



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND SATURDAY/SUNDAY, MAY 28 - 29, 2022 - VOL. CCLXXIX NO. 124

WSJ.com

**** \$6.00

What's News

World-Wide

Police who responded to the mass shooting at an Uvalde, Texas, elementary school waited around an hour to enter the classroom where the gumman had locked him-seen incorrectly thought no lives were at risk, the director of the Texas Department of Public Safety said. Al, Ad * Bussian forces made

- Public Safety said. AI, A4

 Russian forces made
 fresh gains in fierce fighting in eastern Ukraine's
 Donbas region, engaging
 in street battles in the city
 of Severodonetsk, as Moscow pressed its advantage
 in firepower on outgunned
 Ukrainian defenders. AI A6-7
- Jurors began deliberating whether lawyer Michael Sussmann lied to the FBI in September 2016 about his motives for bringing it research allegedly linking Trump to Russia. A3
- A special grand jury has sent out subpoenas in a county prosecutor's probe into efforts by Trump and others to overturn Georgia's 2020 election results. **A5**
- Demand for gasoline in the U.S. in mid-May fell to one of its lowest levels for this time of year in nearly a decade. A3

Business & Finance

- 2.5% Friday, notching its best week of the year and snapping a punishing los-ing streak that had almost ended its bull market. The Nasdaq and Dow gained 3.3 and 1.8%, respectively. A1
- U.S. households boosted ♦ U.S. households boosted spending for a fourth straight month in April, but the savings rate fell to the lowest in 14 years, suggest-ing many Americans are tap-ping savings to offset cost increases from inflation. A1
- At least 25 companies
 that merged with SPACs between 2020 and 2021 have issued so-called going-concern
 warnings in recent months, according to Audit Analytics. B1
- U.S. airlines canceled hundreds of flights as a com-bination of severe weather and staffing challenges dis-rupted the start of Memorial Day weekend travel. B3
- ◆ Reckitt Benckiser is pushing ahead with a mul-tibillion-dollar sale of its infant-formula business. B3
- ♦ The SEC confirmed it is looking into the timing of when Musk notified the market that he had bought 5% of Twitter's stock. B3

NOONAN

Let Not Our Hearts Grow Numb A13

NOTICE TO READERS

WSJ.com and WSJ mobile apps will publish throughout the weekend. The Wall Street Journal print edition won't appear Monday, Memorial Day, but a daily edition will be available in WSJ iPad and Android apps.



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'It Was the Wrong Decision' To Delay Taking On Gunman

UVALDE, Texas—Police who responded to the mass shooting at an elementary school here waited around an hour to enter the classroom where the gun-

By Elizabeth Findell, Douglas Belkin and Alicia A. Caldwell

man had locked himself be-cause a commander on scene incorrectly thought no lives were at risk despite multiple 911 calls from children inside, the diseases of the Toran Dethe director of the Texas De-partment of Public Safety said Friday.

The decision was a mistake and it is unclear how many lives it may have cost, said the director, Steven McCraw, at a news conference. Ultimately 19 children and two teachers were found dead.

The first 911 call regarding the shooter came in at 11:30 a.m. Tuesday, minutes before local police arrived and the shooter barricaded himself inside two connected fourthgrade classrooms at Robb Elementary School, Mr. McCraw said. From 12:03 to 12:46, he added, 911 dispatchers received numerous calls from within the

classroom, including repeated calls from a child whispering that people were dead and beg-ging: "Please send the police row."

ging: "Please send the police now."

Meanwhile, at least 19 lawenforcement officers waited in
the hallway, because the commander on scene, the school
district's chief of police, believed no lives were at risk and
it was better to wait until a tactical team could get keys to the
room before entering, according to Mr. McCraw. A Border
Patrol tactical team ultimately
did so, and killed the shooter,
at 12:50 p.m., he said.

"The on scene commander at that time believed it had transitioned from an active shooter to a barricaded subject," Mr. McCraw said. "Obviously, based upon the information we have, children in that classroom were at risk, and it was in fact still an active shooter... It was the wrong decision. Period."

Friday's press conference followed days of mounting anger among local residents.

**Please turn to page 44*

Households Boost Spending

Markets Rally To Snap Losing Streak

Broad gains lift three major indexes to close their best week since November 2020

By Gunjan Banerji And Caitlin McCabe

AND CAITLIN MCCABE

The S&P 500 raced higher Friday, notching its best week of the year and snapping a punishing losing streak that had almost ended its bull market.

A slew of earnings results and economic data has boosted optimism among investors in recent sessions, helping pull major indexes away from their lows of the year. A broad-based rally, with all 11 of the S&P 500's groups rising, helped the index break a seven-week losing streak. All three major indexes jumped at least 6% this week, which hasn't happened since November 2020.

On Friday, new data showed

hasn't happened since November 2020.

On Friday, new data showed that U.S. households boosted spending for a fourth straight month, though they reached deeply into savings to do so. Meanwhile, a closely watched U.S. inflation reading eased in April. The data, alongside some strong earnings, has pushed shares of retailers sharply higher. Dollar Tree, Ulta Beauty and Ross Stores were among the week's biggest winners in the S&P 500, gaining at least 20% apiece.

Meanwhile, U.S. consumers appear reluctant to let high

Meanwhile, U.S. consumers appear reluctant to let high gas prices and travel costs keep them from their Memo-Please turn to page A2

Russia Gains Ground, U.S. Vows New Arms

The Hot Ride This Summer Is a

Minivan. Good Luck Finding One.

The multipurpose family vehicle is in vogue

again, and prices are through the sunroof

Elusive species

KYIV, Ukraine—Russian forces made fresh gains in fierce fighting in eastern Ukraine's Donbas region Friday, engaging in street battles in the city of Severodonetsk, as Moscow pressed its advantage in firepower on outgumed Ukrainian defenders.

Ukrainian troops have with drawn from Lyman, the latest Donbas city to fall to Russian forces in the region in recent days, Ukrainian officials said. The Russian advances, if they continue, could encircle a

Drew Meyer is either going to be mountain biking or kayaking this weekend, but he hasn't made any firm plans. He doesn't need to. Ever since he bought his minivant this year, he's had it packed for camping and mountain biking on a moment's notice, and he has a rack on top for his kayak. This, after years of poking fun at his friends who drove minivans.

By Chris Kornelis

large grouping of Ukrainian forces fighting in the easternmost part of Ukrainian-administered Donbas, resulting in a major defeat for Kyiv.

The Biden administration is expected to announce as early as next week that it will supply Ukraine with advanced rocket systems known as MLRS batteries, U.S. officials said Friday.

Ukrainian officials say they Please turn to page A6

nancing secures.

species
The minivan
was long the
fanny pack of automobiles—
functional, frumpy. After years
of declining sales and discontinued models, the vehicle, like
Melase turn to page A9

By Gabriel T. Rurin

U.S. households boosted spending for a fourth straight month in April, but the savings rate fell to the lowest in 14 years, suggesting many Americans are tapping savings to offset cost increases from inflation.

Consumer spending rose by a seasonally adjusted 0.9% last month, the Commerce Department said Friday, with households spending more on services and autos. The savings rate fell to 4.4%, from a downwardly revised 5% the prior month.

month.
A closely watched U.S. in-flation reading, meanwhile, decelerated for the first time Please turn to page A2

18 19 20 21 '22

EXCHANGE



WHAT'S IN STORE

Fresh bets that we'll change what we buy. **B1**

TerraUSD Crash Left Trail of Broken Dreams

TerraUSD was touted as a

TerraUSD was touted as a blue-chip cryptocurrency. Now its investors are reeling from painful losses and asking if it was all a get-rich-quick scheme. A surgeon in Massachusetts can't stop thinking about how he lost his family's nest egg. A young Ukrainian considered suicide after losing 90% of his savings. Other investors have given up dreams of starting businesses or quitting day jobs. All were swept up in the mania for TerraUSD, whose value swelled to \$18 billion before collapsing this month. The coin's downfall is a reminder that crypto—which enjoyed a

huge bull market last year—is often little more than a casino, with weak regulation and little recourse for the losers.

The crash caught many investors off guard because TerratUSD was a stablecoin, designed to maintain its value of \$1 per coin. Unlike bitcoin, which has crashed repeatedly in its short history, TerraUSD was pitched as a harbor from volatility. It slipped below \$1 this month and was trading around 3 cents on Friday. Investors piled into raruUSD because of the opportunity to make money in Anchor Please turn to page A7

◆ Coinbase execs pocket \$1.2 billion from share sales..... B11

USA \$3.00 Canada C\$3.50

INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

SATURDAY 28 MAY / SUNDAY 29 MAY 2022



EY weighs listing for advisory arm

Radical Big Four shake-up
 Partners set for windfall
 Bid to end conflicts of interest

MICHAEL O'DWYER AND ARASH MASSOUDI — LONDON

ARASH MASSOUDI — LONDON
EY is exploring a public listing or partial
sale of its global advisory business as
part of the most radical transformation
of a Big Four accountancy firm in two
decades, according to people with direct
knowledge of the matter.
A stake sale or initial public offering
would raise the prospect of a big windfall for EY's partners, reminiscent of the
IPOs of Goldman Sachs in 1999 and
Accenture in 2001.
The 312,000-strong firm, which dominates the accounting industry alongside Deloitte, KPMG and PwC, is weighing a historic break-up of its business as

a solution to conflicts of interest that have dogged the profession and attracted regulatory scrutiny.

EY's advisory businesses, which offer tax, consulting and deals advice, generated revenues of \$250n last year and employ 166,000 advisers. Its audit business, which had revenues of \$140n last year, is likely to remain as a partnership following any break-up. Some advisers would shift to the audit side to support its work in areas such as tax, said people with knowledge of the details.

The newly independent advisory business would have the option of incorporating as a company, allowing it to take on external funding through a sale

or IPO. Fresh investment could help it to

or IPO. Fresh investment could help it to boost growth and compete with larger consultancies such as Accenture, which reported revenues of \$51bn last year and is valued at about \$200bn.

A split would also free the advisory business to win work from companies audited by EY, opening up potential clients currently off-limits owing to independence rules.

The sale of part of the business to external shareholders would be a radical departure. A senior partner at another firm said that selling parts of the business and handling the windfall to partners would alter the existing structure where "you come in naked and you



EY advisory businesses generated revenues of \$26bn last year and employ 166,000 advisers

leave naked" with the business's capital

leave naked" with the business's capital preserved for the next generation. Partners will vote on any shift. Asked if investors might be lined up before a ballot, a person with knowledge of the matter said: "We'll be looking to see what's in the right interests of all the

what's in the fight interests of an experiment.

EY declined to comment on any IPO. Global chief executive Carmine DI Siblo told staff in an email yesterday that "no . . . decisions have been made".

EY was being advised on its planning by JPMorgan and Goldman Sachs, people with knowledge of the matter said. The banks declined to comment.

War on 'woke capitalism' Is the ESG tide turning?



Why it feels good to do good

Tim Harford LIFE & ARTS



Kylie Minogue, uncorked

Swapping pop for bubbly HOW TO SPEND IT



Tom Cruise's new movie

What it says about US power LIFE & ARTS



Texas grieves

Police face parents' anger

An officer walks past a memorial yester-day for the 19 children who died at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, Texas, as police faced mounting anger over their reaction to Tuesday's shooting. Parents want to know why gunman Salvador Ramos was so easily allowed to gain access to the school and why it took 90 minutes before they killed him. Outrage has been fuelled by the emer-gence of smartphone footage taken out-side the school during the attack show-ing desperate parents pleading with

ing desperate parents pleading with police to go inside. One shows a man pinned to the ground by officers.



Arrogant 'genlus' reviled after \$40bn crypto crash

Crypto 'cult leader' Do Kwon has been dubbed Korea's most hated man after the \$40bn collapse of his terraUSD stablecoin. His trademark arrogance had attracted a following of Lunatics, named after the luna cryptocurrency that was paired with terra to maintain its dollar per, The project's demise devastated retail investors and hit the bloogs backers that were such as the proper backers that were properties that were the properties that were properties that were properties that were such as the properties that were bigger backers that were, says a former colleague, mesmerised by Do's genius. Now he faces fraud allegations. "Lunatic" investors > PAGE 12

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Iran seizes two Greek oil tankers in Gulf after accusing Athens of piracy

Iran has seized two Greek oil tankers in one of the world's busiest shipping lanes in apparent retaliation for the capture of a Russian-flagged tanker loaded with Iranian oil last month.

Iranian forces boarded the Prudent Warrior, a Greek-owned vessel, yester-day in the Strait of Hormuz using a heli-copter and pair of speedboats, accord-ing to the manager of one of the ships. Iran's Revolutionary Guard con-firmed its "naval forces seized the two Greek tankers in the Persian Gulf waters to the control of the control of the con-

today due to their violations [of mari-time rules]". The second vessel is believed to be the Delta Poseidon.

The seizure of two Greek-flagged tankers is likely to cause consternation

in the oil market and the maritime

in the oil market and the maritime industry, with oil prices already close to \$120 a barrel. Greece is a shipping powerhouse with almost a quarter of all supertankers owned by Greek companies, according to Lloyd's List.

George Vakitzis, chief executive of Polembros Shipping, operator of Prudent Warrior, told the Financial Times that the ship was seized before being directed towards the Iranian coast by authorities. He said his vessel was bound for the US with crude loaded at Bastrah in Iraq.

"We lost all communication about 2 o'clock local time and tried to talk to the vessel and Communication about 2 o'clock local time and tried to talk to the vessel in the same area to give us the position of the vessel. They told us a helicopter and two speedboats had reached our vessel. It's a seizure and a diplomatic situation and we're in the middle."

Poseidon, did not respond to a request

Foseidon, did not respond to a request for comment.

Last month Athens seized a Russian-lagged oil tanker for carrying sanctions-hit Iranian crude. Us authorities are reported to have taken the Iranian crude from the tanker this week.

Iran summoned the Greek charge d'affaires to Tehran on Wednesday, condemning what it called "piracy" by Athens. Tehran also yesterday called on Switzerland to complain over the seizure of the Iranian tanker and to convey "strong objections" to the Americans.

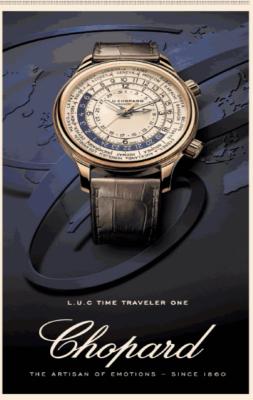
In 2019 Iran seized a British-flagged oil tanker after the UK stopped an Iranian vessel in Gibraltar carrying crude to Syria. The Stena Impero was held in Iran for two months before its release.

Additional reporting by Eleni Varvitisoti in Athens

in Athens G7 urges Opec on output page 3

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS	CURRENCIES								GOVERNMENT BONDS				
	May 27	Prev	%chg	Pair	May 27	Prev	Pair	May 27	Prev	Yield (%)	May 27	Prev	Chg (b/p
S&P 500	4129.71	4057.84	1.77	\$/E	1.071	1.072	6/\$	0.934	0.933	US 2 yr	2.48	2.48	0.0
Nasdaq Composite	12040.61	11740.65	2.55	\$/E	1.261	1.257	£/\$	0.793	0.795	US 10 yr	2.74	2.78	-0.04
Dow Jones Ind	32986.90	32637,19	1.07	£/E	0.849	0.852	6/E	1,178	1,173	US 30 yr	2.96	3.02	-0.00
FTSEurofirst 300	1740.02	1715.10	1.45	¥/\$	127,125	127.325	W/E	136.150	136.461	UK 2 yr	1.46	1.47	-0.0
Euro Stoxx 50	3808.56	3740.31	1.82	WE	160.362	160.099	£ index	80.220	80.154	UK 10 yr	1.92	1.96	-0.05
FTSE 100	7585.46	7564.92	0.27	SFr/€	1.025	1.030	SFr/£	1,207	1.208	UK 30 yr	2.18	2.23	-0.0
FTSE All-Share	4190.21	4176.59	0.33	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr	-0.07	-0.07	0.00
CAC 40	6515.75	6410.58	1.64	CRTPTO		May	97	Prev	Wb	JPN 10 yr	0.22	0.23	-0.0
Xetra Dax	14462.19	14231.29	1.62	Bitcoin (\$)		28739		182.71	%chg -1.52	JPN 30 yr	0.98	1.00	-0.01
Nikkei	26781.68	26604,84	0.66	Ethereum		1748		791.28	-2.40	GER 2 yr	0.34	0.34	0.00
Hang Seng	20697.36	20116.20	2.89	Ethereum		1/40	35 1	791.28	-2.40	GER 10 yr	0.96	0.99	-0.03
MSCI World \$	2743.96	2700.09	1.62	COMMOD	ITIES					GER 30 yr	1.24	1.28	-0.0
MSCI EM \$	1022.96	1019.59	0.33			May	27	Prev	%chg				
MSCI ACWI \$	639.30	629.97	1.48	\$ ITW IIO		114	51	114.09	0.37				
FT Wilshire 2500	5270.10	5163.08	2.07	Oil Brent \$		118	67	117.40	1.08			Prices are lat	est for adition
FT Wilshire 5000	41154.20	40319.61	2.07	Gold \$		1848	25 1	847.20	0.06			Data provided b	



VOL. CLXXI ... No. 59,437 +

'PLEASE SEND THE POLICE NOW,' SHE PLEADED

N.R.A. Meets, Blaming 'Evil' But Not Guns

By GLENN THRUSH
HOUSTON — One by one, the
gun rights activists and politicians who showed up at the National Rifle Association convention on Friday said they were appalled, horrified and shaken by
the massacre of 19 children and
two adults a few days earlier in
Uvalde, Texas.

two adults a few days earlier in Uvalde, Texas.

One by one, they then rejected any suggestion that gun control measures were needed to stop mass shootings. They blamed the atrocities on factors that had nothing to do with firearms — the breakdown of the American family, untreated mental illness, bullying on social media, violent video games and the inexplicable existence of "evil."

Above all, they sought to divert pressure to support popular overhauls like expanded background checks by seizing on the issue of the gunnary of the second control of the second cases to Robb Elementary School through an unguarded door.

Former President Donald J.

the gunman in Uvalde gained easy access to Robb Elementary School through an unguarded down. The control of the

guns." Ovidia Molina, the president of Continued on Page A13

TIMELINE Texas officials gave details on the sequence of eve during the shooting. PAGE All

SNIPER One of the Border Patrol's sharpshooters killed the gunman at Robb Elementary. PAGE Al2

ENOUGH An N.B.A. coach and two baseball teams speak out against gun violence. PAGE B8

Calls for Help From Inside the School

Between about 11:30 a.m. and 1 p.m. on May 24, a gunman crashed a truck and then killed 19 students and two teachers at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, Texas. Students who were in the classroom with the gunman called 911 several times, including a lengthy call during which some shooting and other sounds of the attack could be heard, according to Steven C. McCraw, director of the Texas Department of Public Safety:

A caller identified — I will not say her name, but she was in Room 112 - called 911 at 12:03. The duration of the call was 1 minute and 23 seconds. She identified herself and whispered

At 12:10, she called back, in Room 112, advised there are multiple dead.

At 12:13, again, she called on the phone.

Again at 12:16, she's called back and said there was eight to nine students alive.

At 12:19, a 911 call was made, and another person in Room 111 called. I will not say her name. She hung up when another student told her to hang up.

At 12:21, you could hear over the 911 call that three shots were fired.

At 12:36, a 911 call, it lasted for 21 seconds. The initial caller called back. The student-child called back, and was told to stay on the line and be very quiet. She told 911 that he shot the door.

At approximately 12:43 and 12:47, she asked 911 to please send the police now.

At 12:46, she said she could not that she could hear the police next door.

At 12:50, shots are fired, they can be heard over the 911 call.

At 12:51, it's very loud, and sounds like officers are moving children out of the room. At that time, the first child that called was outside before the call cuts off.

Scene of the Massacre

Police Official Declares Waiting To Move In Was Wrong Decision

This article is by J. David Goodman, Edgar Sandoval, Karen Zraick and Rick Rojas.

UVALDE, Texas — Furtively, speaking in a whisper, a fourthgrade girl dialed the police. Actually, and the police of the police of

called back again. And again—"Please send the police now," she begged.

But they were already there, waiting in a school hallway just outside. And they had been there for more than an hour.

The police officers held off as they listened to sporadic gunfire from behind the door, ordered by the commander at the scene not to rush the pair of connected class-rooms where the gunman had shooting shortly after II:30 a.m.

"It was the wrong decision, period," the head of the state police, Steven C. McCraw, said on Friday after reading from the transcripts of children's calls to 911 and from a timeline of the police inaction during nearly 90 minutes of horror at the elementary school in Uvalde, Texas.

After days of shifting explana-

the elementary school in Uvalde, Texas.

Texas days of shifting explanations and conflicting accounts, the disclosures answered many of the basic questions about how the massacre had taken place. But they raised the even more painful possibility that had the police done more, and faster, not all of those who died — 19 children and two teachers — would have lost their lives.

their lives.

The frank and sudden revelation by Mr. McCraw that a police
commander decided not to go inside the classroom even as the
gumman continued shooting
brought forth an eruption of
shouts and emotional questioning. At times, Mr. McCraw struggled to be heard. At others, he appeared overcome, his voice break-

by running toward gunfire," said on Friday at a news conference in Uvalde that he had been "misled" about the events and the police response, adding that he was "absolutely livid."

Mr. Abbott, who hours earlier abandoned plans to appear at a National Riffe Association convention in Houston, told reporters that state lawmakers would restate lawmakers would revently the property of the property o

said.

To the children inside Robb Elementary School, Tuesday began as a day of celebrations and special treats — movies in classrooms, photos with family in front of a glittery curtain and award ceremonies for students finishing their year in two days, as relatives proudly gripped their hands as they walked down the hallways.

Gemma Lopez had gym class that morning, and an awards ceremony. She watched "The Jungle classmates in Room 108, Some of the students finished up work, others played around,"doing whatever we do," as she put it.

Then she heard loud popping in the distance, like firecrackers. She realized something was wrong because she saw police outside the classroom window. And the popping grew louder.

"Everyone was scared and everything, and I told them to be quiet," Gemma, 10, said. One of her Continued on Page A10 To the children inside Robb Ele-



RESCUED Children escaped through a window. Page A10.

In Mass Shootings, Officers Told To 'Confront the Attacker' First

This article is by Jesus Jiménez, haila Dewan and Mike Baker.

Responding to a call of a mass shooting, police officers in the United States are trained, above all else, to stop the gunman. Act with urgency. Defend innocent lives.

As new questions emerged on As new questions emerged on Friday about the police response to the shooting at Robb Elemen-tary School in Uvalde, Texas, ex-perts described those principles as the central tenets for handling such circumstances — a set of pro-tocols that have evolved signifi-cantly over the last two decades cantly over the last two decades the control of the control of the control of such circumstances — as the pro-tocols that have evolved signifi-cantly over the last two decades to the control of the control of such control of the control of such control of the control of such co

States.
Officers are taught to enter quickly in small formations — or quickly in small formations — or even enter with only one or two of-ficers — to disable any gunman. Texas protocols, included in ma-terials that Uvalde officers were trained on as recently as two

months ago, advise that an "officer's first priority is to move in
and confront the attacker. This
may include bypassing the injured and not responding to cries
for help from children.

An entirely different approach
ends expelled of the genfire
ends to be collected of the genfire
trained to use slower tactics appropriate for a barricaded gunman or hostage situation.

The guidelines sound straightforward, but the scenarios often
are not. The protocols have been
examined time and again over the
last two decades amid devastaing massacres in cities around the
country. Officers must make moment-by-moment judgment callsmation in shifting, highly volatile
situations where every second is
essential. And none of it, experts mation in stituting, rightly votatile situations where every second is essential. And none of it, experts acknowledge, can serve as an an-tidote to the underlying problem of gunmen intent on causing vio-Continued on Page A12

Russian Atrocities Spur Accusations of Genocide Americans Eye Housing Market, and Stay Put

and Michael Levenson.

The increasing carnage and destruction inflicted by Russian forces in eastern Ukraine — punctuated by the use of thermobaric explosives that set off huge, destructive shock waves — led to fresh accusations Friday that contains the contained of the Ukrainian population.

Report Cites the Brutal Attacks on Civilians

A new report by international legal scholars and human rights experts said mass killings, deliberate attacks on shelters and evacuation routes, and the indiscriminate bombardment of residential areas by Russian forces had established a "genocidal pattern" against Ukrainians, in violation of the United Nations Geno-

cide Convention.

The report, which warned that Ukrainians were at "imminent" risk of genocide, came as Russian forces captured the eastern city of Lyman after intense artillery bombardments — including from one of the most fear-some weapons in Russia's conventional arsenal, a rocket artillery system firing thermobaric explosives. Also known as fuel-air bombs, these explosives unleash blast waves of extreme pressure and heat, raising the likelihood of civilian casualties Continued on Page A6

By EMILY BADGER
In this housing market, it makes less and less sense to move. American homeowers sitting on the lowest mortgage rates in modern history will find it far costlier to buy their next home. Renters facing steep inflation may be better off renewing a lease than hunting for a new one. And for most everyone, it's gotten harder to find the right next home when there are so few vacant ones available.

The simplest and most affordable decision for many Americans

Falling Mobility Rate Is Worry for Economy

will be to stay put — even if their homes become too small, too big, too crowded, too far from work, too isolated from family, or too much to maintain.

The rate at which Americans move, both across town and across the country, has been steadily declining since the 1980s. Now all of the conditions in the

housing market are aligned to grind down that mobility rate even more. That's a problem both for the broader economy — workers may need to move to reach new jobs — and for millions of households who will find it hard to change their homes to match their changing they.

change their homes to match their changing lives.

"All of this is suggesting that America may be stuck in place," said Lawrence Yun, the chief economist at the National Association of Realtors.

One likely consequence:

Continued on Page A9

INTERNATIONAL A4-7

Exposing the Vatican's Secrets

David Kertzer has spent decades excavating the church's history. A new book examines Pope Pius XII during World War II. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A8-17

Trump's Invincibility Fades

As the former president's power as kingmaker is cast in doubt, some Re publicans see an opening for a post-Trump candidate in 2024. PAGE A15 BUSINESS BL-7

New Face of California Farms

With the number of young illegal immi-grants down, growers are turning to sonal visas and mecha-v can. PAGE BI

A Soprano Has Big Plans

Samuel Mariño, a singer with a rare voice type in opera, is making his Decca album debut with a glimpse at a more gender-fluid future. PAGE C1

OPINION A20-21

Amanda Gorman





Pete Luna Uvalde Leader-N CHILDREN run from Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, Texas, during Tuesday's shooting. A Texas official acknowledged police errors.

Council race for the 'soul of the Westside'

By James Rainey

When Traci Park looks out on her home community of Venice and much of the Westside, she sees a "dystopian nightmare"— tents lining the Venice Boulevard median, fires erupting seemingly every day in encampments and violent crime spiraling "off the charts." a mile north and east, Erin Darling also sees the expanded ranks of unhoused people and increases in some, but not all, types of crime. Darling views the unhoused largely as working-class people who are the victims of a "structural problem" of low wages and expensive housing and "not the product of some moral failing." occupy opposite ends of an ideological spectrum in the race to represent the Westside on the Los Angeles City Council.

COLUMN ONE

Are drug-use havens truly safe?

Vancouver's consumption sites are far from a perfect solution to the opioid epidemic, but they've been saving lives for years



GEOFFREY BORDAS, 37, injects fentanyl. He works at the Overdose Prevention Society in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside.

'I am a hard worker. I have always worked my entire life. We are productive people. Just give us a chance.'

— Geoffrey Bordas

ANITA CHABRIA

In the coastal cold of a vancouver morn-ing, nine people crowded at the door of the Insite safe of the Insite safe injection center, itching for it to open so they could shoot heroin and fentanyl inside.

Around their huddle on this two-block stretch of East Hastings

two-block stretch of East Hastings Street, hundreds of people, the majority of them habitual drug users, were crushed together in tents and chairs, on discarded rugs and under wet tarps. Some were sprawled on the sidewalk, motion-less and unconscious. One man repeatedly hurled a hatchet at the payement.

repeatedly hurled a hatchet at the pavement.

Open-use drug havens such as San Francisco's Tenderioin and L.A.'s skid row have become notorious and contentious, but those places have nothing on East Hastings, part of a neighborhood called Downtown Eastside. In every direction, there were needles in arms and remanyl, heroin and the content of the con

[See Consumption sites, A6]

POLICE WAITED AS KIDS **BEGGED** FOR HELP

Officers made the wrong decision' not to rush the shooter, Texas official says.

By Kevin Rector, Jenny Jarvie, Richard Winton and Hayley Smith

AND HAYLEY SMITH

UVALDE, Texas — Children inside a Texas elemental state of the st

Survivors share horrific stories

Shooter entered class and said, "It's time to die," child says. NATION, A5

Crowd protests NRA convention

Trump is there, but some Texas leaders pulled out in Houston. **NATION, A4**

Judges set sights on gun safety rules

Trump appointees are already tripping up state laws. CALIFORNIA, BI

Ham's hiring is nuts and maybe perfect

BILL PLASCHKE

Darvin who? At first glance, the hiring of former bench warmer and anonymous assistant Darvin Ham as the Lakers' new head coach Friday appears to be

coach r riday appears or onuts.

He's never been an NBA head coach or associate head coach, yet he's sudhead coach, yet he's sudhead coach, yet he's sudhead coach, yet he's been an assistant coach for a dozen years, yet he's suddenly supposed to command a tumultuous culture that includes creaky Anthony Davis and combat-

ive Russell Westbrook? He's toiled in obscurity for most of his 26 years in professional basketball, and

for most of his 26 years in professional basketball, and suddenly he's supposed to be ready to handle one of the most high-profile positions in sports?
Yeah, nuts. But, maybe, also, perfect?
After all, the Lakers are arguably the league's muttiest operation. Maybe they argue the trazy. Maybe their shrewd veterans can be shaken up by an untested innocent. Maybe this team with seemingly no chance at winning a championship needs a coach with nothing to lose. It could be an absolute disaster. Or it could actually work. The only certainty is, the Lakers are such a mess,

LAKERS' MAN: Darvin Ham is a longtime assistant with no head coaching experience. sports, b12

Drought to bring hot, dry summer

Forecast is no big sur-prise as major reser-voirs statewide are at 76% of average levels. voirs statewide 76% of average CALIFORNIA, B1

Dodgers defeat Arizona again

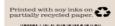
Rookie starting pitcher Ryan Pepiot is solid as L.A. holds on in 6-4 win. **SPORTS**, **B12**

Council moves to

buy apartments City leaders vote to make an offer on L.A. make an offer on L.A. Chinatown complex amid anger over rent hikes. CALIFORNIA, B1

Weather

Low clouds, then sun. L.A. Basin: 70/58. **B8**



Sexual harassment complaints handled inconsistently at CSU



CAL STATE campuses, including Channel Islands, handle misconduct claims differently, a review found.

The four were all high-ranking men at different California State University campuses — three were vice presidents for student af-

Calliforna State University campuses — three were vice presidents for student affairs. The state of the state

BUSINESS INSIDE: Ready to go electric? L.A. bans most gas appliances in new homes. A9

Amid carnage, a fateful error

Desperate students repeatedly called 911

BY TEO ARMUS, TIMOTHY BELLA AND KIM BELLWARE

UVALDE, TEX. — As police offi-cers stood outside a locked fourth-grade classroom, a stu-dent trapped inside with the man shooting at her classmates

fourth-grade classroom, a student trapped inside with the man shooting at her classmates dialed 911.

She was in Room 112, she whispered to the dispatcher. Seven minutes later, she called again. There were multiple students dead, she said. The child hung up and called several more times, her words growing increasingly desperate and grim.

"Please send police now," she said in one of the final 911 recordings investigators disclosed Friday—over 40 minutes after her initial call.

The harrowing calls from Uvalde, Tex., came to light as Texas Department of Public Safety officials acknowledged grave missteps in the police response to the worst mass shooting at an American school in nearly a decade. While two students were inside, calling 911, an on-scene commander made the decision not to rush in after determining that the scene had shifted from an active shooting to a barricaded gumman ordeal, DPS Director Steven C. McCraw said at a news conference. an active snooded, DPS Director ed gunman ordeal, DPS Director Steven C. McCraw said at a news

conference. At one point, he said, there were as many as 19 officers in a hallway outside the classroom. They waited for a key from the janitor to get inside, he said. Protocols developed after the 1999 Columbine massacre call for officers responding to a shooter at a school to immediately target the subject, even if it means putting themselves in harm's way.

means putting themsessharm's way.

"With the benefit of hindsight, of course, it was not the right decision," McCraw said. "It was the wrong decision, period."

The decision in part explains the lengthy gap in time between when gunman Salvador Ramos, when gunman Salvador Ramos, when gunman Salvador Ramos,



As bullets flew

around them. a class found

safety in silence

BY TIM CRAIG UVALDE, TEX. — Even as bul-lets whizzed around him, Dan-iel and his classmates stayed

iel and his classmates stayed quiet.

As a gunman stormed his elementary school, firing hun-dreds of rounds into a handful of classrooms, Daniel and the others huddled together silent-ly, praying for help. They watched as their teacher rushed to lock their classroom door before the shooter, Salvador Rolando Ramos, reached them. Daniel saw Ramos approach the window of his classroom's

Rolando Ramos, reached them.
Daniel saw Ramos approach
the window of his classroom's
door and then shoot through
the glass, striking his teacher in
the leg. Another bullet ricocheted off a wall and hit a
student in the nose. She had
been crouched down a few feet
away from him.

SECCIASS ON AS

The scene outside Robb Elementary School on Tuesday shortly after a gunman entered the building. Some students remained trapped in a classroom, repeatedly calling 911 and pleading for help while some officers waited outside in a hallway.

Abbott faces scrutiny as initial account falls apart

BY ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER AND MICHAEL SCHERER

One day after an elementary school shooter killed 21 people school shooter killed 21 people's in a small Texas town this week, Gov. Greg Abbott appeared be-fore a grieving nation to explain how it happened, delivering an authoritative account of law en-forcement heroes facing down evil and preventing the addi-tional loss of life with quick action.

action. But much of that story wasn't

Abbott was back in Uvalde. Abbott was back in Uvalde, Tex., on Friday to acknowledge that key parts of what he had told the country had been dis-proved by the ongoing criminal investigation, and to pin the errors on law enforcement officials who had briefed him Wednesday.



"It was the wrong decision. Period."

Texas Department of Public Safety Director Steven C. McCraw The school district's police chief erred, McCraw said, by preventing officers from breaching the classrooms where students lay dying or calling 91 for nearly an

Police misread danger, didn't pursue killer, official admits

BY TEO ARMUS, MARK BERMAN AND TIM CRAIG

UVALDE, TEX. — Police responding to a gunman at an elementary school here made the calamitous choice not to pursue him
into a classroom where students
were trapped, some officers even
waiting outside in a hallway
while panicked children inside
repeatedly called 911 pleading
for help, a top Texas official said
Fridav.

Friday.

The commander of the law enforcement response during linesday's massacre at Robb El-ementary School had incorrectly determined that the gunnan was no longer an active shooter and that no more children were at risk, said Steven C. McCraw, director of the Texas Department of Public Safety.

"It was the wrong decision."

of Public Safety.
"It was the wrong decision,"
McCraw said during a news
briefing. "Period."
McCraw delivered his sometimes emotional remarks while
standing in front of the school
where 19 students and two teach-

standing in front of the school where 19 students and two teachers were slaughtered on Tuesday, offering the most detailed account yet from law enforcement officials about their actions and decisions during the carnage. Authorities say officers breached the classroom and killed the gunman — who they identified as 18-year-old Salvador Rolando Ramos — more than an hour after he first entered the school.

Since Tuesday, officials have faced swelling outrage over how they handled the tragedy, particularly after revelations that parents had begged police outside togo in and confront the shooter sooner, only to be blocked from entering themselves. Disclosures about the response have only compounded the grief in this small community west of San Antonio, where anguished families who were supposed to be starting summer break are now instead faced with the unthink-SEE SHOOTING on A6

Fingerprint access: Another look at smart-gun technology. A16

A gay Fla. woman lets go of her second love: Teaching

Homophobic comments, law that limits discussion of LGBTQ issues play a role in decision

BY HANNAH NATANSON

MIAMI — Nicolette Solomon felt her mother's words come hrough the phone and settle, heavy, in her stomach.

It was January, and her mother It was January, and her mother was talking about a new bill, just proposed in the Florida legislature, that would severely limit how teachers could discuss gender identity and sexual orientation with their students. Critics were already calling it the "don't say gay" bill. Her mother, a vocal supporter of LGBTQ rights, sounded upset.

Solomon stood listening inside

stood listening inside her fourth-grade classroom at Key Biscayne K-8 Center, part of Miami-Dade County Public



Schools. The kids were at lunch. Schools. The kids were at lunch. She glanced around at the neatly labeled black buckets of supplies, pictures of former students and a small sign reading, "If you can't be kind, be quiet." She looked down at the diamond wedding ring she had worn since marrying her wife, Hayley Solomon, in Coconut Grove almost exactly four years ago.

Coconut Grove almost exactly four years ago. She wondered: Could she be herself and stay a teacher in

lorida?
The Parental Rights in Educaon bill passed the Florida House
ad Senate in March, despite
rong opposition from LGBTQ
tivists and the political left,
cluding President Biden's
SEE TEACHER ON A4

Pariah Russia may be on the path to Soviet-style shortages

As global sanctions bite, assembly lines halt and inferior goods fill the gap

BY ANTHONY FAIOLA AND MARY ILYUSHINA

Stung by Western sanctions, Russia is starting to devolve into a secondhand economy depend-ent on poor substitutes, where shortages are stirring memories of the consumer wasteland that

of the consumer wasteland that was the Soviet Union. While it may be able to find new purveyors for some West-ern-made goods and components

in friendly countries such as China and India, Russia is in-creasingly determined to make its own — returning to policies of import substitution that yielded import substitution that yielded a vast, if globally uncompetitive, industrial complex before the fall of the Berlin Wall. Already, Moscow is facing seri-ous challenges.

ous challenges.
Unable to secure spare parts
from Western airplane manufacturers, for instance, the Russian aviation sector is facing a crisis. SEE RUSSIA ON ALL

Firepower: U.S. prepares to send

IN SUNDAY'S POST



<< The road to the attack</p> After her small Virginia hometown produced a Jan. 6 suspect, one writer found an underside of conspiracy, guns and anti-government sentiment. Magazine

My Girona In the past five years, the mountainous northern Spanish city has become a hot destination for recreational cyclists. Travel



Summer Books 2022

Good reads for sun or shade: Twenty can't-miss titles, plus extra-steamy novels edgy thrillers, unpausable audiobooks, and young adult works for teens and parents. Arts & Style

INSIDE

REAL ESTATE Dream home, familiar turf A Bethesda, Md., couple tore down the house they bought 30 years ago and started over from scratch.

THE REGION Covid warning for holiday Experts say Memorial Day travel combined with lax protections will probably spur a bump in cases. B1 Student debt forgiveness
The latest White House latest White House plan voicel \$10,000 per borrower uding higher earners. A3

THE WORLD ack from extinction

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FOLHA DE S.PAULO

DESDE 1921



UM JORNAL A SERVIÇO DA DEMOCRACIA

ANO 102 * Nº 34.023

SÁBADO, 28 DE MAIO DE 2022

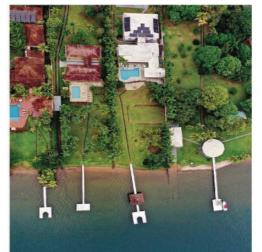
R\$ 5.00

Planalto e Congresso tentam anular alta da energia

O governo Jair Bolsonaro (PL) e a cúpula do Parla-mento intensificaram negociações para tentar neu-tralizar reajustes na conta de luz e combustíveis, em meio à estagnação do presidente nas pesquisas. So-madas, dizem articuladores, as propostas podem reduzir em 20% a tarifa. Entre elas, a antecipação da renovação de conces-sões e subsídios a caminhoneiros. Mercado A21 e A23

Governo cortará R\$ 13 bi para reajuste a servidores

O Ministério da Econo-mia elevou de R\$ 8,2 bi a R\$ 13,5 bi o corte no Orça-mento para garantir rea-juste a servidores federais. Educação, Saúde e Ciên-cia e Tecnologia serão as pastas mais atingidas. A26



CRESCE BUSCA POR CASAS À BEIRA-RIO

Pequenas cidades do interior, como Rifaina (464 km de São Paulo), às margens do rio Grande, veem expansão de imóveis de luxo com aumento da procura de jovens Mercado A35

Confiança na urna cai a 73% em meio a ataque bolsonarista

Índice era de 82% em março, segundo Datafolha; fatia dos que dizem duvidar do voto eletrônico vai de 17% para 24%

A confiança do brasileiro nas urnas eletrônicas ainda é alta, mas caiu desde março, segundo o Datafolha. No total, 73% responderam ter segurança quanto ao siste-ma usado nas eleições, an-

te 82% na pesquisa anterior. Nesse grupo majoritário, 42% disseram confiar mui-to no mecanismo; 31% afir-

maram confiar um pouco.
A parcela dos que declararam não confiar no voto digital subiu de 17%, há dois
meses, para 24%. Outros 2%
não souberam responder.

O instituto ouviu 2.556 pessoas em 181 cidades de todo o país na quarta (25) e quinta (26). A margem de erro é de dois pontos, para mais ou para menos. Em uso e sem registro de fraude desde 1906 a uma

fraude desde 1996, a urna eletrônica tem sido alvo de reiterados ataques de Jair Bolsonaro (PL). O presidente, no entanto, nunca apresentou nenhuma compro-vação de irregularidade. Na quinta, ele se esquivou ao ser questionado sobre aceitar o resultado do pleito. As insinuações de Bolso-naro são endossadas de al-guma maneira por 55% da população. Para 34%, há muita chance de haver frau-de nesta eleição, e 21% res-ponderam existir um pouco de chance. Política A4 e A6

ANÁLISE

Anna V. Balloussier Evangélico ainda pode ser o copo meio cheio para Bolsonaro



POLÍCIA CIVIL FAZ NOVA OPERAÇÃO NA CRACOLÂNDIA; AO MENOS SEIS FORAM PRESOS E UM ADOLESCENTE, APREENDIDO Atirador presta apoio a agentes de dentro de blindado do GER (Grupo Especial de Reação); é a segunda ação após a que expulsou dependentes da praça Princesa Isabel, no dia 11 Cotidiano BI

PRF agrediu vítima de SE por meia hora, dizem moradores

Testemunhas afirmam que Genivaldo de Jesus San-tos foi agredido pela Polí-cia Rodoviária Federal por meia hora, na quarta, em Umbaúba (SE). Já imobi-lizado, ele teria recebido chutes e spray de pimenta nos olhos antes de ser posto na viatura. cotidia

771414 572070

Ilustrada C1 Livros discutem o que há de ridículo e distópico no mundo

criado pelas big techs

Folhinha C8 'A Revolução dos Bichos', de George Orwell, ganha edições para crianças

EDITORIAIS A2

Embate federativo Acerca de texto que limita o ICMS para baixar preços.

Truculência e inépcia Sobre morte em ação da Polícia Rodoviária Federal.

Esporte B11

Criado para ser

craque, Rodrygo

chega a sua primeira

semináriosfolha são paulo 2030 - 2º edição

Debatedores falam

de desafios e futuro

de São Paulo Boa BS

final de Champions

Argentina confirma 1º caso de varíola dos macacos na AL

A Argentina confirmou ontem o primeiro caso de varí-ola dos macacos registrado na América Latina. Segundo a imprensa local, trata-se de um homem de 40 anos que havia voltado da Espanha.

Mesmo sem casos no Brasil, a disseminação da doensil, a disseminação da doen-ça na Europa tem levado a uma procura por vacina. Nem a rede privada nem o SUS oferecem, porém, imu-nizante desse virus. saúde B4

ANÁLISE Atila Iamarino

Surto local precisa ter reação global

Com o fim da varíola humana nos anos 70, acabamos com a sua vacina. A imunização poderia ter ajudado a conter o vírus dos macacos.

Repetimos o erro de não tratar um surto local como tratar um surto local como problema global. Quanto antes agirmos, menos chances damos aos vírus. B4

Violência na Colômbia vira sombra na eleição

Após viver período de re-lativa calma, a Colômbia volta a ver aumento da taxa de homicídios. Há 290 municípios sob risco de episódios de violência durante o primeiro turno da eleição presidencial, que ocorre amanhã. Ass

ATMOSFERA



Suman los juicios emblemáticos en donde las penas son sumamente leves

Justicia sigue benevolente con los condenados por corrupción

La ex titular de la SEN Gladys Cardozo fue condenada a 2 años de prisión con suspensión de la ejecución de la pena. El daño patrimonial causado al Estado fue de unos G. 2.500 millones.

PÁGINA 48

Diversos gremios se pronunciaron

Alertan que cobrar por transferencias atenta contra la recuperación

PÁGINAS 10 y 11

Adolescente aplaudió masacre en EEUU

Víctima de bullying fue la que disparó la alarma del FBI

PÁGINAS 18 y 19

Policía aborta asalto y captura a 3 soldados del PCC en el Este

PÁGINA 49



Sin citarlo explícitamente pide acciones contra Cartes

Abdo mantiene la presión contra la Justicia en el marco de las internas

PÁGINA 2

Mandatario quiere preservar herramienta de transparencia Ejecutivo vetó la despenalización de olvidos en las declaraciones juradas

PÁGINA 4



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ILE RIGARO

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

ÉDOUARD PHILIPPE L'ANCIEN PREMIER MINISTRE TRACE DÉJÀ SA ROUTE POUR 2027 PAGES 4 ET 5 ENQUÊTE AFFAIRE BUITONI : LES DÉFAILLANCES SANITAIRES DE NESTLÉ PAGE 22



ROUMANIE L'Otan en Transylvanie pour protéger son flanc oriental PAGE 6

MOYEN-ORIENT Oman: le réveil d'un sultanat qui a tourné la page de Qabous PAGE 9

JO 2024 Les Jeux gêneront la circulation à Paris PAGE 10

FOOTBALL Liverpool-Real: deux mythes pour une finale

RÉFORME Trois ans après, la loi Pacte n'a pas transformé l'économie PAGE 20

JARDIN La pivoine, star de la Fête des mères PAGES 10 ET 31

GASTRONOMIE Comment l'étoile verte du Guide Michelin est décernée PAGE 32

La playmate que l'informatique devrait se résoudre à oublier

• Un entretien avec Charles Wright

> La chronique de Mathieu Bock-Côté

 La tribune de Céline Pina

FIGARO **OUI** FIGARO **NON**

Réponses à la question de vendredi : Faut-il rendre le stationnement payant pour les deux-roues?

OUI 59% NON **41%**

TOTAL DE VOTANTS: 85 222

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr Édouard Philippe est-il

Edouard Philippe est-i le successeur naturel d'Emmanuel Macron?

FRANÇOIS BOUCHON/LE FIGARO

Législatives : pourquoi la droite veut encore y croire

Le coup de barre à gauche d'Emmanuel Macron, les débuts difficiles du gouvernement ou l'épouvantail Mélenchon pourraient jouer en faveur des candidats Républicains.

La situation ne semble pas favorable, et pourtant la droite entend garder espoir. Car, depuis le premier tour de la présidentielle, les choses ont évolué. Et pas forcément à l'avantage de la majorité macroniste. La gauche mélenchoniste a réussi à imposer l'union de la gauche via la Nupes, Emmanuel Macron vient de donner un coup de barre à gauche dans l'espoir d'écarter cette menace radicale en nommant notamment Élisabeth Borne à Matignon et surtout Pap Ndiaye à l'Éducation nationale. S'y ajoute l'affaire Damien Abad, qui contribue à entretenir un mauvais climat autour de l'exécutif. Autant de facteurs qui donnent aux Républicains et à leurs alliés le sentiment que tout reste possible les 12 et 19 juin.

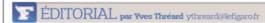
→ EN NORMANDIE, HERVÉ MORIN MÊNE CAMPAGNE POUR LA DROITE ET LE CENTRE → ÉRIC CIOTTI: « NOUS POUVONS RESTER LE PREMIER GROUPE D'OPPOSITION À L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE» → LE SÉNAT, CE POINT DE RALLIEMENT DES RÉPUBLICAINS PAR GROS TEMPS PAGES 2, 3 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



Avant que Vincent Lindon et son jury ne dévoilent le palmarès ce samedi soir, nos critiques ont attribué leurs récompenses. Notre palme d'or va à Sans filtre, le grand prix à Boy From Heaven et la caméra d'or à Falcon Lake. PAGE 28

Ces élus républicains qui font campagne pour les armes aux États-Unis

La National Rifle Association (NRA), moteur du lobby proarmes, finance très largement les campagnes électorales de sénateurs et de représentants conservateurs. Réunie en congrès à Houston, vendredi, elle devait accueillir en invité vedette l'ancien président Donald Trump, que l'association avait soutenu avant son élection en 2016.



En attendant le patron

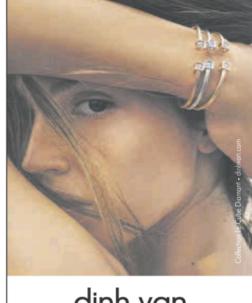
st-ce l'effet du KO de la présiden-tielle? La droite républicaine semble groggy à l'approche des législatives. Elle aurait pourtant toutes les raisons de se manifester haut et fort : un flou certain entoure les intentions d'Em-manuel Macron, la vision de la France du nouveau ministre de l'Éducation est pour le moins contestable, la conjoncture économique se détériore à grande vitesse... Dans ce contexte peu enthousiasmant, on n'entend que Jean-Luc Mélenchon. Sans complexe, le matamore de la gauche radicale, lui, se voit déjà à Matignon. Avec son union de la gauche faite de bric et de broc, véritable armée de Bourbaki, il sature les médias de ses boniments. Là où, précisément, le parti LR est supposé avoir des arguments autrement plus sérieux à faire valoir. Est-ce une perte de confiance? Un manque d'auda-ce? L'affaire Damien Abad, qui vient de ses rangs, y est-elle pour quelque chose? Si un faisceau de causes peut expliquer ce grand silence, c'est surtout un chef incontesté et in-contestable qui fait défaut à cette famille politique. Des candidats existent, mais ils hésiteraient à sortir du bois trop tôt. Le temps presse toutefois, car le quinquennat a changé le rythme de la vie politique.

Le résultat des prochaines législatives pourrait-il inciter LR à accélérer sa réorganisation? En cas de débâcle, il n'y aura pas le choix. Celle-ci est cependant loin d'être assurée. Rares ont été les déserteurs parmi les quelque 100 députés sortants du parti après la présidentielle. À l'issue du scrutin, ils auront peutêtre du mal à rester le premier groupe d'opposition au Palais Bourbon, mais leur bon ancrage local pourrait les aider à évîter le pire.

C'est surtout un chef qui fait défaut à la droite

ler a eviter le pire. Ils ont cet avantage sur leurs concurrents, qui sont souvent parachutés ou attaqués par des dissidents.

Dans le paysage politique actuel, la droite républicaine se distingue des autres formations.
Celles-ci, faiblement ou artificiellement implantées sur l'ensemble du territoire, vivent
sur la fragile popularité de leur tête d'affiche :
Emmanuel Macron, Marine Le Pen, Jean-Luc
Mélenchon. Elle, en revanche, peut se targuer
d'être majoritaire au Sénat et dans un nombre
important de régions, départements et grandes villes. C'est un plus. Alors, quand elle aura
trouvé son patron....



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528



Fury as PM changes code of conduct to 'save his skin'

Rowena Mason Aubrey Allegretti

Boris Johnson was accused yesterday of changing the ministerial code to help "save his skin" before a new Partygate inquiry that could publish more photographs and subject him to a public grilling by MPs.

The prime minister faced a barrage of criticism after he amended the rules yesterday to make clear that ministers would not always be expected to resign for breaching the code of conduct. Under new sanctions, they could just apologise or temporarily lose their pay instead.

Johnson also blocked his independent ethics chief, Lord Geidt, from having the power to launch his own investigations, and rewrote the foreword to the ministerial code, removing all references to honesty, integrity, transparency and accountability. Johnson faces an inquiry by MPs on the privileges committee into whether he misled parliament over lockdown parties in Downing Street - which could itself be a breach of the ministerial code. Labour and the Liberal Democrats accused him of rigging the system to "get himself off the hook" before the inquiry.

The new version of the ministerial code was published yesterday alongside a government statement saying it was "disproportionate to expect that

any breach, however minor, should lead automatically to resignation or dismissal". No 10 said it had the backing of the committee on standards in public life and Geidt, the adviser on ministerial interests.

Ministers who knowingly mislead parliament are usually expected to resign, which is stated elsewhere in the code. However, Downing Street declined to say if Johnson would resign if found to have done so.

One reason given for changing the

rules was to "avoid incentives for trivial or vexatious complaints, which may be made for partisan reasons".

Chris Bryant, the Labour MP and chair of parliament's standards committee, said the weakening of the system was appalling. "The new ministerial code is a disgrace. It means that the tiny semblance of accountability disappears. 'If you break the rules, just rewrite the rulebook' is the motto of this despicable government," he said.



