and those on inflation-adjusted bonds.

The rise came after Jay Powell, Fed chair, said on Thursday that "it is appropriate in my view to be moving a little more quickly" to combat inflation, which is running at its fastest pace in 40 years, and sent his strongest signal to

date that the central bank was prepared to deliver a half-point interest rate rise at its policy meeting in May.

"Central bankers seem to be at a point of maximum pressure on inflation," said Mark Dowling, chief investment officer at BlueBay Asset Management. "The market is giving the message that 'you were complacent on inflation for too long, it's time to get on with it'."

Markets are pricing in extra-large 0.5 percentage point rate rises at each of the Fed's next three meetings, with speculation brewing over an even larger 0.75 percentage point adjustment.

Krishna Guha, a former Fed staff member who is vice-chair at Evercore



The US Federal Reserve has indicated that an aggressive tightening of monetary policy is imminent

ISI, said the likelihood of that kind of move was "still very low" but that the central bank needed to communicate more clearly on its approach to setting monetary policy.

"When Fed officials sound more hawkish... market participants perceive increased concern on the part of the Fed about the medium-term inflation outlook and update their own beliefs accordingly," he said. "So inflation break-evens increase rather than decrease on the hawkish shift, which in turn pushes Fed officials to sound more hawkish, chasing their own tails."

Winners and losers page 14
The Long View page 20

A Netflix flop

Has the streaming bubble burst?
BIG READ



Rooms of their own

Where writers write
HOW TO SPEND IT



Queen of New York

Tina Brown on the royals
HOUSE & HOME



No taxes. No welfare

Living in a libertarian paradise
LIFE & ARTS



Hard-hit consumers stick to staples in budget squeeze

Higher prices are forcing consumers to rethink their discretionary spending. Inflation has gathered pace just as consumers were resuming aspects of their pre-pandemic lives, such as eating out and booking vacations. One app management group noted a jump in users axing their subscriptions to services ranging from streaming to meal kits. The gloomy economic climate is also casting a shadow over retail sales and restaurants.

Purse strings tightened ► PAGE 14

Immediate Russian gas ban would cost Germany €165bn, Bundesbank warns

OLAF STORBECK — FRANKFURT

An immediate EU ban on Russian gas imports would cost Germany €165bn in lost output this year, the country's powerful central bank has warned. The Bundesbank yesterday said that an embargo on Russian gas would dent gross domestic product by 5 per cent in 2022, triggering a surge in energy prices and one of the deepest recessions of recent decades.

The central bank's estimate is far gloomier than those of academic economists and is likely to revive a fierce debate over how equipped the eurozone's economic powerhouse is to manage without Russian gas.

Ukraine's government, European policymakers and academics have argued that sales of gas, oil and coal to the west have stabilised the Russian economy

and helped finance President Vladimir Putin's war machine. The EU will ban Russian coal imports from August, but gas deliveries are set to continue. Last month, university economists termed the fallout of a full energy embargo "manageable", saying it would dent Germany's GDP by 0.5 per cent to 3 per cent. However, industry executives have warned the impact would be more severe. BASF chief executive Martin Brudermüller said a sudden stop of Russian gas deliveries could destroy Germany's "entire economy" and trigger the worst economic crisis since 1945.

Politicians have also rejected claims of a minor economic hit, with German chancellor Olaf Scholz calling estimates "irresponsible". Economics minister Robert Habeck said Germany would wean itself off Russian gas by 2024.

At the IMF and World Bank meetings

in Washington this week, US Treasury secretary Janet Yellen said that the EU should be "careful" about banning Russian energy imports, warning of the harm to the global economy.

Before the war in Ukraine, Russia accounted for 55 per cent of all German gas imports. More than a third of that gas is consumed by the manufacturing sector.

In its simulation, the Bundesbank assumed that industrial consumers could not replace Russian gas with alternative energy sources for three quarters in a row. In such a scenario, inflation — which at 7.3 per cent is already at a post-reunification high — would soar another 1.5 percentage points this year, exacerbating the threat of stagflation, where strong price pressures are coupled with weak growth.

Ivan Krastev page 9

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	Apr 22	prev	%chg	Pair	Apr 22	Prev			price	yield	chg
S&P 500	4218.50	4203.66	+1.75	\$ per €	1.0718	1.0694	\$ per £	0.8259	0.8222	91.80	2.50 -0.04
Nasdaq Composite	12978.82	13174.66	-1.50	\$ per ¥	1.284	1.300	€ per \$	0.779	0.767	120.45	1.96 -0.05
Dow Jones Ind	34185.36	34752.76	-1.75	¥ per €	0.809	0.822	£ per €	1.152	1.202	91.21	0.97 -0.02
FTSEurofirst 300	1772.32	1803.69	-1.74	€ per \$	129.465	129.505	¥ per €	130.420	130.357	99.52	0.25 0.00
Euro Stoxx 50	3842.22	3920.63	-2.15	€ index	164.982	167.456	US Gov 30 yr			88.45	2.93 -0.04
FTSE 100	7521.68	7627.95	-1.39	SFR per €	1.032	1.032	SFR per £	1.230	1.240	99.63	0.27 0.07
FTSE All Share	4180.65	4238.12	-1.36								
CAC 40	6581.42	6715.10	-1.99								
Nikkei	27176.76	27583.08	-1.63								
Xetra Dax	14142.09	14502.41	-2.48								
Hang Seng	20638.52	20892.22	-0.21								
MSCI World \$	2999.92	2994.64	+1.18								
MSCI EM \$	1086.93	1095.63	-0.79	Oil WTI \$	101.95	103.79	-1.77	Fed Funds Eff	0.20	0.09	0.12
MSCI ACWI \$	1686.47	1696.27	-1.12	Oil Brent \$	106.31	108.33	-1.98	US 3m bill	0.43	0.02	0.01
FT Mibex 2500	5727.70	5822.39	-1.62	Gold \$	1943.70	1948.56	-0.30	Euro Libor 3m	-0.58	-0.58	0.00
FT Mibex 5000	44732.60	45477.42	-1.64					UK 3m	1.17	1.15	0.01

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The Ex-Chancellor Who Became Putin's Man in Germany

By KATRIN BENNHOLD

HANOVER, Germany — On the evening of Dec. 9, 2005, 17 days after Gerhard Schröder left office as chancellor of Germany, he got a call on his cellphone. It was his friend President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

Mr. Putin was pressing Mr. Schröder to accept an offer to lead the shareholder committee of Nord Stream, the Russian-controlled company in charge of building the first undersea gas pipeline directly connecting Russia and Germany.

"Are you afraid to work for us?" Mr. Putin had joked. Mr. Schröder might well have been, given the appearance of possible impropriety — the pipeline he was now being asked to head had been agreed to in the final weeks of his chancellorship, with his strong support.

He took the job anyway. Seventeen years later, the former chancellor, who recounted the events himself in a pair of rare interviews, remains as defiant as ever.

"I don't do mea culpa," Mr. Schröder said, sitting in his sprawling light- and art-filled office in the center of his home city, Hanover, in northwestern Germany. "It's not my thing."

With Mr. Putin now waging a brutal war in Ukraine, all of Germany is reconsidering the ties with Russia that — despite years of warnings from the United States and Eastern European allies — have left Germany deeply reliant on Russian gas, giving Mr. Putin coercive leverage over Europe while filling the Kremlin's war chest.

That dependency grew out of a German belief — embraced by a long succession of chancellors, industry leaders, journalists and the public — that a Russia bound in trade would have too much to risk in conflict with Europe, making Germany more secure while also profiting its economy.

Mr. Schröder was far from alone in that conviction. But today he has become the most prominent face of that long era of miscalculation, not only because he expressed no regret, but because he has also profited handsomely from it, earning millions while promoting Russian energy



Gerhard Schröder has earned millions while promoting Russian energy interests like pipelines.

interests.

His close ties to Mr. Putin have made him a pariah in his own country, where many now criticize him for using his clout and connections over the past two decades to enrich himself at the

expense of Germany.

"He took advantage of the reputation and influence of the chancellor's office and offered himself up as an agent for Russian interests to get rich," said Norbert Röttgen, a conservative

lawmaker, former minister and

longtime Russia hawk. In the interviews, Mr. Schröder, now 78, spoke with undiminished swagger, cracking jokes but arguing in essence

Continued on Page 12

As Heavy Arms Arrive, Ukrainians Get a Lift In Defending the East

Russian Forces Struggle to Make Gains — Blinken and Austin to Visit Kyiv

This article is by Marc Santora, Michael Schwartz and Michael Levenson.

President Volodymyr Zelensky, bolstered by an influx of heavy weapons from Western nations, expressed increasing confidence on Saturday that Ukraine was prepared to defeat Russian forces in what is expected to be a long and brutal battle for control of the eastern industrial heartland.

"We will be able to show the occupiers that the day when they will be forced to leave Ukraine is approaching," Mr. Zelensky said in an overnight address to the nation.

The statement seemed to mark a decisive shift for Mr. Zelensky, who has spent months begging and shaming allies around the world to provide Ukraine with longer-range, heavy weapons to repel Russian forces as they assault the east in the latest offensive in the two-month-old war.

At a news conference on Saturday, Mr. Zelensky said that the American secretary of state, Antony J. Blinken, and the defense secretary, Lloyd J. Austin III, planned to visit Kyiv, the capital, on Sunday to discuss the "military assistance we need." They would be the highest-ranking American officials to visit since the invasion began. The Pentagon and the State Department declined to comment.

World leaders "should not come to us with empty hands, not just presents and cakes," Mr. Zelensky said, but with "specific weapons."

Military analysts said that the tanks, howitzers, deadly drones, armored vehicles and mountains of ammunition pouring into Ukraine from Western allies have been a significant factor in helping the country's troops fend off the larger and better-equipped Russian military.

Despite increased fighting, Russian forces have made "no major gains" in the past 24 hours, as

Ukrainian counterattacks continue to hinder their efforts, Britain's Ministry of Defense said on Saturday, in its latest assessment of the war.

The ministry said that, despite Russia's claim that it had conquered the heavily battered southern port of Mariupol, where the last remaining Ukrainian fighters have holed up in a steel plant with civilians, "heavy fighting" continued to frustrate Russian attempts to capture the city, slowing their progress into the Donbas region.

The fighting in the eastern the-



Bombs fell in the Kharkiv region on Saturday afternoon.

ater has increased the sense of urgency among Western allies to bolster Ukraine's defenses with more powerful arms. The terrain there is mostly open farmland, which tends to favor tanks and other heavy weapons over the quick-hit, guerrilla-style tactics that the Ukrainians employed to such devastating effect in the country's north.

Canada on Friday announced that it had delivered heavy artillery, including M777 howitzers and anti-armor ammunition, to Ukrainian forces in conjunction with the United States.

Continued on Page 14

Before Merger, Quiet Concern About CNN+

This article is by John Koblin, Michael M. Grynbaum and Benjamin Mullin.

David Zaslav had been chief executive of Warner Bros. Discovery for all of a few hours when he learned he had a problem.

On April 11, the day his newly merged company began trading on Nasdaq, Mr. Zaslav greeted New York employees with pasta and ice cream bars, delivering an impromptu rallying cry to his new charges. He was on his way to Washington, next stop on the coronation tour, when a call came in.

His team had just gotten its first look at data from CNN+, the much-promoted subscription streaming service started two weeks before, and the news was grim. Fewer than 10,000 viewers were watching at any given time, despite a multimillion dollar ad campaign and big hires like Chris Wallace. They were recommending a cold-eyed review.

Three days later, shortly after Mr. Zaslav appeared with Oprah Winfrey for a rah-rah company town hall, he gathered his deputies.

Continued on Page 27

Justices to Test Prayer in School In Coach's Case

By ADAM LIPTAK

BREMERTON, Wash. — Joseph Kennedy, who used to be an assistant coach for a high school football team near Seattle, pointed to the spot on the 50-yard line where he would take a knee and offer prayers after games.

He was wearing a Bremerton Knights jacket and squinting in the drizzling morning rain, and he repeated a promise he had made to God when he became a coach. "I will give you the glory after every game, win or lose," he said, adding that the setting mattered: "It just made sense to do it on the field of battle."

Coaching was his calling, he said. But after the school board in Bremerton, Wash., told him to stop mixing football and faith on the field, he left the job and sued, with lower courts rejecting his argument that the board had violated his First Amendment rights.

The Supreme Court will hear arguments in the case on Monday, and there is good reason to think that its newly expanded conservative majority will not only rule in

Continued on Page 19

'It's Life or Death': U.S. Teenagers Face a Mental Health Crisis

By MATT RICHTER

One evening last April, an anxious and free-spirited 13-year-old girl in suburban Minneapolis sprang furious from a chair in the living room and ran from the house — out a sliding door, across the patio, through the backyard and into the woods.

Moments earlier, the girl's mother, Linda, had stolen a look at her daughter's smartphone. The teenager, incensed by the intrusion, had grabbed the phone and fled. (The adolescent is being identified by an initial, M, and the parents by first name only, to protect the family's privacy.)

Linda was alarmed by photos she had seen on the phone. Some showed blood on M's ankles from intentional self-harm. Others were close-ups of M's romantic obsession, the anime character Genocide Jack — a brunette girl with a long red tongue who, in a video series, kills high school classmates with scissors.

In the preceding two years, Linda had watched M spiral downward: severe depression, self-harm, a suicide attempt. Now, she followed M into the woods, frantic. "Please tell me where u r," she texted. "I'm not mad."

American adolescence is undergoing a drastic change. Three dec-



M, a Minnesota teenager, has experienced severe depression, self-harm and a suicide attempt.

THE INNER PANDEMIC

One Adolescent's Descent

ades ago, the gravest public health threats to teenagers in the United States came from binge drinking, drunken driving, teenage pregnancy and smoking. These have since fallen sharply, replaced by a new public health

concern: soaring rates of mental health disorders.

In 2019, 13 percent of adolescents reported having a major depressive episode, a 60 percent increase from 2007. Emergency room visits by children and adolescents in that period also rose sharply for anxiety, mood disorders and self-harm. And for people ages 10 to 24, suicide rates, stable from 2000 to 2007, leaped

nearly 60 percent by 2018, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

The decline in mental health among teenagers was intensified by the Covid pandemic but predated it, stretching across racial and ethnic groups, urban and rural areas and the socioeconomic divide. In December, in a rare public advisory, the U.S. surgeon general

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NATIONAL 18-27

Planning Call Preceded Riot

Testimony from the investigation into the assault on the Capitol disclosed that White House officials discussed directing marchers to the building. PAGE 20

SPORTS 31-33

3,000 Hits for Miguel Cabrera

His first manager recalls that the Tigers star made a big impression from the very start of his major league career in 2003. On Baseball. PAGE 31

ARTS & LEISURE

Lots of Folks Still Care

Plans to market long-unheard tapes by the country star George Jones, which were found in a court storage vault, are at the center of a bitter dispute. PAGE 18

SUNDAY BUSINESS

A Jeffrey Epstein Mystery

A valuable cello was among the convicted sex offender's assets when he died. But he didn't play the cello or collect musical instruments. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Moira Weigel

PAGE 4



TIFFANY HARDWEAR

TIFFANY & Co.





INNA Korohodina, left, with daughter Lera, said the potatoes they'd grown in Borodyanka "saved our life."



RUSSIAN attacks destroyed a number of apartment buildings in Borodyanka, a suburb northwest of Kyiv.



UKRAINIAN medics move an injured serviceman to a hospital in the Donetsk region in the country's east.

Russia confronts challenges in Ukraine's east

Despite an edge in numbers and terrain, fatigued soldiers face NATO-armed force.

By NABIH BULOS

SLOVYANSK, Ukraine — When Russian troops blitzed into Ukraine, what was supposed to be an easy victory quickly foundered as Ukrainian forces mounted a strong defense that — along with Russia's many missteps — have left Moscow mired in a withering two-month war with no end in sight.

Unable to take the capital, Kyiv, Russia's war machine has since narrowed its ambitions, focusing on an intensifying battle to win the

eastern Donbas region, where fighting has been waged since Moscow's 2014 annexation of Crimea and its backing of Ukrainian separatists.

Rather than dense urban centers, Russian and Ukrainian forces are facing off across wide tracts of mostly flat, open farmland, interspersed with smaller towns and cities with a fraction of the population of Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odesa. Such a scenario is reminiscent of the battlefields of World War II when tanks and artillery ravaged the plains of Europe.

And instead of rapier-thin thrusts to breach Ukraine's borders, the Russian army and its separatist allies are now deployed along a contiguous front line [See Russia, A6]

Finland has Putin, NATO on its mind

The country has long considered Russia a threat. Now people are saying it out loud.

By MICHAEL HUNT

HELSINKI — When the Finnish Reservists' Assn. recently announced wartime defense courses for civilian women in the southern town of Haameenlinna, the 400 slots filled almost immediately, with a waiting list of 500 more.

Topics will include shooting, cybersecurity and how to manage the first several days of an invasion from abroad.

"I wouldn't call it fear,"

said Sgt. Sonja Airilci, a 39-year-old reservist who will lead the training next month. "It's more about being prepared."

Military readiness is ingrained in the culture of this country of 5.5 million people that shares an 833-mile border and a long, complicated history with Russia.

The relationship has grown increasingly tense since Russia invaded Ukraine two months ago. For the first time, Finland is considering seeking membership in NATO, prompting threats of retaliation from Russian President Vladimir Putin.

The reservists group is primarily responsible for keeping its call-up soldiers [See Finland, A8]

Blinken, Austin to visit Kyiv

Top U.S. officials to meet with Ukrainian president as Russia renews shelling of port cities in east. **WORLD, A4**

Making waves over seafloor mining

In minerals quest, does the regulator have a conflict of interest?

By TODD WOODY AND EVAN HALPER

The startup's pitch was simple and cinematic: The mining company would send large robots to explore the bottom of the ocean and harvest minerals, millions of years old, that could be used to make batteries for electric cars.

A promotional video showed a machine gliding over the seabed and DeepGreen Metals company executives in deep contemplation along a dramatic shoreline. A big selling point at a time the company was courting investors was the man shown walking on a massive ship and speaking of the need to mine the ocean floor: the secretary-general

of the International Seabed Authority, the United Nations-affiliated organization responsible for regulating ocean mining companies and preserving the deep sea.

Michael Lodge's appearance in the video struck erstwhile members of his own staff — and scientists who warn of potentially catastrophic environmental fallout from the mining venture

— as problematic. It raised concerns, they said, of a conflict of interest between industry, the authority and its secretariat, the 47-person administrative arm Lodge leads, at a crucial moment for the world's oceans.

"Land-based resources are becoming increasingly difficult to access. We have taken the best resources [See Seabed, A10]

'I'm not all better': How long COVID upended teen's life

By Emily Alpert Reyes

Week after week, 13-year-old Ami Korn holed up in his Tarzana bedroom with his dog, Barley, to isolate after testing positive for the coronavirus, waiting for the nagging headache and earaches to dissipate.

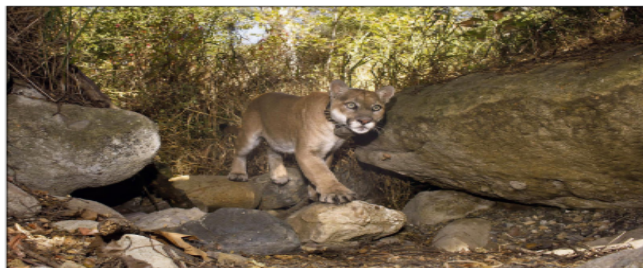
"I just thought I was going to be fine," Ami, now 14, recalled. "Most kids were fine."

Instead, the teen grew sicker. He suffered nausea and dizziness, headaches, lung inflammation, body aches and fatigue. He struggled to walk a block without

tiring. His parents shuttled him to doctor after doctor for help.

Korn ended up missing much of eighth grade as he continued to endure long COVID — a phenomenon in which symptoms persist for weeks, months or longer after a coronavirus infection.

More than a year later, Ami has regained his physical strength and is back to playing baseball, rebuilding his endurance on the field. He and his parents credit his work in cardiopulmonary [See Ami, A14]



THE MOUNTAIN LION dubbed P-22 has been in and out of the news since he was found living in Los Angeles' Griffith Park over a decade ago.

COLUMN ONE

Single, aging, but still on the prowl in Los Angeles

By LAURA J. NELSON

Not long after Michael McMahan moved to the Calhenga Pass, a friendly hiker in Griffith Park warned him to watch out for mountain lions.

Was that a joke? McMahan wondered. He went home and Googled it. And there the animal was, in a photo made famous in 2013 in National Geographic: tawny, sinewy, prowling below the Hollywood sign.

A few years later, McMahan started installing his own motion-activated cameras on canyons and trails. Nine months later, he got his first video of the puma. Grainy, black-and-white, but unmistakably the same cat. He's recorded him 75 times since — twice this month alone — making him one of the most prolific chroniclers of the urban mountain lion known as P-22.

"P-22 and I, we're at similar stages in our lives: We're just two older bachelors roaming the Hollywood Hills," said McMahan, 58, who has the puma's face tattooed on his [See Puma, A22]

Trouble brews for Starbucks

As baristas nationwide score unionization successes, coffee giant is fighting back. **PERSPECTIVES, A2**

Presidential poet performs

Amanda Gorman shares a new work at the L.A. Times Festival of Books. **CALIFORNIA, B3**

Longtime GOP senator dies

Orrin G. Hatch, who represented Utah for more than four decades, was 88. **CALIFORNIA, B7**



ANDREW HARNIK AP
HATCH, a conservative, did join Democrats on some issues.

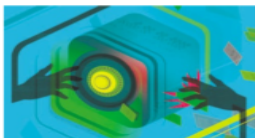
Weather
Lots of sunshine. L.A. Basin: 86/61. **B10**

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.



AMI KORN, a 14-year-old with long COVID, attends Flying Change Equine Therapy in Palmetto, Ga.

Retirement ruse
Plans are built for the wealthy, not the middle class, says professor. **OUTLOOK**



Covid origin story
A researcher saw peril. The Chinese government was silent. **EDITORIAL, A26**



New gas frenzy
Gulf Coast boom, climate fears are poised to emerge. **BUSINESS**

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Papers may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington

An afternoon shower 83/58 • Tomorrow: Partly cloudy 78/59 **C14**

Democracy Dies in Darkness

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A school in a spray of bullets and glass

Students, parents recall the terror of a lockdown Friday in Northwest D.C.

BY IAN SHAPIRA

Classes were finally over at the Edmund Burke School in Northwest Washington, so Phoenix Gault-Brown, 15, a sophomore, gathered up his belongings on the upper school's second floor and prepared to head downstairs for the carpool lane. He had a fairly routine evening planned — he was going to hit the gym and lift some weights.

He walked toward the nearby elevated glass pedestrian bridge when suddenly its windows shattered, spraying the space with glass and bullets. At first, Phoenix thought, it was a bomb. But nothing exploded. Then, he knew. Everyone, he said, knew.

"Everyone started running toward the closest stairwell. It was just terrifying. Everyone's faces, they just dropped," Phoenix said.

The outburst of gunfire tore through the otherwise tranquil part of upper northwest Washington — about one mile north of the National Zoo — left three adults and a juvenile wounded. One of the victims was a man who provides security for Burke and Georgetown Day School, according to an email Georgetown Day's head of school sent to its community Saturday.

Police identified Raymond Spencer, of Fairfax, as a person of interest in the shooting before declaring that a suspect was discovered dead that night in an apartment filled with firearms, ammunition and a tripod.

But the shooting also cratered the sense of security and insularity in one of Washington's more elite private schools, which runs

SEE BURKE ON A17

Mass shootings: Researchers track big rise in recent years. **A16**

D.C. mayor's race: Public safety comes into sharper focus. **C1**

U.S. officials to visit battered Ukraine



Valentyna Sherba, 68, walks past a Russian tank in the backyard of her father's home on the outskirts of Chernihiv, Ukraine, on Saturday. In the country's east, heavy bombardment continued despite international appeals for a cease-fire for Orthodox Easter.

Defense chief quietly presses allies, administration on Ukraine

BY DAN LAMOTHE AND KAROUN DEMIRJIAN

Six days before the invasion of Ukraine, Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin took a final crack at getting his Russian counterpart to admit that the Kremlin was about to launch a massive assault after assembling more than 100,000 troops at the border with its neighbor.

"I know what you're doing," Austin told Sergei Shoigu in an icy, deep baritone.

It was Feb. 18, and Shoigu, the Russian defense minister, had been trying to convince Austin, who was visiting Poland at the time, that the buildup of Russian forces to the north and east of Ukraine was only for routine military exercises. Austin didn't buy



Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin is often stoic in public but candid in private.

it. He had seen the intelligence, and while he had yet to convince every NATO member of the inevitability of a full-scale Russian invasion, the Pentagon chief was certain of Russian President Vladimir Putin's intentions.

The tense, last phone call between the two top defense officials — described by people familiar with how it unfolded — was among numerous actions that Austin took in the run-up to

SEE AUSTIN ON A24

The Belarusian railway saboteurs who helped thwart attack on Kyiv

BY LIZ SLV

When Russian troops first streamed across the Belarusian border into Ukraine for what they had assumed would be a lightning assault on Kyiv, they were intending to rely on the region's extensive rail network for supplies and reinforcements.

The Russians hadn't taken into account the railway saboteurs of Belarus.

Starting in the earliest days of the invasion in February, a clandestine network of railway workers, hackers and dissident security forces went into action to disable or disrupt the railway links connecting Russia to Ukraine through Belarus, wreaking havoc on Russian

supply lines.

The attacks have drawn little attention outside Belarus amid the drama of the Russian onslaught and the bloody aftermath of Russia's humiliating retreat. Fierce Ukrainian resistance and tactical errors by an ill-prepared Russian force were probably enough to thwart Russia's plans, analysts say.

But the Belarus railway saboteurs can at least claim a role in fueling the logistical chaos that quickly engulfed the Russians, leaving troops stranded on the front lines without food, fuel and ammunition within days of the invasion.

Alexander Kamyshin, head of Ukrainian railways, expressed Ukraine's gratitude to the

SEE BELARUS ON A22

BLINKEN, AUSTIN, ZELENSKY TO MEET

Russia pushes forward with attack on Odessa

BY DAVID L. STERN, ABIGAIL HAUSLOHNER, TIMOTHY BELLA AND ELLEN FRANCIS

MUKACHEVO, UKRAINE — U.S. Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin and Secretary of State Antony Blinken will visit Ukraine on Sunday, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy said, in what would be the first high-level visit by Biden administration officials since the start of the Russian invasion.

Such a trip would underscore the administration's emboldened approach to Ukraine in recent weeks, as President Biden has committed additional billions of dollars in weapons and equipment to Ukraine's military. The Pentagon has also announced training exercises for select groups of Ukrainian officers on U.S.-made weapons systems.

It also highlights the continued disconnect, with Ukraine continuing to step up demands for more military and financial aid and the West's pledges. "They should not come here with empty hands," Zelenskyy warned, speaking from an underground subway station in Kyiv. "We are expecting specific things and specific weapons."

"Come to us, we'll be happy to see you. But please bring us the assistance, which we have discussed," the Ukrainian president added. "That's why the visit from the U.S. is very important."

Heavy bombardment continued in several Ukrainian cities in the east of the country over the weekend as fighting appears poised to rage straight through the country's observance of Orthodox Easter on Sunday despite international appeals for a cease-fire over the holiday.

On Saturday, Russian missile struck Odessa, a strategic southwestern port city that has seen fewer attacks during the war. At least eight people were killed, including a 3-month-old infant,

SEE UKRAINE ON A15

Holocaust survivor: 91-year-old evaded Nazis, dies in Mariupol. **A19**
Ukraine: Reservists shift from civilian life to battlefields. **A20**

ORRIN G. HATCH 1934-2022

Senator made history with influence, service

Despite strong views, he was willing to bridge divides for legislation

BY MICHAEL H. BROWN

Orrin G. Hatch, a conservative Utah Republican who came out of political nowhere to win a U.S. Senate seat in 1976 and ended his career 42 years later as the longest-serving Republican in the chamber's history and one of his party's most influential lawmakers of recent decades, died April 23 in Salt Lake City. He was 88.

The death was announced by the Hatch Foundation. The cause was not immediately disclosed.

Tall and slim in build and impeccable in dress, Mr. Hatch had a gentlemanly demeanor but behind it wielded strong views, high energy and a love for legislative give-and-take that made him



Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) in 2017. In 2019, he retired from the Senate after 42 years.

a force on Capitol Hill.

When he retired in 2019, at the end of his seventh term, he chaired the powerful tax-writing Finance Committee and by virtue of his seniority was Senate president pro tempore. By the end of his tenure, Mr. Hatch had sponsored or co-sponsored 790 pieces of legislation that became law, more than any other senator in office at the time, according to Library of Congress data. He achieved that record in part through his willingness to work with liberal Democrats.

"He was a tough partisan, a solid conservative, but he could make strategic alliances to get legislation passed," former Senate

SEE HATCH ON A23

A historic deal dissolves at Montpelier estate

Board rescinds move to share control with descendants of enslaved people

BY DEENE L. BROWN



James French is the chair of the Montpelier Descendants Committee created three years ago in an effort to spotlight the stories of Black Americans who were enslaved at Virginia plantations.

ORANGE COUNTY, VA. — James Albert French stood on his family's ancestral land, on a mountain ridge in Orange County in Virginia. Six miles away was Montpelier, the plantation that belonged to the country's fourth president, James Madison, known as the father of the Constitution.

French's great-great-great-grandparents were enslaved on a nearby plantation before buying their freedom and building a house that remains today, tucked away amid enormous boxwood trees. French pointed beyond the tree line. "The Declaration of Independence by Jefferson was written at Monticello, 17 miles in that direction," French said. "The Constitution was conceived just a few miles from here."

The history of this area is rich, he said, but what is often left out are the substantial contributions made by enslaved Black people who fueled the country's intellectual and economic development.

SEE MONTPELIER ON A10

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deportes

Messi, campeón

Un golazo para festejar el primer título con el PSG

Se consagró en la Ligue 1 de Francia, tras empatar 1 a 1 con Lens; ya ganó 39 campeonatos en su carrera.



MACRON O LE PEN, UNA ELECCIÓN QUE TRASCIENDE A FRANCIA

—el mundo

El presidente llega con ventaja al ballottage de hoy frente a la candidata de ultraderecha; es una definición crucial para Europa, en ebullición por la guerra en Ucrania. Página 4



LA NACION

DOMINGO 24 DE ABRIL DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Masivo tractorazo del campo en Plaza de Mayo contra la presión tributaria

PROTESTA. Organizado por productores autoconvocados, recibió una amplia adhesión de la población urbana; hubo una fuerte presencia de la oposición y críticas del Gobierno



Miles de personas llegaron ayer a Plaza de Mayo para expresar sus reclamos al Gobierno

TOMÁS CUESTA

Con una masiva protesta con tractores en Plaza de Mayo, el campo expresó su malestar con el Gobierno por la presión impositiva, la brecha cambiaria y la intervención en los mercados de granos y carne.

Organizada por productores autoconvocados, con la adhesión de unas 200 sociedades y asociaciones rurales, pero sin el respaldo

institucional de la Mesa de Enlace, la marcha, a su paso por las calles de la ciudad, recibió la adhesión de la gente.

A diferencia de otras veces, los principales referentes de la oposición participaron: desde el jefe porteño, Horacio Rodríguez Larreta, y la diputada María Eugenia Vidal, hasta la jefa de Pro, Patricia Bull-

rich, una habitué de estas movilizaciones. Mauricio Macri adhirió desde las redes sociales.

El Gobierno intentó relativizar el alcance de la marcha y la vocera Gabriela Cerruti señaló que amenazaba la "convivencia democrática". El ministro de Agricultura, Julián Domínguez, apeló a un tono más conciliador. Página 12

EL ESCENARIO

Entre el hartazgo y las oportunidades perdidas

Cristian Mira
Página 14

Violencia narco. Opera en Rosario la más temida banda brasileña

Encontraron la red que une a clanes locales con el Primer Comando Capital

Germán de los Santos
PARA LA NACION

ROSARIO.- A partir de una investigación internacional que derivó en la captura en Mozambique de un

jefe del Primer Comando Capital (PCC), los investigadores argentinos pudieron reconstruir los pasos en nuestro país de la más temida organización criminal brasileña. Es la primera vez que se encuen-

tran nexos directos entre bandas narco que operan en Rosario y el PCC. Hasta ahora habían aparecido solo casos aislados, que las autoridades denominaban "lobos solitarios". Continúa en la página 32

Una grieta religiosa conmueve a Salta

FE. La devoción por la Virgen del Cerro es el centro de una pelea entre el arzobispado y un convento. Página 26

En medio de la puja por el Consejo, hay 246 vacantes en la Justicia

ATRASO. Representan un cuarto del total de los cargos federales y nacionales

El Consejo de la Magistratura, epicentro de una fuerte puja política, exhibe una deuda muy fuerte en sus principales tareas: hay 246 vacantes en la Justicia Federal y Nacional, lo que representa casi un cuarto del total de cargos. Además, están en trámite sin completar 222 expedientes contra magistrados cuyo desempeño se encuentra en evaluación. En la mayoría de los casos, los atrasos son producto de la falta de consenso entre los distintos sectores. Página 16

EL ESCENARIO

Cristina arma el Frente para la Derrota

Martín Rodríguez Yebra
LA NACION

Alberto Fernández no habla con Cristina Kirchner, pero lo que ella piensa de él le llega como un martilleo diario por boca de chismosos de la política. La vicepresidenta no se inhibe cuando evalúa en charlas privadas la gestión del gobierno nacional que ella inventó. Pronostica catástrofes como si quisiera que ocurrieran. Y habla de la alianza con el Presidente como un error del pasado, que no se repetirá. Continúa en la página 18

EL ANÁLISIS

La política que rompió el país en mil pedazos

Jorge Fernández Díaz
LA NACION
Página 38

alalaô



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VAI-VAI ABRE A SEGUNDA NOITE DE DESFILES EM SP

Após rebaixamento, a maior campeã do Carnaval paulistano leva para a avenida homenagem aos povos africanos, em um Anhembi com arquibancadas lotadas Alalaô B3

Músicos veem folia em data não oficial como momento de 'virada' B1

Alvaro Costa e Silva
Talvez em 2023 o Rio repita festa de 1919 B3

'Não pode ficar assim', diz mãe de Raquel, morta em carro alegórico B4

Ibama ampliou risco de prescrição de multa ambiental

O Ibama admitiu à Procuradoria-Geral da República que mudança interna ampliou o risco de prescrição de multa ambiental. Servidores passaram a atuar em casos pelo país, não só em sua área. Ambiente B6

EDITORIAIS A2

Clube do retrocesso
Sobre Marine Le Pen e eleição presidencial francesa.

A peneira de Aras
A respeito de processo contra colunista da Folha.

ATMOSFERA



Bolsonaro turbinará Auxílio Brasil em campanha na TV

Aliados do presidente preparam ofensiva publicitária para relacionar pagamento de benefício ao governo federal

A campanha para a reeleição do presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) chegou à conclusão de que é preciso intensificar a marca do programa Auxílio Brasil.

A estratégia é reforçar inserções na televisão e em outdoors, especialmente no Nordeste e em Minas Gerais, onde a imagem do Bolsa Família ainda é muito forte.

Outro problema a ser enfrentado pelos aliados do presidente é que uma parcela dos beneficiários não relaciona o pagamento dos R\$ 400 ao governo federal, mas a gestões estaduais e municipais, apontam pesquisas feitas pelo PL.

Além disso, há a percepção de redução do valor pago, que chegou a R\$ 600.

As inserções para exaltar o programa social na televisão aberta, que começam em junho, serão 40 peças nacionais e 40 estaduais. O PL já instalou outdoors dizendo que foi Bolsonaro quem criou o Auxílio Brasil. Política A4

Novo benefício supera emprego formal em 12 estados Mercado A18

ENTREVISTA Ives Gandra

'Contestar perdão é limitar o que Carta não limita'

Para o advogado, o indulto individual de Jair Bolsonaro a Daniel Silveira (PTB-RJ) é um poder absoluto do presidente. "Qualquer restrição que venha a ser dada ao direito de dar indulto é limitar o que a Constituição não limitou." Política A6

ENTREVISTA Marina Coelho

'Arcabouço do indulto foi usado como palanque'

A presidente do IBCCrim afirma que Bolsonaro viola a Constituição ao tentar buscar tomar o lugar do Supremo como instância de absolvição no caso Daniel Silveira. "O arcabouço do indulto foi usado como palanque político e afronta às instituições." Política A6

Franceses vão às urnas hoje com destino da UE em jogo

A escolha dos 49 milhões de franceses que votam hoje em segundo turno para manter na Presidência Emmanuel Macron, o líder mais europeu da França recente, ou eleger a nacionalista Marine Le Pen afetará a vida dos mais de 400 milhões de habitantes da União Europeia e o xadrez geopolítico em meio à Guerra da Ucrânia.

O centro-direitista Macron, que derrotou Le Pen em 2017, tinha 57% das intenções de voto contra 43% da ultradireitista em pesquisa Ipsos de sexta (22). Ainda assim, a possibilidade de uma segunda maior economia do bloco ter uma presidente que contesta aspectos fundamentais da UE preocupa seus governantes. Mundo A14

ilustrada

Luiz Frias

Sugestões a futuros jornalistas

Não é possível garantir equidistância e imparcialidade quando tomamos partido de um lado. É do cotejamento crítico e plural de todas as opiniões, da ampla discussão do contraditório, do escrutínio e dissecação de cada ideia que prevalecem as melhores e emerge a verdade. C8

Fabio Assunção

Por uma política de Estado na cracolândia

Dispersar usuários é dificultar a ação de profissionais de saúde, a observação do fluxo, a atuação de ONGs e assistentes sociais, a aproximação de familiares. É atender à população que quer segurança, mas que não a encontrará em outro ponto da cidade. C7

O Brasil encolheu

INDEPENDÊNCIA, 200

Nova fase de série de reportagens mostra que em contexto de estagnação há quatro décadas o Brasil chega a 2022 menor, em termos econômicos e globais, do que era em 1822. C4



Sebastião Salgado

AGRICULTORES RETRATADOS POR SALGADO ESPERAM HÁ 25 ANOS POR TERRA

Velório coletivo de vítimas do massacre de Eldorado dos Carajás, no Pará, em 1996; imagem faz parte do livro "Terra", que ajudou a divulgar a luta do MST (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra) no país Política A10



Nulo control de gastos por pandemia permitió despilfarro y corrupción

Gobernadores se hicieron un festín con fondos del Covid

Los jefes departamentales de Central, Guairá, Canindeyú, Alto Paraguay y Caazapá están en la mira por manejos irregulares. Parlamentarios colorados blindan a los sospechados.

PÁGINA 2

Audios sobre el esquema Dubini

El escándalo del senador Zavala tiene inesperada conexión

PÁGINA 56

Criminalizar cierres: Proyectistas defienden libre tránsito y críticos alegan aberración legal

PÁGINAS 8 y 9

Repudiado proyecto está en Senado UIP: Ley de comercio fronterizo es injusta y fomenta contrabando

PÁGINA 18

Megaestancia narco en el Chaco



Impresionante. Fiscalía y Senad allanaron complejo de cuatro estancias de 7.300 ha. Tenía pista iluminada y piscina climatizada. Era del prófugo Diego Benítez.

PÁGINA 55



Asuncenos inventan espacios urbanos ante la falta de alternativas

PÁGINA 26

DOMINGO

Sepa qué ejercicios hacer en la oficina para mejorar su calidad de vida

PÁGINA 25

Rápido y furioso: Gran debut en la Fórmula Europea de Duerksen

PÁGINA 60

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LE FIGARO

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

UKRAINE
LES ÉGLISES ORTHODOXES
ROMPENT AVEC MOSCOU

PAGES 10 ET 11

BIENNALE DE VENISE
LES RETROUVAILLES DE
LA CITÉ DES DOGES AVEC L'ART

PAGES 30 ET 31



Un choix décisif pour la France

À l'issue d'une campagne disputée mais sans relief, 48,7 millions de citoyens décideront dimanche de l'avenir du pays. PAGES 2, 4, 5 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

CHAMPS
LIBRES

- Le manifeste de trente personnalités libérales
- La tribune de Paul Thibaud
- La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté
- Génocide arménien : d'hier à aujourd'hui

PAGES 18 ET 19

FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de vendredi :
Présidentielle : pensez-vous que le débat va modifier le rapport de force entre les deux finalistes ?

OUI 20% NON 80%

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VALERIA MONGELLI/HANS LUCAS VIA AFP - VINCENZO PINTO/AFP - MYRIAM TIRLER / HANS LUCAS VIA REUTERS CONNECT

Législatives: les grandes manœuvres ont commencé

À peine le nom du vainqueur sera-t-il sorti des urnes dimanche à 20 heures que la re-composition politique amorcée en 2017 avec l'élection d'Emmanuel Macron connaîtra une nouvelle accélération. Un grand parti central verra-

il le jour, comme le souhaite le président ? Une chose est sûre, aucun des deux finalistes de la présidentielle ne s'inscrit dans l'ancien clivage gauche-droite. Le PS et LR abordent les législatives des 12 et 19 juin affaiblis et déchirés. PAGES 6 ET 7



ÉDITORIAL par Vincent Trémolet de Villers vtremolet@lefigaro.fr

La force de l'évidence

Étrange veillée d'armes. La politique, ces derniers jours, malgré le débat, malgré les meetings, semblait comme assourdie. Le grand rendez-vous démocratique qu'est l'élection présidentielle relégué au rang des préoccupations secondaires. Pourtant, la guerre est en Europe, l'économie mondiale retient son souffle, la menace islamiste couve toujours et l'instabilité générale devrait être accentuée par la possibilité d'une alternance politique périlleuse. Certes, les appels résonnent contre « la menace Le Pen », mais ils tiennent plus du rituel que de l'expression d'une angoisse profonde. Comme si les Français, peuple politique, avaient compris dès le soir du premier tour que la reconduction du chef de l'État avait la force de l'évidence. Les quinze jours qui s'achèvent, d'enquêtes d'opinion en confrontations télévisuelles, ont confirmé cette impression première. Il faut dire que la candidate du Rassemblement national a montré dans sa stratégie (à gauche toute) l'étroitesse de sa vision (la baisse de la TVA ne dessine pas un horizon politique), ses ministres introuvables (Jordan Bardella ne peut pas faire un gouvernement à lui tout seul), les limites

constitutives d'une candidature condamnée à échouer. C'est cette insuffisance criante - qui rend d'autant plus absurde la comédie antifasciste à laquelle nous avons, une fois encore, assisté - qui explique la dynamique et le crédit dont profite Emmanuel Macron. Beaucoup plus qu'une micro-campagne planifiée pour séduire ou tout au moins désarmer les électeurs de La France insoumise.

Mais la vérité des urnes n'est pas celle des sondages, il faut donc conserver malgré tous les signaux convergents une prudence vigilante. À l'heure du bilan, il est une inquiétude que le résultat attendu ne parviendra pas à dissiper. Celle de la désaffiliation civique, de la dépolitisation de la vie publique. Campagne atone, polémiques consternantes, gravité introuvable, espérance congédiée, la grande délibération présidentielle a été réduite aux batailles d'images et de chiffres. Dimanche, il ne faudrait pas qu'une abstention massive vienne achever d'abîmer ce moment décisif de notre histoire. ■

La dynamique et le crédit sont du côté de Macron

Les états d'âme des orphelins du premier tour

Iront-ils aux urnes « à reculons », en « se bouchant le nez » ou bien resteront-ils chez eux ? Choisiront-ils le front républicain, feront-ils le pari de l'extrême, voteront-ils blanc ? Entre frustration et colère, les 63 % de Français qui n'ont

voté, au premier tour, ni pour Emmanuel Macron ni pour Marine Le Pen se retrouvent à devoir choisir un président qu'ils réprouvent. « On en a marre de devoir voter tout le temps par défaut, pour le moins pire ! », déplorent-ils. PAGES 8

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