

What's News

Business & Finance

Saudi Arabia's national oil company said its net income rose to a record in the first quarter, an 80% surge that shows how some of the biggest state-owned energy producers are benefiting from a price boom accelerated by Russia's invasion of Ukraine. A1

◆ **Investors are sitting on their existing market allocations as stocks and bonds decline in tandem, crypto-currencies implode and other assets turn lower. A1**

◆ **Options trading by individual investors is fading, the latest sign that the stock market's speculative fever has broken. B1**

◆ **People who agreed to buy homes under construction but haven't yet closed are facing mortgage-interest rates that could be nearly double what they expected when they paid their deposits. A1**

◆ **The median pay package for chief executives of the biggest U.S. companies reached \$14.7 million in 2021, setting a sixth-straight annual record. B1**

◆ **Elon Musk's tweet saying his planned Twitter acquisition was on hold put the spotlight on questions about fake accounts which have vexed social-media platforms for years. B1**

◆ **Rising used-car prices are starting to ease, with dealers saying buyers are pushing back on what they are willing to spend. B1**

◆ **Ford Motor said it unloaded more shares of Rivian, further pressuring the electric-truck maker's battered stock price. B2**

World-Wide

◆ **The teenager accused of killing 10 people in Buffalo, N.Y., in what police called a hate crime had been brought to a hospital by state police in June 2021 for a mental-health evaluation after expressing his desire to carry out a mass shooting, officials said. A1, A6**

◆ **Finland said it would seek parliamentary approval to join NATO as Kyiv's forces began a counteroffensive toward the eastern city of Izium, which Ukrainian officials said was aimed at disrupting Russian supply lines into the Donbas region. A1, A8**

◆ **China is doubling down on mass testing as a key weapon against Covid-19 even as costs mount and the highly infectious Omicron variant exposes challenges with the strategy. A10**

◆ **Shanghai officials outlined plans for a phased reopening of shopping malls, supermarkets and other businesses even as many residents remained confined to their homes in pandemic lockdowns. A10**

◆ **Somalia's lawmakers voted to bring back a former leader, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, and oust President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed, whose attempts to delay elections and remain in office beyond his term alienated the U.S. and other Western countries. A12**

◆ **Lebanese voted on Sunday to choose a new government in the country's first parliamentary election since the beginning of a once-in-a-century economic collapse. A13**

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A survivor, right, of the Buffalo, N.Y., supermarket shooting that left 10 dead is consoled during a church service Sunday.

Suspect in Buffalo Hate Killings Was Evaluated in '21 for Threat

By Jimmy Vielkind, Nicole Friedman and Ginger Adams Otis

BUFFALO, N.Y.—The teenager accused of killing 10 people in what police called a hate crime at a Buffalo supermarket had been brought to a hospital by state police in June 2021 for a mental-health evaluation after expressing his desire to carry out a mass shooting, officials said Sunday.

Payton Gendron, 18 years old, wrote while at high school

about wanting to shoot people, a law-enforcement official said.

Buffalo Police Commissioner Joseph Gramaglia confirmed that Mr. Gendron, who lives in a suburb of Binghamton, was brought to a hospital by state police last June and released a day and a half later. State and federal law enforcement didn't pick up further intelligence on Mr. Gendron before Saturday's massacre, Mr. Gramaglia said.

Mr. Gendron appears to have been motivated by racist conspiracy theories he discov-

ered on internet message boards during the pandemic, according to a document posted online that police said they believe he wrote. In the document, the writer describes himself as a fascist, a white supremacist, a racist and an anti-Semite. The document contains details of a planned attack similar to what occurred on Saturday, including the writer's goal to kill as many Black people as possible.

The store where the shooting took place is in a largely Black neighborhood of Buffalo.

Eleven of the people shot were Black and two were white, according to Mr. Gramaglia.

"The evidence that we have uncovered so far makes no mistake that this is an absolute racist hate crime," Mr. Gramaglia said. "This is someone who has hate in their heart, soul and mind."

Mr. Gendron was arraigned on murder charges late Saturday, according to court documents.

◆ Shooting was aired live, then removed..... A6

Investors Stay Put, Lacking Choices

By CAITLIN MCCABE

Even the worst markets are supposed to have havens. Some unnerved investors are wondering if this one doesn't.

The S&P 500 is down 16%, its worst start to a year since 1970, according to Dow Jones Market Data. Assets of all kinds are also falling. Gold, typically considered a haven, has swung into the red. Bonds are typically another shelter, but this year they are falling alongside stocks, an unusual tandem that reflects investors' uncertainty.

The risk-on cryptocurrency market, pitched for years as a counterweight to traditional stocks, is also imploding, with bitcoin losing more than a third of its value in 2022.

This sell-everything market is confounding big and small investors after a string of years when markets seemed to go only straight up. Now, instead, assets of all kinds are falling, with selloffs in many intensifying last week. All three major U.S. stock indexes lost more than 2% for the week, while gold shed 3.9%, its largest weekly decline since last June. Bitcoin, meanwhile, was battered, with its price sliding below \$30,000.

Investors are confronting red-hot inflation and the end of easy monetary policy. There is also the question of whether the U.S. is headed for a recession, which some investors fear could happen if the Federal Reserve raises interest rates too quickly.

Many traders said they are on the prowl for other investments.

◆ The Outlook: Strong dollar could ease Fed's path..... A2
◆ Small investors cut down on options trading..... B1

INSIDE



PERSONAL JOURNAL
The news about videogames and your child's brain isn't so bad. A15

BUSINESS
Pay packages for CEOs of the biggest U.S. companies are rising to new highs. B1

In East Hampton, Airport Fight Is Superrich vs. the Merely Rich

Plan would limit commercial helicopters; private planes could still land

By JAMES FANELLI

The Hamptons have long been an enclave for Wall Streeters and celebrities, with pristine beaches, estates hidden behind tall hedges and, increasingly, the thrum of private jets and helicopters overhead.

So many visitors travel the 100 miles from Manhattan by air that the tiny airport in the wealthy town of East Hampton has helicopters or planes landing or taking off every 90 seconds on some summer days. Locals say the noise disturbs their barbecues and drowns out conversations.

At a town meeting last July, Ronald Klausner described how the roar of low-flying jets

Russian Soldiers Shot Three Brothers. One Survived.

His account is among many war-crimes cases prosecutors are building

By ISABEL COLES

A group of Russian soldiers forced the three Kulichenko brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit by a wheat field in northern Ukraine. Their legs and wrists were bound and they had been blindfolded with medical dressings, held fast with tape.

The first bullet killed the youngest brother, Yevgen. The second hit Dymytro, the eldest. The round aimed for Mykola struck him close to his right ear and came out above the right side of his mouth.

Soldiers pushed Mykola into the grave on top of Yevgen. He felt Dymytro's weight land on him, then more pressure. Someone was shoveling earth over them.

"I realized I was alive," said 33-year-old Mykola. The bullet had skimmed along the

upper jaw on the inside of his cheek without causing any major damage.

Surviving execution was just the beginning. Ahead of him lay a harrowing journey home, evading Russian forces along the way.

Mr. Kulichenko's account forms the basis of one of thousands of cases Ukrainian prosecutors are building against Russian forces they accuse of perpetrating war crimes, including summary executions, torture and rape.

The first war-crimes trial began Friday, involving a captured Russian soldier accused of killing a 62-year-old unarmed civilian. Moscow has denied committing war crimes or targeting civilians.

◆ Finland seeks parliament vote on NATO..... A8

New-Home Buyers Get Hit Hard by Rate Rise

By NICOLE FRIEDMAN

People who agreed to buy homes under construction but haven't yet closed are facing mortgage-interest rates that could be nearly double what they anticipated when they paid their deposits.

New-home buyers are confronting multiple obstacles this year, from surging mortgage rates to home construction that is taking longer than usual due to supply-chain and labor constraints.

Many home buyers who signed contracts for new homes in 2021 or early this year calculated monthly payments based on near-record-low mortgage rates of around 3% or less. But average mortgage rates have climbed this spring to 5.3%, according to Freddie Mac, as the Federal Reserve started raising short-term interest rates.

The difference can translate

into hundreds of dollars more a month in mortgage payments—leaving buyers with the choice of swallowing the additional costs or walking away from the deal and potentially sacrificing the deposit.

Borrowers, so far, have been largely willing to absorb the added costs to keep their purchase, mortgage brokers and home builders said.

But the combination of fast-rising prices for new construction and higher mortgage rates is likely to thin the buying pool for newly built homes in the coming months.

Buyers of existing homes face much less interest-rate risk because they usually close within a month or two of signing a contract. Home buyers worried about sudden rate fluctuations can lock in a borrowing rate, often for a period of 30 or 60 days.

Buyers of new homes, Please turn to page A2



Convenience—and noise

woke two of his young grandchildren from their naps at his Hamptons home, leaving them cranky the rest of the afternoon.

◆ The town's planned solution, to limit flights into the East Hampton airport, has led to a vociferous, only-in-New York legal battle that divides the town's superrich from the merely rich. Please turn to page A12

UK's dirty secret

Global kleptocrats choose Britain to cleanse their cash — OPINION, PAGE 19

Choke point

China's lockdowns ripple through global supply chains — BIG READ, PAGE 17



Bonus question

Should reward targets be a thing of the past? — PILITA CLARK, PAGE 13

Crisis mounts
Default risk in
Sri Lanka rises

Flags flying at a makeshift campsite set up by protesters in Colombo, Sri Lanka, who are calling for the resignation of president Gotabaya Rajapaksa.

The heir of Sri Lanka's most powerful political dynasty and his government are facing mounting unrest over their alleged failure to address a severe economic crisis. Sri Lanka, once an Asian economic success story, is on the verge of default, with severe shortages of everyday essentials and debilitating power cuts. It is seeking emergency loans to alleviate the crisis.

The abrupt resignation of Rajapaksa's cabinet, including his brother Mahinda, has left the country in effect without a government.

Meltdown page 3



Chenila Karunaratne/SPA-EFE/Shutterstock

Sweden and Finland to herald
'new era' with Nato applications

◆ Moves expected in days ◆ Europe faces geopolitical shift ◆ Turkey objections 'no hurdle'

RICHARD MILNE — HELSINKI
GUY CHAZAN — BERLIN
LAURA PITEL — ANKARA

Sweden will jettison 200 years of military non-alignment and apply to join Nato alongside its neighbour Finland, a move that would change the geopolitics of Europe and underscore the unintended consequences of Vladimir Putin's invasion of Ukraine.

In a momentous day for the Nordic nations, Finland said yesterday it would formally apply for membership in coming days, while the ruling Social Democrats in Sweden broke with tradition and said they would too.

"Europe, Sweden and the Swedish public are living a new and dangerous reality. The European security order that Sweden builds its security on is

under attack," said Magdalena Andersson, Sweden's prime minister and Social Democrat leader. "We Social Democrats think that the best thing for Sweden's security is that we join Nato."

Putin's invasion of Ukraine, another non-Nato member that shares a border with Russia, has upturned decades of thinking in the two countries. Finnish president Sauli Niinistö called it a "historic day," saying "a new era is opening".

The Social Democrats said they would express reservations in the application about the deployment of nuclear weapons and foreign bases on Swedish soil. Finland said it would not impose conditions.

Finnish and Swedish membership of Nato would be one of the most important and far-reaching consequences of

Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine, with public opinion in both countries swinging massively in favour of such a move since February.

Their accession would transform the security architecture in northern Europe and make it easier for the alliance to defend the Baltic countries. It would also more than double the length of Nato's border with Russia, which has threatened "serious military and political consequences" should either country join the alliance.

The Finnish government's formal decision to apply will need to be approved by parliament, which meets today. Sweden's government will approve its application today also, paving the way for a potential joint submission of their bids when Niinistö pays a



Magdalena Andersson, Sweden's prime minister, says: 'Europe, Sweden and the Swedish public are living a new and dangerous reality'

state visit to Stockholm tomorrow and on Wednesday.

Niinistö played down fears that Turkey could torpedo the bid after President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said on Friday that he could not take a "positive view" of the countries' membership. As the rationale for his objection, he cited Sweden and Finland's support for the Kurdistan Workers' party which has waged a decades-long insurgency against the Turkish state. But Ankara appears to be alone in this stance.

Nato secretary-general Jens Stoltenberg said he was confident Turkey's position did not present an insurmountable hurdle and "Turkey has made it clear that its intention is not to block [the Nordic states'] membership".

Banks eye asset swaps page 9

Briefing

► **Biggest Saudi Aramco profit since listing**
The world's biggest oil exporter, which last week overtook Apple as the most valuable company, has capitalised on soaring crude prices amid Russia's war in Ukraine. It turned in quarterly income of \$59.5bn, an 82 per cent rise on a year ago. — PAGE 6

► **Scholz suffers big defeat in key region**
The chancellor has been dealt a big blow as his Social Democrats slumped to their worst-ever poll result in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany's most populous state and once an SPD stronghold. — PAGE 2

► **Credit Suisse and mines group near deal**
The Swiss lender and West Virginia governor Jim Justice are close to a settlement over \$690m his company, Bluestone Resources, owes the bank's clients after it borrowed from Greensill. — PAGE 6

► **Flight-hungry Americans spur fare rises**
US airlines have said they hope to raise fares further as passengers shrug off the fastest rise in domestic prices for decades in their determination to travel. — PAGE 4



► **10 die in Buffalo 'hate crime' shooting**
Payton Gendron, 18, has denied multiple murder charges after a shooting at a grocery store on Saturday, which police are treating as "racially motivated violent extremism". — PAGE 4

► **Johnson to approve Brexit shake-up**
The British premier is this week expected to sign off plans to unilaterally scrap parts of the Brexit deal that govern Northern Ireland trade, despite fears that it could spark a trade war with the EU. — PAGE 2

Crossword and Lex

The Lex column, Pilita Clark's Business Life and today's crossword can be found on page 13.

Datawatch

Losing formula

% out of stock at major US retailers



American parents and caregivers are facing dwindling supplies of baby formula. As of last week, formula stockpiles were some 43 per cent lower than normal, because of supply chain challenges, product recalls and soaring inflation



SoftBank chief dials back his rhetoric and ambitions

Masayoshi Son was the global poster child for aggressive, high-risk investment strategies but a record \$27bn loss for his group's Vision Fund has forced him to adopt a defensive footing. Market turmoil triggered by Covid disruption may have been the start of his woes but rising interest rates and a shift in investor attitudes are adding to his challenges and some investors fear he is running out of ideas for a path to recovery.

On the defensive ► PAGE 8

Hedge funds turn from US stocks after racking up heavy losses in market rout

ERIC PLATT, ORTENCA ALIAJ AND NICHOLAS MEGAW — NEW YORK

Hedge funds focused on US equities are pulling back sharply on their bets after the longest weekly losing streak since the 2008 financial crisis left many managers nursing stiff losses.

The S&P 500 index has fallen for six weeks in a row. The pullback has prompted funds that trade with Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley and JPMorgan Chase, three of the largest prime brokers on Wall Street, to dial back their positions over the past week, according to client reports seen by the Financial Times.

"When you're seeing daily moves of 2.5 or 3.5 per cent in indices, those are not just everyday moves being driven by trading volatility," said Peter Giacchi, who leads Citadel Securities' floor

trading team at the New York Stock Exchange. "There's obviously deleveraging going on — it's not just noise, there are clearly people taking risk off."

Long-short equity funds, which pride themselves on the ability to protect clients' money in falling markets, have lost 18.3 per cent for the year up to and including Wednesday, according to Goldman Sachs estimates.

The declines have particularly hit funds invested heavily in riskier corners of the market, including loss-making technology companies, with traders warning that a spate of large redemptions could prompt fund closures.

"The market continues to teeter between complete apathy and bewilderment," Ron Adler, who works on JPMorgan's trading desk, wrote to clients. "While flows haven't quite been 'catastrophic' yet, we have begun to see some of

the more prominent growth players on the long-only and hedge fund side start to finally unwind some of these positions."

Mutual and exchange traded funds that buy US equities have logged nearly \$37bn of outflows in the past five weeks, according to data provider EPFR. Charlie McCullough, a strategist at Nomura, said the outflows appeared to be driving some of the recent drop in stocks, as big fund managers sold off to raise cash.

US stocks have tumbled this year as the Federal Reserve has tightened monetary policy in an attempt to rein in inflation. The move, along with Russia's invasion of Ukraine and an economic slowdown in China, has weighed heavily on investor sentiment and driven a sharp uptick in volatility.

"Hard-landing recession risk fears are again trending," McCullough said.

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS					CURRENCIES					INTEREST RATES				
	May 13	May 6	%Week		May 13	May 6		May 13	May 6		price	yield	chg	
S&P 500	4023.27	4123.34	-2.43	\$/£	1.039	1.068	£/\$	0.818	0.810	US 2 yr	99.83	99.28	0.03	
Nasdaq Composite	11790.99	12144.66	-2.91	\$/€	1.222	1.235	€/€	1.176	1.167	US 10 yr	100.11	100.06	0.06	
Dow Jones Ind	32182.97	32099.37	-2.15	€/£	0.851	0.857	W/E	134.479	138.008	US 30 yr	97.42	97.16	0.07	
FTSEurofirst 300	1887.90	1898.96	0.05	¥/\$	129.375	130.405	E index	79.386	80.176	UK 2 yr	98.16	98.15	0.08	
Euro Stoxx 50	3702.55	3625.17	2.02	W/E	156.102	161.083	S/E	1.225	1.217	UK 10 yr	123.91	123.88	0.08	
FTSE 100	7418.15	7387.96	0.41	\$/¥	1.042	1.062				UK 30 yr	85.08	85.04	0.08	
FTSE AEX Share	4089.06	4083.36	0.38	€/¥	0.962	0.946				JPN 2 yr	100.12	100.13	-0.01	
CAC 40	6282.68	6258.36	1.62							JPN 10 yr	99.56	99.62	-0.01	
Xetra Dax	14827.93	13674.29	2.59							JPN 30 yr	99.86	99.86	-0.01	
Nikkei	26427.65	26918.53	-1.48							GER 2 yr	99.92	99.91	0.06	
Hang Seng	19898.77	20793.40	-4.30							GER 10 yr	92.16	92.13	0.11	
MSCI World \$	2639.76	-	-	Oil WTI \$	110.05	110.61	-0.51			GER 30 yr	73.65	73.62	0.10	
MSCI EM \$	967.82	-	-	Oil Brent \$	110.95	113.15	-1.94							
MSCI ACWI \$	815.27	-	-	Gold \$	1807.05	1882.30	-2.92							

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Two Countries Turn to NATO In Face of War

The Idea of Neutrality In Europe Fades Away

By ROGER COHEN

The decisions by Finland and Sweden to abandon the neutrality they adhered to for decades and apply to join NATO is the strongest indication yet of a profound change in Europe in the face of an aggressive Russian imperial project.

The two Scandinavian states have in effect made clear that they expect the threat from President Vladimir V. Putin's Russia to be enduring, that they will not be cowed by it, and that after the Russian butchery in Bucha, Ukraine, there is no room for bystanders. There is a declaration of Western resolve.



IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has ended an era of European illusions about Moscow.

"Military nonalignment has served Sweden well, but our conclusion is that it won't serve us equally well in the future," Sweden's prime minister, Magdalena Andersson, said on Sunday. "This is not a decision to be taken lightly."

Because the Finnish and Swedish militaries are already well integrated with NATO, one reason the application process may go quickly, the immediate impact of the countries' change of strategic course in light of Russia's invasion of Ukraine will be less practical than political.

This is a new Europe in which there is no more in-between space. Countries are either protected by NATO or they are on their own against a Russia ruled by a man determined to assert Russia's place on the world stage through force. For Sweden, and especially for Finland, with its 810-mile border with Russia, Mr.

Continued on Page A9

Flouting Rules Of Campaigns In Plain Sight

Candidates Steer PACs via Little Red Boxes

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

Facing a threat from his left flank, Representative Kurt Schrader of Oregon wanted to send an urgent message to allies ahead of his upcoming primary: It was time to go on the attack.

The challenge: Campaign finance rules bar candidates from directly coordinating with the very outside groups that Mr. Schrader, a top moderate in Congress, needed to alert. So instead, he used a little red box.

On April 29, Mr. Schrader issued a not-quite-private directive inside a red-bordered box on an obscure corner of his website, sketching out a three-pronged takedown of what he called his "toxic" challenger, Jamie McLeod-Skinner — helpfully including a link to a two-page, opposition-research document about her tenure as a city manager.

The message was received. On May 3, a super PAC that has received all its money from a secret-money group with ties to the pharmaceutical industry began running television ads that did little more than copy, paste and reorder the precise three lines of attack Mr. Schrader had outlined.

From Oregon to Texas, North Carolina to Pennsylvania, Democratic candidates nationwide are using such red boxes to pioneer new frontiers in soliciting and directing money from friendly super PACs financed by multimillionaires, billionaires and special-interest groups.

Campaign watchdogs complain that the practice further blurs the lines meant to keep big-money interests from influencing people running for office, effectively evading the strict donation limits imposed on federal candidates. And while the tactic is not new to 2022, it is becoming so widespread that a New York Times survey of candidate websites found at least 19 Democrats deploying some version of a red box in four of the states holding contested congressional primaries on Tuesday.

The practice is both brazen and breathtakingly simple. To work around the prohibition on directly coordinating with super PACs, candidates are posting their instructions to them inside the red boxes on public pages that super PACs continuously monitor.

Continued on Page A16

GRIEF AND RAGE ROCK BUFFALO AFTER RACISM FUELS MASSACRE



SCOTT OLSON/GETTY IMAGES

Friends consoling a survivor of Saturday's shooting, right, during services at True Bethel Baptist Church in Buffalo on Sunday.

Creeping Into the Mainstream, A Theory Turns Hate Into Terror

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE and KAREN YOURISH

Inside a Pittsburgh synagogue in 2018, a white man with a history of antisemitic internet posts gunned down 11 worshipers, blaming Jews for allowing immigrant "invaders" into the United States.

The next year, another white man, angry over what he called "the Hispanic invasion of Texas," opened fire on shoppers at an El Paso Walmart leaving 23 people dead, and later telling the police he had sought to kill Mexicans.

And in yet another deadly mass shooting, unfolding in Buffalo on Saturday, a heavily armed white man is accused of killing 10 people after targeting a supermarket on the city's predominantly Black east side, writing in a lengthy screed posted online that the shoppers there came from a culture that sought to "ethnically replace my own people."

A Toxic Belief That the White Race Is at Risk Drives Violence

Three shootings, three different targets — but all linked by one sprawling, ever-mutating belief now commonly known as replacement theory. At the extremes of American life, replacement theory — the notion that Western elites, sometimes manipulated by Jews, want to "replace" and disempower white Americans — has become an engine of racist terror, helping inspire a wave of mass shootings in recent years and fueling the 2017 right-wing rally in Charlottesville, Va., that erupted in violence.

But replacement theory, once confined to the digital fever swamps of Reddit message

Continued on Page A20

Before Attack, Solitary Teen Caused Alarm

This article is by Ashley Southall, Chelsea Rose Marcus and Andy Newman.

Last spring, as the end of the academic year approached at Susquehanna Valley High School outside Binghamton, N.Y., students were asked for a school project about their plans after graduation.

Payton S. Gendron, a senior, said he wanted to commit a murder-suicide, according to a law enforcement official briefed on the matter.

He claimed to be joking, the official said. But the state police were summoned to investigate and took Mr. Gendron, then 17, into custody on June 8 under a state mental health law, police officials said Sunday.

He had a psychiatric evaluation in a hospital but was released within a couple of days, the officials said. Two weeks later, Mr. Gendron graduated and fell off investigators' radar.

On Saturday, he resurfaced 200 miles away in Buffalo, where the authorities say he opened fire at a supermarket in a predominantly Black area, killing 10 people and wounding three others in one of the deadliest racist massacres in recent U.S. history.

After his rampage, Mr. Gendron put his gun to his neck. But two officers persuaded him to drop his weapon and surrender.

He was charged Saturday with first-degree murder, and as he awaited his fate in jail, investigators were sifting through his past to piece together how he transformed from a quiet student to an accused killer without drawing more serious scrutiny.

New York State has what is known as a red flag law, under which people found to be a danger can be forced to surrender their guns, but no one tried to invoke it against Mr. Gendron. The state

Continued on Page A19

Victims Include Security Guard Hailed as Hero

By JESSE MCKINLEY

BUFFALO — A day after one of the deadliest racist massacres in recent American history, law enforcement officials in New York descended on the home of the accused gunman and probed disturbing hints into his behavior, as Gov. Kathy Hochul promised action on hate speech that she said spreads "like a virus."

The suspect, Payton S. Gendron, 18, shot 13 people on Saturday afternoon at a Tops supermarket in east Buffalo, killing 10, officials said. Almost all the victims were Black — shoppers, grocery workers and a security guard bound together by little more than tragic happenstance.

But Mr. Gendron picked his target carefully, the police said, choosing an area known for its large Black population and even visiting the neighborhood the day before the attack in what authorities described as "reconnaissance."

And nearly a year before the mass shooting, his words had already caused alarm elsewhere.

The police said on Sunday that Mr. Gendron had been picked up at his high school last June by state police after making a threatening remark and had been taken to a hospital for a mental health evaluation.

Responding to a question for a class project about his post-graduation plans, Mr. Gendron said his involved a murder-suicide, a law enforcement official familiar with the case said.

But Mr. Gendron described the remark as a joke, the official said. And after the evaluation, which lasted about a day and a half, he was released, according to Joseph Gramaglia, the Buffalo police commissioner.

That account was confirmed by Special Agent Steven Belongia of the F.B.I., who said that Mr. Gendron was "not on the radar" of federal

Continued on Page A19

Why Australia's Covid Death Rate Is Only One-Tenth of U.S. Level

By DAMIEN CAVE

MELBOURNE, Australia — If the United States had the same Covid death rate as Australia, about 900,000 lives would have been saved. The Texas grandmother who made the perfect pumpkin pie might still be baking. The Red Sox-loving husband who ran marathons before Covid might still be cheering at Fenway Park.

For many Americans, imagining what might have been will be painful. But especially now, at the milestone of one million deaths in the United States, the nations that did a better job of keeping people alive show what Americans could have done differently and what might still need to change.

Many places provide insight. Japan, Kenya, Norway. But Australia offers perhaps the sharpest comparisons with the American experience. Both countries are English-speaking democracies with similar demographic profiles. In Australia and in the United States, the median age is 38. Roughly 86 percent of Australians



ASANKA BRENDON RATNAIAKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

live in urban areas, compared with 83 percent of Americans.

Yet Australia's Covid death rate sits at one-tenth of America's, putting the nation of 25 million people (with around 7,500 deaths)

near the top of global rankings in the protection of life.

Australia's location in the distant Pacific is often cited as the cause of its relative Covid success. That, however, does not fully explain

the difference in outcomes between the two countries, since Australia has long been, like the United States, highly connected to the world through trade, tourism

Continued on Page A6

PATTERN OF RACISM In the Masten Park neighborhood, a collective anguish and anger stemming from a long history of trauma. PAGE A18

SOCIAL MEDIA Platforms again faced questions about their responsibility for allowing violent and hateful content to proliferate. PAGE A20



NATIONAL A15-21

Houses Lost to the Sea

A group of vacation homes off the coast of North Carolina has become a symbol of the effects of rising oceans. PAGE A15

Special Counsel Gets Started

The prosecutor assigned by the Trump administration to scour the Russia inquiry is opening a trial. PAGE A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-14

Preventing 'Ghost Surgeries'

After scandals in which doctors let unsupervised assistants operate on patients, South Korea is requiring cameras in operating rooms. PAGE A4

Somber Election in Somalia

The militants of Al Shabab collect taxes, decide court cases and control the streets. Somalis ask whether a new government will even matter. PAGE A8

London's High-Tech Trains

The Elizabeth line, a transit project 13 years in the making, features cathedral-like stations and roomy cars. PAGE A14



SPORTS D1-7

Rangers Complete a Comeback

With an overtime goal in Game 7, they ousted the Penguins and capped a rally from a 3-1 series deficit. PAGE D1

Celtics and Mavericks Survive

Boston and Dallas won in Game 7 routs, ousting the defending champion Bucks and the No. 1-seeded Suns. PAGE D6

BUSINESS B1-4

Everything Going Electric

Beyond electric cars, there is a growing market for battery-powered scooters, bicycles, snowmobiles and watercraft. Buyers are converting for fuel savings and other practical advantages. PAGE B1

Chasing Savings at the Grocery

As shoppers feel the pinch of rising prices, they're keeping their food bills down by store-hopping, cutting back on expensive items and using coupons more — anything for a bargain. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

Pamela Paul

PAGE A22



ARTS C1-6

Singing to the Future

An opera about Malcolm X, with Davine Tines, above, has stretches of incantation that are akin to a sacred rite, Zachary Woolfe writes. PAGE C1



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JEANNE LeGALL and Claudia Carballada of Buffalo, N.Y., gather at a memorial Sunday near the market where 10 people were killed.

BUFFALO SUSPECT ECHOES PRIOR ATTACKS

Officials say man held in shooting researched Black neighborhood and had threatened an assault on high school.

By CONNOR SHEETS, LAURA J. NELSON, LIBOR JANY AND MACKENZIE MAYS

BUFFALO, N.Y. — As Buffalo residents expressed horror, anger and grief Sunday over a mass shooting that left 10 people dead at a grocery store in a predominantly Black neighborhood, local and federal officials said they were investigating the attack by a young white gunman as a hate crime and an act of “racially motivated violent extremism.”

Authorities said the suspect researched the demographics of the neighborhood around the Tops Friendly Markets store while searching for areas with a high concentration of Black residents. The gunman drove about 200 miles to Buffalo at least a day in advance to conduct reconnaissance on the store, police said. The attack was a painful reminder of the fragility of [See Buffalo, A8]

Buffalo shooting victims identified

Authorities say 11 of the 13 were Black. NATION, A8

False racist tenet led to ‘nightmare’

Ugly theory seen as crucial factor. CALIFORNIA, B1

A generation raised on hate, misinformation

White supremacist in shooting became radicalized on internet

By JENNY JARVIE AND MOLLY HENNESSY-FISKE

ATLANTA — Bored during the early days of the pandemic, Payton Gendron logged on to the 4chan message board website to browse ironic memes and infographics that spread the idea that the white race is

going extinct.

He was soon lurking on the web’s even more sinister fringes, scrolling through extremist and neo-Nazi sites that peddled conspiracy theories and anti-Black racism. It wasn’t until he spotted a GIF of a man shooting a shotgun through a dark hallway, and then tracked [See Radicalization, A9]



PEOPLE pray at the scene of the mass shooting, which authorities say was carried out by a white gunman in a historically Black neighborhood of Buffalo.

COLUMN ONE

Saluting a fighter, hearing a threat

A reporter worries that after Roe, the Supreme Court will undo the legacy of a gay-marriage pioneer — and his own union.

By KEVIN RECTOR

I’ve thought about Jim Obergefell often since we first spoke nine years ago, after his historic marriage to his husband on an airport tarmac outside Baltimore.

He’s come to mind mostly during big moments in my own life as a gay man in America.

I thought of Jim and his late husband, John Arthur, when I first considered proposing to my husband, Aaron, and the promises — in sickness and in health, till death do us part — that I’d be making.

I thought of Jim and John again when Aaron and I exchanged vows in San Francisco City Hall in 2018, with our families around us and the bust of Harvey Milk nearby. We chose City Hall for its beauty and ease, but could have been anywhere in the country — a right Jim [See Marriage, A14]

PUTIN’S HOCKEY MANAGER GETS A BID AT REDEMPTION

How former Kings player Jari Kurri split with the Russian leader and brought the Finnish team Jokerit back home

By Michael Hunt

more powerful nation that had long been looked upon with distrust and suspicion.

Some of the resentment landed on favorite son Jari Kurri — the first Finn elected to the NHL Hall of Fame — who went to work with the Russians as the team’s general manager.

Kurri has said all along that his only motivation in working with the Russians was to elevate the status of Finnish hockey.

“We wanted to help the players [See Hockey, A10]

‘A NEW ERA’: Leaders of Finland and Sweden say they will seek to join NATO within days. WORLD, A4

Tig Notaro ready to say ‘Hello Again’

The comic discusses her new tour, family, animated HBO feature and that special couch. CALENDAR, E1

A next chapter in Brady’s book

The greatest quarterback of all time figures to have ups and downs as he moves from field to booth. SPORTS, D1

Weather: Foggy, then sunny. L.A. Basin: 78/58. B6

Printed with soy inks on partially recycled paper.



At the Sheriff’s Department, Villanueva’s wife holds sway



VIVIAN VILLANUEVA, a former deputy, and her husband, L.A. County Sheriff Alex Villanueva, in 2019.

By ALENE TCHERKMEDEYIAN

When Carl Mandoyan inexplicably turned back up at the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department to apply for a job, he should have set off alarms.

Fired years earlier over allegations of domestic violence and dishonesty, Mandoyan had been rehired by Sheriff Alex Villanueva and then exiled again by a judge, who blocked the move.

But instead of turning him away, a sergeant in the department’s recruitment office rolled out the welcome [See Sheriff, A6]

1 killed, 5 injured in O.C. church shooting

Parishioners tackle, hogtie gunman after he attacks Taiwanese congregation’s event.

By HANNAH FRY, RICHARD WINTON, JEONG PARK AND LAURA NEWBERRY

A gunman attacked a lunch banquet at a Taiwanese church in Laguna Woods, killing one person and wounding five others Sunday before congregants tackled him, hogtied him with an extension cord and grabbed his two weapons, authorities said.

“That group of churchgoers displayed what we believe is exceptional heroism and bravery,” Orange County Undersheriff Jeff Hallock said, later adding, “It’s safe to say that had they not intervened this situation could have been much worse.”

The violence left the south Orange County suburb — home to the sprawling retirement community once known as Leisure World — reeling and in grief, coming a day after a racist attack at a Buffalo, N.Y., supermarket left 10 dead.

Gunfire rang out at 1:26 [See Church, A10]

BUSINESS INSIDE: Drought punishes Flaming Gorge Dam, ‘lifeblood of the West.’ A11

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington

A p.m. t-storm 82/60 • Tomorrow: Mostly sunny; breezy 80/55 BS

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, MAY 16, 2022 • B2



Sweden, Finland to apply for NATO

In historic shift, leaders end decades of neutrality amid war in Ukraine

BY JOHN HUDSON, LOVEDAY MORRIS, VICTORIA BISSETT AND MIRIAM BERGER

BERLIN — Sweden's ruling party dropped the country's historic military nonalignment on Sunday and agreed to join NATO, shortly after Finland's leaders officially announced they would do the same.

The moves were major steps in ending decades of military neutrality for the two Nordic nations, as Russia's invasion of Ukraine continued to dramatically shift security considerations in Europe.

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg said their accession would be a "turning point for security" in Europe. "Their membership in NATO would increase our shared security, demonstrate that NATO's door is open, and that aggression does not pay."

"We're now facing a fundamentally changed security environment in Europe," Swedish Prime Minister Magdalena Andersson said. "And when we navigate in this new environment, the fundamental question for us is: How do we best protect Sweden? And the Kremlin has shown that they are prepared to use violence to achieve their political objectives and that they don't hesitate to take enormous risks."

"Russia's unprovoked invasion of Ukraine is not only illegal and indefensible, it also undermines

SEE NATO ON A21

Empty villages: A stalemate in ghost towns on the front lines. A22

Suspect was investigated for earlier threat



LIBBY MARCH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Pleasant Davis, 22, is comforted by her friend Tasha Dixon, 35, on Sunday at a memorial honoring the victims of Saturday's shooting at a Tops Friendly Markets store in Buffalo. The memorial is across the street from the supermarket.

Suspect was allegedly inspired by racist theory fueling global carnage

BY ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER AND DREW HARWELL

Before embarking on a racist rampage in Buffalo on Saturday, the alleged gunman left behind a document denying membership in "any organization or group."

"I am the sole perpetrator of this attack," he wrote.

But the 180-page screed, which authorities are scrutinizing in connection with the massacre, leaves little doubt that the suspect,

18-year-old Payton Gendron, belongs to a global fraternity fanned by the Internet and fixated on the idea that White people are being intentionally replaced.

That idea, once relegated to the fringe, has gained currency on popular right-wing television programs and in the halls of Congress. The theory, known as the "great

SEE EXTREMISM ON A12

Media: Fox, others have embraced a once-fringe racist theory. C1

Investigators tracing online behavior and a long trail to terror

BY CASSANDRA MILLER, DEVLIN BARRETT, AARON GREGG AND MARK BERMAN

CONKLIN, N.Y. — By his own account, the suspected Buffalo supermarket gunman became a racist killer while bored online. According to a lengthy screed authorities believe Payton Gendron posted before allegedly killing 10 people on Saturday, the 18-year-old was drawn to hateful rhetoric

from a mass murderer on the other side of the world.

As investigators unpack the disturbing details of Gendron's alleged crimes, current and former law enforcement officials said he apparently hoped his shocking violence would draw attention from well beyond this small town in Upstate New York.

SEE SUSPECT ON A11

Tracing the weapon: Details about the semiautomatic rifle. A9

HE SPURRED FEARS OF SCHOOL ATTACK

In Buffalo, community mourns 10 slain at store

BY JACOB BOGAGE, ANNIE GOWEN AND DEVLIN BARRETT

BUFFALO — As Buffalo mourned the 10 people slaughtered in a mass shooting, authorities confirmed Sunday that the 18-year-old suspect, Payton Gendron, was investigated less than a year ago for making a threat at his high school.

New York State Police spokesman Beau Duffy said that on June 8, 2021, investigators "responded to Susquehanna High School in Conklin, N.Y., to investigate a report that a 17-year-old student had made a threatening statement." The student was taken into custody under a provision of the state's mental health law "and transported to the hospital for a mental health evaluation," the spokesman said.

"The information we have is he was there for a day and a half, was evaluated and then released at that point," Buffalo Police Commissioner Joseph Gramaglia said. Gendron was not charged.

The teen, police were told, had made comments that spurred concerns he might be planning to shoot people around the time of his high school graduation, according to law enforcement officials. Gramaglia, asked about the threat Sunday, offered this account: "From what I have, it was a generalized threat; not a specific threat ... at a specific place or person."

Gendron allegedly drove from his home in Conklin to Buffalo on Saturday, donned full tactical gear and opened fire at a busy Tops Friendly Markets store in a predominantly Black neighborhood, shooting 13 in all, including a retired Buffalo police officer working as a security guard who tried to stop him. Gendron surrendered at the scene and was charged Saturday evening with

SEE SHOOTING ON A10

For some Pa. candidates, Jan. 6 is a point of pride

BY COLBY ITKOWITZ AND ROSALIND S. HELDERMAN

WARMINSTER, PA. — A top candidate for the Republican nomination for governor in Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary — endorsed Saturday by former president Donald Trump — participated in the "Stop the Steal" rally in Washington on Jan. 6, 2021, the day the U.S. Capitol was attacked. So, too, did a surging candidate for the GOP nomination for the U.S. Senate in Pennsylvania.

And so did one of the Republican contenders to be the state's lieutenant governor.

The trio are part of a phalanx of Republican candidates nationwide who so strongly embraced Trump's false claims that the 2020 election was stolen from him that they traveled to Washington to participate in the rally that preceded the violent attack on the Capitol, temporarily disrupting congressional certification of Joe

Biden's victory.

Most of the candidates, including the Pennsylvanians, have said they did not enter the Capitol building that day. But they have made their commitment to Trump's baseless claims key to their campaigns, and their rise shows the extent to which many in the party's grass roots have embraced participation in Jan. 6 as a badge of honor.

Should the candidates win their elections, some would be in position to play a critical role in the administration of the presidential vote in 2024. In Pennsylvania, for instance, the governor appoints the secretary of state, who serves as the state's chief elections officer. Leading GOP gubernatorial candidate Doug Mastriano, a state senator, has said he would appoint a secretary of state who would require all voters to re-register before casting their ballots, a move that could dramatize

SEE REPUBLICANS ON A8

Massive emissions, with no one on the hook

Responsibility for pollution from fires, thaws and more is clouded under Paris accords

BY AMANDA COLETTA, CHRIS MOONEY, BRADY DENNIS, NAEMA AHMED AND JOHN MUYSKENS



ALANA PATTERSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Damage from the 2017 Elephant Hill fire in Canada is seen in 2021. Canada and some other nations do not count greenhouse gas emissions from "natural disturbances" against Paris climate targets.

CACHE CREEK, B.C. — There's no question the Elephant Hill fire happened.

From the first spark near a large rock outcrop in July 2017, it exploded into a beast of unceasing ferocity, forcing thousands from their homes as it devoured acre after acre of the British Columbia interior.

Over nearly three months, it crossed a river, hopped scotched containment lines and climbed sagebrush-covered hills, churning into the atmosphere an estimated 38 million tons of greenhouse gases — roughly a year's worth of pollution from more than 8 million cars.

But while Canada dutifully

SEE EMISSIONS ON A16

IN THE NEWS



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

'Leading the charge' Sen. Patty Murray, long a leader on women's rights, is front-and-center for Democrats as they defend Roe. A4

Metro woes Train delays are expected to worsen after the agency pulled from service more than 70 operators, officials said. B1

THE NATION
President Biden is plunging into the risky politics of student loan debt, moving closer to an executive order canceling some portion of it. A3

THE WORLD
Campaign missteps by former Brazilian president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva stir the question: Has the politician lost his touch? A14
Jerusalem police said they have opened an investigation into their handling of a high-profile funeral of a Palestinian American journalist. A19

THE ECONOMY
The Help Desk addresses two common questions: If you take a remote job, can you be forced back to an office? And can employers structure different return-to-office policies for workers who are unionized vs. those who are not? A23

THE REGION
The transfer pathway, long underrated and overlooked, is gaining support from leaders of prominent colleges and universities who view it as a powerful tool to diversify campuses. B1

A veteran U.S. Park Police officer has been hired by D.C. police to oversee a new effort to foster equity and diversity on the force. B1

THE WEEK AHEAD

MONDAY
The Supreme Court is expected to announce opinions.

President Biden welcomes Greek Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis to the White House.

TUESDAY
Mitsotakis addresses Congress.
Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen meets with Ursula von der Leyen, president of the

European Commission, and Mark Gitenstein, the U.S. ambassador to the European Union, in Brussels.
Primary elections take place in several states.

WEDNESDAY
Vice President Harris speaks at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy's graduation ceremony.

THURSDAY
Biden departs the White House for a trip to Asia.
Jobless claims are estimated at 197,000.

FRIDAY
Commencement proceedings take place over the weekend at the University of Maryland and Georgetown University.

INSIDE



STYLE

A thorny listen

Kendrick Lamar's new album feels vulnerable and virtuosic, with narrative details that overwhelm with their intimacy, critic Chris Richards writes. C1
A race to watch
Some call Mehmet Oz a carpetbagger — while others say he's the future of the GOP. C1

BUSINESS NEWS.....A23
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LOTTERIES.....B3
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deportes

Tigre, rival de Boca

La final será el próximo domingo

También por penales, el Matador derrotó 3 a 1 a Argentinos en la definición.



Djokovic muestra los dientes

Tras la polémica por las vacunas, el serbio está de regreso: se coronó en Roma

Página 8

LA FERIA DEL LIBRO, ÉXITO DE VENTAS Y DE CONVOCATORIA

—cultura

El veredicto de lectores, autores y organizadores fue unánime; estiman que la visitaron más de un millón de personas; hoy es el último día. Página 25

LA NACION

LUNES 16 DE MAYO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

La cantidad de planes sociales creció 657% desde 2002 y se gastan \$2 billones

POBREZA. El total pasó de 1,6 millones a 12,12 millones; con Alberto Fernández el gasto se duplicó

Gabriela Origlia
PARA LA NACION

CÓRDOBA.— Los programas sociales en la Argentina —incluidos los de los distintos ministerios y los que paga la Anses— pasaron de representar 0,1% del producto bruto interno (PBI) en 2002 al 4,5% en diciembre del año pasado.

En estos 20 años, la cantidad de beneficios pagados saltó de 1,6 millones a 12,12 millones, con un aumento del 657,5%, aunque cabe aclarar que una persona puede estar cobrando más de un beneficio, debido a la superposición de planes entre las distintas reparticiones. En el gobierno de Alberto Fernández, la cantidad de planes creció 18,6%,

pero el monto más que se duplicó.

Los datos surgen de un trabajo de la consultora Idesa, dirigida por Jorge Colina, sobre la base de la ejecución presupuestaria de cada año. En millones de pesos a precios de diciembre de 2021, los fondos totales de los planes crecieron de \$18.877 millones a casi \$2 billones. Continúa en la página 16

La maquina de emitir no para y complica la revisión del FMI

Florencia Donovan

Página 17

Confirmaron dos exagentes que espionaron a la fiscal del caso Nisman

INTELIGENCIA. Ante la Justicia, relataron cómo buscaban a Stiuso

Hernán Cappelletti
LA NACION

Dos exagentes de la AFI declararon bajo juramento ante la Justicia que espionaban a la fiscalía de Viviana Fein cuando investigaba la muerte del fiscal Alberto Nisman para saber quiénes entraban o salían del edificio, con el objetivo de saber si se presentaría el jefe de contrainteligencia del organismo Jaime Stiuso, con quien Cristina Kirchner estaba fuertemente enfrentada. Continúa en la página 10

Fervor por la "luna de sangre", el eclipse deslumbrante

sociedad.— En buena parte del mundo, fueron unos 80 minutos inolvidables, en los que "la luna de sangre" se convirtió esta madrugada en la joya del cielo por un eclipse total, cuya extensión total fue de seis horas; para un nuevo espectáculo habrá que esperar a marzo de 2025. Página 24



En el Planetario porteño se dieron cita los amantes de la astronomía

MARCOS BRINDICCI

EL ESCENARIO

El oficialismo, entre lo insólito y el absurdo

Claudio Jacquelin
—LA NACION—

El oficialismo en todas sus variantes enfrentadas parece empeñado en repetir ante el abismo un baile que transcurre entre lo insólito, el absurdo y la temeridad, sin que sus propios autores acierten a explicarlo con consistencia y verosimilitud. En política interna y externa y en economía todo se desarrolla según el mismo patrón. Continúa en la página 13

La OTAN apura el ingreso de Finlandia y Suecia

GIRO. Garantizó un proceso de rápida adhesión; dura reacción de Rusia. Página 2

Compre Argentino. Polémica por un proyecto que habilita al PAMI a pagar más por remedios

Laura Serra
LA NACION

El proyecto de ley de Compre Argentino que promueve el oficialismo para favorecer a la industria nacio-

nal recibió, de inmediato, un irónico mote de Juntos por el Cambio, que rebautizó el proyecto "compre caro". No se trata solo de un duelo semántico: oficialistas y opositores están duramente enfrentados en torno a una

iniciativa del Gobierno que, de prosperar, permitirá que el Estado pueda comprar sus insumos hasta un 20% más caros. Incluso bienes tan sensibles como los medicamentos que adquiere el PAMI. Continúa en la página 14

Adelantarían a junio o julio la suba del piso de Ganancias

IMPUESTOS. Lo confirmó ayer un funcionario del equipo de Guzmán; se iba a aplicar en enero próximo. Página 17

Seguindo a Finlândia, Suécia quer ir para a Otan

A Finlândia oficializou seu pedido de adesão à Aliança do Tratado do Atlântico Norte, abandonando décadas de não alinhamento militar. Na Suécia, o partido do governo deu aval a uma candidatura à Otan. Moscou advertiu em várias ocasiões para consequências caso os países nórdicos se juntassem ao grupo de 30 nações criado para se opor à URSS durante a Guerra Fria. **Mundo A10**

Folhainvest A13

Geração Z e maiores de 75 sofrem mais com fraudes digitais; veja como se proteger

Ilustrada C1

Após sufoco da pandemia, livrarias de rua florescem na capital paulista

Cotidiano B3

Cartões-postais de SP abrigam durante a noite pessoas em situação de rua

Distância entre cotistas e demais cai ao fim do curso

Pesquisa inédita com estudantes da USP revela diferença de nota de 0,7 ponto

Os primeiros cotistas da USP, que se formam neste ano, melhoraram o desempenho acadêmico ao longo dos cursos, encurtando a distância que os separava dos demais alunos. A conclusão é de pesquisa do Centro de Estudos da Metrópole, coordenada por Marta Arretche, com 11 mil universitários.

Mesmo nas faculdades mais concorridas da USP, a distância máxima registrada entre os oriundos de escolas públicas e os de particulares foi de 1,2 ponto nas notas, numa escala de 0 a 10. Essa diferença apareceu logo no início do curso, no 1º semestre de 2018. No fim de 2021, havia caído para 0,7.

A lei de cotas, sujeita a revisão neste ano, entrou em vigor em 2012. A universidade começou seu programa em 2018, com reserva de 37% das vagas gerais de cada faculdade, e a elevou gradualmente até os atuais 50% de cotistas por curso. Concorrem alunos egressos da rede pública, pretos, pardos e indígenas.

A mineira Jéssica Marcolino, 25, que está se formando em arquitetura na USP, diz que sentia, no início, um distanciamento em relação aos colegas. "Sempre me identifiquei mais com os funcionários da faculdade, nos quais eu via rostos conhecidos, do que com os professores e alunos." **Cotidiano B1**

Mathias Alencastro

Iniciativa de Helsinque deixa paz mais longe

A volta do tema do expansionismo da Otan num momento decisivo da guerra da Ucrânia compromete uma chance rara para uma saída diplomática. As razões de Helsinque são compreensíveis, mas, quando a Otan ratificar a incorporação da Finlândia, o mundo ficará mais longe da paz. **Mundo A10**

Eleição colombiana vê intromissão das Forças Armadas

Embate verbal entre o comandante do Exército, general Eduardo Zapateiro, e o candidato de esquerda e líder nas pesquisas Gustavo Petro, 62, vem mostrando uma pouco usual intromissão das Forças Armadas nas eleições presidenciais da Colômbia, cujo primeiro turno ocorrerá no próximo dia 29. **Mundo A11**

Nunes faz 1 ano na prefeitura casado com a Câmara

Ricardo Nunes (MDB), que assumiu após a morte de Bruno Covas, completa um ano à frente de São Paulo. Ele atrelou ações ao antecessor, mas imprime cada vez mais sua marca, evitando embate e tendo na Câmara Municipal seu reduto mais forte. **Cotidiano B4**

ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Alexandre Barreto

Não dá para interferir em preço da Petrobras

O superintendente-geral do Cade (Conselho Administrativo de Defesa Econômica) afirma que não há mágica a ser feita pelo órgão sobre a política de preços da Petrobras, contrariando a expectativa do governo. Ele nega pressões políticas para adoção de qualquer medida. **A12**



Pátio do Colégio, na região central de São Paulo, nos períodos diurno e noturno, quando serve de moradia para ao menos cem pessoas; população em situação de rua recorre a cartões-postais para montar barracas e passar a noite. **Fotos Bruno Santos/Folhapress**



Pedro Ladeira/Folhapress

BOLSONARO VAI DE JET SKI A 'LANCHACIATA' EM BRASÍLIA

Presidente esteve na Praça dos Três Poderes antes de participar de evento e admitiu a falta de verba no Incra (Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária); ele cogita tirar recursos de outra pasta para o órgão não parar. **Política A8**

Apenas 13% das pré-candidaturas são de mulheres

Até agora, apenas 22 mulheres se lançaram pré-candidatas a governos estaduais, em um total de ao menos 161 nomes que gostariam de concorrer nos 26 estados e Distrito Federal, o que equivale a 13,6%. Em 2018, esse percentual chegou a 15%. **Política A4**

Paulo Dantas (MDB) é eleito governador de AL até o fim do ano A6

FHC defende Doria em meio a crise no PSDB

Fernando Henrique Cardoso manifestou apoio à pré-candidatura de João Doria em meio à troca de acusações para a definição da disputa ao Planalto. **A9**

Perícia avaliará se jogador preso fez ofensa racial

Rafael Ramos, do Corinthians, foi preso em flagrante sob acusação de injúria racial contra Ednilson, do Internacional, e solto após o clube pagar fiança. A polícia pedirá a leitura labial do momento. **Esporte B5**

Ana Cristina Rosa

Vereador é alvo de ameaça por luta antirracista

Opinião A2

EDITORIAIS A2

Na falta de reforma
Acerca de controle das despesas com servidores.

Precedente perigoso
Sobre indenização descabida imposta a jornalista.

A pandemia em 15.mai

Dados das 20h

População vacinada no Brasil
1º ciclo vacinal completo (dose única ou 2ª dose) **76,9%**

Óbitos

Média móvel
111 ↓ -10,2%
Total 664.967
*Variação em relação a 14 dias



Enérgicos mensajes en tedeum por Independencia y en misa de Caacupé

Iglesia urge combate firme contra el crimen organizado

• Arzobispo: "Patria soñada puede convertirse en pesadilla" • "Hagamos patria. No más narcos", exige Valenzuela • Muerte de fiscal y acción de mafias indignan al clero

En entierro de Pecci, su padre afirmó: "Cumplió con su deber"

Doloroso domingo. Centenares de personas despidieron al asesinado fiscal Marcelo Pecci en la Recoleta. Su papá Francisco volvió a destacar su labor. Férreo fue primero al colegio San José y al club Guaraní.

PÁGINA 2 a la 4



Cucho, inculcado por tráfico
**Fiscalía acusa al
diputado Ulises
Quintana y pide
juicio por lavado**

PÁGINA 6

Peligrosa asociación criminal
**DEA tiene en mira
negocios sucios
de 'Ndrangheta y
PCC en Paraguay**

PÁGINA 5

Alarmante cifra de denuncias
**En tres meses se
reportan 24 casos
de abuso infantil
en las escuelas**

PÁGINA 35

Creador de la guarania
**Tributo a José A.
Flores, insigne
compositor, a 50
años de su muerte**

PÁGINA 38

ETIOS

MÁS POR
DESCUBRIR

CUOTA DESDE
145 USD

2 AÑOS

VERSÁTILIDAD
ECONOMÍA

★★★★★



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



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**Réponses à la question
de samedi :**
Croyez-vous que Marine
Le Pen sera candidate à
la présidentielle de 2027 ?

OUI 48% NON 52%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS: 146 524

**Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr**

Craignez-vous qu'une
adhésion de la Finlande
à l'Otan provoque
une réaction militaire
de la Russie ?

SETTMANN ARCHIVE / GETTY IMAGES

Face à Poutine, la Finlande et la Suède rallient l'Otan

Conséquence de l'invasion de l'Ukraine par l'armée russe, les deux pays nordiques ont fait, dimanche, un pas décisif en vue d'une adhésion à l'Alliance atlantique.

« C'est un jour historique. Une nouvelle ère s'ouvre », a affirmé le président finlandais, Sauli Niinistö, en annonçant à Helsinki la décision de l'exécutif finlandais de demander l'adhésion à l'Alliance atlantique. À Stockholm, quelques heures plus tard, le Parti so-

cial-démocrate au pouvoir déclarait lui aussi sa volonté de voir le royaume nordique entrer dans l'Otan. Pour la première ministre de Suède, Magdalena Andersson, c'est ce qui peut garantir au mieux « la sécurité du peuple suédois ». Une entrée dans l'Otan des

deux pays nordiques, vue d'un très mauvais œil par Moscou, serait la preuve qu'« une agression » comme l'invasion de l'Ukraine « ne paie pas », a affirmé le secrétaire général de l'Alliance atlantique, Jens Stoltenberg. Qui a ajouté : « Nous allons essayer d'accélé-

rer » le processus d'adhésion des deux pays. Alors que le Kremlin a justifié son invasion de l'Ukraine par le risque d'extension de l'Otan à ses portes, une adhésion de la Finlande rallonge de quelque 1300 kilomètres la frontière entre la Russie et l'Alliance.

→ POUR L'ALLIANCE ATLANTIQUE, UNE TRANSFORMATION STRATÉGIQUE
→ MOSCOU COUPE L'ÉLECTRICITÉ À HELSINKI ET ÉVOQUE D'AUTRES REPRÉSAILLES
→ ANKARA GACHE LA FÊTE DE LA FUTURE ADHÉSION PAGES 2, 3 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



Sylvain Tesson et Régis Debray : faut-il changer le monde ou le contempler ?

Invités des Rencontres du Figaro, les deux écrivains ont confronté leurs points de vue sur l'engagement, la littérature, l'histoire et la géographie, la nature et la culture, la force de la nostalgie et les promesses du progrès. PAGES 16 ET 17

Exécutif : la séquence du remaniement est ouverte

Selon toute vraisemblance, le successeur de Jean Castex à Matignon devrait être connu rapidement. À la recherche d'un profil féminin pour le poste de premier ministre, Emmanuel Macron s'est penché sur toutes les hypothèses. Les noms d'Élisabeth Borne, de Catherine Vautrin, de Christine Lagarde, mais aussi de Marisol Touraine ou d'Audrey Azoulay, anciennes ministres de François Hollande, font partie des plus cités. Mais le mutisme dans lequel s'est enfoncé Emmanuel Macron est plus impenétrable que jamais. PAGES 4 ET 5

ÉDITORIAL par Patrick Saint-Paul psaintpaul@lefigaro.fr

Adieu finlandisation

Vladimir Poutine vole de défaite en défaite depuis le début de sa guerre en Ukraine. En quatre-vingts jours de conflit, il n'a atteint aucun de ses buts de guerre : abattre le régime de Kiev, neutraliser son armée (« dénazifier l'Ukraine », sic). Au lieu de cela, le maître du Kremlin a saboté sa propre capacité de dissuasion en dévoilant une armée russe déliquescence face à la résistance acharnée des forces ukrainiennes et la supériorité des standards de l'Otan adoptés par celles-ci. Après avoir retiré ses troupes de Kiev et de Kharkiv, deuxième ville du pays, Moscou essuie une défaite stratégique avec l'élargissement annoncé de l'Otan. Poutine est parti en guerre pour laver les « humiliations » que l'Occident lui aurait infligées et éviter de trouver l'Otan à ses portes en Ukraine. Le revers est cuisant ! Car la voici sur son palier en Finlande, futur ex-« État tampon », et en Suède. Emmanuel Macron disait l'Alliance en état de « mort cérébrale ». Poutine pensait l'achever en Ukraine et tenir sa revanche, galvanisé par l'indécision de l'Occident en Syrie et le repli d'Afghanistan. Mauvais calcul ! Au lieu de tuer l'Otan, il a enterré la finlandisation, un concept de neutra-

lité un temps envisagé pour l'Ukraine. L'appétit de l'ours russe a ressuscité l'Alliance et entraîné son élargissement. L'Otan doublera la longueur de sa frontière avec la Russie, un défi ! Mais ces 1 340 km supplémentaires sont autant de territoire que Poutine devra protéger, alors que Saint-Petersbourg se retrouvera à 150 km des canons ennemis et que l'Alliance dominera la mer Baltique.

L'élargissement de l'Otan : une défaite pour Poutine

Le « tsar » a établi en Ukraine la ligne de front entre son monde autocratique et l'Occident. Résultat, cette guerre est devenue celle des Occidentaux par procuration. Flirant avec la cobelligérance, ils sont désormais prêts à soutenir l'Ukraine « jusqu'à la victoire ». Celle-ci est possible, même si l'effort est de longue haleine. Qui, alors, oserait refuser à Kiev l'adhésion à l'Otan, que Poutine voulait empêcher ? Attention au péché d'orgueil des alliés... L'ours russe ne se laissera pas acculer sans se cabrer. Armé du bouton nucléaire, il reste dangereux. Et plus imprévisible que jamais ! ■

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Police chiefs accuse home secretary of 'power grab'

Exclusive Leaders say draft plan would prevent them from speaking out

Vikram Dodd
Police and crime correspondent

Police leaders have accused Priti Patel of a "power grab" that would allow her to intervene in local law enforcement matters and silence chiefs who want to speak out on

issues deemed politically sensitive. An extraordinary row has broken out behind the scenes, with police accusing the home secretary of trying to obtain new powers without parliamentary approval.

The chief constables and police and crime commissioners (PCCs) were responding to a government attempt to redraft a protocol that tries to define where policing responsibilities lie. Parts of the plan were labelled "profoundly dangerous" and a "power grab threatening operational independence" by one chief

constable. In a private response, PCCs described some proposals as "ultra vires", going beyond legal authority.

The government handed powers over local policing to PCCs as part of its localism agenda a decade ago. But one proposal makes it easier for the home secretary to intervene in such matters while another increases the pressure on chiefs and PCCs to answer to the home secretary.

A Home Office source with close knowledge of Patel's thinking rejected the criticism. They said: "It is not a power grab, it is not a threat

to operational independence but making clear whose job and whose responsibility things are in the policing world. Should it not be the home secretary's role to ask questions?"

The row centres on the Home Office's attempt to revise the policing protocol, in force since 2012. The draft of its new version, seen by the Guardian, was sent to chief constables and PCCs for their views. Closing on 2 May, the consultation sets out how the government, chief constables and PCCs should work together.

PM to back bill to scrap Irish Sea trade checks

Jessica Elgot
Lisa O'Carroll

Boris Johnson is poised to give the green light to controversial legislation on the Northern Ireland protocol this week as he flies to Belfast for crunch meetings, gambling that the move will restart stalled talks.

The prime minister warned that it was a "necessity to act" if negotiations with the EU did not resume, and said new measures would be put to parliament in the coming days.

It has emerged that business leaders in Northern Ireland have urged Johnson, in a private letter to Downing Street, not to take any unilateral action. A source confirmed that the letter from the Northern Ireland business Brexit working group, an umbrella organisation of 14 business bodies, told Johnson there was the prospect of a deal with the EU.

"It was being suggested that action was needed because business groups asked for it and trade was suffering because of the protocol," the source said. "We asked them specifically not to launch unilateral action. We do not need the nuclear option when we believe there is still a prospect of a deal."

They said that it was astonishing that Johnson was flying to Northern Ireland threatening unilateral action and not meeting the group, despite their pleas, adding that the government had shown scant interest in business - with one 15-minute Zoom call with Liz Truss in January and no engagement since.

The business groups also say they are perplexed by statements from government listing issues that have already been resolved or which are close to being resolved.

Amid frayed relations between the prime minister and Truss, Johnson will emphasise to his foreign secretary the need for restrained language. However, he is



Chelsea clinch double in another extra-time final

Chelsea's women yesterday went one better than the men's team managed on Saturday, winning the FA Cup final in extra time by beating Man City 3-2. They won the league a week earlier **Sport Page 42** →



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