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Last week: DJIA 31261.90 ▼ 934.76 2.9% NASDAQ 11354.62 ▼ 3.8% STOXX600 431.10 ▼ 0.5% 10-YR. TREASURY ▲ 1 9/32, yield 2.785% OIL \$113.23 ▲ \$2.74 EURO \$1.0565 YEN 127.88

What's
News

Business & Finance

Small businesses are flashing warning signs on the U.S. economy as inflation, supply-chain snarls, a shortage of workers and rising interest rates darken the outlook for entrepreneurs. **A1**

◆ **Many investors** and analysts looking at past pullbacks believe the current stock slump that has put the S&P 500 on the cusp of a bear market still has a way to go. **A1**

◆ **Broadcom** is in advanced talks to buy VMware, with a market value of \$40 billion and a strong position in the market for "hybrid" cloud. **B1**

◆ **Apple** told some of its contract manufacturers that it wants to boost production outside China, citing Beijing's strict anti-Covid-19 policy among other reasons, people involved in the discussions said. **A1**

◆ **Public data** suggest that several anonymous crypto investors profited from inside knowledge of when tokens would be listed on exchanges. **B1**

◆ **Saudi Arabia's** sovereign-wealth fund bought a stake in a firm owned by Prince al-Waleed bin Talal, further intertwining the government with the high-profile investor. **B6**

World-Wide

◆ **U.S. military** and diplomatic officials are weighing plans to send special forces troops to Kyiv to guard the newly reopened embassy there, a presence that would mark an escalation from Biden's initial pledge that no American troops would be sent into Ukraine. **A8**

◆ **Some local officials** are pledging not to enforce any new abortion restrictions should the Supreme Court overturn Roe v. Wade. **A3**

◆ **A New York state judge** adopted a set of new U.S. House district lines for the state that was cheered by Republicans and creates an open seat in the heart of New York City. **A6**

◆ **Biden said the public** should be concerned about the recent spate of monkeypox cases globally, saying the virus's spread would be consequential. **A3**

◆ **China spends** much more in helping favored industries with state-directed funds and other government incentives than other major economies, a study to be published Monday finds. **A7**

◆ **An Israeli lawmaker** who had quit the government decided to rejoin the coalition, sparing the country new elections for now. **A9**

JOURNAL REPORT
Wealth Management:
Tactics for weathering
inflation. **R1-8**

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**By Ellen Gamerman,
Chip Cutter
and Emily Glazer**

sneakers and peep-toe shoes. For half a century, the global organization held the event at this popular ski resort in January. Attendees trudged between meetings in chunky snow boots while risking broken bones on streets glazed

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Polish President Addresses Ukraine's Parliament



IN SUPPORT: Polish President Andrzej Duda on Sunday became the first foreign leader to address Ukraine's parliament in person since Russia invaded. He told lawmakers Ukraine should decide any terms upon which it pursues peace with Moscow. **A8**

Investors Struggle to Identify Market Bottom as Stocks Fall

By AKANE OTANI

U.S. stocks are in the midst of their longest selloff in decades. Whether they are close to bottoming out is anyone's guess.

Market selloffs have long stumped strategists trying to predict when they were close to done. Some have concluded with bursts of panicked selling. Others, such as the one lasting from 1973 to 1974, ground to an end after days of subdued trading volumes.

Many investors and analysts looking back at historic pullbacks believe that the current slump that has put the S&P 500 on the cusp of a bear market still has a way to go.

The index is down 19% from its Jan. 3 record, flirting with the 20% decline that would end the bull market that began in March 2020. This year's stock selloff, now in its fifth month, has already gone on for far longer than the typical pullback occurring without a recession, according to Deutsche Bank.

Yet the Federal Reserve is still in the early stages of its campaign to raise interest rates, meaning that financial conditions will tighten further and put more pressure on stocks in the coming months. Many people are skeptical that the central bank will be able to keep raising rates without tipping the economy into a recession, a period when stocks have typically fallen about 30% going back to 1929, according to Dow Jones Market Data.

Data have continued to suggest that this year's selloff, while painful, hasn't yet resulted in the type of shift in investing behavior seen in prior downturns.

Investors continue to have a hefty chunk of their portfolios in the stock market. Bank of America Corp. said this month that its private clients have an average of 60% in stocks.

Please turn to page A2

◆ **Bond investors** find prices too good to pass up. **B1**

◆ **Mackintosh:** Ripe conditions for a deep bear market. **B9**

Biden Meets Allies In Asia

President Biden is welcomed to Tokyo by Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida on Monday. Earlier on his trip, in South Korea, Mr. Biden expressed openness to meeting North Korea's Kim Jong Un. **A7**



EVAN VECILO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

At Davos This Year, It's Goodbye Snow, Hello Peep-Toe Shoes

Participants ditch winter garb and debate what's suitable for spring in Alps

DAVOS—As CEOs, world leaders and billionaires converge in the Swiss Alps for the first World Economic Forum annual gathering to be held in the spring, the hills are alive with pollen, pricey white

with ice. One veteran guest dubbed it the "Davos Shuffle."

Now, with this year's event bumped to May by the pandemic, warm and wet weather has brought a sartorial shift and the pleasant discovery that the town is actually lush and green.

Nick Studer, chief executive of consulting firm Oliver Wyman Group, arrived on Sunday and right away noticed Davos architecture he had missed during roughly a decade of attending the meetings in the dead of winter.

"I don't know if that's normally because I'm looking at Please turn to page A10

Kemp's Georgia Surge Tests Trump Clout

Governor, leading Perdue in GOP race, runs on record, not stolen-election claims

By CAMERON McWHIRTER AND JOSHUA JAMERSON

DAWSONVILLE, Ga.—Georgia Republican Gov. Brian Kemp seemed to face a bleak political future in the contentious aftermath of the 2020 election.

He had angered former President Donald Trump by not going along with Mr. Trump's false claim that Democrats used election fraud to carry the state for President Biden. Being on the wrong side of Mr. Trump and his supporters has doomed

the careers of many GOP politicians.

Yet Mr. Kemp, 58 years old, is positioned to win Tuesday's Republican primary for governor and fend off a Trump-backed challenger. At the core of Mr. Kemp's campaign is his record while in office: signing the state's largest income-tax cut, opening up Georgia early in the Covid-19 pandemic, bolstering police and championing new voting requirements.

Mr. Kemp's chief opponent Please turn to page A10

Small Businesses Project Economy To Worsen

Confidence drops to all-time low reached during the early days of the global pandemic

By RUTH SIMON

Small businesses are flashing warning signs on the U.S. economy as inflation, supply-chain snarls, a shortage of workers and rising interest rates darken the outlook for entrepreneurs.

Fifty-seven percent of small-business owners expect economic conditions in the U.S. to worsen in the next year, up from 42% in April and equal to the all-time low recorded in April 2020, according to a survey of more than 600 small businesses conducted in May for The Wall Street Journal by Vantage Worldwide Inc., a business-coaching and peer-advisory firm.

The measure is one part of a broader confidence index that posted in May its largest year-over-year drop since the Covid-related shutdowns of April and May 2020. Despite rising prices, the portion of small businesses that expects revenue to increase in the coming year fell to 61%, down from 79% in May 2020.

"It just feels like there are all of these factors that are out of our control, and it doesn't seem like there is a light at the end of the tunnel," Please turn to page A6

◆ **Recession risk** entangles Biden strategy. **A4**

Apple Seeks Shift Away From China

By YANG JIE

TOKYO—Apple Inc. has told some of its contract manufacturers that it wants to boost production outside China, citing Beijing's strict anti-Covid policy among other reasons, people involved in the discussions said.

India and Vietnam, already sites for a small portion of Apple's global production, are among the countries getting a closer look from the company as alternatives to China, the people said.

More than 90% of Apple products such as iPhones, iPads and MacBook laptops are manufactured in China by outside contractors, according to analysts. Apple's heavy dependence on the country is a potential risk because of Beijing's authoritarian Communist government and its clashes with the U.S., analysts have said.

Any move by Apple, the largest U.S. company by market capitalization, to emphasize production outside China could influence the thinking of Please turn to page A9

INSIDE



SPORTS
Justin Thomas rallies to defeat Will Zalatoris to win the PGA Championship. **A14**

U.S. NEWS
Alzheimer's research seeks new paths after Aduhelm's commercial failure. **A3**

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Beyond regulators

Why shadow banking will trigger the next crisis — RUCHIR SHARMA, PAGE 17

Peter Hennessy

Top UK political historian's patience is wearing thin — HENRY MANCE, PAGE 13



Transit status

Public transport in big cities has hit a crossroad — BIG READ, PAGE 15

Taking the lead New Aussie PM flies into action

Australia's newly elected leader Anthony Albanese leaves his Sydney home the day after his general election victory made him the first Labor prime minister for nine years.

Scott Morrison's rightwing coalition government conceded defeat after the electorate swung against them, objecting to their environmental and social policies. Albanese has promised to improve Australia's record on climate change, enhance regional ties and tackle the rising cost of living. In his first act as leader, he will fly to Tokyo today to meet the other members of the "Quad" security group: US president Joe Biden, Japanese prime minister Fumio Kishida and India's leader Narendra Modi.

Braced for 'ugly' economic news page 3



Dean Lewins/AP

Investors challenged by demise of three-decade era of globalisation

World leaders prepare to meet in Davos • Geopolitical tension sparks 'decoupling' fears

KAYE WIGGINS AND ANTOINETTE GARA — NEW YORK
JAMIE SMITH
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

A three-decade golden era for globalisation risks going into reverse according to company executives and investors, as world leaders prepare to meet in the Swiss town of Davos for the first time since the coronavirus pandemic began.

Russia's war in Ukraine, disruption to global supply chains caused by the virus, market turmoil and the worsening economic outlook leave corporate leaders and investors grappling with vital strategic decisions, several told the Financial Times.

"Tension between the US and China was accelerated by the pandemic and now this invasion of Ukraine by Russia

— all these trends are raising serious concerns about a decoupling world," said José Manuel Barroso, chair of Goldman Sachs International and a former president of the European Commission. "[Globalisation faces] friction from nationalism, protectionism, nativism, chauvinism if you wish, or even sometimes xenophobia, and for me, it is not clear who is going to win."

"Pretty much no one has seen" these conditions "during the arc of their investing career", according to the head of one of the world's largest private equity groups, Charles "Chip" Kaye, chief executive of Warburg Pincus, said that geopolitics was now "front and centre" of investment decisions.

"You're not optimising the economic outcome, you're creating friction in the

system," he said of rising geopolitical tensions.

Talk about deglobalisation among companies has mounted recently. Mentions of nearshoring, onshoring and reshoring on corporate earnings calls and investor conferences are at their highest level since at least 2005 according to data provider Sentio. "Companies are saying I need my production closer to my customers," said Jonathan Gray, president of Blackstone Group.

The subject will be high on the agenda for attendees at the World Economic Forum in Davos this week. Since its last meeting in January 2020 world events have threatened the economic order that the WEF champions.

The head of Asia's largest drugmaker said the era of globalisation based on



The subject of deglobalisation will be high on the agenda for delegates at the World Economic Forum meeting in Switzerland this week

outsourcing key functions to cut costs was over. Christophe Weber, chief executive of Takeda, said: "It's a question of de-risking your supply chain... The globalisation which existed a few years ago, trade without constraints, and the 'world is flat' idea, is finished."

Dominik Asam, chief financial officer at Airbus, warned of severe consequences. "If a meaningful part of decades of productivity gains driven by globalisation was reversed in a short period of time, this would drive inflation up and result in a major, protracted recession," he said. "Economic powers will... have to do everything they can to avert such a devastating scenario."

Additional reporting by Sylvia Pfeiffer
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Rana Foroohar page 17

Briefing

► **Airbus to build €10bn financial cushion**
Airbus is amassing €10bn as a buffer against crises and to prepare for investment when needed in new-generation aircraft. Its CFO said the group wanted to be "rock solid" against emergencies. — PAGE 6

► **Germany warns EU to curb spending**
Germany's finance minister has urged more fiscal discipline, saying that the EU's decision to suspend its deficit and debt rules for an extra year is not an excuse for loose spending policies. — PAGE 2

► **JSR chief highlights China chips woes**
The head of one of the world's largest suppliers of a material key for semiconductor production has said lack of infrastructure will make it "very difficult" for China to make top chipmaking technology. — PAGE 8

► **Eni outlines €2.5bn UK investment push**
The Italian oil major plans to spend at least €2.5bn in the UK over the next four years as London demands oil and gas groups increase investment or face a windfall tax. — PAGE 6



► **EU agency urges monkeypox jab plans**
The EU's infectious-disease agency is to advise that member states devise vaccination strategies to fight monkeypox cases, amid increasing evidence of community transmission of the disease. — PAGE 4

► **'Quad' nations to tackle illegal fishing**
The US, Japan, Australia and India are to reveal a maritime plan aimed at curbing illegal fishing in the Indo-Pacific, in the latest effort by the "Quad" nations to counter Chinese regional activity. — PAGE 3

► **Norway battery plant receives backing**
ABB and Siemens are leading a €100m fundraising round by Morrow Batteries, a start-up that aims to begin producing in its home country of Norway by the end of next year. — PAGE 9

Datawatch

Personal financial concerns

% of respondents

Very/fairly concerned

Not very/at all concerned

Turkey

Poland

UK

Spain

Italy

France

Canada

US

Australia

Japan

Germany

Source: Ipsos Mori Survey of 11,030 adults, Apr 2022

In seven of 11 countries, most say they are concerned about their ability to pay their bills over the next six months. This includes 72 per cent of Turkish people, 62 per cent of Poles, 60 per cent of Britons and 59 per cent of Spaniards.



Hong Kong exchange boss goes on diplomatic mission

Deteriorating US-China relations and Beijing's regulatory assault has put Hong Kong's stock exchange in a delicate position, but chief executive Nicolas Aguirre is keen to remind global investors that the bourse is still a worthy trading venue for investors seeking a bridge between east and west. The short-term outlook will be challenging, he acknowledges, but "if you look at the next five or 10 years, the opportunities are massive".
HXEX faces testing time • PAGE 8

Saudi Arabia will stand with Russia in oil producers' group despite sanctions

ANDREW ENGLAND AND SAMER AL-ATRUSH — RIYADH

Saudi Arabia has signalled that it will stand by Russia as a member of the Opec+ group of oil producers despite tightening western sanctions on Moscow and a potential EU ban on Russian oil imports.

Prince Abdulaziz bin Salman, the energy minister, told the Financial Times that Riyadh was hoping "to work out an agreement with Opec+... which includes Russia", insisting that the "world should appreciate the value" of the alliance of producers.

His comments are an important sign of support for Russia from a traditional US ally as the west tries to isolate the country and its oil production falls, raising questions about its place in the Opec+ group.

As energy consumers grapple with oil prices that are at their highest levels in a decade, a set of Opec+ production quotas put in place in April 2020 is due to expire in three months. Riyadh has been resisting western pressure to raise crude output to help bring down prices, insisting that there is not a lack of supply.

Prince Abdulaziz said it was too early to say what a new agreement might look like, but added that Opec+ would increase production "if the demand is there".

"With the havoc you see now, it's too premature to try to pinpoint [an agreement]," Prince Abdulaziz said. "What we have succeeded to deliver is sufficient for people to say so far there is a merit, there is a value of... working together."

Opec+ has stuck to its 2020 agreement under which the alliance mem-

bers raise total production each month by the modest amount of 450,000 barrels a day. But Russia's output has dropped since the start of the Ukraine war from about 11mn barrels a day in March to an average of 10mn b/d in April, according to data provider OILX. The International Energy Agency predicts it could fall further if western powers impose tougher sanctions.

Saudi Arabia, the de facto leader of Opec and the world's top oil exporter, has co-ordinated production quotas with Russia through Opec+ since 2016. The kingdom has sought to navigate a neutral path since Russia invaded Ukraine. Prince Abdulaziz blamed soaring prices on a lack of global refining capacity and taxes. He said the alliance would be needed to bring about "orderly adjustments".

Additional reporting by Tom Wilson

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES			
	May 20	May 13	%Week		May 20	May 13	%Week		price	yield	chg
S&P 500	3887.24	4023.89	-3.39	\$/£	1.056	1.039	+1.64	US 2 yr	2.81	2.82	-0.01
Nasdaq Composite	11258.55	11805.00	-4.62	\$/¥	1.247	1.222	+2.04	US 10 yr	2.81	2.82	-0.01
Dow Jones Ind	31028.56	32196.66	-3.83	€/£	0.847	0.851	-0.47	US 30 yr	3.02	3.03	-0.01
FTSEurofirst 300	1867.49	1897.90	-1.61	\$/S\$	1.281	1.283	-0.15	UK 2 yr	1.53	1.54	-0.01
Euro Stoxx 50	3853.51	3703.42	+4.35	€/S\$	1.598	1.598	0.00	UK 10 yr	1.89	1.89	0.00
FTSE 100	7388.80	7418.15	-0.39	\$/HK\$	1.035	1.062	-2.54	UK 30 yr	2.13	2.13	0.00
FTSE AEX Share	4083.84	4099.06	-0.37	€/S\$	0.947	0.952	-0.53	JPN 2 yr	0.05	0.05	0.00
CAC 40	6295.24	6392.68	-1.22					JPN 10 yr	0.24	0.24	0.00
Xetra Dax	13981.91	14027.53	-0.33					JPN 30 yr	0.99	1.00	-0.02
Nikkei	26739.03	25748.72	3.85					GER 2 yr	0.34	0.35	-0.02
Hang Seng	20717.24	19390.34	6.90					GER 10 yr	0.94	0.95	-0.01
MSCI World \$	2851.55	-	-					GER 30 yr	1.11	1.07	0.06
MSCI EM \$	1014.89	-	-								
MSCI ACWI \$	819.58	-	-								

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Quick Funding For Mnuchin And Kushner

Gulf Investments Came After Official Travel

By KATE KELLY
and DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK

Shortly before the 2020 election, Trump administration officials unveiled a U.S. government-sponsored program called the Abraham Fund that they said would raise \$3 billion for projects around the Middle East.

Spearheaded by President Donald J. Trump's son-in-law and adviser Jared Kushner, the fund promised to capitalize on diplomatic agreements he had championed between Israel and some Arab states — pacts known as the Abraham Accords. Steven Mnuchin, then Treasury secretary, helped inaugurate the fund on a trip to the United Arab Emirates and Israel, hailing the accords as "a tremendous foundation for economic growth."

It was little more than talk: With no accounts, employees, income or projects, the fund vanished when Mr. Trump left office. Yet after Mr. Kushner and Mr. Mnuchin crisscrossed the Middle East in the final months of the administration on trips that included trying to raise money for the project, each quickly launched a private fund that in some ways picked up where the Abraham Fund had ended.

Mr. Kushner and Mr. Mnuchin brought along top aides who had helped court Gulf rulers while promoting the Abraham Fund, and soon, both were back in the same royal courts asking for investments, although for purely commercial endeavors.

Within three months, Mr. Mnuchin's new firm had circulated detailed investment plans and received \$500 million commitments from the Emirates, Kuwaitis and Qataris, according to previously unreported documents prepared by the main Saudi sovereign wealth fund, which itself soon committed \$1 billion. Mr. Kushner's new firm reached an agreement for a \$2 billion investment from the Saudis six months after he left government.

A New York Times report last month revealing the Saudi investments in the Kushner and Mnuchin funds raised alarms from ethics experts and Democratic lawmakers about the appearance of potential payoffs for official acts during the Trump administration.

Continued on Page A21



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES
President Trump, Jared Kushner and Steven Mnuchin.

A Baseball Superstition That Can Be Found in the Perfume Aisle

By JAMES WAGNER

It was sometime during the 2012 season when Alcides Escobar of the Kansas City Royals grabbed a bottle from his locker and sprayed some of its contents onto Salvador Pérez. Caught off guard, Pérez warned his fellow Venezuelan and close friend not to mess with him, punctuating his emotion with some colorful language in Spanish.

Hours later, though, Pérez was far from bothered. He collected four hits that day and smelled great in the process. The mysterious substance in the bottle, from his point of view, had become a performance-enhancer: women's perfume.

"From then on, I bought all the Victoria's Secret there was," Pérez recalled recently in Spanish.

Some Players Seeking a Whiff of Success

Baseball is full of traditions, superstitions and quirks. But few are as amusing or as aromatic as the one Pérez, Escobar and countless other players — many of them from Latin America — engage in



FEDERICO BION FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Ruins of the Palace of Sans Souci near Milot, Haiti. Financial extraction hobbled the nation.

A Bank Created for Haiti Funneled Wealth to France

This article is by Matt Apuzzo, Constant Méheut, Selam Gebrekidan and Catherine Porter.

Every sentence of the invitation ended with an inky flourish, a triple loop of calligraphy befitting a night of dinner, dancing and fireworks at Haiti's national palace.

Debt had smothered the country for more than half a century. Despite ousting its colonial rulers in a war of independence, Haiti had been forced to pay the equivalent of hundreds of millions of dollars to its former French slave masters, a ransom for the freedom it had already won in battle.

But on the night of Sept. 25, 1880, paying off the last of that money finally seemed within reach. No longer would Haiti lurch from one financial crisis to the next, always with a weather eye on the horizon for the return of French warships. The new president, Lysius Salomon, had managed a feat that had eluded the nation since birth.

"The country will soon have a bank," he told his

THE RANSOM Haiti's Lost Billions

guests, proposing a toast. Outside, soldiers paraded down streets festooned with enormous flags.

Salomon had reason for optimism. European national banks had financed railroads and factories, softened the blows of recessions and added certainty to the business of governing. They helped bring life to a majestic version of Paris, one with clean water, sewers and grand avenues — investments that would pay off long into the future.

Now, it was Haiti's turn. Salomon called it "a great event, which will go down in history."

It was all a mirage. The National Bank of Haiti, on which so many

Continued on Page A8

Midday Subway Shooting Is Latest Shock to City

By ASHLEY SOUTHAALL
and NATE SCHWEBER

As the Q train rumbled across the East River on a sunny Sunday morning, with a view of the Lower Manhattan skyline shimmering through the windows, a man paced up and down the aisle of the last car.

Dmitry Glivinskiy, a vocal coach who was sitting at the back of the car with headphones on, heard what he thought was a fire-cracker going off. He looked up and saw the man standing in the middle of the car, holding a gun.

The gunman had fired one shot — without provocation — striking Daniel Enriquez, 48, in the chest and killing him, the police later said.

Attack Comes 6 Weeks After 10 Were Shot on N Train

omy. The Q train attack comes after the mass shooting last month on the N train that left at least 23 people injured and the shoving death of a woman in the Times Square station in January.

The violent episodes present an enormous obstacle for Mayor Eric Adams, who faces an increasingly impatient public as he struggles to rein in violence on the streets and subways to fulfill the central promise of his campaign.

He has sought to reassure riders by trying to relocate homeless people living in the subway and placing hundreds of additional police officers in the system.

Mr. Enriquez lived in Park Slope and had been headed to brunch in Manhattan after avoid-

Continued on Page A18

How Invaders Put Bucha Through 18 Days of Horror

A Russian Brigade Brought Torture and Death to a Corner of Ukraine

By CARLOTTA GALL

BUCHA, Ukraine — When the soldiers of Russia's 64th Motorized Rifle Brigade arrived in Bucha in mid-March, they brought a new level of death and terror to the city.

Over the next 18 days, in just one corner of this Kyiv suburb where the brigade took control, 12 people were killed, including all of the inhabitants of six houses where the soldiers set up camp.

Olha Havryliuk's son and son-in-law, along with a stranger, were shot in the head in the yard of their house. The Russian soldiers smashed the Havryliuks' fence, parked their armored vehicle in the garden, and moved into the house. They cooked in the neighbor's garden, killing and plucking chickens and roasting them on a barbecue while the men lay dead yards away across the alley.

By the time the troops pulled out at the end of March, two brothers, Yuriy and Viktor Pavlenko, who lived at the end of the street, lay dead in a ditch by the railway line. Volodymyr Cherednychenko was found dead in a neighbor's cellar. Another man, caught by the Russian soldiers as he ran along the train track and taken into a cellar of a house at the end of the street, was also found shot dead.

The story of Bucha and its horrors has unfolded in chapters as new revelations of Russian atrocities emerge, fueling outrage among Ukrainians and across much of the world. But prosecutors and military intelligence officials were investigating early on, collecting evidence to try to identify

the perpetrators responsible for the mass killings, torture and rapes in the once tranquil suburb. Working with war crimes and forensic experts from around the world, Ukrainian investigators have reached some preliminary conclusions, focusing in particular on the 64th Brigade. They have already identified 10 soldiers from the unit and accused them of war crimes.

Ukrainian officials say that the brigade was formed after Russia struggled in a 2008 war with Georgia and that it was awarded an honorary title by President Vladimir V. Putin last month for its performance in Ukraine.

Yet the brigade took little part in any fighting, coming in after other units had seized control of Bucha and then tasked with "holding" it. The troops established checkpoints throughout the town, parking their armored vehicles in people's yards and taking over their houses.

"They imprisoned our people," said Ruslan Kravchenko, the chief prosecutor for the Bucha district, describing the actions of the accused soldiers. "They tied their hands and legs and taped their eyes. They beat them with fists and feet, and with gun butts in the chest, and initiated executions."

The name of the 64th Brigade

Continued on Page A14

EASTERN FRONT Russian forces pushed toward a key city in a battle of attrition. PAGE A16



DANIEL REISERLAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Nadezhda Cherednychenko with a photograph of Volodymyr, her son, 27. She found his body after the Russians withdrew.

Southern Baptist Leadership Accused of Ignoring Sex Abuse

By RUTH GRAHAM and ELIZABETH DIAS

National leaders of the Southern Baptist Convention suppressed reports of sexual abuse and resisted proposals for reform over two decades, according to a third-party investigation published by the convention Sunday. The report also said that a former president of the denomination was accused of sexually assaulting a woman in 2010, a claim the report described as "credible."

Sexual abuse allegations, and the church's handling of them, have roiled the convention for years. After mounting pressure from survivors of sexual abuse in Southern Baptist settings, delegates at the denomination's annual meeting last summer voted overwhelmingly to commission

the report, and demanded that its 86-member executive committee hand over confidential documents in cooperation. The report covers abuse reports from women and children against male pastors, church employees and officials from the year 2000 to the present.

The release of the report represents an extraordinary moment for Southern Baptists, the country's largest Protestant denomination. As the group nears its annual gathering in June, its conservative membership, which has fallen to its lowest count in four decades, remains sharply divided by debates over race, gender and politics.

The denomination's current

Continued on Page A19

NATIONAL A17-21

Democrats Battle Headwinds
G.O.P. infighting has at times obscured a political landscape, in Georgia and beyond, that is increasingly tilted in the direction of Republicans. PAGE A20

INTERNATIONAL A4-16

New Asian-Pacific Bloc
While in Japan, President Biden will introduce an economic alliance of regional powerhouses meant to counter China's influence. PAGE A6

SPORTS D1-9, 12

Rallying From 7 Shots Down
Justin Thomas defeated Will Zalatoris in a three-hole playoff to capture the P.G.A. Championship, the second time he has won the event. PAGE D4

OBITUARIES D10-11

He Found Fun in Pickles
Robert J. Vlasic, 96, combined a keen sense of humor with an even keener sense of humor to turn his family business into a national giant. PAGE D11

OPINION A22-23

Mitt Romney PAGE A22



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U.S. tries to save summit 'in crisis'

Potential boycott over invitations could overshadow agenda of hemispheric talks planned for L.A.

By COURTNEY SUBRAMANIAN AND TRACY WILKINSON

WASHINGTON — A brewing boycott over the invitation list to this year's Summit of the Americas, a hemispheric gathering held every three to four years and planned for Los Angeles next month, has the Biden administration scrambling to avoid an embarrassment that could erode U.S. influence in the region.

The trouble began when the administration decided initially to exclude anti-democratic leaders from Cuba, Nicaragua and Venezuela, drawing the ire of Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador. The Mexican leader said he would not attend the summit unless all countries in the Western Hemisphere were included. Other Latin American leaders quickly echoed the warning.

The summit comes at a critical time for the administration, which is seeking to counter China's growing clout in the region, repair relationships damaged during the Trump administration and stem the flow of migrants at the southern U.S. border.

"This should have been seen as an opportunity, a premier spot to roll out an aspirational vision for a Latin America plan," said Ryan Berg, a Latin America expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington think tank.

Instead, he added, the summit is "in crisis" and many of the hemisphere's leaders feel they "can threaten."

[See Summit, A7]



PETROS GIANNAKOURIS Associated Press

NOT MANY have returned to Borodyanka, Ukraine, occupied during Russia's attempt to capture Kyiv.

Kyiv's suburbs take halting steps toward a new normal

It's been nearly 2 months since Russian forces retreated, leaving Ukrainian homes destroyed and psyches battered



LILIANA NIETO DEL RIO For The Times

DENIS Alyoshyn, 41, looks through his family's bombed apartment in Borodyanka for salvageable items. His wife, Oksana, 39, lost her right leg in the blast.

By PATRICK J. McDONNELL

BORODYANKA, Ukraine — The soccer mom parks her car just past the charred ruins of the town cultural center, a hollow, bombed-out remnant of better times. Her son bounds out toward the green fields freshly daubed with white boundary lines.

"He and I lived through it all together," says Valentyna Shleyuk, 32, gesturing toward her son, Artem, 9, now scampering to join other youths on the spruced-up playing field. "The bombings, the occupation, the destruction. We were hiding all the time in the basement. He understood what was happening. But he always wanted to play."

[See Ukraine, A4]

VIRUS CASES WORSEN ACROSS STATE

Infections are up 63%. Hospitalization rates have been rising as well but remain low.

By RONG-GONG LIN II AND LUKE MONEY

The number of coronavirus cases in California has significantly worsened this past week, hitting a level not seen since the winter's Omicron surge and raising concerns about the possibility of a big jump in infections this summer.

Weekly coronavirus cases roughly doubled across wide swaths of California, including Riverside and Santa Barbara counties, as well as the Central Valley and Silicon Valley. They rose by roughly 85% in Orange, San Bernardino and Ventura counties.

Statewide, the increase was 63%, bringing the case rate to 231 for every 100,000 residents. A rate of 100 and above is considered a high rate of transmission.

Hospitalization rates, while increasing for the last four weeks, remain low. Hospitals in two of California's most populous regions, L.A. County and the San Francisco Bay Area, are not under strain, and the rate of new weekly coronavirus-positive hospitalizations has remained at only a fraction of the number seen in New York and some other East Coast cities.

California officials remain hopeful that a relatively robust effort to get residents to take booster shots plus suggestions to wear masks and get tested frequently can help the state avoid the kind of intense surge those cities have experienced.

"The task in front of us is similar to what we had to do at other points over the past 2½ years: slowing transmission," L.A. County's Public Health Director Barbara Ferrer said in a statement. "We know what works — masking, testing, and vaccination, along with systems and policies that support the use of these and other effective safety measures."

Nationally over the last two weeks, coronavirus cases have risen by more than 50% and hospitalizations by more than 30%, said Dr. Peter Chin-Hong, a UC San Francisco infectious-disease expert.

The San Francisco Bay Area is currently home to California's worst coronavirus case rate. The regional case rate.

[See Infections, A7]

Opponents ride anti-Villanueva wave

In some ways, the race for Los Angeles County sheriff is shaping up as a test of how many controversies voters will tolerate from incumbent Alex Villanueva.

His relationship with county leaders has hit new lows. The jails are in disarray. Allegations of a cover-up and retaliation hang over an incident in which a deputy knelt on the head of a handcuffed inmate.

Those recent missteps have created an opening for a crowded field trying to unseat the sheriff. If only the public knew who the other eight candidates are.

The controversies have kept Villanueva's name in the news, and the polarizing sheriff

As the June primary nears, rivals of scandal-ridden L.A. County sheriff have ammunition with which to try to beat him, but they lack name recognition

By Libor Jany

has dominated social media sites such as Twitter. The terms "Villanueva" and "sheriff" were mentioned in more than 11,000 tweets over a seven-day period last week, according to a Times analysis. No other candidate was mentioned more than 200 times.

"It's just unclear to us who the strongest candidate is, but it is very clear to us that the tone that the current sheriff takes and his conduct is not OK," said April Verrett, president of SEIU Local 2015, which represents long-term-care workers and has recently been more vocal on criminal justice issues.

With less than three weeks before the primary election, [See Villanueva, A14]

He's got the finest slide in baseball

Trea Turner of the Dodgers has become an internet sensation with his effortless moves on the basepaths. **SPORTS, D1**

Church leaders ignored victims

Top Southern Baptists stonewalled survivors of clergy sex abuse, a scathing investigative report says. **NATION, A6**

Weather
Fog to sun.
L.A. Basin: 75/57. **B6**

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MYUNG J. CHUN Los Angeles Times

'WE CANNOT CONTROL PEOPLE'S EVIL'

A week after a gunman killed one person and injured five others, worshippers return to their Taiwanese church in Laguna Woods, CALIFORNIA. **B1**

GOP lawmaker's seat may hinge on silence by Trump

Rep. David Valadao voted to impeach, infuriating Central Valley conservatives.

By MELANIE MASON

HANFORD, Calif. — The moment Rep. David Valadao and nine other House Republicans voted to impeach then-President Trump for inciting an insurrection at the Capitol, they were all engulfed in a wave of backlash — outraged conservatives back home, chal-

lengers eager to oust them, and Trump's constant commentary casting doubt on their political futures.

These days, Valadao is distinctly not like the others, for one key reason: Trump has not said a word publicly about him or his reelection bid.

Valadao's district is widely considered to be one of the country's most competitive in the battle for control of the House this November. For Republicans, especially House GOP leader Kevin McCarthy of Bakersfield, holding the seat is critical.

[See Valadao, A8]

The Washington Post

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Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, MAY 23, 2022 • B2

Time and time again, stymied on gun control

Biden has played central role in pushing efforts in decade since Sandy Hook

BY ASHLEY PARKER,
TYLER P. PETERSON
AND COLBY ITRKOWITZ

Gabrielle Giffords huddled with Vice President Joe Biden in his private office just off the Senate floor on an April Wednesday in 2013, watching the stunning defeat of a bill to expand background checks to most gun sales.

Giffords — a former Democratic lawmaker who still had difficulty speaking after being shot in the head in 2011 during an event in her Arizona district — was equal parts furious and devastated as she watched 46 of her former colleagues, including five Democratic senators, vote against the gun-control measure informally known as Manchin-Toomey.

The gun bill had emerged in the wake of the mass shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Conn., just four months prior — a massacre that left 20 children and six adults dead. Now it was clear that not even 20 slaughtered first-graders would move the nation to change its gun laws.

Biden empathized with Giffords, telling her he understood how painful it was to see the defeat of the background check measure negotiated by Sens. Joe Manchin III (D-W.Va.) and Patrick J. Toomey (R-Pa.), said Peter Ambler, who had joined Giffords's congressional staff just five days before she was shot and now is the executive director of Giffords, a group devoted to fighting gun violence.

SEE GUNS ON A10



You don't get to forget her

Reina's sister was killed at Oxford High. She refuses to let the school move on.

BY LIZZIE JOHNSON

OXFORD, MICH. — She'd rarely left the house in the four months since the shooting, but on the first warm day of spring, 16-year-old Reina St. Juliana slid her lacrosse backpack over her shoulders, said goodbye to her parents and stepped out the front door.

It was 4:30 p.m. on a Monday in mid-March, and her friend Olivia Curtis, also 16, idled in her SUV in the long driveway. Reina got into the passenger seat and shoved her lacrosse stick at her feet.

They began driving to Oxford High School, the place where Reina had lost so much.



PHOTOS BY EMILY ELOPAIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

TOP: Reina St. Juliana, 16, and her teammates arrive for a game at Royal Oak High School in Michigan in April. **ABOVE:** Reina holds a picture of her sister, Hana, 14, who was one of four teens killed in November during a shooting at Oxford High School.

"I don't think I was nervous until now," she said.

"I actually wasn't going to come today," Olivia replied. "I cried the whole morning. My mom was like, 'Go to tryouts, and if you don't want to play, then quit.'"

Reina didn't let herself cry very often, not even when she spoke at the funeral for her 14-year-old sister, Hana — one of four teens killed Nov. 30 at Oxford High in one of the deadliest school shootings since the 2018 massacre at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High in Parkland, Fla.

Reina's anger eclipsed her grief.

SEE OXFORD ON A8

THE COVID MONEY TRAIL

Live Nation excluded from aid — but subsidiaries got it

Smaller firms connected to industry giant received over \$18 million in relief

BY YEGANEH TORRATI
AND TONY ROMM

In the early months of the pandemic, as lawmakers toiled on an aid package for shuttered concert halls and other performance venues, a major company lobbied to be included in the relief.

Live Nation Entertainment — the corporate parent of Ticketmaster and a dominant force in the entertainment industry — urged Democrats and Republicans in Congress to let it be directly eligible for the \$15 billion emergency relief program, according to five people familiar with the matter, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private conversations.

Congress was wary of allowing grants to publicly traded companies such as Live Nation, worrying that the funds could be used to bail out stock market investors. In the end, lawmakers wrote the law to exclude public companies, as well as firms they own or control.

But the parameters set by Congress and the Small Business Administration, which disbursed the funds, allowed several companies in which Live Nation has significant investments to receive grants: Nearly \$19 million went to firms listed as subsidiaries on Live Nation's 2022 securities filings or in which Live Nation has a substantial, though not majority, ownership stake, according to a Washington Post review of Securities and Exchange Commission filings, state corporate documents and SBA data, as well as interviews with executives at companies that received grants.

SEE LIVE NATION ON A20

In Sri Lanka, a dynasty's collapse

The Rajapaksa brothers had a falling out and took nation down with them

BY GERRY SHIH
AND HAFEEL FARISZ

COLOMBO, SRI LANKA — The mob was bashing on the gates of the Sri Lankan prime minister's official residence, its size and fury swelling dangerously.

For weeks, Mahinda Rajapaksa, the 76-year-old prime minister, had been under pressure to resign as the economy imploded and protests erupted. The brother of the president, Gotabaya, and a patriarch of his own political dynasty, Mahinda was once hailed as appachi, the beloved father of the people. Now he was huddled in his second-floor bedroom, accompanied by relatives who frantically called army officers, pleading to be rescued.

Outside the gates, anti-government protesters who had been attacked earlier by Mahinda's supporters were taking their revenge — rioting, burning buses and torching hundreds of homes owned by allies of the Rajapaksa. A lawmaker from their party was



SHARMA S. KODAKKARA/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

A protester rinses his face May 21 after police tear-gassed students in Colombo seeking the Sri Lankan president's resignation.

beaten to death, his body dragged through the streets.

That day, May 9, was one of the most violent and chaotic in recent Sri Lankan history. But it was precipitated by years of turmoil inside the house of Rajapaksa.

The Rajapaksa brothers have dominated politics here for most of the last 20 years. After helping Mahinda win the presidency in 2005, his brothers Chamal, Gotabaya and Basil took over ministries.

SEE SRI LANKA ON A14

IN THE NEWS



ROSS KINNAIRD/GETTY IMAGES

PGA Championship Justin Thomas rallied from a seven-shot deficit, then defeated Will Zalatoris in a three-hole playoff. D1

High-level huddle A top State Department official appointed by President Donald Trump met with election deniers on Jan. 6, 2021. A6

THE NATION
The National School Boards Association said it wrongly took sides in a political debate when it asked President Biden to counter "domestic terrorism" at school board meetings. A3

A spirited debate over how closely to focus on Trump reflects the weighty questions the House panel investigating the Capitol riot must resolve before nationally televised hearings. A7

Biden said the United States is looking into what vaccines might be available for protection against monkeypox. A12

THE WORLD
Israel's military has begun what could be the biggest mass expulsion of Palestinians in the occupied West Bank in decades. A11

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy said the path to ending the war would require diplomacy and an international agreement with security guarantees from other countries after any military win. A16

THE ECONOMY
The Help Desk explains how to set up legacy contacts for your online accounts. A17

THE REGION
Complaints of sex discrimination and bullying by judges appear in a workplace survey of staff members at the federal trial and appeals courts in D.C. B1

THE WEEK AHEAD

MONDAY
President Biden meets with Japanese leaders in Tokyo.

The Supreme Court is expected to issue opinions.

First lady Jill Biden visits its a community center supported by the State Department in Costa Rica.

TUESDAY
Biden meets with lead-

ers of the Quad strategic partnership in Tokyo.

Primary elections take place in several states.

WEDNESDAY
Food and Drug Administration leaders testify at a House Energy subcommittee hearing on "formula safety and supply."

THURSDAY
Jobless claims are estimated at 208,000.

Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin speaks at the U.S. Air Force Academy graduation ceremony in Colorado.

FRIDAY
The Supreme Court meets for a conference.

INSIDE



STYLE
A do-over dance LGBTQ adults share tales from queer proms, which offer many a more inclusive version of the staple formal event. C1

Save something Joe Biden is not the ideal president to rally America around abortion rights, but he can still rise to the occasion, Monica Hesse writes. C1

BUSINESS NEWS.....	A17
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deportes

El zarpazo de Justin Thomas. Se llevó el PGA Championship

Aprovechó un increíble error del chileno Mito Pereira y le ganó en el playoff a Will Zalatoris. **Página 7**



CON MENOS TESTEOS, HAY DUDAS SOBRE LA CUARTA OLA DE COVID

—sociedad

La semana pasada volvieron a aumentar los casos informados, pero la falta de monitoreo revela que podría haber un subregistro. **Página 22**

EL REMATE DEL SÍVORI, OPORTUNIDAD PARA BOLSILLOS MÁS CHICOS

—cultura

Unas 100 obras de maestros argentinos y artistas contemporáneos se ofrecen a beneficio del museo; la más cara cuesta \$4,4 millones, la más accesible, \$20.000. **Página 25**

LA NACION

LUNES 23 DE MAYO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Carnaval xeneize: Boca, campeón de la Copa de la Liga

Con carácter y jerarquía, Boca superó por 3-0 a Tigre y se coronó en el estadio Kempes



Izquierdoz y Marcos Rojo con la copa en alto, rodeados por sus compañeros, en plena celebración xeneize en Córdoba; precisamente Rojo abrió el marcador con un cabezazo que TELAM no pudo controlar Marinelli, el arquero de Tigre; luego el colombiano Frank Fabra —con un golazo— y Luis Vázquez ampliaron el marcador para el conjunto de Battaglia. **Deportes**

La desaceleración del consumo suma más tensión a la interna del oficialismo

CASA ROSADA. Algunos expertos afirman que se percibe una caída y otros creen que el freno se notará más en el segundo semestre; el mayor impacto se produce en el área metropolitana

En paralelo a las dificultades para reducir la inflación, la perspectiva de una desaceleración del consumo abre un nuevo frente de tensión en la interna oficialista por la marcha de la economía. Especialistas consultados por LA NACION discrepan entre quienes, como el economista Damián Di

Pace, aseguran que el primer cuatrimestre ya muestra una caída superior al 3% y otros, como la consultora Scentia, que indican que se pasó de un alza de 6,9% en enero a 4,7% en abril, pero consideran que el declive se evidenciará en el segundo semestre. Las alertas sobre la pendiente de

la actividad, que se notará especialmente en el área metropolitana, se encienden en medio de las críticas del kirchnerismo contra Martín Guzmán. En esa senda, la senadora cristinista María Vergara dijo ayer que en las "altas esferas" del Gobierno "no hay un oído en el pueblo". **Página 10**

La AUH pierde peso en el gasto social del Estado

Página 18

EL ESCENARIO

El Gobierno, atrapado en el círculo de la impotencia

Claudio Jacquelin

—LA NACION—

Hace 511 años, Erasmo de Rotterdam publicaba su *Elogio de la locura* sin prever su éxito inmediato ni que sería un clásico. Mucho menos podría haber imaginado que su sátira tuviera actualizaciones apócrifas en la Argentina actual. Aunque la versión local debería llamarse *Elogio de la impotencia*. Continúa en la página 12

Primer caso sospechoso de viruela del mono en el país

ALERTA. Es un paciente que volvió de España

El Ministerio de Salud informó anoche que se detectó el primer caso sospechoso en la Argentina de viruela del mono, la nueva enfermedad que causa inquietud en el mundo. Se trata de un bonaerense que regresó de un viaje por España, uno de los 14

países que ya tienen contagios confirmados. La patología, que es endémica en buena parte del continente africano, se presenta con fiebre y una erupción cutánea característica. Ante síntomas, recomiendan consultar rápidamente al médico. **Página 23**

EL PULSO DEL CONSUMO

Salimos, pero muy distintos

Guillermo Oliveto

—PARA LA NACION—

Los indicadores de Google y Apple señalan que la sociedad global ya volvió a los niveles de movilidad de 2019. Salimos, sí, pero no iguales. No somos los mismos porque pasamos por donde pasamos. Y eso aún está en proceso. Se

puede ver en las calles de Nueva York a una gran cantidad de personas caminar o correr con sus minúsculos AirPods, que les permiten no solo escuchar audios, sino fundamentalmente circular metidas en su burbuja. Continúa en la página 20

El Consejo de la Magistratura busca quebrar el bloqueo esta semana

JUSTICIA. Se reunirá el jueves; los jueces Bento y Alonso están en la mira **Página 16**

ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Sérgio Lazzarini Presidente lava as mãos privatizando Petrobras

Pensamentos simplistas foram determinantes para inviabilizar o ambicioso programa de privatizações defendido pelo ministro da Economia, Paulo Guedes, avalia o pesquisador Sérgio Lazzarini, do Insper. Ele questiona o tom do anúncio de privatização da Petrobras. "Bolsonaro quer privatizar para que não seja mais culpa dele se aumentarem preços." A12



Divulgação

Ilustrada C1

Detonados e fashion

Tênis e acessórios de grife com aparência de sujos e destruídos chegam a custar milhares de dólares.

Governo compra trator com verba de amparo a pobres

Operação da Cidadania envolveu R\$ 89,8 mi; ex-ministro nega irregularidades

O governo Jair Bolsonaro (PL) destinou para a aquisição de tratores R\$ 89,8 milhões que deveriam ser direcionados para mitigar o impacto da pandemia de Covid em comunidades pobres.

Os equipamentos foram comprados pelo Ministério da Cidadania no âmbito de uma iniciativa voltada para famílias em condição de extrema pobreza na zona rural.

A operação com 24 tratores foi efetivada no apagar das luzes de 2021. Ocorreu antes mesmo de a pasta definir a relação de municípios beneficiados, o que indicava falta de critérios técnicos.

Só foi estabelecida a quantidade de veículos por estado. O maior beneficiado é a Bahia, estado do ex-ministro João Roma, pré-candidato ao governo do estado pelo PL.

Roma, ainda no governo, assinou o despacho para liberar a compra, em 27 de dezembro de 2021. Nos dois dias seguintes, foram empenhados os recursos em favor da empresa chinesa XCMG, também beneficiada por emendas parlamentares para o Ministério do Desenvolvimento Regional. As máquinas estão paradas no pátio da empresa.

A Cidadania não concluiu as exigências técnicas para entregar os tratores, incluindo a definição das cidades.

Roma afirma que não houve desvio de finalidade, pois a compra de máquinas integra a área de fomento rural e, portanto, atende as pessoas do programa. Diz ainda que a Bahia teve destaque em razão do território e da população. Política A4

Senado se prepara para votar nova legislação eleitoral

Depois de oito meses, o Senado deve votar até junho o projeto do novo Código Eleitoral que, entre outros pontos, censura pesquisas eleitorais, fragiliza normas de transparência e fiscalização e dá ao Congresso poder de cassar resoluções do Tribunal Superior Eleitoral. Política A8

Bolsonaro dobra número de viagens com perfil eleitoral

Política A6

Luiz Felipe Pondé Miséria política brasileira tocou o fundo do poço

Estamos no mato sem cachorro. Para apoiar Jair Bolsonaro, você tem que ser uma espécie de estúpido raivoso e cego. Para apoiar o petista Lula, você tem que ser um obcecado ideológico ou um mentiroso contumaz. Ilustrada C6



Adriano Vizzoni/Folhapress

FESTAS JUNINAS PRESENCIAIS VOLTAM A SÃO PAULO APÓS DOIS ANOS

O Centro de Tradições Nordestinas, na zona norte da capital, prepara-se para o São João de Nóis Tudim; infectologista recomenda uso de máscara Cotidiano B3

Esporte B5 Manchester City vence 4º título na era Guardiola

Venda da Eletrobras vai limitar poder dos acionistas privados

Folhainvest A19

Surto de dengue é o pior em 10 anos em 5 estados e DF

Saúde B1

Defensores atuam para votar lei que libera jogo de azar

Parlamentares defensores do controverso projeto de lei que libera jogos de azar no país veem a possibilidade de a proposta avançar no Senado na "janela de oportunidade" após as eleições. A antecipação da análise, no entanto, não agrada à cúpula do Senado. O texto foi aprovado pela Câmara dos Deputados em fevereiro. Mercado A17

EDITORIAIS A2

Receita perigosa Sobre dados de arrecadação e despesas federais.

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A pandemia em 22.mai



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El diputado Erico Galeano y el ex ministro Joaquín Roa, entre los sospechados

Casos de corrupción vinculados a A Ultranza no avanzan en Fiscalía

Uno de los agentes que tienen los expedientes es Juan Ledesma, el mismo que lleva los casos de Hugo Javier y del intendente asunceno Nenecho Rodríguez, a quien tampoco imputó.

PÁGINA 36

RODRIGO WILLIAMS

Cuadros respiratorios. La gran cantidad de personas que demandan atención llevan a los servicios de salud al límite de sus capacidades. Los niños son los más afectados.

PÁGINA 13

Hospitales rebasados internan hasta en Urgencias

Ayer despidieron a intendente Mario Abdo no se pronunció sobre muerte de Acevedo

PÁGINA 3

La suba sigue latente Difieren una semana definición de precios de los combustibles

PÁGINA 9

Cayeron los indicadores La recuperación plena del consumo se dará en el 2023

PÁGINA 8

Vetaron ingreso de uno de ellos EEUU tiene indicios de lavado narco de los González Daher

PÁGINA 37

Obispo de Caacupé alerta que la situación puede empeorar Mons. Valenzuela llama a reaccionar ante ola de violencia que se instaló

PÁGINA 4

Alerta ante retraso en conformar terna para el TSJE La Concertación se moviliza contra las maniobras en Consejo de Magistratura

PÁGINA 2

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



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POURQUOI IL A FINALEMENT
CHOISI DE RESTER AU PARIS
SAINT-GERMAIN PAGES 18 ET 19

GUIDE
NOS CONSEILS POUR FAIRE
ÉDITER SON PREMIER LIVRE
EN KIOSQUE DÈS AUJOURD'HUI



LE FIGARO PATRIMOINE

Impôts: derniers jours
pour déclarer
vos revenus
NOTRE CAHIER SPÉCIAL



ITALIE

Il y a trente ans,
la mafia assassinait
Giovanni Falcone

PAGE 11

RELIGION

M^{gr} Ulrich s'installe
à Paris dans
un diocèse
en chantier

PAGE 12

LE FIGARO SANTÉ

Le « quantified
self », ou l'art
de se mesurer
en permanence

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SINISTRES

L'assurance au défi
du réchauffement
climatique

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CHAMPS LIBRES

- L'extension
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- Le modèle
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à une guerre
en Europe?
- Un entretien
avec François
Bazin
- La tribune de
Xavier-Laurent
Salvador
- La chronique
de Nicolas
Baverez

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FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question
de samedi:
Êtes-vous satisfait
de la composition
du gouvernement Borne?

OUI 31% **NON 69%**
TOTAL DE VOTANTS: 189 781

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sur lefigaro.fr
Faites-vous confiance au
gouvernement pour lutter
contre l'inflation?

ANNE-CHRISTINE POUJOLAT/APP

Le Maire, Ndiaye : Macron au risque du « en même temps »

L'arrivée d'une figure de la gauche culturelle à l'Éducation aux côtés de ministres venus de la droite pose la question de la cohérence politique de l'équipe d'Élisabeth Borne.

À peine nommé et, déjà, le gouvernement Borne connaît ses premières turbulences. François Bayrou fait savoir à demi-mot qu'il n'est pas satisfait du sort réservé à ses trou-

pes du MoDem dans le nouveau dispositif gouvernemental. Le même jour, le nouveau ministre des Solidarités, Damien Abad, est accusé d'agressions sexuelles qu'il

« conteste avec la plus grande force ». Le casting des ministres surprend. Nombre d'entre eux restent à leur poste. Bruno Le Maire prend du galon et devient numéro deux

du gouvernement tandis que Pap Ndiaye, ministre de l'Éducation, spécialiste de la question des minorités, divise la classe politique. Sa nomination suscite le doute sur ce que

sera la politique de la nouvelle équipe en matière d'enseignement. Sur les 28 ministres, 15 sont candidats aux législatives. En cas de défaite, ils devront démissionner.

→ UN « PHÉNIX » NOMMÉ BRUNO LE MAIRE → GÉRALD DARMANIN, CONFORTÉ À L'INTÉRIEUR, PROMET DE PARLER DE TOUT, TOUT LE TEMPS
→ PAP NDIAYE, UN MINISTRE QUI DIVISE À LA FEUILLE DE ROUTE BIEN REMPLIE PAGES 2 À 5 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

Azovstal: le récit d'un siège héroïque devenu symbole de la résistance ukrainienne



Les défenseurs du site sidérurgique de Marioupol ont tenu le monde en haleine par leur résistance acharnée sous les bombardements russes. Reconstitution d'une bataille devenue pour les deux camps un enjeu capital. PAGES 8 ET 9

ÉDITORIAL par Yves Thureau ythureau@lefigaro.fr

Grand écart

Donnez-nous votre gouvernement, et nous vous dirons qui vous êtes.

La composition de la nouvelle équipe ministérielle tient peut-être compte des élections législatives à venir. Le principal adversaire désigné étant l'union mélenchoniste, Emmanuel Macron aurait, dit-on, intérêt à chasser des voix sur sa gauche. D'où la présence inattendue au portefeuille de l'Éducation nationale d'un spécialiste de la condition noire qui fait beaucoup jaser. Après avoir « triangulé » à droite lors du premier quinquennat, le président triangulerait à présent de l'autre côté. Certes, mais ce gouvernement ressemble d'abord, et avant tout, à son géniteur. Il dit tout du locataire de l'Élysée, voire de son caractère, jusqu'à la caricature.

Les choix et les équilibres recherchés traduisent la plasticité d'Emmanuel Macron, cette faculté qu'il montre à faire cohabiter les contraires, à jouer avec les paradoxes, à provoquer des effets disruptifs dans une partition d'un grand classicisme.

Artiste du grand écart, le chef de l'État détournera l'attention en affirmant que les deux hommes ont en commun d'être des purs produits de la méritocratie républicaine, mais on est impatient de voir comment

Gérald Darmanin, le premier fil de France, s'accommodera des propos de Pap Ndiaye dénonçant les « violences policières » ou le « racisme structurel » de notre pays.

Cela dit, les idées du ministre de l'Éducation s'inscrivent dans le droit fil des déclarations présidentielles : sur la colonisation, crime contre l'humanité, mais aussi sur l'absence de culture française, le multiculturalisme ou le féminisme et le port du voile. Emmanuel Macron, qui n'avait pas apprécié

Ce gouvernement ressemble à son géniteur

certaines sorties de Jean-Michel Blanquer, enfonce donc le clou. Il déteste être contredit et veut, à tout prix, avoir le dernier mot. Dans un autre registre, le maintien au ministère de la Justice d'Éric Dupond-Moretti relève du même ressort. Le garde des Sceaux n'avait guère brillé jusque-là, mais le mettre hors jeu, c'était reconnaître une erreur de jugement. Peu importe les critiques, l'intéressé est même promu dans l'ordre protocolaire, figurant au quatrième rang derrière Élisabeth Borne.

Ainsi va Emmanuel Macron. Ce gouvernement est à son image. ■

Législatives, le défi varois du candidat Zemmour

Au soir du premier tour de la présidentielle, Saint-Tropez a accordé plus de 22 % de ses suffrages à Éric Zemmour. Trois fois plus que son score national. C'est sur cette terre que le prétendant à la députation a décidé de se présenter. Mais la circonscription s'étend sur des terres où Marine Le Pen est souvent arrivée en tête au premier tour. Un sondage Ifop pour le JDD, ce dimanche, a suffi à regonfler les troupes de Reconquête !. Avec 24 % des intentions de vote, leur chef est donné au second tour dans sa circonscription contre la macroniste Séréine Mauborgne (28 %). PAGE 6



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Children's mental health in crisis as cases rocket to a record high

Toll of 400,000 patients triggers alarm over scale of problems since Covid

Exclusive
Denis Campbell
Health policy editor

More than 400,000 children and young people a month are being treated for mental health problems - the highest on record - prompting warnings of an unprecedented crisis in the wellbeing of under-18s.

Experts say Covid has seriously exacerbated problems such as anxiety, depression and self-harm among school-age children and that the "relentless and unsustainable" rise in their need for help could overwhelm stretched NHS services.

The latest NHS figures show "open referrals" - troubled children and young people in England undergoing treatment or waiting to start care - reached 420,314 in February, the highest number since records began in 2016. The total has risen by 147,853 since February 2020, a 54% increase, and by 80,096 over the last year alone, a jump of 24%. January's tally

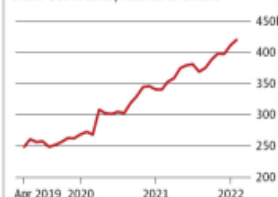
of 411,132 cases was the first time the figure had topped 400,000.

Mental health charities welcomed the fact that an all-time high number of young people were receiving psychological support. But they fear the figures are the tip of the iceberg of the true number of people who need care, and that many more under-18s in distress are being denied help by arbitrary eligibility criteria.

"Open referrals" are under-18s who are being cared for by children and adolescent mental health services (Camhs) or are waiting to see a specialist, having been assessed as needing help against treatment

The number of open referrals to NHS child and adolescent mental health services in England stood at 420,314 in February

Under-18s in touch/referred to CAMHS



Source: YoungMinds, NHS Digital. Last updated April 2022

thresholds. GPs, teachers and mental health charities believe the criteria is too strict, excludes many who are deemed not ill enough, and amounts to rationing of care. "There is an unprecedented crisis in young people's mental health, further evidenced by these record numbers of young people needing help from the NHS," said Olly Parker, the head of external affairs at Young Minds. "The record high number of children and young people receiving care from the NHS tells us that the crisis in young people's mental health is a wave that's breaking now."

While it was positive that

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City roar back to win title in day of wild drama

Manchester City won the Premier League for the fourth time in five years after scoring three goals in a frenzied five minutes to overturn a 2-0 deficit against Aston Villa and break Liverpool hearts.

News Page 8 and Sport back page →

Work is the best way out of cost of living crisis - PM

Heather Stewart
Gwyn Topham

Boris Johnson hopes to blunt calls for urgent action on the cost of living crisis by stressing that work is the best route out of poverty as an energy firm boss warned that 40% of households could soon be in fuel poverty.

No 10 sources confirmed yesterday that the prime minister would maintain a spotlight on the healthy state of the job market in the face of the rising clamour to help families struggling with bills.

Ministers have as yet been unable to agree on what more should be done amid continued wrangling about the merits of a windfall tax - with Downing Street keen to stress that £22bn has already been spent on supporting households, and highlighting the need to grow the economy.

Johnson told the Welsh

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