

## What's News

### Business & Finance

**McDonald's** said it would quit Russia and sell its business there, ending more than three decades in the country over its invasion of Ukraine. **A1**

◆ **JetBlue** launched a hostile takeover attempt for Spirit after the discount airline rejected JetBlue's \$3.6 billion offer in favor of an existing deal with Frontier. **A1**

◆ **China's** economy descended deeper into Covid-induced doldrums last month, raising questions about whether Beijing can prevent a prolonged downturn. **A20**

◆ **Buffett's** Berkshire has used the slump in markets as an opportunity to ramp up spending on stocks. **B1**

◆ **The S&P 500** and **Nasdaq** fell, shedding 0.4% and 1.2%, respectively, while the **Dow** gained 0.1%. **B11**

◆ **The price of TerraUSD** was down sharply Monday as the cryptocurrency's creator announced a plan to attempt to rescue the project. **B5**

◆ **A state judge** struck down a California law requiring that companies in the state appoint female directors to their boards. **B1**

◆ **Yellen**, in a visit to Warsaw, pushed Poland to advance the EU's implementation of a global minimum tax. **A20**

◆ **The CEO of Ryanair**, one of Europe's biggest airlines, took aim at the plane maker's sales team and its 737 MAX delivery schedule. **B3**

◆ **KKR** said it would sell CHI Overhead Doors to Nucor in a deal that will yield a windfall for CHI's hourly workers. **B3**

### World-Wide

◆ **As Ukraine's** military continues to take back Russian-occupied territory in Ukraine, outperforming expectations among leaders globally about its abilities before Russia's invasion, ambitions are growing in Kyiv about what would define victory. **A1, A9-11**

◆ **As authorities** investigate the Buffalo, N.Y., mass shooting as a hate crime, they are tracing the suspect's movements leading up to the attack, which include a trip to the city in March, they said. **A3**

◆ **The FDA** took steps to allow more foreign baby formula on American shelves, easing rules that had effectively prevented shipments from many overseas manufacturers. **A3**

◆ **The Biden administration** said it is loosening some restrictions on flights to and from Cuba and re-establishing a family-reunification program that had been suspended in recent years. **A4**

◆ **The U.S.** is sending hundreds of troops back to Somalia to combat a growing terrorism threat in the region, U.S. officials said, less than a year and a half after Trump withdrew them. **A20**

◆ **The Supreme Court**, in a 6-3 ideological split, struck down a federal campaign-finance regulation that was challenged by Republican Sen. Ted Cruz. **A4**

◆ **A court-drawn plan** for New York's congressional districts would increase the number of competitive seats in the state and erode what had been a significant Democratic advantage under a map struck down earlier this year. **A6**

## Buffalo Mourns Victims of Shooting That Targeted Blacks



Katherine Massey

Ruth Whitfield

Heyward Patterson

Roberta Drury



**SOMBER SCENE:** A member of the FBI examines bullet holes at the scene of a mass shooting Saturday at a Tops supermarket in Buffalo, N.Y., where 10 people were killed in an attack that targeted Black residents. Top, four of the identified victims. **A3**

## JetBlue Launches Hostile Bid For Spirit After Being Spurned

By ALISON SIDER

JetBlue Airways Corp. launched a hostile takeover attempt on Monday for discount carrier Spirit Airlines Inc. after Spirit rejected JetBlue's \$3.6 billion offer in favor of an existing deal with Frontier Airlines. JetBlue is appealing directly to Spirit's shareholders by launching a tender offer for their shares, in hopes of pressuring Spirit's management to

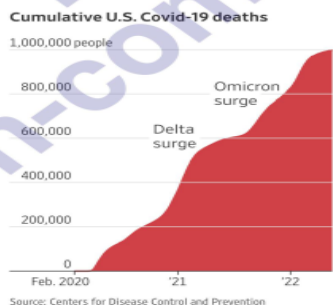
re-engage in negotiations, JetBlue said. At the same time, JetBlue said it is urging Spirit shareholders to vote against Spirit's planned merger with Frontier Group Holdings Inc. on June 10 to send a message to the Spirit board. JetBlue is offering \$30 a share in cash in its tender offer, but would be open to paying its initial offer price of \$33 a share if Spirit comes to the negotiating table and provides

data that JetBlue has requested, the company said. JetBlue said the tender price reflected what JetBlue called Spirit's unwillingness to share necessary information. "If the Spirit shareholders vote against the transaction with Frontier and compel the Spirit Board to negotiate with us in good faith, we will work towards a consensual transaction at \$33 per share, subject to receiving the information to

support it," JetBlue Chief Executive Robin Hayes wrote in an open letter to Spirit shareholders. Spirit said Monday that it would review JetBlue's tender offer, but urged its investors not to take any action at this time. Spirit said it would advise its shareholders of the board's formal position within 10 business days. Representatives for Frontier said they were reviewing the offer. **Please turn to page A2**

## U.S. Tops A Million Covid-19 Deaths

The Covid-19 death count has surpassed one million and is still rising, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention says. CDC records show how the deaths have swept unevenly through the U.S. since the 2020 outbreak. **A8**



## Kyiv's War Aims Grow Bolder, Spur Fear of Moscow Backlash

As Ukraine's military continues to take back Russian-occupied territory in Ukraine, outperforming expectations

By Vivian Salama in Kyiv, Ukraine, and Max Colchester in London

among leaders globally about its abilities before Russia's invasion, ambitions are growing in Kyiv about what would define victory. Ukrainian forces in the northeastern region of Kharkiv

have regained territory at the Russian border, the regional governor, Oleh Sinegubov, said Monday. Russian forces continued to shell cities in the eastern Donbas area and carried out a rare missile strike in western Ukraine. Mr. Sinegubov said that even as Ukraine wins back territory seized by Russia in recent months, the situation across the region remains volatile. He warned civilians not to become complacent, adding that Russia is focusing on

holding its positions and is preparing an offensive in the area of Izyum, a town south-east of the city of Kharkiv where it has established forward headquarters of its operations to conquer the Donbas. On Monday, Kyiv declared **Please turn to page A10**

◆ Turkey presses Finland and Sweden to rein in Kurds..... **A9**

◆ U.N. seeks to ease grain blockade to avert crisis..... **A9**

◆ Family shared ruined home with enemy..... **A11**

## Hashtag United Plays IRL

Online soccer players are now a team in England

By JAMES HOOKWAY

PITSEA, England—The great names of English soccer ring with the echoes of Britain's industrial past—Liverpool's docks, the railway works that gave birth to Manchester United, the foundries that built West Ham. Then there's Hashtag United. The club sprang to life through a group of friends led by Spencer Owen, who played video soccer games and streamed them online. He built a large following on YouTube, and now Mr. Owen and his brother have turned their digital

## For Tech Startups, Funding Party's Over

Suddenly stingy venture capitalists push young firms to be frugal, try to break even

By HEATHER SOMERVILLE

A dizzying turn in technology-startup investing is undoing the fortunes of founders and investors riding a 13-year bull run. High-flying startups have been grounded, swiftly, by the new climate: layoffs, skeptical investors, an exodus of funds and the prospect of a valuation haircut. Last year, e-commerce startup Thrasio LLC was expected to be valued at \$10 billion or more in a funding deal that would have led to the four-year-old company going public. The deal didn't happen, and Thrasio, which buys and aggregates retailers that sell on Amazon.com Inc., continues to burn

through the more than \$3.4 billion of debt and equity it had raised. In recent weeks Thrasio has cut close to 20% of its workforce, announced a new CEO, tapped the brakes on acquisitions and scaled back engineering projects, according to former employees and an internal company memo reviewed by The Wall Street Journal. Thrasio's trajectory—and the stratospheric rise of many startups—benefited from years of low interest rates and a decline in the number of public-company stocks, which helped drive investors into venture capital. The trend accelerated in 2020 when stimulus and **Please turn to page A12**

# Waste not. Produce more.

Software robots can turn wasted hours into productive hours.



UiPath Reboot Work.

©2022 UiPath

CONTENTS	Opinion..... A17-19
Arts in Review..... A15	Personal Journal A23-A4
Business News..... B3	Sports..... A16
Capital Journal..... A4	Technology..... B4
Crossword..... A15	U.S. News..... A2-8
Heard on Street..... B12	Weather..... A15
Markets..... B11	World News A9-12/20



© 2022 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved



## Political education

Glut of graduates may not be good for democracy — STEPHEN BUSH, PAGE 16

## Retail therapy

Can the struggling shopping centre get its life back? — BIG READ, PAGE 15



## Making ends meet

Payday advances no substitute for decent wages — SARAH O'CONNOR, PAGE 17

# Putin sets limits to toleration of Finland and Sweden joining Nato

◆ Acceptance of widened alliance ◆ Warning against military bases ◆ Kyiv claims advances

HAX SEDDON — RIGA  
RICHARD MILNE — OSLO

Vladimir Putin has signalled that Russia will tolerate Finland and Sweden joining Nato, but warned that the Kremlin would respond if the alliance installed military bases or equipment in either country.

Russia's president said that the proposed Nato enlargement posed "no direct threat for Russia", adding that he had "no problems" with either Finland or Sweden.

Speaking on a day that Sweden formally announced its membership application while acknowledging it would remain "vulnerable" until it joined, Putin warned that "expanding military infrastructure on to this territory would provoke a response from us... based on the threats they create for us".

His comments appeared to indicate that the Kremlin could live with Finnish and Swedish Nato membership provided the military alliance did not dispatch arms or troops to the two countries — as it did in the Baltic states and eastern Europe in the run-up to Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

Sweden has repeatedly said it does not want Nato military bases on its soil or to host nuclear missiles. Finland is thought to be unlikely to want either, but said on Sunday that it would not set conditions before its membership.

Putin said Nato expansion in itself was "a completely artificial problem because it's all done in US interests".

Headed: "The problem has basically come out of nothing, but we'll react to it appropriately." He also complained that Nato was also trying to "control and influence the international security situation in other parts of the world, not for the best".

The enlargement plan shows how Russia's invasion of Ukraine has changed the geopolitical map of Europe. It is a setback for Putin, who justified the invasion saying he wanted to prevent the alliance expanding further east.



A local man scavenges from a destroyed Russian tank near Kharkiv yesterday  
John Moore/Getty Images

His comments came as Ukraine claimed that its troops had reached the border with Russia after weeks of a successful counterattack that pushed the Russians back from the eastern city of Kharkiv.

The proposed Nato enlargement will



Gideon Rachman  
Page 17

Russia is likely to emerge from the war in Ukraine poorer, weaker and greatly diminished. Putin's war is not just a crime. It is also a mistake

double the alliance's frontier with Russia and in Sweden's case breaks with two centuries of neutrality.

Sweden's prime minister Magdalena Andersson formally announced her country's membership bid yesterday. She did so with centre-right opposition leader Ulf Kristersson, in a sign of unity ahead of elections in September.

Jacob Wallenberg, Sweden's leading industrialist, became the most prominent business figure to come out in favour of membership, when he said joining would be "positive".

The period between application and actual membership could last between four and 12 months. But while Finland

has said it is calm and prepared for whatever Russia might do, Sweden has said it is worried about potential cyber and hybrid attacks.

Kristersson said the Nato application was because of the "spectacular miscalculation" of the invasion of Ukraine.

Norway and Denmark have said they would come to Finland's or Sweden's aid should either be attacked before they were covered by Nato's Article 5 collective defence pledge. The UK has also promised to come to Sweden and Finland's aid, including with military assets, if they come under attack and request assistance.

War in Ukraine page 3

## Briefing

► **China's economy feels lockdown strains**  
Economic activity has contracted sharply as a wave of lockdowns posed the biggest threat to growth since Covid-19 emerged more than two years ago. Retail sales and industrial output took a hit. — PAGE 4

► **McDonald's to retreat from Russia**  
The fast-food chain that operates 850 restaurants and employs 62,000 people has said that remaining is not "consistent with McDonald's values", two months after closing its sites in the country. — PAGE 4

► **Macron selects prime minister from left**  
The French president has appointed Elisabeth Borne, a technocrat, to take charge of the domestic agenda for his new term. She is France's second female premier. — PAGE 2

► **Chelsea sale runs into late trouble**  
The £2.5bn sale of Chelsea Football Club has become mired in difficulties, with the UK accusing owner Roman Abramovich of reneging on verbal commitments over the terms of the sale. — PAGE 6

► **UK accused of prioritising 'aid for trade'**  
Foreign secretary Liz Truss has been accused of putting geopolitics over development goals as she unveiled a strategy to challenge the influence of "malign actors" in poor countries. — PAGE 2

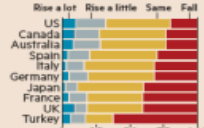
► **Renault sells out of Russia for 2 roubles**  
The French carmaker has agreed to sell its stake in Lada-maker AvtoVAZ for a symbolic sum in a deal illustrating the meagre options faced by companies exiting Russia without big losses. — PAGE 8, LEX, PAGE 18

► **China's Harrow forced to drop name**  
A Beijing school affiliated with the 450-year-old English private school has been forced to change its name as new rules prompt British institutions to reconsider their 10-year push into China. — PAGE 4

## Datawatch

### Standards of living

Expectations, % of respondents



Source: Ipsos Mori  
Survey of 13,030 adults in Apr 2022

Views on the outlook for this year are negative in most countries. In only three — the US, Australia and Canada — do more people say they expect living standards to rise rather than fall. Turks appear to be the most pessimistic.



## Wall Street wonders if Musk is too big to regulate

Elon Musk's announcement that he was putting his \$44bn Twitter bid on hold jolted the stock market and legal experts. The move initially wiped \$7bn off the social media group's value and ignited speculation on whether the SEC would hit him with sanctions for possible manipulation. But it has failed before to rein him in. An ex-watchdog asks: 'Has he become so important to such an important company that the SEC is afraid to do something?'  
SEC balks — PAGE 9

# Biden and Bezos in Twitter spat after Amazon founder attacks US policy

RICHARD WATERS — SAN FRANCISCO  
JAMES POLITI — WASHINGTON

Jeff Bezos yesterday lashed out at the Biden White House over policies he claimed risked stifling inflation, escalating a war of words over the cause of soaring prices that have come to dominate US politics in an election year.

The Amazon founder and world's third-richest person took aim at the Biden administration's failed Build Back Better bill, which would have increased taxes on the wealthy and large companies to pay for spending for childcare, education and climate change. "Administration tried their best to add another \$3.5 TRILLION to the federal spending," he wrote on Twitter. "They failed, but if they had succeeded, inflation would be even higher than it is today."

Bezos's attack marked an uncharac-

teristic outburst for one of the world's best-known businesspeople, who has not previously used Twitter to wage into contentious political disputes.

It follows a back-and-forth with the White House that began on Friday, when Bezos used Twitter to criticise a tweet from President Joe Biden suggesting that one reason inflation had hit a 40-year high was because wealthy companies did not pay enough tax. Bezos said that while high inflation and the level of taxes paid by companies were issues that deserved to be discussed, linking the two was a "non sequitur" that should be put before "the newly created Disinformation Board".

The White House has reacted scathingly to the Bezos tweets. "It doesn't require a huge leap to figure out why one of the wealthiest individuals on Earth opposes an economic agenda for the

middle class that cuts some of the biggest costs families face [and] fights inflation for the long haul," a spokesperson said yesterday.

Bezos also came under fire from Lawrence Summers, the former US Treasury secretary who was an early voice warning of inflation risks last year. He called the tech entrepreneur "mostly wrong", saying it was "perfectly reasonable to believe... we should raise taxes to reduce demand to contain inflation".

Tension between Bezos and the Biden administration has been exacerbated by the US president's support for organised labour, including unionisation efforts at Amazon that have been building since Biden took office. "It's also unsurprising that this tweet comes after the president met with labour organisers, including Amazon employees," the White House spokesperson said.

## World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	May 16	Prev	%Chg	Pair	May 16	Prev	%Chg		May 16	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	4021.83	4023.89	-0.05	\$/£	1.040	1.039	0.001	US 2 yr	99.82	99.27	0.55
Nasdaq Composite	11749.44	11805.00	-0.47	\$/€	1.225	1.222	0.003	US 10 yr	99.80	99.19	0.61
Dow Jones Ind	32248.73	32386.66	-0.36	\$/¥	0.849	0.851	-0.002	US 30 yr	95.92	95.28	0.63
FTSEurofirst 300	1698.99	1697.90	0.06	\$/HK\$	129.065	129.375	-0.024	UK 2 yr	98.05	98.03	0.02
Euro Stoxx 50	3695.34	3703.42	-0.49	\$/INR	158.137	158.102	0.002	UK 10 yr	123.06	123.03	0.03
FTSE 100	7464.80	7418.15	0.63	\$/CNY	1.645	1.642	0.002	UK 30 yr	83.52	83.50	0.02
FTSE All Share	4120.34	4099.08	0.52	\$/AUD	1.291	1.225	0.006	JPN 2 yr	100.13	100.14	-0.01
CAC 40	6347.77	6362.68	-0.23					JPN 10 yr	99.62	99.67	-0.05
Xetra Dax	13964.38	14027.93	-0.45					JPN 30 yr	100.12	100.25	-0.13
Nikkei	26547.05	26427.85	0.45					GER 2 yr	99.82	99.80	0.02
Hang Seng	19860.21	19896.77	-0.18					GER 10 yr	91.22	91.17	0.05
MSCI World \$	2701.33	2679.75	2.33					GER 30 yr	71.46	71.41	0.05
MSCI EM \$	1004.52	987.82	1.69								
MSCI ACWI \$	629.19	615.27	2.26								
FT Wilshire 2500	5224.02	5082.04	2.58								
FT Wilshire 1000	40783.77	39750.56	2.60								

Prices are latest for edition  
Data provided by Morningstar

A Nikkei Company

## Insurance Broking. Now available as a concentrate.

We're purely focused on complex risk, so if you prefer your (re)insurance undiluted, talk to McGill and Partners.

McGill Global Risk Solutions LLC is the US licensed entity of McGill and Partners.

mcgillpartners.com

MCGILL  
AND PARTNERS



6 14919 00001 5





An investigator on Monday at the scene of the mass shooting in Buffalo. In high school, the suspect had a mental health evaluation.

## Trapped and Helpless as a Gunman Drew Closer

**By MICHAEL WILSON**

**BUFFALO** — On weekends, the employees at the Tops Friendly Market in East Buffalo tend to be younger, the ones unable to work weekdays, often because of school. Cashiers, shopping-cart attendants, shelf stockers — their manager, Lorraine Baker, 57, calls them "my babies." One of them, Nia Brown, 20, was just back to work on Saturday after having had her own baby seven weeks earlier, a daughter named Anyiah.

Ms. Baker said goodbye after her shift on Saturday afternoon and walked out of Tops. The store hires heavily from the surround-

### Tales of Survival and Split-Second Choices in the Store's Aisles

ing neighborhood, and if the employees weren't her actual babies, they might still be family: In the parking lot as Ms. Baker left, her cousin, Zaire Goodman, 20, was collecting carts.

At around 2:30 p.m., he was helping a woman with her groceries when a blue car pulled up. The driver's door opened, and a nightmarer stepped out, covered from

head to toe in tactical gear and carrying an assault rifle.

Much has been discovered and will be learned in the weeks ahead about the massacre and the man who the authorities say perpetrated it. But this is a story about the men and women who were at work that day at an uncommonly beloved supermarket — one that functions like a family — and what they did when that place became the scene of a massacre.

Jermaine Saffold, 38, was just pulling into a parking spot nearby to duck into Family Dollar next door for a birthday present for his young son. He heard gunshots



Memorials were set up by the Tops supermarket in Buffalo.

## Evolving Virus Could Reinfect Over and Over

**By APOORVA MANDAVILLI**

A virus that shows no signs of disappearing, variants that are adept at dodging the body's defenses and waves of infections two, maybe three times a year — this may be the future of Covid-19, some scientists now fear.

The central problem is that the coronavirus has become more adept at reinfecting people. Already, those infected with the first Omicron variant are reporting second infections with the newer versions of the variant: BA.2 or BA.2.12.1 in the United States, or BA.4 and BA.5 in South Africa.

Those people may go on to have third or fourth infections, even within this year, researchers said in interviews. And some small fraction may have symptoms that persist for months or years, a condition known as long Covid.

"It seems likely to me that that's going to sort of be a long-term pattern," said Juliet Pulliam, an epidemiologist at Stellenbosch University in South Africa.

"The virus is going to keep evolving," she added. "And there are probably going to be a lot of people getting many, many reinfections throughout their lives."

It's difficult to quantify how frequently people are reinfecting, in part because many infections are now going unreported. Dr. Pulliam and her colleagues have collected enough data in South Africa to say that the rate is higher with Omicron than seen with previous variants.

This is not how it was supposed

## Soviet-Era Tactics Hobble Russia on Battlefield

**By NEIL MacFARQUHAR**

Army vehicles were so decrepit that repair crews were stationed roughly every 15 miles. Some officers were so out of shape that the military budgeted \$1.5 million to resize standard uniforms.

That was the Russian military more than a decade ago when the country invaded Georgia, according to the defense minister at the time. The shortcomings, big and small, were glaring enough that the Kremlin announced an overhaul of the military to build a leaner, more flexible, professional force.

But now, almost three months into Russia's invasion of Ukraine,

### The Capability to Fight Is Hurt by Bloat and Corruption

it clear the Kremlin fell woefully short of creating an effective fighting machine. Russian forces in Ukraine have underperformed to a degree that has surprised most Western analysts, raising the prospect that President Vladimir V. Putin's military operation could end in failure.

By any measure, despite capturing territory in the south and east, the Russian military has suffered a major blow in Ukraine. It has been forced to abandon what it expected would be a blitzkrieg to seize the entire country in a few days. Its forces were driven from around Kyiv, the capital. The flagship of its Black Sea fleet, the Moskva, was sunk; it has never controlled the skies; and by some Western estimates, tens of thousands of Russians have died.

This war has exposed the fact that, to Russia's detriment, much of the military culture and learned behavior of the Soviet era endures: inflexibility in command structure, corruption in military spending, and hiding casualty figures and repeating the mantra

Continued on Page A7

## DESPITE STATE LAW, BUFFALO SUSPECT PURCHASED RIFLE

### Online Posts Reveal Months of Planning and a Lie to Law Enforcement

This article is by Jesse McKinley, Jonah E. Bromwich, Andy Newman and Chelsia Rose Marcus.

**BUFFALO** — A cache of online postings suggests months of preparation and planning preceded Saturday's racist massacre in Buffalo and shows how the suspect evaded a state law that could have prevented him from owning a gun.

New York's so-called red-flag law took effect in 2019, allowing judges to bar people believed to be dangerous from possessing firearms. Yet Payton S. Gendron, the 18-year-old man accused of killing 10 people at a Tops supermarket on Saturday, was able to buy an assault-style weapon despite having been held for a mental health evaluation last year after making a threatening remark at his high school.

He described the remark — he responded to a school project question by writing that he wanted to commit a murder-suicide — as a joke, according to a law enforcement official familiar with the case, and was released.

But the posting that came to light on Monday make it evident that Mr. Gendron was lying.

"I got out of it because I stuck with the story that I was getting out of class and I just stupidly wrote that down," Mr. Gendron wrote. "That is the reason I believe I am still able to purchase guns. It was not a joke, I wrote

that down because that's what I was planning to do."

The ruse worked: On Monday, the state police confirmed that they did not seek a red-flag order against Mr. Gendron, who is now charged with one of the deadliest racist massacres in recent American history.

The newly discovered writings appear to have been posted on Discord, a chat application, by a user named Jimboboi1 before being uploaded to internet forums as a pair of comprehensive documents. They feature thousands of lines of racist, antisemitic and of ten rambling remarks, and include details on how Mr. Gendron apparently planned and practiced for his attack and paid for his weapons and other equipment.

Jimboboi1 was also the name used in a lawsuit filed by Mr. Gendron posted on Saturday as he began his attack on Tops, snippets of which circulated online on several platforms before being expunged.

The Discord posts include pictures of Mr. Gendron and extensive details that align with what is publicly known about him, and in many ways mirror a racist screed the authorities have confirmed he published online just before the attack.

The compendium also appears to show that Mr. Gendron fully realized the consequences of his violence. "I am well aware that my

POLITICS OF FEAR Republicans denounced the Buffalo killings, but many tacitly try to appeal to elements of the far right. PAGE A14

LEGAL GUNS Most of the U.S. mass killings in recent decades have one thing in common: The weapons used were purchased legally. PAGE A15

## Wildfire Risk To U.S. Homes Grows Greater

**By CHRISTOPHER FLAVELLE**

**DAMMERON VALLEY, Utah** — The nation's wildfire risk is widespread, severe and accelerating quickly, according to new data that, for the first time, calculates the risk facing every property in the contiguous United States.

The data, released Monday by the First Street Foundation, a nonprofit research group in New York, comes as rising housing prices in cities and suburbs push Americans deeper into fire-prone areas, with little idea about the specific risk in their new locale.

That's because the federal government maps flood risk at the property level but doesn't do the same for wildfires, which are growing more frequent and severe because of climate change.

"For too long, we have let people live in communities, and even attracted them to join a community, while keeping them in a state of ignorance about the risk that they're under," said Roy Wright, a former head of risk mitigation at the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

Mr. Wright said he hoped the new data would "draw attention to the risk and drive people to take action."

The data is being released at the outset of what promises to be an even worse wildfire season than usual, with blazes already burning in more than a dozen states.

Half of all addresses in the lower 48 states face some degree of wildfire risk, according to First Street's model, a number that will

## New York Map Rescinds Edge For Democrats

**By NICHOLAS FANDOS**

Earlier this year, Democratic leaders in New York made a brazen gamble: With the national party's blessing, they created a congressional map that promised its candidates as many as three additional House seats.

On Monday, three weeks after the state's highest court declared the Democrats' map unconstitutional, it became clear just how spectacularly the party's gambit had backfired.

A new slate of new congressional districts unveiled by the courts on Monday could pave the way for Republicans to make gains in this year's critical midterm elections, a disastrous reversal for Democrats in a state where they control every lever of power.

The proposed maps, drawn by Jonathan R. Cervas, the court-appointed special master, would unwind changes that Democrats had hoped to use to unseat Representative Nicole Malliotakis, a Staten Island Republican; flip other Republican-held swing districts; and secure their own tenuous seats in the Hudson Valley region.

The new lines even cast the future of several long-tenured, powerful Democratic incumbents in doubt, forcing several to potentially run against one another.

The most striking example came from New York City, where Mr. Cervas's proposal pushed Representatives Jerrold Nadler, a stalwart Upper West Side liberal, and Carolyn Maloney of the Upper



FALLING BACK Tending to flowers beside a bomb crater filled with water in Moshchyn, Ukraine, north of Kyiv. The Russian eastern offensive continued to falter on Monday. Page A6.

**INTERNATIONAL A4-9**

**Biden Approves Somalia Plan**

The president signed off on resending U.S. ground troops and targeting about a dozen Shabab leaders. PAGE A8

**Macron Names Prime Minister**

Élisabeth Borne, the minister of labor, will be the second woman to hold the post in France. PAGE A9



**NATIONAL A10-19**

**Deal to Reopen Formula Plant**

If the F.D.A. approves the reopening of a closed plant, shelves would be stocked with baby formula within weeks. Abbott Laboratories said. PAGE A11

**Shooting Was 'Hate Incident'**

The gunman who opened fire at a Taiwanese church on Sunday in California was motivated by political hatred, the Orange County sheriff said. PAGE A16

**Justices Loosen Finance Rule**

Senator Ted Cruz won his challenge to a law that put a \$250,000 cap on repayments of candidates' loans. PAGE A19

**BUSINESS B1-7**

**Pursuit of Workplace Happiness**

Workers and employers are clashing over return-to-office plans, with workers seeking flexibility or raises over corporate perks like concert tickets. PAGE B1

**Yellen Pushes Tax Deal**

The Treasury secretary is in Europe trying to steer the global tax plan she brokered back on track. PAGE B1

**SPORTS B8-10**

**Canada's Hockey Divide**

A nation pins its hopes on the Oilers and the Flames as the Maple Leafs fall again, our columnist writes. PAGE B8

**ARTS C1-8**

**Kendrick Lamar, Mortal Icon**

In the new album "Mr. Morale & the Big Steppers," the rapper sounds lonely and intense, Jon Caramanica writes. PAGE C1

**An Underground Throng**

On view in the Times Square subway station, Nick Cave's friendly monsters are translated into mosaic. PAGE C1

**SCIENCE TIMES D1-8**

**Targeting an Uneven Burden**

New treatments aim for a gene variant that causes kidney disease in people of sub-Saharan African descent. PAGE D1

**Looking Over Your Shoulder**

To keep tabs on workers, some companies use methods that are not always based on settled science. PAGE D1

**OPINION A22-23**

**Akiko Iwasaki**

PAGE A23







MEMBERS of Ruth Whitfield's family comfort one another at a Buffalo, N.Y., news conference. Whitfield, 86, was one of 10 people killed in the mass shooting. "We're not just hurting. We're angry, we're mad," her son said.

## A neighborhood in mourning

Long before the mass shooting, Buffalo's east side faced racism. Residents say they were left behind while other areas thrived.

BY RUBEN VIVES AND NOLAN D. MCCASKILL

BUFFALO, N.Y. — When 62-year-old Donna Davis learned that police had "begged" Payton Gendron — the white man accused of the mass shooting here — to surrender after carrying out what authorities said was a racially motivated attack that left 10 people dead and three others wounded, she became furious.

"If he was Black, they would have shot him," Davis said, echoing what other residents said during interviews Monday. "Instead, police officers showed up and begged him to surrender? After shooting 13 people? And he's armed?"

Davis and other residents of Buffalo's predominantly Black east side neighborhood maintain the mass shooting is an extreme example of the kind of targeted racism and discrimination residents have long experienced.

On Monday, new details emerged. Buffalo Police Commissioner Joseph Graglia said Gendron, 18, [See Buffalo, A7]



A FEDERAL investigator inspects bullet holes at the market where the shooting took place. Police said the gunman had planned to keep killing if he had escaped.

### A status quo amid carnage

No action in Congress despite repeated mass shootings, Mark Z. Barabak writes. **PERSPECTIVES, A2**

### Carlson hits dangerous low

The Fox News host spent Monday's telecast ratcheting up the rhetoric after the Buffalo shooting. **NATION, A7**

## Laguna Woods church shooting was hate crime, O.C. sheriff says

Taiwanese congregants were targeted by gunman, officials say

BY HANNAH FRY, RICHARD WINTON, JEONG PARK AND LUKE MONEY

The suspect in a shooting that killed one person and injured five at a Taiwanese church in Laguna Woods appeared to be motivated by political hatred of Taiwan, officials said Monday.

David Wenwei Chou, 68, of Las Vegas left notes in Chinese in his car stating he did not believe Taiwan should be independent from China, Orange County Sheriff Don Barnes said.

"We believe, based on what we've discovered so far, that he specifically targeted the Taiwanese community, and this is one representation of that Taiwanese community," Barnes said.

The FBI has opened a federal hate crimes investigation into the shooting, which happened Sunday around 1:30 p.m.

Officials said the suspect secured church doors with chains and tried to disable locks with glue. He also attempted to nail at least one door shut, Barnes said.

Bags containing magazines of ammunition, as well as four Molotov-cocktail-like incendiary devices, were found at the scene.

Officials recovered two firearms at the scene, both 9-millimeter semiautomatic pistols purchased lawfully in Las Vegas, according to an official with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives.

China considers Taiwan a breakaway province and has grown increasingly aggressive about reclaiming the democratic, self-ruled island.

Within Taiwan, feelings about the island's relationship to China run so passionate that open debates are often avoided.

According to Barnes, Chou was born in mainland China and at some point re- [See Laguna Woods, A12]

### Kind, humble — and now a hero

Dr. John Cheng put himself in the line of fire to save Laguna Woods congregants. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

## COVID-19 DEATHS REACH 1 MILLION IN U.S.

The milestone is an indelible reminder of the disease's toll and lasting consequences.

BY EMILY BAUMGAERTNER AND KURTIS LEE

David Dowdy hunches in front of his laptop at his kitchen table as he watches COVID-19 data trickle in. One death. Then another.

That's a typical day for the Johns Hopkins University epidemiologist, his screen propped up on board-game boxes and magazines, the clock progressing through another 12-hour day.

Dr. Dowdy is a tuberculosis researcher, but for the last 25 months he's been keeping track of national and global coronavirus trends, doing his own analysis of the spread of the virus in an attempt to discern where the pandemic may be headed.

The metric he uses most often is death.

He tries not to check the data obsessively because he fears he'll overinterpret, creating trends where they don't exist. He tries, for his own sake, to make sure it's not the first thing he does when he wakes up.

Then, on Monday, there it was: America's 1 millionth COVID-19 death, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's National Center for Health Statistics.

As airlines drop mask mandates and massive weddings resume, much of the country is experiencing what feels like a return to normalcy.

But this milestone is an indelible reminder that the people who see the losses up close — at statistical, clinical and familial levels — know that the reality of the situation is more painful and defining than the cultural moment suggests.

One million casualties from a virus represent a nation's despair and an avalanche of personal loss: missed cancer screenings and surgeries; vanishing employment and income; [See Coronavirus, A9]



AN FBI affidavit questions the legality of the deal for the city of Anaheim to sell Angel Stadium, above.

## Corruption probe on Angels' site sale

State attorney general asks for hold on the stadium deal because of investigation into Anaheim's mayor.

BY BILL SHAIKIN

Harry Sidhu made it his business and his campaign promise in 2018: I'm the mayor that is going to keep the Angels in Anaheim for decades to come.

In 2022, Sidhu is campaigning for reelection as

mayor. The city had agreed to sell Angel Stadium and the surrounding parking lots to the team owner in 2019, but the state housing agency had found the deal in violation of California affordable housing law.

Anaheim could have redone the deal. Instead, the city remained liable for a \$96-million fine.

That, according to an FBI affidavit filed Monday in Orange County Superior Court, was because Sidhu wanted to see the deal through to solicit a campaign contribution from the [See Angels, A12]

## Ending weeks of standoff, Russia takes all of Mariupol

264 Ukrainian fighters are removed from steel plant

BY PATRICK J. MCDONNELL

LVIV, Ukraine — After weeks of Russian bombardment, a band of Ukrainian soldiers fighting from a battered Mariupol steel plant ended combat operations on Monday, giving Moscow full control of a strategic port city that has been turned into a ruin of empty buildings and mass graves.

Ukrainian officials said that 264 fighters were evacuated to Russian-held territory to the east, including 53 seriously wounded fighters who were taken to a hospital.

The deputy defense minister, Hanna Maliar, said that all would eventually be returned home through a [See Ukraine, A4]



PEOPLE who fled from Mariupol wait at a center for the displaced in Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine, this month.

**Baby formula plant to reopen**  
Abbott and the FDA agree on terms to eventually resume production at the facility in Michigan. **NATION, A6**

**Years of sex abuse alleged in lawsuit**  
Former residents of the now-closed MacLaren foster home say staff regularly victimized them. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

**'Rust' team plans to finish movie**  
Months after Alec Baldwin fatally shot the cinematographer, producer says the film will forge ahead. **CALENDAR, E1**

**Weather**  
Clearing.  
L.A. Basin: 75/57. **B6**



**BUSINESS INSIDE:** After Buffalo shooting, will social media suppress racist theories? **A8**



# The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.



Mostly sunny 80/55 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 76/61 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, MAY 17, 2022 • \$2

## Billions in benefits siphoned by fraud

Jobless programs in the pandemic became 'magnet for rip-off artists'

BY TONY ROMM  
AND YEGANEH TORRATI

Sareena Brown-Thomas had just arrived home from her shift as a custodian when she noticed an envelope in the mail from the D.C. government. Bearing her name, address and the last four digits of her Social Security number, the letter inside said she had been awarded unemployment benefits — a problem, she later recalled, since she had never applied for them.

The 32-year-old soon notified her bosses, believing last summer that she had put the matter to rest. But the real trouble wouldn't start until September: When Brown-Thomas did actually find herself out of a job, she couldn't get the financial support she needed. Mired in bureaucratic battles, she said she faced a months-long struggle just to prove her identity to the city.

"I'm still trying to figure out how to get a lot of stuff paid," Brown-Thomas, who warred at one point with D.C. over her eligibility, said in an interview this spring. "It was so easy for them to use my Social Security number to get unemployment." Brown-Thomas is part of a sprawling community of victims caught up in a massive series of attacks targeting the nation's generous coronavirus aid programs. The more than \$5 trillion approved since the start of the pandemic has become a wellspring for criminal activity, allowing fraudsters to siphon money away from hard-hit American workers and businesses who needed the help most.

The exact scope of the fraud targeting federal aid initiatives is unknown, even two years later. With unemployment benefits, however, the theft could be significant.

Testifying at a little-noticed congressional hearing this spring, a top watchdog for the Labor Department estimated there could have been "at least" \$163 billion in unemployment-related "overpayments," a projection that includes wrongly paid

SEE FRAUD ON A19

## Buffalo suspect planned a shooting for months



HEATHER AINSWORTH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Members of Ruth Whitfield's family comfort one another at a Monday news conference in Buffalo, where a gunman killed 10 people at a supermarket on Saturday. An 18-year-old accused of the crime detailed his plans to murder Black people in online statements.



ROBERT KIRKHAM/ASSOCIATED PRESS



AMANDA DRURY



DAMON YOUNG



DEBORAH PATTERSON



WAYNE JONES

FROM LEFT: Katherine "Kat" Massey, 72; Roberta Drury, 32; Pearl Young, 77; Heyward Patterson, 67; and Celestine Chaney, 65. Family members of the 10 victims of Saturday's shooting remembered the loved ones they lost. Story, A7

## A barrage of gunshots and a scramble to escape

BY MARC FISHER,  
JACOB BOGAGE  
AND SILVIA FOSTER-FRAU

BUFFALO — Three blocks west of the expressway that half a century ago ripped a gash in the Humboldt Park neighborhood of Buffalo, Daniel Love was having a smoke outside his barber shop across from the Tops Friendly Markets store. Andre Mackniel was inside the supermarket, on a

mission to get a cake to celebrate his son's third birthday.

Jerome Bridges was in Aisle 14, adding price tags to items, three-packs of baby pacifiers for \$7.49 each. Ruth Whitfield, who was 86, had been visiting her husband in a nursing home and stopped at Tops to grab something to eat, her son said.

Casual shoppers passed in and out of the market on a sultry spring Saturday afternoon that

felt like the first glimmering of summer. Jefferson Avenue was not too busy, masks against the coronavirus seemed like a thing of the past to most people, and many shoppers nodded at familiar faces.

In this mostly Black section of the city, in a neighborhood of century-old houses, some sagging, some kept sturdy and freshly painted, a White kid like Payton Gendron — 18, scraggly,

glued to his phone — could look out of place, enough so that Love, the barber, remembered seeing him the day before, sitting for hours on the curb across from the supermarket.

The kid, who wore a hoodie, shorts and a black T-shirt with the word "genius" on the front, was probably just using the supermarket's public WiFi, Love figured.

SEE SHOOTING ON A8

### OVER 600 PAGES OF ONLINE MESSAGES

Highlighted supermarket as 'attack area 1'

BY JON SWAINE  
AND DALTON BENNETT

Payton Gendron, the 18-year-old accused of killing 10 people at a supermarket in Buffalo on Saturday, wrote in increasing detail of his plans to murder dozens of Black people in statements posted online over the past five months, according to a compilation of messages by a writer who identified himself as Gendron.

A review of more than 600 pages of messages by The Washington Post found that Gendron resolved in December to kill those he slurred as "replacements," decided in February to target Buffalo's Tops grocery store based on its local African American population. In March, he performed a reconnaissance-style trip to monitor the store's security and map out its aisles, the messages show. When a store guard confronted him about why he had repeatedly entered that day, Gendron made excuses and fled in what he described as "a close call," the messages state.

Having identified the supermarket as "attack area 1," Gendron detailed two additional Buffalo locations as areas to which to "shoot all blacks," according to the messages, which showed that he had charted routes to each location, worked out the times needed for each shoot and assessed that more than three dozen people in all could be fatally shot.

Police confirmed on Monday that they suspected Gendron had intended to attack multiple locations. Also on Monday, FBI Director Christopher A. Wray said in a call with various law enforcement officials and community leaders: "I want to be clear, for my part, from everything we know, this was a targeted attack, a hate crime and an act of racially motivated violent extremism."

Gendron from Coaklin, N.Y., has pleaded not guilty to first-degree murder in relation to the attack on Saturday. Three other people were also injured before Gendron was arrested at the

SEE SUSPECT ON A11

'Great replacement': Tracing how a racist theory gained traction. A10

Calls for action: Victim pushed for gun control before her death. A11

## Oligarchs lose an Italian paradise

Sanctions leave Russian elites frozen out of their lavish stretch of Sardinia

BY CHICO HARIAN  
AND STEFANO PITRELLI

ROMAZZINO, ITALY — Even among the billionaires who flock to this vacation enclave, the Russian oligarchs stood out.

They bought up the choicest villas along the coast, building de facto empires shielded behind clipped hedges and surveillance cameras. They were known among real estate agents for always wanting armed guards.

One mining and metals tycoon, Alisher Usmanov, would announce his presence every summer with the arrival of one of the world's largest yachts, which he'd park in the turquoise bay, shuttling between the vessel and his villas, flying in guests on helicopters.

"It was like having an oligarch state right here in Sardinia," said Mauro Pili, a journalist who was once this island's governor.

That state has now been dis-

mantled.

Over the past two months, European sanctions targeting wealthy elites with Kremlin connections have leveled a direct strike on this lavish northeastern stretch of Sardinia known as the Emerald Coast. At least eight villas have been frozen by the Italian

SEE EMERALD COAST ON A24

Nordic reality: NATO moves draw a muted Russian response. A17

## Formula maker reaches deal with FDA

BY LAURA REILEY

Abbott Nutrition, the maker of Similac and other popular baby formulas, said Monday it has come to an agreement with the Food and Drug Administration to fix safety issues at a Sturgis, Mich., factory that has been shuttered for more than three months, contributing to a nationwide formula shortage.

The agreement represents a first step toward resolving a problem that has sent parents scrambling from store to store to

In step toward reopening plant, Abbott Nutrition agrees to fix problems

find sustenance for their infants. But questions remain about whether precisely the FDA will require of Abbott and the Sturgis facility operations before reopening is approved.

The company has previously said that once the FDA has signed

off on the fixes, it will take two weeks to restart production and another six to eight weeks to get the product back on shelves.

FDA Commissioner Robert M. Califf said on the "Today" show on Monday that he felt "very comfortable" that the Sturgis plant would reopen in two weeks and that the shortage would be resolved by the end of the year.

"Today's action means that Abbott Nutrition has agreed to address certain issues that the agency identified at their infant

SEE FORMULA ON A12

## IN THE NEWS



MATT BOURKE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Pennsylvania primary** Donald Trump sought to push his GOP Senate pick across the finish line on the eve of Tuesday's vote. A5

**Metro resignations** The agency said its top two officials will immediately resign after news of lapses in operators' recertification. B1

### THE NATION

The FDA is expected to authorize Pfizer coronavirus boosters for children ages 5 to 11 as soon as Tuesday. A2

The cryptocurrency crash has spurred lawmakers' desire to set rules for the industry. A2

The Supreme Court ruled in favor of Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Tex.) in striking another campaign finance restriction. A3

Abortion rights backers see a flood of increasingly severe restrictions and proposals at the state level as anti-abortion Republicans anticipate the fall of Roe v.

### Wade. A4

Eliminating air pollution caused by burning fossil fuels would prevent more than 50,000 deaths every year, according to a study. A4

### THE WORLD

A truce in Yemen's long-running civil war, the first commercial flight in nearly six years took off from the rebel-held capital of Sanaa. A13

Prince Charles and his wife, Camilla, will be visiting Canada as the country reckons with the deaths of thousands of Indigenous children who attended residential

### schools there. A14

President Biden has approved the deployment of hundreds of troops to Somalia, reversing a withdrawal under Trump. A15

North Korean leader Kim Jong Un berated his officials for a slow

response to the country's coronavirus surge. A16

### THE ECONOMY

JetBlue launched an aggressive campaign to woo Spirit Airlines shareholders as part of a second attempt to merge with the ultra-low-cost carrier. A18

### THE REGION

In a reversal, the board of directors at President

### James Madison's Montpelier estate will more fully represent the descendants of those once enslaved there. B1

Streets bearing names linked to the Confederacy have stoked division in a Fairfax City neighborhood. B1

David Blair has touted the work of his nonprofit as he runs for Montgomery County executive. But the group's track record presents a more complicated picture. B1

Sen. Chris Van Hollen (D-Md.) said he expects to make a full recovery after having what he described as a "minor stroke" over the week-

end. B8

## INSIDE



### HEALTH & SCIENCE

#### Medical mystery

The desperate persistence of a woman whose memory and body were in decline helped lead to a lucky break. E1

### STYLE

#### 'On my shoulders'

Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson discusses the pressure of being a "first," role models and more with The Post. C1

### BUSINESS NEWS

#### COMICS

#### OPINION PAGES

#### LOTTERIES

#### OBITUARIES

#### TELEVISION

#### WORLD NEWS

CONTENT © 2022

The Washington Post / Year 145, No. 5323

0 70628 211001 3



## Censo 2022. Todo lo que hay que saber para mañana

El operativo, que arrojará una radiografía del país, se hará entre las 8 y las 18; los censistas tendrán alcohol en gel y barbijo y no será necesario que ingresen a los hogares. **Página 24**



## CANNES VUELVE A LA NORMALIDAD CON GRANDES ESTRELLAS

—espectáculos

El festival más importante del calendario del cine festeja sus 75 años sin protocolos y con la presencia de grandes figuras; cómo impacta la guerra a tres horas de avión.

## BOCA AHORA GANA, PERO EN EL FONDO NO CAMBIÓ TANTO

—deportes

El equipo xeneize revirtió la imagen con resultados, más que por una mejora estructural; hoy, ante Corinthians, un paso crucial en la Copa Libertadores.

# LA NACION

MARTES 17 DE MAYO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

## En el mercado ponen en duda que el Gobierno cumpla con las metas acordadas con el FMI

**DESCONFIANZA.** Hay escepticismo por el alza del gasto por la inflación y los precios de la energía

Una inflación superior a la esperada; el alza de los precios internacionales de la energía y su impacto en las cuentas fiscales, y el valor del dólar y las tensiones que esto genera dentro del Gobierno acrecentaron la desconfianza que analistas privados ya tenían sobre el cumplimiento de las metas acordadas entre el Go-

bierno y el Fondo Monetario Internacional (FMI).

En su último viaje a Washington para las reuniones del Fondo y el G-20, el ministro de Economía, Martín Guzmán, había ratificado el cumplimiento de los objetivos fiscales, monetarios y de acumulación de reservas internacionales. El Palacio

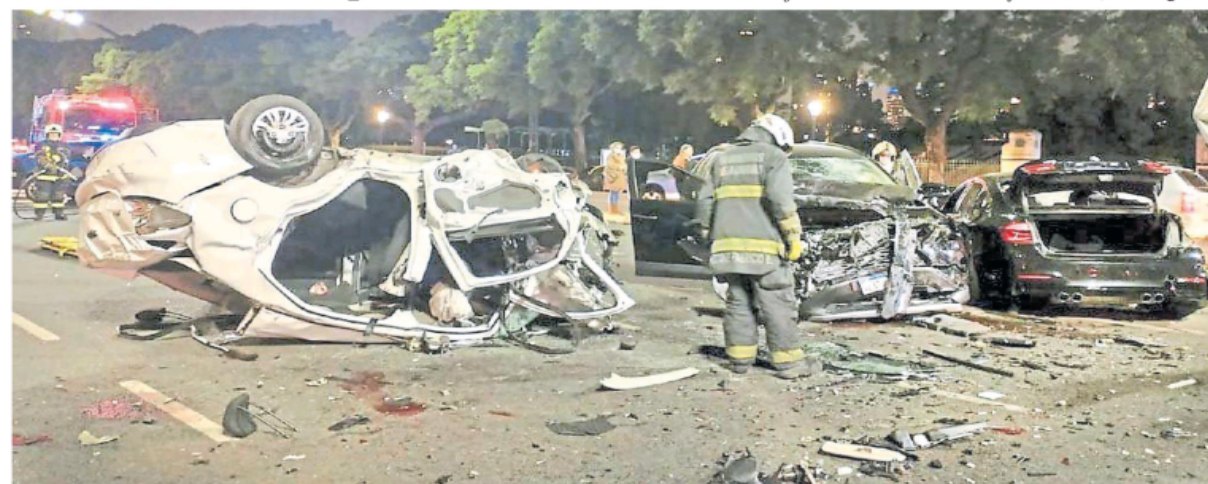
de Hacienda aseguró que, aun con forceps, cumplió con las metas establecidas en el primer trimestre. Sin embargo, en un escenario interno y externo adverso, los economistas consultados por LA NACION creen que al equipo económico le será muy difícil poder cumplir con los próximos compromisos. **Página 17**

## La mejora en Ganancias no alcanzaría a todos los trabajadores

**Página 18**

## A más de 150 km/h, causó un desastre frente al Hipódromo

**seguridad—** La escena era dantesca, anteanoche, en la avenida Del Libertador: un empresario aduanero, que según reveló el peritaje circulaba a 150 km/h y dio positivo en el test de alcoholemia, perdió el control de su BMW y embistió a tres autos en la mano contraria. Hubo dos muertos: un joven venezolano de 25 años y su sobrina, de 15. **Página 26**



El Ford Ka blanco en el que iban las víctimas mortales quedó volcado; a la derecha, el BMW M3 que provocó el choque

TÉLAM

LA GUERRA EN UCRANIA — DÍA 82

## Ucrania recupera una ciudad clave

Retomó Kharkiv y empujó a las fuerzas rusas hasta la frontera norte, en otro revés para Moscú

KIEV (AP).— En un nuevo giro de las operaciones bélicas que se desarrollan en uno de los frentes ucranianos, las tropas de Kiev hicieron retroceder ayer a las fuerzas rusas de la ciudad nororiental de Kharkiv y algunas avanzaron

hasta la frontera con Rusia, informaron funcionarios ucranianos.

De confirmarse estos hechos, se produciría un nuevo cambio de tendencia a favor de Ucrania, tras casi tres meses de conflicto, que comenzó cuando Rusia invadió a su vecino, el

24 de febrero. Además, la inteligencia ucraniana reveló que Moscú comenzó a aplicar castigos ejemplares a oficiales que se resistían a enviar a sus tropas al combate. En este contexto, Suecia anunció que pedirá su ingreso en la OTAN. **Páginas 2 a 5**

## Lluvia de misiles en el sur, donde recrudece la guerra

Elisabetta Piqué (enviada especial)  
**Página 3**

## Cerrarán la causa por la fiesta del Presidente en Olivos

**CUARENTENA.** Fernández y Fabiola Yañez pagarán tres millones de pesos

El fiscal de San Isidro Fernando Domínguez aceptó las ofertas del presidente Alberto Fernández y de la primera dama, Fabiola Yañez, para cerrar la causa por violar la cuarentena con una fiesta en Olivos, a cambio de tres millones de pesos.

De esa forma, el Presidente se encamina a clausurar la investigación judicial del mayor escándalo que atravesó su gestión. **Página 8**

**Presión a Fernández para reabrir el diálogo con Cristina**  
Santiago Dapelo. **Página 10**

## Para Vizzotti, empezó en el país la cuarta ola de Covid

**PANDEMIA.** La Argentina entró en la cuarta ola de la pandemia de Covid-19. Así lo definió ayer la ministra de Salud de la Nación, Carla Vizzotti, durante una reunión con sus pares provinciales. Anteayer, los casos informados en el reporte semanal casi habían duplicado a los difundidos el domingo anterior: 33.989 contra 17.646. **Página 23**

## Desigualdad en el egreso de la escuela secundaria

**INFORME.** De los alumnos argentinos que en 2014 empezaron la secundaria, solo el 43% la terminó en 2019. El problema se agrava al considerar que en las escuelas privadas se graduó el 64%, mientras que en las estatales —que reúnen al 75% de los estudiantes— egresó el 36%, según un informe de la Universidad de Belgrano. **Página 23**



## General da Saúde amplia sigilo sobre itens vencidos

O Ministério da Saúde ampliou o sigilo de seus estoques, por meio de termo assinado pelo diretor de Logística, o general da reserva Ridauto Fernandes. Segundo o governo, os dados podem ser usados para especular preços em vendas ao SUS. Assim, a pasta manterá escondidas informações sobre itens vencidos, que somavam R\$ 243 milhões em 2021. **Saúde B3**

# Partidos veem risco de golpe de Bolsonaro, e autoridades calam

Chefes de Legislativo e Judiciário não se manifestam; presidente diz que eleição pode ser conturbada

Líderes de PT, União Brasil, PSDB, MDB, PSB e PDT concordam que o país deve se preocupar com a possibilidade de o presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) tentar um golpe eleitoral diante de seus recentes ataques ao sistema eleitoral e ao Judiciário.

Os políticos foram questionados pela Folha, nos últimos dias, sobre eventuais riscos. A reportagem procurou ainda os chefes dos três Poderes, de tribunais superiores, do Ministério Público Federal e de representações empresariais e da sociedade civil.

Nenhuma das principais autoridades da República — os presidentes da Câmara, Arthur Lira (PP-AL), do Senado, Rodrigo Pacheco (PSD-MG), do Supremo Tribunal Federal, Luiz Fux, e o chefe do Ministério Público Federal, Augusto Aras — quis se manifestar.

Silenciaram ainda a Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil, a Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil, a Fiesp (Federação das Indústrias do Estado de São Paulo), a Confederação da Agricultura e Pecuária do Brasil e a Federação Brasileira de Bancos.

Ontem, em discurso aos gritos e entremeado por palavrões durante almoço com empresários ligados ao ramo de supermercados em São Paulo, Bolsonaro disse que "podemos ter eleições conturbadas" e que ele nunca será preso. **Política A4 a A6**



Fotos Danilo Verpa/Polhaspress

## MORADORES DA QUADRA DO NOVO FLUXO DA CRACOLÂNDIA RELATAM MEDO

Aglomerado de usuários ontem na rua Helvétia, no centro de São Paulo, após a ação de desocupação da praça Princesa Isabel, que será investigada pelo Ministério Público paulista; residentes da região descrevem mudança na rotina. **Cotidiano B1**



## PESSOAS DORMEM NA FILA EM BUSCA DE TRABALHO EM SÃO PAULO

Candidatos esperam por vagas ontem no Mutirão do Emprego do Sindicato dos Comerciantes, no vale do Anhangabaú, na capital paulista; evento voltou a ser presencial e recebeu, no 1º dia, menos participantes do que em edições anteriores. **Mercado A15**

## Produtividade do brasileiro só cresce na agropecuária

Na comparação com a indústria e os serviços, o único segmento que apresentou crescimento robusto de produtividade do trabalho nos últimos 26 anos foi a agropecuária.

Entre 1995 e 2021, o aumento médio da produtividade por hora trabalhada desse setor foi de 5,6% ao ano, de acordo com levantamento de pesquisadores do Ibre FGV. **Mercado A15**

## Conta de luz explode e deflagra debate sobre redução de preço

### Fuzil nacional a pronta entrega é lançado a R\$ 20 mil

As armas semiautomáticas modelos FE-115 e FE-145 são fabricadas no RS e foram vendidas a preço promocional de R\$ 20 mil em churrasco de lançamento com chope gelado e dupla sertaneja em loja de São Paulo. **Cotidiano B2**

### País deve parar de fingir que faz ESG, afirma empresário

Para o agrônomo Leontino Balbo, criador da Native, produtora de açúcar referência em sustentabilidade, a pressão das mudanças climáticas não é levada a sério no Brasil e no mundo. "A gente precisa parar de fingir", diz. **Mercado A23**

### EUA reconsideram táticas para evitar novos massacres

Dois ataques com armas de fogo voltaram a impor a políticos e ativistas questionamentos sobre a eficácia das estratégias para conter atos do tipo. Nesta segunda, a polícia identificou David Chou, 68, como autor dos tiros em igreja na Califórnia. **Mundo A13**

### Após Finlândia, Suécia pede para entrar na Otan

Confirmando expectativas, a Suécia se uniu à Finlândia e pediu ontem formalmente para entrar na Otan. A adesão dos dois países enfrenta oposição da Turquia. Após o anúncio, Vladimir Putin falou em uma resposta proporcional da Rússia. **Mundo A12**

### Ilustrada C1

## Glamour e guerra

Com críticas a Putin e documentário de diretor morto no conflito ucraniano, Festival de Cannes retoma glamour sem máscaras obrigatórias após uma edição cancelada e outra no auge da pandemia.

### Preto Zezé

## É fundamental o aceno aos evangélicos pobres

Parte do campo progressista critica a ideia da inclusão pelo consumo, como se garantir renda e direitos fossem conquistas rivais. Quem não debate dinheiro num país de desempregados fala sozinho. **Opinião A2**

### Equilíbrio B5

Licença menstrual pode aumentar a qualidade de vida e a produtividade

### EDITORIAIS A2

**Imposto no tribunal**  
Sobre controvérsias em torno do ICMS e do IPI.

**Criança na escola**  
A respeito de projeto que regula o ensino domiciliar.

**Esporte B7**  
Clubes liderados por grupo Futebol Forte fazem nova proposta para entrar na Libra





**Camioneros presionan con más cierres por suba de gasoil y tarifa de fletes**

## Apesa advierte sobre otro incremento de combustibles

Los propietarios de estaciones de servicios reclaman al Gobierno medidas paliativas para mitigar el impacto del inminente reajuste de precios en el bolsillo de los consumidores.

PÁGINAS 10 y 11

### CRIMEN ORGANIZADO

Corrupción de autoridades y flojos controles hicieron del Paraguay la nueva ruta top del narcotráfico

PÁGINA 4

Fiscal Pecci contactó con la policía italiana para investigar negocios de la 'Ndrangheta en el país

PÁGINA 2

Un Tribunal de Apelación confirmó extradición de Kassen Hijazi a los EEUU por lavado de dinero

PÁGINA 40

El otoño se puso bastante invernal  
**Frío se mantendrá toda la semana: Pronostican mínimas de 3°C y 4°C**

PÁGINA 21



## Alarmante amenaza

**Procedimiento.** La Policía y la Fiscalía verifican el colegio Cristo Rey, tras hallarse una carta que advertía supuestamente de un tiroteo en la institución.

PÁGINA 19



### CON ESTA EDICIÓN

BOSSA LONGBOW Nº 14. Solo en Asunción, 1 hora de la Plaza de los Capatzen en conmemoración del 50º aniversario.



### COMPRA OPCIONAL 1

BOSSA LONGBOW Nº 14. Solo en Asunción, 1 hora de la Plaza de los Capatzen en conmemoración del 50º aniversario. C. 30.000

### COMPRA OPCIONAL 2

BOSSA LONGBOW Nº 14. Solo en Asunción, 1 hora de la Plaza de los Capatzen en conmemoración del 50º aniversario. C. 45.000

**ETIOS**

MÁS POR DESCUBRIR

CUOTA DESDE 145 USD

2 AÑOS DE GARANTÍA

5 ESTRELLAS



WWW.TOYOTA.COM.PY

455 21 010000

TOYOTA



TOYOTA



lefigaro.fr

# LE FIGARO

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



**RENAULT**  
LE CONSTRUCTEUR FRANÇAIS  
CONTRAIT DE CÉDER SES ACTIVITÉS  
RUSSES PAGES 20 ET 21

**OPINION**  
ARNAUD TEYSSIER : COMMENT  
LA DROITE PEUT RENAÎTRE  
APRÈS LA DÉROUTE PAGE 16

**UKRAÏNE**  
La vie harassante  
dans les cités  
minières sinistrées  
du Donbass PAGES 6 ET 7

**LAÏCITÉ**  
Les Grenoblois  
mobilisés contre  
le burkini PAGE 9

**ENTRETIEN**  
Vincent Lindon:  
« Ça y est, je suis  
crédible » PAGES 28 ET 29

**LE FIGARO ET VOUS DESIGN**

Comment  
le monde  
du meuble  
se réinvente

**NOTRE CAHIER  
SPÉCIAL**

**CHAMPS LIBRES**

- La cité Kallisté, symbole de la faillite urbaine marseillaise
- Qui sont les créanciers de nos 2813 milliards d'euros de dette publique ?
- La chronique de Renaud Girard
- L'analyse de Pierre Avril

PAGES 14, 15 ET 17

**FIGARO OUI  
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question de lundi :**  
Craignez-vous qu'une adhésion de la Finlande à l'Otan provoque une réaction militaire de la Russie ?

<b>OUI</b> 49 %	<b>NON</b> 51 %
--------------------	--------------------

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 249 278

**Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr**  
Êtes-vous satisfait de la nomination d'Élisabeth Borne à Matignon ?

ILLUSTRATION : FABIEN CLAIREFOND - DMITRY KASA / SPUTNIK VIA AFP



FRANÇOIS BOURGON / LE FIGARO

## Macron choisit Élisabeth Borne, réformatrice « techno » issue de la gauche

La ministre du Travail succède à Jean Castex à Matignon. Première femme chef du gouvernement depuis Édith Cresson, elle devra notamment relever les défis économiques de l'inflation et de la réforme des retraites.

En choisissant Élisabeth Borne pour remplacer Jean Castex, Emmanuel Macron met fin à trois semaines de suspense. Et à plus de trente ans de domination masculine sur l'Hôtel de Matignon.

Marquée à gauche, l'ex-préfète et ancienne patronne de la RATP, âgée de 61 ans, a été trois fois ministre (Transports, Transition écologique, Travail) lors du premier

quinquennat. Elle s'impose à Matignon grâce à son bilan. Ce n'est pourtant pas son nom qui circulait avec le plus d'insistance durant le week-end mais celui de Catherine Vautrin.

### L'histoire secrète d'une nomination

Comment la nomination de Catherine Vautrin, présidente ex-Les Républicains (LR) du Grand Reims, envisagée par le chef de l'État, a-t-elle été torpillée en un week-end. La fronde

a été emmenée par le secrétaire général de l'Élysée, Alexis Kohler. Mais les proches du chef de l'État, Richard Ferrand, François Bayrou et Stéphane Séjourné n'ont pas été en reste.

Le prétexte ? Les prises de position de Catherine Vautrin contre le mariage pour tous, exprimées à l'Assemblée lorsqu'elle était encore députée de la Marne et trésorière de l'UMP.

→ LA FIN D'UN SUSPENSE, UN RÔLE À PRÉCISER → ÉLISABETH BORNE A GAGNÉ EN 5 ANS SES GALONS DE RÉFORMISTE → LA DÉGRADATION ÉCONOMIQUE AGGRAVE LA TÂCHE DE LA PREMIÈRE MINISTRE → LA DONNEE SE COMPLIQUENT SUR LE FRONT DES RETRAITES → UN PROJET PLUS DIFFICILE À APPLIQUER PAGES 2 A 5 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

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

### Technique et politique

Il y a quelque chose de scandinave dans le moment que nous vivons. Une femme à la tête du gouvernement, le compromis permanent entre la droite et la gauche, le charme discret de la compétence, une paisible indifférence de l'opinion. Élisabeth Borne n'est pas une héroïne de *Borgen*, la célèbre série danoise, mais celle qui va incarner, après Édouard Philippe et Jean Castex, la sobriété heureuse, l'expertise laborieuse qui laissent les mouvements tourbillonnants du baroque au seul président de la République. À l'Élysée, la politique, la décision ; à Matignon, l'application, l'exécution. Il n'y a pas eu, durant le premier quinquennat du chef de l'État, de réforme institutionnelle, mais, dans les faits, la fonction de premier ministre correspond de moins en moins à ce qu'elle était à la fin du siècle dernier. La résidence de la Lanterne retirée par Nicolas Sarkozy au locataire de Matignon au profit du président de la République annonçait l'effacement de la charge symbolique qui accompagnait jusqu'ici le premier ministre. Le temps des passe-murailles s'est installé durablement et l'équilibre du pouvoir exécutif s'en trouve profondément transformé.

Pourtant, si la source et le sommet du pouvoir sont à l'Élysée, tout remonte encore à Matignon. Les défis que va devoir affronter Élisabeth Borne sont considérables. Cette femme de gauche qui a mené des réformes (SNCF, assurance-chômage) que la droite aurait dû réaliser depuis longtemps est désormais à la tête d'une majorité qui s'annonce pléthorique autant que composite. Il lui faudra s'imposer auprès de ses ministres, qu'elle n'aura pas tous (c'est peu dire) choisis, apprivoiser les tempéraments indépendants, les ambitions robustes qu'incarnent, chacun à leur manière, Édouard Philippe, Richard Ferrand, François Bayrou. À l'Assemblée, elle devra contenir le bruit et la fureur des élus de la gauche mélenchonienne conjugués à la défiance systémique de ceux du Rassemblement national. Enfin, sur fond de hausse des prix et des taux, elle devra mener des réformes difficiles, dont celle des retraites, sans provoquer la colère du corps social. Sous ce ciel lourd de menaces, la performance technique ne sera rien sans art politique. ■

**MESSIKA**  
PARIS  
Disrupting Diamonds



# The new rules of work

The post-pandemic office survival guide → G2



Zoe Williams Just when you think you get Eurovision, this happens...

→ G2



Tuesday  
17 May 2022  
£2.50

From £1.85 for subscribers

# The Guardian

News provider of the year

## Bank chief's warning over 'apocalyptic' food prices

Larry Elliott  
Economics editor

The Bank of England governor has blamed the war in Ukraine for the highest inflation in the UK for three decades and warned that "apocalyptic" food prices caused by Russia's invasion could have a disastrous impact on the world's poor.

Defending Threadneedle Street before an announcement tomorrow of the sharpest annual increase in four decades, Andrew Bailey told MPs that while he was unhappy about the level of price rises, 80% of the inflation target overshoot was caused by factors outside the Bank's control.

Bailey said the Bank could not have been expected to predict a war in Ukraine, which he warned would have consequences for the UK and the developing world.

Countries such as Egypt and Tunisia rely heavily on exports of Ukraine's wheat and cooking oil, and the governor said his concerns about food supplies had been heightened after speaking to Kyiv's finance minister at last month's IMF meeting in Washington.

"He said he was optimistic about crop planting but at the moment there was no way of shipping the food out and it's getting worse," Bailey said. "That's not just a major worry for this country but a worry for the developing world. I'm sorry for being apocalyptic but it is a worry."

Amid growing concern about Britain's cost of living crisis, the head of the CBI, Tony Danker, called on the chancellor, Rishi Sunak, to offer immediate help to those struggling to feed themselves as food and energy prices rise. The director general of the employers' organisation said there was a "moral imperative" on the government to act.

Official figures due out tomorrow are expected to show the annual inflation rate climbing above 9%, with the Bank of England expecting the figure to climb above 10% when the energy price cap is raised further in October.

Asked if the Bank could have prevented inflation from surging by raising interest rates sooner, Bailey told the Treasury select committee: "I don't think we could. I don't think we could foresee a war in Ukraine."

"Another factor that we're dealing with at the



'Now's the time'  
First male UK  
footballer in  
decades comes  
out as gay

News Page 13 →

▲ Jake Daniels of Blackpool said he hoped by coming out he could 'be a role model to others' PHOTOGRAPH: PHILL HEYWOOD

## Alarm as Prevent report urges change in focus

Exclusive  
Jessica Elgot  
Chief political correspondent

The government's counter-terror programme has been too focused on rightwing extremism and should now crack down on Islamist extremism,

according to leaked draft extracts from a review of the Prevent strategy.

In one particularly provocative recommendation, seen by the Guardian, the review claims there has been a "double standard" approach to tackling different forms of extremism, with individuals targeted for expressing mainstream

## Mariupol 'falls' as troops evacuated from Azovstal

Dan Sabbagh  
Defence and security editor

More than 260 Ukrainian soldiers were evacuated from the besieged Azovstal steel plant in Mariupol last night, appearing to cede control of the city to Russia after 82 days of bombardment.

Ukraine's deputy defence minister Ganna Malyar said 53 heavily wounded soldiers were evacuated to a hospital in the Russian-controlled town of Novoazovsk and more than 200 others were transported through a corridor to the village of Olenivka.

It was unclear how many soldiers remained in the plant, but Ukraine's

president, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, said: "We hope to save the lives of our boys. I want to underline: Ukraine needs its Ukrainian heroes alive."

The evacuation is likely to mark the end of the longest and bloodiest battle of the war and a significant defeat for Ukraine. Mariupol is now in ruins after a Russian siege that Ukraine says killed tens of thousands.

For Ukrainians, the Azovstal plant became a symbol of resistance, with hundreds of troops continuing to fight there even after the rest of the city had fallen.

The development came

16 →