



In Praise
Of Anxiety
REVIEW

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What's News

World-Wide

A third group of civilians was being evacuated from the labyrinth of bunkers beneath Mariupol's Azovstal steel plant Friday, officials said, as Ukraine's military counter-attacked against Russian forces in the east. **A1, A6-7**

◆ **New Omicron subvariants** are spreading, despite significant protection from vaccinations and prior infection, as policy makers consider measures to keep the evolving virus at bay. **A1, A5**

◆ **Alleged members of the Oath Keepers** had until Friday to enter plea negotiations ahead of a scheduled summer trial on the Capitol riot, with federal prosecutors telling defendants they could face life in prison if convicted. **A4**

◆ **A federal judge tossed** a lawsuit filed last year by former President Trump against Twitter and its then-chief executive Dorsey over alleged censorship. **A4**

◆ **Sinn Féin, a political party** committed to the reunification of Ireland, was poised to win a historic victory in elections in Northern Ireland. **A9**

◆ **A gas explosion tore** through an iconic hotel in downtown Havana, killing at least 22 people and injuring dozens more, according to Cuba's government. **A9**

Business & Finance

◆ **The U.S. economy** added 428,000 jobs in April, duplicating March's increase and marking the 12th straight month of gains above 400,000, the Labor Department said. The unemployment rate remained at 3.6%. **A1, A2**

◆ **U.S. stocks ended** a wild week with declines. The S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow shed 0.6%, 1.4% and 0.3%, respectively. Yields on medium and long-term U.S. Treasuries extended recent gains. **B1, B11**

◆ **Chinese tech firms** are quietly pulling back from doing business in Russia under pressure from U.S. sanctions and suppliers, despite calls by Beijing for companies to resist overseas coercion. **A1**

◆ **A group led by Los Angeles Dodgers part-owner** Todd Boehly reached a deal to acquire Chelsea Football Club from Roman Abramovich for almost \$4.3 billion, equivalent to \$5.2 billion. **B1**

◆ **Western ports are bracing** for increased congestion when China eventually lifts stringent Covid-19 restrictions in major cities. **B3**

◆ **Nvidia agreed to pay** \$5.5 million to settle an SEC probe that found it didn't adequately reveal the impact of cryptomining on its sales of powerful chips designed for computer gaming. **B3**

NOONAN The End of Roe Will Be Good For America **A13**

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Louisville Gallops Into First Full-Capacity Derby Since 2019



BLUEGRASS PICKING: Kentucky Derby Week, with its thoroughbreds, fancy hats and mint juleps, is seeing its biggest crowds since before the pandemic. The Derby itself is Saturday, and more than 150,000 people are expected to attend.



Omicron's Persistence Tests View on Long-Lasting Defenses

By BRIANNA ABBOTT
AND JON KAMP

New Omicron subvariants are spreading, despite significant protection from vaccinations and prior infection, as policy makers consider measures to keep the evolving virus at bay.

Much of the U.S. population already had some level of antibodies to the virus when Omicron hit late last year, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimates. That likely shielded many from more-severe disease, but the variant still fueled a record case surge and the second-highest peak in Covid-19 deaths. Immune defenses bolstered by the massive wave appear to be muting the impact of the yet-more-infectious Omicron variants even as cases and hospitalizations increase

once again. These recurring run-ins with a changing virus demonstrate the challenge of maintaining long-lasting defenses, even as Covid-19 vaccines and exposures build up protection against the virus's worst outcomes. "This is not a virus that a one-shot or a one-time infection gives you lifelong immunity," said Jodie Guest, vice chair of the epidemiology department at Emory University's Rollins School of Public Health. "And we're now super-aware of that."

A nationwide survey of blood donors published by the CDC estimated that about 94% of people ages 16 and up had

Please turn to page A5

◆ **Administration sees potential surge in infections..... A5**
◆ **Moderna tries to fend off patent-infringement claims. A5**

Chinese Tech Firms Pull Back In Russia

By DAN STRUMPF

HONG KONG—Chinese tech companies are quietly pulling back from doing business in Russia under pressure from U.S. sanctions and suppliers, despite calls by Beijing to resist overseas coercion.

Several major companies are curtailing shipments in Russia, where Chinese tech firms dominate the market for many products, without making any public announcements, according to interviews with people familiar with the matter.

They include PC giant Lenovo Group Ltd. and smartphone and gadget maker Xiaomi Corp., the people said. In contrast to many Western firms, the companies have avoided public statements about Russia's war in Ukraine or their business there as Beijing opposes Western sanctions.

Consumer drone giant SZ DJI Technology Co. made the unusual move of announcing the suspension of its business last month in both Russia and Ukraine pending a review.

China's exports of tech products to Russia fell sharply in March from February, with shipments of laptops declining more than 40%, smartphones down by nearly two-thirds and exports of telecom base stations down 98%, according to the most recently available Chinese government data. China's trade with much of the world has also been disrupted by the Covid-19-related lockdown in Shanghai, which is home to

Please turn to page A6

EXCHANGE



GRAD-ICAL
How the Class of 2022 is using its leverage in a hot job market. **B1**

Ukraine Villagers Return to Ruins

By YAROSLAV TROFIMOV

MALA ROHAN, Ukraine—Mykola Kotov returned here and began to repair his family home, damaged when Ukrainian forces fought to oust Russian troops from this strategic village near Kharkiv.

The brick house was built by Mr. Kotov's grandmother in 1943 from the ruins of the family home that was destroyed when this village was liberated from the Nazis that year. Now, part of the roof has been blown off, windows broken and walls pockmarked by shrapnel—minor damage compared with several collapsed houses down the street.

"Now that the Russians have been expelled, we are back home, and we're going to rebuild once again," Mr. Kotov, 67 years old, said as he examined the property.

Returning in recent days are many other residents of Mala Rohan, one of the villages that Ukrainian forces secured as they pushed Russian troops away from Kharkiv, the country's second-most-populous city. For more than a month, Russian forces

Please turn to page A6

◆ **Evacuation efforts continue for civilians in Mariupol..... A6**
◆ **Hungary holds up EU deal to embargo Russian oil..... A7**

Use It as a Cooler! Makers of EVs Tout the Uses for Their 'Frunk.'

Front trunk becomes way for companies to stand out as the competition grows

By NORA ECKERT

Drivers can now have less junk in their trunk, and more in their frunk.

People have long prized having storage space in the back of their cars, whether for stashing tools or tailgating. As more buy electric vehicles, they'll increasingly be tossing stuff in an inelegantly named space where the engine used to be. Meet the frunk, for front trunk. EVs trade out the engine for a battery pack, which typically lines the vehicle's floor. That opens up a big front-end cavity for a new role.



Ready for anything

While under-hood storage has long existed on niche vehicles, it was never anything car makers made a big deal about. Today, as competition among EV producers heats up, they have unleashed their designers on the front trunk and made a feature as mundane as storage

Please turn to page A10

TikTok Work Culture: Pressure and Secrecy

Ex-U.S. staffers recount litany of stresses

With a seemingly bottomless feed of goof-offs, dance-offs and good-natured pranks, TikTok bills itself as the happiest place on the internet.

By Georgia Wells,
Yorke Koh and
Salvador Rodriguez

Fueling its success: an exacting management style and demanding internal culture that belie its buoyant public image, say employees at its U.S. offices.

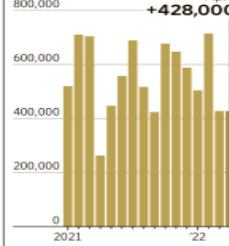
The employees, many of

them veterans of other major tech companies, say TikTok emphasizes relentless productivity and secrecy to a degree uncommon in the industry.

As TikTok continues its torrid growth, those conditions are increasingly a source of tension at U.S. offices of the app, a unit of Beijing-based ByteDance Ltd. Founded just six years ago, TikTok recorded the most downloads of any app through the first quarter of 2022, according to analytics

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Nonfarm payrolls, one-month net change



Note: Seasonally adjusted
Source: Labor Department

◆ **U.S. stocks end tumultuous week with declines..... B1**

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Abortion Foes Ponder a World After Roe Falls

Movement Sees Goals Beyond Legislation

By ELIZABETH DIAS
and RUTH GRAHAM

For nearly half a century, the anti-abortion movement has propelled itself toward a goal that at times seemed impossible, even to true believers: overturning Roe v. Wade.

That single-minded mission meant coming to Washington every January for the March for Life to mark Roe's anniversary. It required electing anti-abortion lawmakers and keeping the pressure on to pass state restrictions. It involved funding anti-abortion lobbying groups, praying and protesting outside clinics, and opening facilities to persuade women to keep their pregnancies. Then this week, the leaked draft of the Supreme Court opinion that would overturn the constitutional right to abortion revealed that anti-abortion activists' dream of a post-Roe America appeared poised to come to pass.

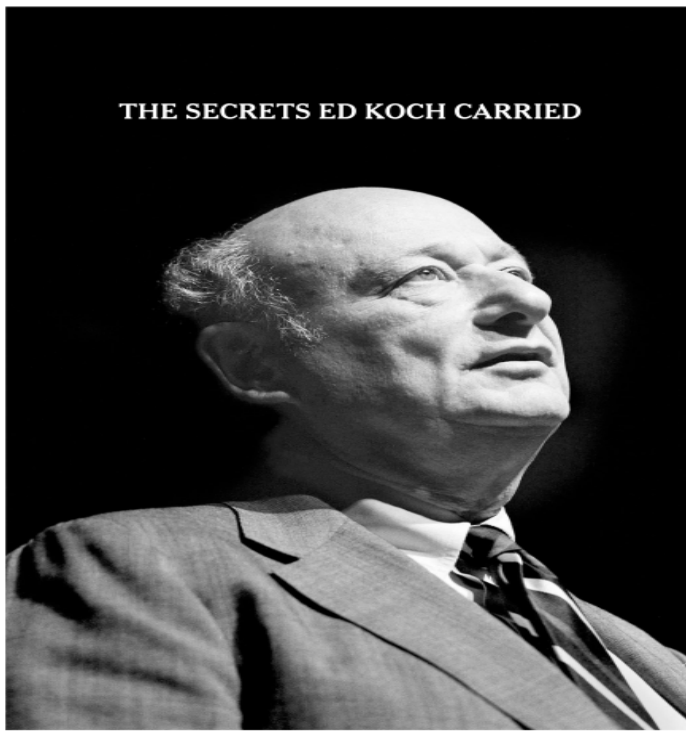
The court's opinion is not final, but the draft immediately shifted the horizon by raising a new question: If Roe is struck down, where does the anti-abortion movement go next?

Many leaders are redoubling state efforts, where they've already had success, with an eye toward more restrictive measures. Several prominent groups now say they would support a national abortion ban after as many as 15 weeks or as few as six, all lower than Roe's standard of around 23 or 24. A vocal faction is talking about "abortion abolition," proposing legislation to outlaw abortion after conception, with few if any exceptions in cases of rape or incest.

The sprawling anti-abortion grass-roots campaign is rapidly approaching an entirely new era, one in which abortion would no longer be a nationally protected right to overcome, but a decision to be legislated by individual states. For many activists, overturning Roe would mark what they see as not the end, but a new beginning to limit abortion access even further. It also would present a test, as those who have long backed incremental change could clash with those who increasingly push to end legal abortion altogether.

This week, many anti-abortion leaders were wary of celebrating before the court's final ruling, expected this summer. They remembered Planned Parenthood v. Casey in 1992, when they hoped the court would overturn Roe and it ultimately did not. But they said they have been preparing for this moment and its possibilities for decades.

"If a dog catches a car, it doesn't know what to do," said Carol Tobin. Continued on Page 28



Edward I. Koch in 1985. He shaped New York through what he said, and what he didn't say.

Friends Open Up About the Private Strain Of the Former Mayor's Life as a Gay Man

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER
and ROSA GOLDENSOHN

Edward I. Koch looked like the busiest septuagenarian in New York.

Glad-handing well-wishers at his favorite restaurants, gestulating through television interviews long after his three terms as mayor, Mr. Koch could seem as though he was scrambling to fill every hour with bustle. He dragged friends to the movies, pursuing a side career in film criticism. He urged new acquaintances to call him "Judge," a joking reference to his time presiding over "The People's Court."

But as his 70s ticked by, Mr. Koch described to a few friends a feeling he could not shake: a deep loneliness. He wanted to meet someone, he said. Did they know anyone who might be "partner material?" Someone "a little younger than me?" Someone to make up for lost time?

"I want a boyfriend," he said to one friend, Charles Kaiser.

It was an aching admission, shared with only a few, from a politician whose brash ubiquity and relentless New York evangelism helped define the modern mayoralty, even as he strained to

conceal an essential fact of his biography: Mr. Koch was gay.

He denied as much for decades — to reporters, campaign operatives and his staff — swatting away longstanding rumors with a choice profanity or a cheeky aside, even if these did little to convince some New Yorkers. Through his death, in 2013, his deflections endured.

Now, with gay rights re-emerging as a national political tinderbox, The New York Times has assembled a portrait of the life Mr. Koch lived, the secrets he carried and the city he helped shape as he carried them. While both friends and antagonists over the years have referenced his sexuality in stray remarks and published commentaries, this account draws on more than a dozen interviews with people who knew Mr. Koch and are in several cases speaking extensively on the record for the first time — filling out a chapter that they say belongs, at last, to the sweep of history.

It is a story that might otherwise fade, with many of Mr. Koch's contemporaries now in the twilight of their lives.

Continued on Page 23

Russia Destroys Bridges After Ukrainians Force Retreat From Kharkiv

Moscow Made Error Counting on Local Collaboration

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KRYVYI RIH, Ukraine — The solicitation to commit treason came to Oleksandr Vilkul on the second day of the war, in a phone call from an old colleague.

Mr. Vilkul, the scion of a powerful political family in southeastern Ukraine that was long seen as harboring pro-Russian views, took the call as Russian troops were advancing to within a few miles of his hometown, Kryvyi Rih.

He said, "Oleksandr Yurivich, you are looking at the map, you see the situation is predetermined," Mr. Vilkul said, recalling the conversation with a fellow minister in a former, pro-Russian Ukrainian government.

"Sign an agreement of friendship, cooperation and defense with Russia and they will have good relations with you," the former colleague said. "You will be a big person in the new Ukraine."

The offer failed spectacularly. Once war had begun, Mr. Vilkul said, the gray area seeped out of Ukrainian politics for him. Missiles striking his hometown made the choice obvious: He would fight back.

"I responded with profanity," Mr. Vilkul said in an interview.

If the first months of the war in Ukraine became a military debate for the Russian army — deflating the reputations of its commanders and troops in a forced retreat from Kyiv — the Russian invasion also highlighted another glaring failure: Moscow's flawed analysis of the politics of the country it was attacking. The miscalculation led to mistakes no less costly in lives for the Russian army than the faulty tactics of tank operators who steered into bogs.

The Kremlin entered the war expecting a quick and painless victory, predicting that the government of President Volodymyr Zelensky would fracture and that leading officials in the largely Russian-speaking eastern region would gladly switch sides. That has not happened.

The political myopia was most significant in the country's east, political analysts say.

In all but a tiny number of villages, Russia failed to flip local politicians to its side. The Ukrainian

Continued on Page 16

A New Setback for Putin, Just Before a Key Holiday

This article is by Michael Schwartz, Cora Engelbrecht and Megan Specia.

SLOVIANSK, Ukraine — Russia's push to give its president a showcase victory in Ukraine appeared to face a new setback on Saturday, as Ukrainian defenders pushed the invaders back toward the northeast border and away from the city of Kharkiv, with the Russians blowing up bridges behind them.

With less than 48 hours before President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia aimed to lead his country in Victory Day celebrations commemorating the Soviet triumph over Nazi Germany, the apparent Russian pullback from the area around Kharkiv, Ukraine's second-largest city, contradicted the Russian narrative and illustrated the complicated picture along the 300-mile front in eastern Ukraine.

The Russians have been trying to advance in eastern Ukraine for the past few weeks and have been pushing, especially hard as Victory Day approaches, but Ukrainian forces — armed with new weapons supplied by the United States and other Western nations — have been pushing back in a counteroffensive.

The destruction of three bridges by Russian forces, about 12 miles northeast of Kharkiv, reported by the Ukrainian military, suggested that the Russians not only were trying to prevent the Ukrainians from pursuing them, but had no immediate plans to return.

A senior Ukrainian official, speaking on condition of anonymity to discuss the fighting, said Russian forces were destroying bridges not to retreat but because "we are pushing them out."

He said the fight for Kharkiv was not over, and that although "at the moment we are dominating," Russian forces were trying to regroup and go on the offensive.

Some military analysts said the Russian actions were similar to what Russia's military had done last month in a retreat from the city of Chernihiv north of Kyiv.

Frederick W. Kagan, a military historian and a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington-based public policy research group, said Russia's

Continued on Page 16

An Ocean of Questions Surrounds a U.N. Agency's Pot of Money

By DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD
and FARNAZ FASSIH

At the United Nations, two officials had a problem. The little-known agency they ran found itself with an extra \$61 million, and they didn't know what to do with it.

Then they met a man at a party. Now, they have \$25 million less.

In between was a baffling series of financial decisions, in which experienced diplomats entrusted tens of millions of dollars, the agency's entire investment portfolio

at the time, to a British businessman after meeting him at the party. They also gave his daughter \$3 million to produce a pop song, a video game and a website promoting awareness of environmental threats to the world's oceans.

Things did not go well. Though U.N. auditors said the man's businesses defaulted on more than \$22 million in loans — all money meant to aid the developing world — the agency, the United Nations Office for Project Services, said in a statement last month that "funds are at risk, but to date, no funds have been lost."

Millions in Grants and Loans to One Family

The agency added that it would "pursue all available legal remedies to protect its operations and assets, including the recovery of outstanding payments owed to" it.

The story of these misbegotten investments was, at times, surreal. There was a cameo by the Italian-born man about town who had introduced Donald J. Trump to a

model named Melania Knauss, the future first lady. There was a concert in the U.N.'s General Assembly hall as it sat nearly empty — where a Norwegian diplomat with a backing band crooned the ocean song ("Just a drop of rain / That's all I am").

But diplomats and former U.N. officials say the tale also demonstrates what critics say is a serious problem with the U.N.: a culture of impunity among some top leaders, who wield huge budgets with little outside oversight.

"What do you call it when you

Continued on Page 22



80-1 Shot Wins Kentucky Derby

Rich Strike, who made the field only when another horse was scratched, topped Epicenter by less than a length. Page 36.

INTERNATIONAL 4-17

Celebrating Elvis as Their Own

Presley never performed in Australia. But in Parkes, home to the largest Elvis festival in the Southern Hemisphere, no one seems to mind. PAGE 4

METROPOLITAN

A Bond of Brotherhood

Against daunting odds, five men who claimed their innocence eventually went on to help one another gain freedom from prison. PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

Time to Exercise the Soul

The entrepreneurs Julie Rice and Elizabeth Cutler once centered on workouts. Now they are building a company that focuses on the self. PAGE 11

SUNDAY BUSINESS

In Scotland, Bogs and Profit

A fast-fashion billionaire polluted the planet as he made his fortune. Now, he could make another fortune repairing the country's vast peatlands. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Maureen Dowd

PAGE 9





STILL A TOUGH ROW

Poor women already struggle to get legal abortions in states like Texas. If Roe falls, they stand to lose the most.

By Molly Hennessy-Fiske
REPORTING FROM MCALLEN, TEXAS

The patient slid onto the examination table as the doctor ran through her standard list of questions.

Most recent period? Any previous abortions? Medication or surgery? Any complications?

An assistant readied an ultrasound wand as the patient lifted her shirt. She wasn't worried whether she was pregnant — she had already figured that out with four home tests.

What she and the doctor needed to know was how many weeks.

If the U.S. Supreme Court eliminates the constitutional right to abortion by overturning Roe vs. Wade — as it is widely expected to do in coming weeks — Texas and at least 25 other conservative states are likely to ban most abortions.

But already in Texas, low-income Latinas, who have long made up the vast majority of patients at Whole Woman's Health of McAllen, [See Abortion, A12]



Photographs by GINA FERAZZI Los Angeles Times
KRYSTAL, top, takes a pill to end her six-week pregnancy at a clinic in McAllen, Texas. Before the treatment, an assistant gives the 26-year-old an ultrasound while Dr. Blair Cushing, above center, who flew in from California, looks on.

THE FUTURE OF ABORTION

This is one in a series of occasional stories about the state of abortion as Roe vs. Wade faces its most serious challenge.

All women, kids rescued from Mariupol plant

Ukrainian cities brace for new attacks in advance of Russia's military holiday.

By LAURA KING
AND JENNY JARVIE

KYIV, Ukraine — Ukraine announced Saturday that all women, children and older adults had been evacuated from the Azovstal steel plant, the last sliver of Ukrainian-held territory in the shattered southern port city of Mariupol, as Ukrainian towns and cities remained on edge for a major Russian holiday dedicated to military victory and new fighting flared along eastern front lines.

"The president's order

has been carried out," Iryna Vereshchuk, Ukraine's deputy prime minister, posted on the Telegram messaging app, offering little further detail. "This part of the Mariupol humanitarian operation has been completed."

More than 5.8 million refugees have fled fighting in Ukraine since Russia began its invasion on Feb. 24, according to the United Nations.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, in a Saturday night address to his nation, said more than 300 civilians were rescued from the steel plant in recent days and efforts were underway to prepare for the second stage of the evacuation: the wounded and medics.

Zelenskyy said he was also working to evacuate Ukrainians [See Ukraine, A9]

Refugee recipes for success abroad

Life gets sweeter for trio when a chef in Paris decides to try out Ukraine's cuisine.

By IRIS SCHNEIDER

PARIS — Allina Prokopenko, 22, had often fantasized about someday moving to France from her hometown in western Ukraine. When Russia invaded her country, her only concern for her and her family was staying alive. But in a twist of fate, the war has ended up making her dream at least a temporary reality.

"I was dreaming about it before the war," Prokopenko

explained. "When the war began, I had no choice."

Yuliya Tkachenko, 45, and her daughter Nadiya, 15, were also forced to flee for their lives, escaping to Poland without a clue about where, or how, their perilous journey would end.

Two months later, the two strangers spend their days together in a cramped professional kitchen making recipes from the home and just blocks from such iconic Parisian monuments as the Louvre, the Bourse and Place Vendôme.

Prokopenko, who had operated an artisan bakery at home in a suburb of Lviv, and Tkachenko, who had no culinary training, are now [See Recipes, A8]

COLUMN ONE

Puff, puff, parent: L.A. moms relieve stress with weed

By ADAM TSCHORN

From the outside, the moms gathered in a Santa Monica living room could have been conferring about carpools, school boards or fundraisers — any of the myriad mundane meetups that come with parenting.

A quick survey of the scene might miss the spindly potted pot plant a few feet away on the deck. It most likely would have skipped right over one mother's dangly pot-leaf earrings or another's black T-shirt emblazoned with "Moms who smoke weed aren't bad moms." And you'd practically have to be sitting on one of the couches in the compact, art-filled space to notice that the children's book on the coffee table in front of them was titled "Why Mommy Gets High."

The living room belongs to the author of that book, Wendy Brazill, and on a sunny April morning, she invited fellow local moms Angie Stocker, Shonitria Anthony and Alyssa Wraylie over to talk not about homework or healthful snacks but about marijuana and motherhood. (Brazill has a blended family of [See Moms, A20])



GENARO MOLINA Los Angeles Times
REP. KAREN Bass and developer Rick Caruso, shown at a March debate, tied for the lead in a recent poll. But nearly four in 10 likely voters are undecided.

It's time to decide: Ballots arrive for L.A. mayor race

By BENJAMIN ORESKES

Standing outside the Los Angeles Sentinel offices last week, Black faith leaders from South L.A. and U.S. Rep. James Clyburn (D-S.C.) took turns proclaiming their support for Rep. Karen Bass in her run for mayor.

"The faith community will mobilize around her. We will come full force in pushing souls to the polls," the Rev. K.W. Tulloss said before quickly correcting himself and adding, to some laughter, "Souls to the mailbox. We understand what's at stake."

This revision may have spoiled the poetry of Tulloss' appeal, but it hammered home a point that Bass and other candidates will be making this week: Voting is already upon us.

Ballots are now in the mail to every registered voter and can soon be submitted at drop boxes across the city or sent back by mail.

"The election ends June 7," Bass said. "So our work begins now to communicate with voters and to make sure that voters turn those ballots in. You don't even have to go out to vote anymore." [See Primary, A11]

Column: Steve Lopez hears Karen Bass' ideas on homelessness. CALIFORNIA, B1

Arizona warns of water shortages

Colorado River's reservoirs hit record lows, and California could feel the pain. CALIFORNIA, B1

In pivot, Taliban issues burqa edict

Sparking criticism, the militant group says all Afghan women in public must be covered from head to toe. WORLD, A3

Weather
Mostly sunny.
L.A. Basin: 70/53. B10

80-1 horse wins race? That's Rich

Lucky to qualify, Rich Strike scores a historic upset at the 148th Kentucky Derby. SPORTS, D1



Economic
The world produces plenty, but Putin can use fear to create a market panic **OUTLOOK**



Capitals grab edge
Warming to role as underdog, Caps take 2-1 series lead after 6-1 rout **SPORTS**



Kentucky Derby
Rich Strike, an 80-1 long shot, pulls a stunner at Churchill Downs **SPORTS**

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.



Brief showers 51/45 • Tomorrow: Clouds and sun 63/50 C14

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Strategy to reverse Roe was decades in making

BY MICHAEL SCHERER,
JOSH DAWSEY,
CAROLINE KITCHENER
AND RACHEL ROUBEIN

Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell still remembers the shock he felt when Donald Trump won the 2016 election. He also recalls what happened next.

"The first thing that came to my mind was the Supreme Court," McConnell said in an interview this past week, remembering his reaction that night as he watched results from a basement office at the National Republican Senatorial Committee. He soon called Donald McGahn, campaign counsel to the president-elect, who was slated to become the top White House lawyer.

A week later, Leonard Leo, the head of the conservative Federalist Society and a McConnell ally, was sitting with the president-elect and his advisers in Trump Tower in New York with a list of six potential conservative nominees alphabetically typed onto a piece of personalized stationery, according to people familiar with the meeting, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to reveal internal discussions.

As incoming chief of staff Reince Priebus and Trump's

SEE ABORTION ON A5

Abortion rights: A Democrat finds middle ground, but not on this. **A9**

Retirees are being lured back to work in droves

BY ABHA BHATTARAI

Millions of older Americans stopped working during the pandemic, far more than usual, stoking fears that the workforce had been permanently altered, but the country is close to closing the gap in early retirements, according to new data.

An estimated 1.5 million retirees have reentered the U.S. labor market over the past year, according to an analysis of Labor Department data by Nick Bunker, an economist at Indeed. That means the economy has made up most of the extra losses of retirees since February 2020, a Washington Post analysis shows.

Many retirees are being pulled back to jobs by a combination of diminishing covid concerns and more flexible work arrangements at a time when employers are desperate for workers. In some cases, workers say rising costs — and the inability to keep up while on a fixed income — are factoring heavily into their decisions as well.

Jerry Munoz recently returned to full-time work at a pharmaceutical company in San Diego after a decade of retirement. He'd gotten antsy staying home during the pandemic and said he felt safe going back into the office after receiving the coronavirus vaccine and booster. The extra pay from his new position as a safety consultant has been helpful, too. He and his wife recently bought an investment home with the money.

"Covid made me think about a lot of things and I felt like I was wasting my skills and my knowledge," the 64-year-old said. "I told my wife that as long as I'm healthy enough, I'll probably

SEE WORK ON A26

One million Americans are dead as a result of the coronavirus, yet the true toll — those touched by loss and left to carry on — can be multiplied ninefold



HOKUYOUNG KIM ILLUSTRATION FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

LIVES FOREVER CHANGED BY COVID'S LONG REACH

BY MARC FISHER, LIZZIE JOHNSON, CHRISTINE SPOLAR AND NICK ASPINWALL

One million dead: The U.S. death toll from the coronavirus pandemic hit that unfathomable number this past week, and yet there is a far larger number that reflects the true impact this virus has had on Americans over the past two years. That number is 9 million — the number of Americans who have lost spouses, parents, grandparents, siblings and children to covid.

Sociologists at Penn State and the University of Southern California came up with a "bereavement multiplier," a way to calculate how many close relatives each covid death leaves behind and bereft. The answer, on average, is nine — not including extended family or close friends, longtime co-workers or next-door neighbors, many of whom, the study said, are deeply affected, too.

Covid quickly became the third-biggest killer of Americans, behind only heart disease and cancer, according to federal statistics for 2020. One million is how many people live in San Jose or Austin, or in Montgomery County, Md., or Westchester County, N.Y. It's more people than live in the six smallest states or D.C., about as many as live in Delaware or Rhode Island. In all likelihood, the death toll is significantly higher than the official 1 million, the National Center for Health Statistics reports, noting that some Americans whose death certificates list heart attacks or hypertensive disease probably had undiagnosed coronavirus infections.

Americans have died of covid at a higher rate than in any other major industrialized country, and life expectancy for Americans has fallen over the past two years at the sharpest rate since the double whammy of World War I and the 1918 flu pandemic.

The 1 million dead may seem like a random group, yet they fall into clear patterns: Those killed by covid were mostly old; disproportionately low-income, Black or Hispanic; and overwhelmingly unvaccinated. People who did not get the shot were 53.2 times more likely to die than fully vaccinated and boosted people.

Yet in those concentric circles of grief around the 1 million are people of every age, every income level and every background, vaccinated and not. In the ripples that bubble outward from each death, the tensions and divisions of American society are at play. Covid honors no walls. As the country marks the million milestone, these are stories of five who died — and the many others who carry on with a gaping hole in their lives.

SEE COVID ON A16

How to define a Ukraine victory

MURKY PATH AHEAD AS WAR DRAGS ON

Public support is critical to outcome, officials say

BY KAREN DEYOUNG,
DAN LAMOTHE
AND ASHLEY PARKER

As the war in Ukraine grinds through its third month, the Biden administration has tried to maintain a set of public objectives that adapt to changes on the battlefield and stress NATO unity, while making it clear that Russia will lose, even as Ukraine decides what constitutes winning.

But the contours of a Russian loss remain as murky as a Ukrainian victory. And as the conflict heads into what is likely to be a protracted fight, the need to manage allied cooperation, unity and public opinion here and abroad — balancing the probable with the possible — has become as much a priority as what is happening on the battlefield.

Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin, SEE UKRAINE ON A14

Trapped no more: All women, children leave steel plant. **A12**

Scarred, but still battling, on annual Victory Day

BY ISABELLE KHURSHUDYAN
AND LOUISA LOVELUCK

From Ukraine's northeastern city of Kharkiv to its southern port of Mariupol, Monday will be a day of dread.

May 9 is Victory Day, when the states of the former Soviet Union celebrate the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II. In Moscow, tanks will rumble proudly through Red Square, saluted by veterans and applauded by admiring crowds. And President Vladimir Putin will make a speech many think could signal a new — and potentially devastating — direction for his invasion of Ukraine.

But to Ukrainians along the vast 250-mile front line of Putin's bloody offensive, the Russian military is unworthy of celebration. To them it is the force that has shelled their apartment buildings, fired missiles into their hospitals, and tortured and killed their family members, friends and neighbors.

The war has forever changed their lives. A poet has become a volunteer delivering emergency food and clothing. Fathers and mothers and teenagers have become soldiers. A priest has been forced to consider carrying a gun, and whether to kill. Some children have gone missing, and others have become accustomed to the sight and smell of dead bodies.

In interviews along the front line, Washington Post reporters and photographers have documented some of their stories. Putin's war is a part of them now — the thuds and explosions and air

SEE RUSSIA ON A10

Invasion: Rumors abound that Putin will mobilize soldiers. **A23**

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deportes

Boca festejó
Entra con pie firme
a los cuartos de finalLe ganó 2 a 0 a Tigre y quedó segundo en su grupo; ahora jugará con Newell's. **Página 2**TIGRES Y LEONES, EN
UN POLÉMICO MUNDO
FELINO EN LUJÁN

—historias

Viven en un predio de 15 hectáreas en un zoológico que está clausurado desde hace dos años; hay discrepancias sobre el futuro de los animales. **Página 28**UN TAXISTA ARROLLÓ
EN PALERMO A TRES
TURISTAS FRANCESAS

—seguridad

El conductor sufrió un ACV en plena avenida Santa Fe, frente al Jardín Botánico; dos de las mujeres atropelladas se encuentran en grave estado. **Página 35**

LA NACION

DOMINGO 8 DE MAYO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Gestiones reservadas en
el oficialismo para forzar
cambios en el Gobierno

INTERNA. Máximo Kirchner y Larroque se reunieron con dos ministros albertistas; buscan un acuerdo

Mientras Alberto Fernández y Cristina Kirchner siguen sin hablarse, dentro del frente oficialista se abrieron puentes subterráneos para acordar cambios en la gestión y preparar un futuro electoral conjunto en la provincia de Buenos Aires.

Estos fueron los principales temas que se abordaron en una reunión secreta que el último miércoles convocó a Máximo Kirchner y Andrés "el Cuervo" Larroque, del lado camporista, con dos ministros

albertistas: Juan Zabaletay Gabriel Katopodis. El anfitrión, en La Plata, fue el jefe de Gabinete bonaerense, Martín Insaurralde.

Allí se habló de la necesidad de trazar una tregua, pero también de reactivar la dinámica de la administración nacional. Desde hace varias semanas, los funcionarios más cercanos al Presidente le vienen reclamando un relanzamiento de la gestión, pero sin lograr respuesta. Ahora empezaron a moverse con más autonomía. **Página 12**

EL ANÁLISIS

Cristina, ante su próxima jugada

Martín Rodríguez Yebra

—LA NACION—

Hay una frase que le han oído a Cristina Kirchner en charlas terapéuticas sobre el destino errático de su experimento con Alberto

Fernández: "Se pueden ganar o perder elecciones, pero lo que nunca podés perder es la identidad política". Continúa en la página 38

EL ESCENARIO

En secreto,
JxC prepara
su plan 2023

José Del Río

—LA NACION—

Quiso el destino que la Fundación Pensar, histórico think tank de Pro, se ubique en San Telmo, a muy pocos metros del Grupo Callo, de donde surgió el albertismo, que finalmente llegó al poder de la mano de su ahora enemiga interna Cristina Kirchner. Cuando un búnker se iluminó con el spot del poder, el otro sufrió la oscuridad de la derrota electoral y el desánimo propio de lo que tiempo después definirían como una sumatoria de errores estructurales. Continúa en la página 20

Alcaraz, la nueva estrella
que revoluciona el tenis

deportes— Primerovenció a su ídolo, Rafael Nadal, en polvo de ladrillo, y 24 horas después al Nº1 del mundo, Novak Djokovic. El español Carlos Alcaraz, de 19 años, luce imparable: es finalista en Madrid, saltó al 6º lugar del ranking y sueña con Roland Garros.



Luego de 3h35m, Alcaraz celebra su memorable triunfo sobre Djokovic por 6-7 (5/7), 7-5 y 7-6 (7/5)

AFP

Batalla judicial y política
por el jury a una fiscal
que investigó al poder

ENTRE RÍOS. Cecilia Goyeneche podría ser apartada en los próximos días tras acusar al exgobernador Urribarri

Paz Rodríguez Niell
LA NACION

Entre Ríos es el escenario de una guerra judicial de película. La fiscal anticorrupción, coordinadora de un equipo que acaba de conseguir la condena a ocho años de cárcel de un exgobernador, se convirtió en la acusada de un juicio político

que avanza a toda velocidad y que en cuestión de días puede terminar con ella echada. El jury empezó el lunes pasado y el jurado ya entró en la instancia de deliberación.

La fiscal, Cecilia Goyeneche, denuncia que la persiguen por haber investigado "la mayor causa de corrupción de la historia de la provincia". Continúa en la página 24

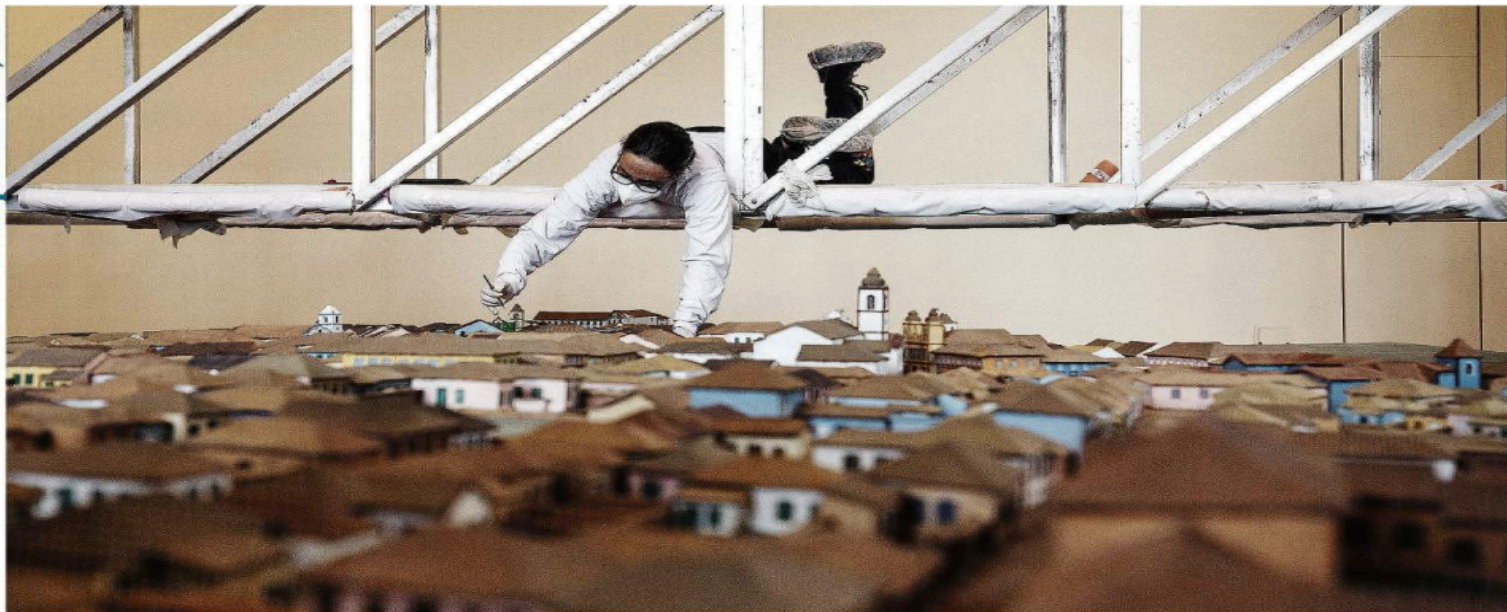
Polarización.
Las guerras
culturales
que dividen
al mundo

Son alimentadas por las redes y la proliferación de regímenes populistas

Luisa Corradini
y Rafael Mathus Ruiz
CORRESPONSALES EN FRANCIA Y EEUU.

PARÍS.— El derecho al aborto, cuestionado en Estados Unidos; en Hungría y en Polonia, el intento de retorno a la pena de muerte, la prohibición del matrimonio gay... La tendencia a esas guerras culturales cuya primera víctima son las libertades individuales y públicas crece en las democracias occidentales del siglo XXI, alentada por las redes y la proliferación de populismos. Continúa en la página 4

La dramática vida
en Mykolaiv,
agobiada por la
escasez de aguaElisabetta Piqué | Enviada especial
Página 8



Eduardo Knapp/Folhapress

MUSEU DO IPIRANGA RESTAURA MAQUETE DA SÃO PAULO DO SÉCULO 19

Restauradora Katia Salvo trabalha na obra que busca reproduzir em detalhes a capital paulista no ano de 1841; renovação ficou pronta após dois meses e meio **Cotidiano B3**

dia das mães

Gap para mães no mercado resiste e é pior para as com filhos pequenos **A21**

- + Mães solo pagam pelo próprio presente em escolas particulares **B2**
- + Com saída do filho, pais enfrentam síndrome do ninho vazio **B2**

ilus trís sima para ns!

Escritora relata os percalços de congelar seus óvulos perto dos 40 anos **C6**

TikTok ameaça o domínio do Vale do Silício pela primeira vez, aponta livro **C10**

MÔNICA BERGAMO
De volta a 'Pantanal', Marcos Palmeira relembra bastidores da versão original **C2**

25% dos cursos do Sisu exigem nota maior de cotista
Cotidiano B1



O petista interage com apoiadores durante cerimônia no Expo Center Norte, em São Paulo **Nelson Almeida/AFIP**

Lula exalta passado e defende união ao lançar candidatura

Evento em São Paulo tem participação, por vídeo, do vice na chapa, Geraldo Alckmin, aplaudido pelos petistas

O ex-presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) pregou o resgate da soberania nacional e repetiu promessas de criação de empregos e de combate à fome ao lançar, sábado (7), sua pré-candidatura à Presidência da República, em chapa com Geraldo Alckmin (PSB) de vice.

Com diagnóstico de Covid-19, o ex-governador de São Paulo participou ao vivo por meio de vídeo, em um telão, do evento realizado num centro de convenções na zona norte da capital paulista. Ele foi aplaudido pela plateia de apoiadores do petista.

Lula e Alckmin pregaram união em seus discursos e buscaram se contrapor ao principal adversário na disputa, Jair Bolsonaro (PL).

No ato, foi apresentada uma regravação do jingle da campanha de 1989, o do refrão "Lula lá, brilha uma estrela". **Política A4, A5 e A6**

Janio de Freitas

O desencontro marcado

Inexiste afirmação convincente dos militares de compromisso com a Constituição. São quatro anos de Forças Armadas submetidas à orientação de Bolsonaro. **Política A12**

Investidor externo vê lista de obstáculos sob Bolsonaro

Estrangeiros que integram reuniões sobre projetos de longo prazo veem entraves para investir no país, como degradação ambiental, excesso de indicações políticas e distribuição opaca e ilógica de verba pública. **Mercado A17 e A18**

Brasileira fura bolha na economia e dará aula em Yale

DIAS MELHORES
Mayara Felix, 33, terminou doutorado em economia no MIT, o que a coloca entre as quatro brasileiras que obtiveram o título (PhD) em uma das universidades mais bem avaliadas dos EUA. Em 2024, lecionará em Yale. **Mercado A22**

Ricardo A. Pereira

Vai ser proibido alterar a minha alteração

Mais de meio milênio depois da produção massiva de Bíblias no mundo, há tal quantidade de heresias a tentar fazer correções no livro sagrado que o melhor é impedi-los por via legal. **Ilustrada C8**

Concentração bancária se mantém apesar de mudanças

A concentração no mercado financeiro se mantém alta no Brasil apesar de promessas e mudanças recentes. Em 2021, Itaú, Bradesco, Santander, Caixa Econômica Federal e Banco do Brasil controlaram 72,6% do crédito e 63,1% das receitas. **Mercado A20**

EDITORIAIS A2

Batalha por nada
Sobre ofensiva de Bolsonaro contra urna eletrônica.

Chapéu alheio
Acerca de verba da Prefeitura de SP em ato pró-Lula.



Hallazgos demuestran que niño violentado en colegio privado no miente

En tres meses de clases el MEC registra 20 denuncias de abuso

Muchos de los casos se dieron en instituciones privadas. Existe preocupación porque los abusadores empiezan cada vez a edad más temprana después de la pandemia.

PÁGINAS 56 y 57

Análisis económico

La elevada inflación lleva al país hacia escenarios inciertos

PÁGINA 16

Prometen dar lección de humildad a Marito

Abdo repite fórmula que estalló en una crisis institucional

PÁGINAS 2 y 3

Cámara de Carnes defiende precios

Cortes de primera en Paraguay son más caros que los de exportación

PÁGINA 14

Hay oposición a sesiones presenciales

Conexión virtual facilita rabona de legisladores en momentos claves

PÁGINA 6

Potencian el desarrollo y aprendizaje del niño

PÁGINA 25

Temprano. El programa Creciendo Juntos, del Ministerio de Salud, apunta a detectar trastornos en el desarrollo y brindar el tratamiento oportuno.

DOMINGO

Metaverso 5G: Dos médicos operan a un paciente separados por 900 km

PÁGINA 54

Emprendedores cumplen el ansiado sueño de abrir un negocio propio

PÁGINA 18

ETIOS

MÁS POR
DESCUBRIR

CUOTA DESDE
145 USD

2 AIRBAGS
VERSATILIDAD
ECONOMÍA

5 AÑOS DE GARANTÍA
5 AÑOS DE GARANTÍA



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GASTRONOMIE
AVEC SA CITÉ INTERNATIONALE,
DIJON VEUT DEVENIR
LA CAPITALE DU BON GOÛT **PAGE 28**

AGRICULTURE
CONNECTÉES ET ÉCOLOGIQUES,
LES CAMPAGNES À L'HEURE
DU FUTUR **PAGES 10 ET 11**



LÉGISLATIVES

Les coulisses des laborieuses tractations entre les LR « constructifs » et la macronie **PAGE 4**

ESPAGNE

Madrid tangué sous les affaires d'espionnage **PAGE 8**

JUSTICE

Nancy : le passé très chargé d'un homme suspecté de viol **PAGE 9**

EMPLOI

Ces territoires ruraux qui courtisent les actifs des métropoles **PAGE 21**

CINÉMA

La déferlante de blockbusters redonne le moral au monde du cinéma **PAGE 26**

CHAMPS LIBRES

7 000 objets volés attendent leurs propriétaires

• Un grand entretien avec Olivier Rey

• La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté
• L'analyse de Pierre-Yves Dugua

PAGES 15 À 17

FIGARO OUI FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de vendredi : Craignez-vous une extension du conflit au-delà de l'Ukraine ?

OUI 72% NON 28%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 201 708

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr

La confédération macroniste Ensemble ! va-t-elle, selon vous, remporter les élections législatives ?

VINCENT ARBELET/VILLE DE DIJON ; ARTYOM MEDVEDEV/STOCKADOBEST

Matignon, gouvernement : Macron cherche l'équilibre

Le chef de l'État, investi ce samedi, est toujours en quête d'un nouveau premier ministre. Une fois son choix arrêté, il devra composer une équipe respectant toutes les sensibilités de la majorité.

Deux semaines après sa réélection, Emmanuel Macron sera investi ce samedi lors d'une cérémonie à l'Élysée. L'occasion pour le chef de l'État de reprendre la parole après plusieurs

jours de silence. Il prononcera une courte allocution, sans dévoiler le calendrier des réformes, qui sera détaillé dans le discours de politique générale du futur premier ministre, dont

l'identité n'est toujours pas connue. Car après avoir plaidé en faveur d'un remaniement rapide, Emmanuel Macron doit finalement temporiser pour trouver le bon chef du gouver-

nement. Selon un sondage Odoxa pour *Le Figaro*, les Français souhaitent l'arrivée à Matignon d'un élu de terrain, concentré sur les questions sociales et écologiques. Une fois la

perle rare trouvée, le chef de l'État devra composer un gouvernement en ménageant les innombrables chapelles de la majorité. Un casse-tête qui va encore durer plusieurs jours.

→ SELON LES FRANÇAIS, LE PROCHAIN PREMIER MINISTRE DEVRA ÊTRE UN « ÉLU DE TERRAIN, CRÉATIF ET SINCÈRE » → LE CASSE-TÊTE DE LA REPRÉSENTATION DES ALLIÉS AU GOUVERNEMENT → LÉGISLATIVES : DE MCKINSEY À LREM, LE DISCRET MIDY ENVOYÉ FACE À VILLANI **PAGES 2, 3 ET L'EDITORIAL**



Marioupol : les rescapés de l'usine Azovstal racontent leur calvaire

Enfermés pendant deux mois dans des bunkers souterrains, les naufragés du dernier carré de résistance à Marioupol décrivent l'angoisse, la nourriture rationnée, l'hygiène précaire et la terreur constante des bombardements. **PAGES 6 ET 7**

EDITORIAL par Vincent Trémolet de Villers vtremolet@lefigaro.fr

L'heure de vérité

L'heure tourne, et le temps, quoi qu'on en dise, est le maître suprême. Ne pas céder à la compulsion médiatique est estimable, mais il devient périlleux de laisser se distendre une période aussi cruciale. L'atmosphère gazeuse qui flotte depuis le soir de l'élection d'Emmanuel Macron – combinaisons législatives, refus répétés d'entrer à Matignon, programme évanescents, popularité déclinante – en témoigne. Elle contraste fortement avec l'urgence du moment – guerre en Ukraine, inflation renaissante. Voilà pourquoi la cérémonie qui se déroulera ce samedi matin sera pour toute la nation un précieux point de repère, le rappel d'une évidence qui s'estompe : les Français ont choisi de reconduire Emmanuel Macron comme président de la République pour les cinq ans qui viennent. On connaît désormais les contours de la force qui le soutiendra à l'Assemblée. Une confédération Philippe-Bayrou-Ferrand, infiniment préférable à l'illusion du parti unique. Qui succédera à Jean Castex ? Question impérieuse. On imagine mal une figure effacée, un profil technocratique,

un novice politique tenir une majorité tripartite, contenir des oppositions qui s'annoncent plus turbulentes que jamais. On redoute une personnalité certainement précise, technique, laborieuse, docile mais incapable de parler simplement, franchement, amicalement à la France décrite dans les essais de Christophe Guilluy, les romans de Nicolas Mathieu. C'est bien elle cependant qu'il faut retrouver. La direction ? Effacer d'abord ce mauvais rêve d'entre-

deux-tours durant lequel le chef de l'État semblait comme aimanté par La France insoumise. S'arrimer ensuite à l'autre rive de la politique. Puisque l'idéologie revient en force, il faut lui opposer la seule réponse qui vaille : la réalité. On ne réunira pas la France qui se disloque par de l'argent magique, le poison multiculturaliste, les fantasmes de planification. Ce sont les vertus contraires que le pays attend : vérité économique, effort collectif, fierté culturelle, sécurité quotidienne, écologie intelligente. Demi-tour, droite ! ■

Comment l'Europe relocalise la production de ses médicaments

Après avoir pris conscience de sa grande dépendance à l'Asie lors de la pandémie de Covid, l'Europe met les bouchées doubles pour rapatrier sur son sol la fabrication de principes actifs, ces produits issus de la chimie qui confèrent aux médicaments leurs propriétés thérapeutiques. En France, une quarantaine de projets sont en cours, avec le soutien de l'État, dont une usine de production de paracétamol dans l'Isère. **PAGE 20**

ET SI NOUS ACCÉLÉRIONS
LA DÉCARBONATION
DES ENTREPÔTS ?

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L'IMMOBILIER LOGISTIQUE AVEC
UNE APPROCHE CARBONE EN+

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