



President Biden and the first lady, Jill Biden, visiting a memorial to the victims of the mass shooting last week in Uvalde, Texas.

In Familiar Ritual of Pain, Biden Comforts Bereaved

President Travels to Site of School Shooting, Hearing a Plea: 'Do Something'

This article is by **Edgar Sandoval**, **Zolan Kanno-Youngs**, **Karen Zraick** and **Jonathan Weisman**.

UVALDE, Texas — For the second time in less than two weeks, President Biden on Sunday touched down in an American community consumed by grief, embracing survivors, laying a bouquet and consoling families of victims of another mass shooting.

Outside Robb Elementary School, where 19 children and two teachers were gunned down last week, Mr. Biden and the first lady, Jill Biden, stopped in front of life-size photos of the victims, placing their hands on the photos and reading their names. As Mr. Biden wiped away a tear, some spectators let it be known that in addition to empathy, they expected action. "We need help!" one person shouted as Mr. Biden and Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas approached the memorial. "Do something!" others pleaded as the president left Sacred Heart Catholic Church later in the day. "We will," Mr. Biden replied.

The trips offering condolences by Mr. Biden are becoming a common, solemn ritual of the presidency. Just 12 days before the first couple laid down a bouquet for those slaughtered in Uvalde, they observed a moment of silence at a memorial near the site of a racist massacre at a supermarket in Buffalo.

The frequency of the shootings has spurred a new round of negotiations over gun control measures in Congress, even as Washington has been unable to make changes since the 2012 slaughter of 20 children and six educators in Newtown, Conn.

Senator Christopher S. Murphy, a Connecticut Democrat who is leading negotiations with five Republicans, expressed cautious optimism on Sunday that Congress could enact some combination of enhanced background checks for gun buyers, mental health assistance and grants to states to enact so-called red flag laws to help law enforcement remove weapons from those deemed mentally unfit to have them.

Mr. Murphy said negotiators were also looking at the fact that the gunmen in Buffalo and Uvalde were legally allowed to buy military-style rifles at age 18.

"I don't want to talk more in detail about that, but there's a subset of ideas out there about how you may be a little bit more careful about quickly transferring weapons to teenagers," he said, declining to elaborate.

The lawmakers are on a tight schedule. Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the majority leader, said he would bring a bill up for a vote in two weeks. That bill will be either a compromise gun measure negotiated by the group or a strict gun safety measure already passed by the House.

After Uvalde, Republicans have said they want to do something, at least on issues of school security.

Continued on Page A18

The Three Men Lost to 20 Bruckner Boulevard

By **DAN BARRY** and **KAREN ZRAICK**

Two laborers board an elevator at the top of a five-story building under renovation in the Bronx. They wear construction helmets, reflective vests and face masks, none of which will do them any good.

The older man, a supervisor, rarely talks about anything beyond what needs to be done at this work site at 20 Bruckner Boulevard. But he and his younger co-worker have become friends through a morning ritual: One buys the coffee and the other, the doughnuts.

The job at hand is to take two waist-high containers of construction debris down to the ground.

One of the Deadliest Construction Sites in New York City

The doors are closed and a button is pushed. The elevator shudders, then drops. The floor seems to vanish beneath the men's work boots.

They scream as they plummet. A crash. Then stillness, save for clouds of disturbed dust.

It is early morning on May 19, 2021. And this site, where an old building is being transformed into a charter school, has just distinguished itself from the 40,000 other major construction projects

in New York City by having its third worker fatality in less than three years.

In 2018, Marco Martinez, a teenager newly arrived from Ecuador, died after being crushed against a ceiling by a mechanical lift. A year later, Michael Daves, who was living in a men's shelter and struggling with substance abuse, died after falling through a hole.

And now Yonin Pineda, a 29-year-old from Guatemala, lies unconscious and gravely injured. His diligent Mexican foreman, Mauricio Sánchez, 41, is sprawled dead beside him, his face mangled, his chest torn open, his blood staining broken concrete.

No other construction site in New York City has had this many

Continued on Page A12

Would Photos Of the Bodies Change Views?

By **ELIZABETH WILLIAMSON**

WASHINGTON — After Lenny Pozner's 6-year-old son Noah died at Sandy Hook, the father briefly contemplated showing the world the damage an AR-15-style rifle did to his child.

His first thought: "It would move some people, change some minds."

His second: "Not my kid." Grief and anger over two horrific mass shootings in Texas and New York only 10 days apart have stirred an old debate: Would disseminating graphic images of the results of gun violence jolt the nation's gridlocked leadership into action?

From the abolition movement to Black Lives Matter, from the Holocaust to the Vietnam War to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, photographs and film have laid bare the human toll of racism, authoritarianism and ruinous foreign policy. They prompt public outcry and, sometimes, lead to change. But the potential use of these images to end official inertia after

Continued on Page A19

Church Venerated in Uvalde Becomes Hub for Town's Grief

By **RICK ROJAS**

UVALDE, Texas — As word of the staggering death toll spread through Uvalde on Tuesday, the parishioners of Sacred Heart Catholic Church rushed, almost reflexively, to be together. Within an hour, they had filled the sanctuary for an impromptu Mass.

The next evening, the congregation gathered to worship again. Children from the parish laid red roses before the altar, one for each of the 19 students and two teachers who had been killed in the attack on the elementary school just a mile away. And at a Mass the following night, another rose was added: Joe Garcia, the husband of one of the teachers, had collapsed

that morning from a heart attack — an early ripple of the collateral devastation that would be stirred by the massacre.

"We're a family," Archbishop Gustavo Garcia-Siller of San Antonio said in a gentle voice, trying to reassure Joe and Irma Garcia's children — and, by extension, the congregants who had been drawn to Sacred Heart that evening, searching for solace and meaning while stumbling through a haze of anguish. Muffled sobs echoed through the church.

For generations, the parish has been central to the lives of many in Uvalde, a city of 15,000 people an

Continued on Page A18



A series of electronic ads topped 20 Bruckner Boulevard, which are visible from nearby highways.

As NATO Seeks a United Front, Turkey Disrupts

By **MICHAEL CROWLEY** and **STEVEN ERLANGER**

WASHINGTON — When President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey threatened this month to block NATO membership for Finland and Sweden, Western officials were exasperated — but not shocked.

Within an alliance that operates by consensus, the Turkish strongman has come to be seen as something of a stickup artist. In 2009,

Tussle Over Expansion May Benefit Russia

he blocked the appointment of a new NATO chief from Denmark, complaining that the country was too tolerant of cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad and too sympathetic to "Kurdish terrorists" based in Turkey. It took hours of cajoling by Western leaders, and a

face-to-face promise from President Barack Obama that NATO would appoint a Turk to a leadership position, to satisfy Mr. Erdogan.

After a rupture in relations between Turkey and Israel the next year, Mr. Erdogan prevented the alliance from working with the Jewish state for six years. A few years later, Mr. Erdogan delayed for months a NATO plan to fortify Eastern European countries

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Basquiat or Not? F.B.I. Is Sizing Up 25 Works.

By **BRETT SOKOL**

The ongoing cultural fascination with the life and work of Jean-Michel Basquiat shows little signs of dimming, whether it's in the form of brisk sales for \$29.99 Basquiat-themed T-shirts at The Gap, large crowds for Basquiat's latest art exhibitions, or an actual canvas by the painter auctioned last week for \$85 million.

To the ranks of those focused intensely on all things Basquiat, you can now add the F.B.I.

The F.B.I.'s Art Crime Team is investigating the authenticity of 25 paintings that the Orlando Museum of Art says were created by Basquiat and are on exhibit there, according to a federal subpoena and several people with knowledge about the situation.

The paintings in the "Heroes & Monsters: Jean-Michel Basquiat" exhibition were said by the museum and their owners to have been recovered from a Los Angeles storage unit in 2012. The works were largely unseen before the



"Untitled (Cat and Firetruck)," one of 25 paintings said to be by Jean-Michel Basquiat on display at the Orlando Museum of Art.

show's February opening. An article in The New York Times raised questions about their authenticity, reporting that a designer who had previously worked for Federal Express had identified the FedEx

typeface on a piece of cardboard Basquiat was said to have painted on as one that was not designed until 1994 — six years after the artist's death.

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Stunning Vote in Colombia

Two populist candidates for president head for a runoff as anti-incumbent fervor sweeps the country. PAGE A8

Where Death Rates Rose Most

The U.S. had more deaths above normal levels during the pandemic than most other wealthy countries. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A11-19

A Big Lie in a New Package

A documentary from Trump allies alleges a stolen election through ballot trafficking, but even some on the far right are critical. PAGE A11

Donations Flow to Hochul

Real estate, unions and cryptocurrency interests were among the donors to New York's governor. PAGE A17

OBITUARIES B7, D8

A Rockabilly Mentor

Ronnie Hawkins guided stars like Robbie Robertson and Levon Helm, members of the Band. He was 87. PAGE D8



BUSINESS B1-6

They Served. Now, They Sell.

Some veterans have started businesses that draw from their experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan. PAGES B4-5

Scrutinizing Xinjiang Suppliers

Companies that sourced cotton from the autonomous region in China are weighing evidence of forced labor. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-6

Telling the Sex Pistols' Story

In a series based on the memoirs of the guitarist Steve Jones, tensions about between the exceptional and the ordinary, and dramatic license often overcomes fidelity to real life. PAGE C1

Social Media vs. Amber Heard

You might expect a trial pitting one movie star against another to unleash debated memes in both directions. Not so with the Johnny Depp defamation case, Amanda Hess writes. PAGE C1

OPINION A20-21

Charles M. Blow

PAGE A20



SPORTS D1-7

Celtics Head to the Finals

Boston beat Miami, 100-96, in a decisive Game 7 in the Eastern Conference finals. The Celtics will face Golden State for the N.B.A. championship. PAGE D7



An uphill bid for mayor is nothing new to De León

Councilman leans on his personal story, hoping voters will relate to someone who has faced struggles

By Alejandra Reyes-Velarde

As leader of the state Senate, Kevin de León was one of the most powerful politicians in California.

His future seemed wide open. Pundits speculated — would he run for governor? Lieutenant governor? Los Angeles mayor?

But his political star came crashing down after he challenged Dianne Feinstein for her U.S. Senate seat in 2018, promising to be

tougher on Donald Trump than she was.

The internecine battle, which Feinstein handily won, divided the state's Democrats and left some angry at what they saw as De León's hubris for trying to usurp a political grand dame.

De León regrouped, eventually winning a seat on the Los Angeles City Council.

As one of 15 council members, his influence is much diminished from his days as a top player in Sacramento. And about a week before the June 7 primary, his bid to lead the city has failed to gain much traction.

As the only major Latino candidate for mayor in a city that is nearly 50% Latino, he is trailing far behind Rep. Karen Bass and billionaire Rick Caruso in most polls. A recent poll by Bass' campaign showed her at 34% and Caruso at 32%, with De León at 7% and about 17% of likely voters undecided.

But De León, 55, has never been one to give up without a fight.

As in his other campaigns, he has leaned heavily on his personal story, hoping that voters will relate to someone who has struggled as they have.

[See De León, A6]

Thrills, chills at bottom of ballot

Election suspense lies in primary races many don't know about or forgot. Then there's L.A.'s mayoral contest.

By Phil Willon and Seema Mehta

Gov. Gavin Newsom has barely bothered to campaign for reelection ahead of the June 7 primary. U.S. Sen. Alex Padilla, whom Newsom appointed less than two years ago, is expected to breeze through despite never being elected to his post.

With the lack of suspense in California's marquee races, the greatest challenge facing voters may be rousing themselves enough to cast ballots to decide other contests that could sway the balance of power in Congress and the future of state criminal justice policies.

After Newsom beat back a recall, "the gubernatorial election seems like an afterthought," said Republican political consultant Kevin Spillane.

"There are a couple very interesting down-ballot statewide races. But in general, from a statewide perspective, there is not a lot for voters to get excited about," Spillane said before early in-person voting began Saturday in much of the state. "There are individual interesting races. They are probably most interesting to political insiders than the average voter."

The low-intensity vibe threatens to suppress turnout. [See Primary, A5]

COLUMN ONE

Political rift is a personal one

The divide in Taiwan may have fueled the Laguna Woods gunman's rage. It has also split my family.

By Cindy Chang

After my parents got married, my Yeye went to my Ah-Gong's house in Taiwan to introduce himself.

Ah-Gong — my mom's father — refused to come to the door. Yeye — my dad's father — was a *waishengren*, or someone who had arrived from mainland China in the 1940s.

As far as Ah-Gong was concerned, *waishengren* were oppressors who had

taken over his country, hogged the best jobs, massacred civilians and jailed anyone who spoke against the government.

Even if he had come out, Ah-Gong couldn't have articulated his unhappiness to Yeye.

Ah-Gong was fluent in Japanese, in addition to Taiwanese, since he had grown up under Japanese colonial rule. He spoke little Mandarin. The gulf between my grandfathers couldn't be bridged with words, even though Yeye had brought a friend to interpret.

[See Taiwan, A14]



PRESIDENT BIDEN and First Lady Jill Biden comfort Mandy Gutierrez, principal of Robb Elementary School, during their visit to Uvalde, Texas. At left is Hal Harrell, superintendent of the local school district. MANDEL NOAN AP/GETTY IMAGES

Biden makes emotional visit to a Texas city in mourning



PEOPLE turn out in Uvalde to see the president and first lady. The Biddens met for hours with the families of victims and survivors. CHANDAN KHANNA AP/GETTY IMAGES

'I'M REALLY GLAD HE CAME': For one Uvalde couple, a very welcome presidential landing right across the street. NATION, A14

Justice Department will review police response to shooting

By Kevin Rector and Molly Hennessy-Fiske

UVALDE, Texas — President Biden and First Lady Jill Biden visited the small Texas city of Uvalde on Sunday to meet and console the families of victims and survivors of last week's mass shooting at Robb Elementary School.

The Justice Department, meanwhile, announced it would be conducting an independent review of the local law enforcement response to the massacre, in which an 18-year-old gunman with an AR-style rifle fatally shot 19 children and two teachers at the school Tuesday. Several others were wounded and remain hospitalized.

The review follows revelations that a large group of officers at the school waited for about an hour to storm the [See Texas, A7]



THE SIERRA NEVADA town of Greenville, which was destroyed by the Dixie fire. A grass-roots coalition agrees it can't simply rebuild exactly the way it was. BRIAN VAN DER BRUG LOS ANGELES TIMES

From the ashes, a stronger resolve

This mountain town was destroyed by fire. The plan is to build back better — so it survives the next one.

By Alex Wigglesworth

GREENVILLE, Calif. — To descend the grade of State Highway 89 into the rubble of Greenville is to retrace the steps of a community's trauma.

It was here that the second-largest wildfire in California history — and the first to burn from one side of the

Sierra Nevada to the other — decimated the town of about 1,000 people.

Hillside once thick with trees are now blackened and splattered with bright blue-green hydromulch to fight erosion. The town center is a grid of bare lots and debris piles.

But while most people would see devastation here, Sue Weber sees hope and opportunity. Weber, a former nun in Mother Teresa's order, is part of an unprecedented effort not only to rebuild Greenville, but also to build it back better than it was before.

It's an endeavor that in- [See Greenville, A8]

Will inflation shape votes?

We won't know the full political impact of soaring prices until November, George Skelton writes. CALIFORNIA, B1

L.A. to hand out baby formula

County buys \$750,000 worth of the limited supplies to distribute amid a national shortage. CALIFORNIA, B3

Weather

Mostly sunny. L.A. Basin: 76/58. B6



CANNES GLORY

Justin Chang breaks down the winners, including filmmaker Ruben Östlund, above. CALENDAR, E1

BUSINESS INSIDE: Billionaire lists Bob Hope's Toluca Lake estate for \$29 million. A9

The Washington Post

Please recycle this newspaper. Recycle symbol.

Mostly sunny, hot 90/70 • Tomorrow: Hot 96/75 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, MAY 30, 2022 • B2

Ukrainians plead for arms amid battering

Outgunned in the east, forces are losing ground at a critical moment

BY SIOBHÁN O'GRADY, PAUL SONNE, MAX BEARAK AND ANASTACIA GALOUCHKA

DONETSK OBLAST, UKRAINE — The ambulances hurried into the parking lot one after the other, each carrying wounded troops directly from the nearby front line. One young man stared straight ahead, his face swollen, his neck and back dripping with blood. Others lay silently under foil blankets.

Some stumbled out the back doors and collapsed into wheelchairs as staff members rushed to push them inside. Nearby, bloodied cots sat propped against a tent and other wounded soldiers lingered about, their faces grim, their heads, arms or legs bandaged as the sound of outgoing artillery boomed across the sky.

About 10 wounded soldiers arrived at this hospital in eastern Ukraine in less than an hour Sunday morning — the latest military casualties as Ukrainian forces, outgunned by Russia in the country's east, continue to lose territory at a critical moment in the war.

Soldiers also helped one civilian woman with leg wounds out of a military ambulance.

The Washington Post is withholding the name and precise location of the hospital out of concerns from staff members that it could be targeted by Russian forces.

"Seventy people from my battalion were killed," said a Ukrainian soldier.



President Biden and first lady Jill Biden visit a memorial, reading the names of the victims and touching each portrait, at Robb Elementary in Uvalde, Tex. They came to comfort the victims' families and attend Mass at Uvalde's only Catholic church. Story, A9

A reckoning for a 'peaceful, pretty town'

In Uvalde, residents' view of an idyllic community is shattered by a tragedy they never expected

BY PETER JAMISON AND TEO ARMUS

UVALDE, TEX. — Those who spend their lives in this remote town in the rolling scrublands of South Texas say there is something here they could never find elsewhere.

It is a togetherness, they say, born of innumerable ties of kinship and preserved through the easy rituals of rural life: baptisms and deer seasons, long lunches of

came guisada and summer evenings on the Frio River. Uvalde is a city of more than 15,000 where people still claim to know each other.

But since Tuesday, when one of Uvalde's own killed 21 people — including 19 children — at Robb Elementary School, its residents have been forced to consider that they may not have known each other as well as they thought. The town they once called a haven from the pathologies of

American life has found itself, and a nation seemingly inured to gun violence, on the brink of despair.

The most powerful sign yet of that wrenching transformation was the arrival on Sunday of President Biden, who came to Uvalde to comfort the families of the dead and wounded. His presence confirmed that the town was something its residents never expected it to be: the site of the worst school shooting since the

2012 massacre in Newtown, Conn. Uvalde is a place no longer known for its village closeness but for nearly two dozen white crosses erected to honor the dead.

Biden's appearance capped nearly a week of jolting intrusions into the rhythms of daily life here, as residents have come to realize that the town is

SEE UVALDE ON A8

'It was chaos': One child had left school early. Her sister stayed. A10

Cheney's seat isn't safe in Trump-charged Wyo.

After Ga. losses, former president seeks to topple his top GOP critic

BY DAVID WEIGEL AND JOSH DAWSEY

CASPER, WYO. — Since her father's first victory 44 years ago, Republican Rep. Liz Cheney and her family have never lost an election in Wyoming. When George W. Bush picked Dick Cheney as his running mate, the Republican ticket won by about 40 points, twice.

Former president Donald Trump is determined to end that streak this summer, rallying aggressively behind primary challenger Harriet Hageman, who he is waging can topple his most outspoken Republican critic in Congress.

He hit the trail over the weekend in a very different Wyoming from years past, one where thousands cheered him as he railed

against Cheney and looped together what he called the "failed foreign policy of the Clintons, Bushes, the Obamas and the Bidens."

Attendees laughed when a photo-mash-up of the congresswoman's body and former president George W. Bush's face appeared on the Ford Wyoming Center's highest screen. "I think she looks good," Trump joked. "Liz Cheney is about America last."

The Aug. 16 primary in Wyoming is shaping up as the next big test of Trump's effort to unseat Republican elected officials who have been critical of him and who fought his falsehood-ridden attempts to overturn the results of the 2020 election.

His crusade was dealt a major blow last week in Georgia, where Republican primary voters overwhelmingly renominated Gov. Brian Kemp and Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger over candidates the former president vigorously supported.

Those losses followed a spotty record in earlier races that included

SEE CHENEY ON A2

Lincoln Memorial still beckons a nation divided

As D.C.'s most visited monument turns 100, The Post spends one ordinary, epic day there



Visitors at the Lincoln Memorial on May 18. On May 30, 1922, it was dedicated in Northwest Washington before 50,000 people who came to pay tribute to the 16th president.

This article is written by Lizette Johnson, William Wan, Gillian Brockell, Peter Jamison, Sydney Trent, Ian Shapiro, Jessica Contrera and John Woodrow Cox

For a century, an American icon carved from 175 tons of white marble has presided over the nation's capital, beckoning thousands of visitors each day up his steps and into his hallowed chamber.

The Lincoln Memorial is by far the city's most popular monument, attracting about 8 million people in a normal year. But what draws so many from every corner of the country and the world is as complicated as the slain president that the building immortalizes.

They come to learn, to give thanks, to protest, to be inspired, to propose, to eat lunch, to walk dogs, to peddle T-shirts, to snap selfies, to launch school trips, to shoot movie scenes, to share a kiss, to have a nightcap, to give speeches, to ask for votes, to pray for change, to mourn America's

SEE LINCOLN MEMORIAL ON A6

IN THE NEWS



How Swede it is: Marcus Ericsson of Sweden takes command during the final laps and races to his first Indianapolis 500 win. D5

The next ban: GOP legislators around the nation are seeking to limit the titles students can search for in library databases. A3

THE NATION
Relatives remember educators Irma Garcia and Eva Miralles, the educators at Robb Elementary who authorities said sought to shield children from the gunfire. A9

THE WORLD
Thousands of people have been hospitalized after recent Middle East sandstorms, made more likely across the region by climate change and land-use practices. A12

Colombians gave a lead to a leftist presidential candidate for the first time in national history, paving the way for a run-

off between anti-establishment populists. A13

THE ECONOMY
The Help Desk answers questions from iPod fans in the wake of Apple's discontinuation of the product line. A15

THE REGION
Hundreds of Black motorcycleists gathered to D.C. for a Memorial Day tribute to the all-Black Army regiments known as Buffalo Soldiers. B1
In a congressional district miles from the National Rifle Association's headquarters, a gun-control advocate will take on a Navy veteran

opposed to federal firearm restrictions. B1
The race for a D.C. Council seat in Ward 1 has become a referendum on public safety and constituent services. B1

THE WEEK AHEAD

MONDAY
Memorial Day is observed. President Biden takes part in the wreath-laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknowns.

TUESDAY
Biden hosts the South Korean K-pop group BTS at the White House to discuss "anti-Asian hate crimes and discrimination." Students participate in

the early rounds of the Scripps National Spelling Bee at National Harbor. The Supreme Court issues an order list.

WEDNESDAY
Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack delivers a speech at Georgetown University on his agency's plans to "transform the nation's food system."

THURSDAY
Jobless claims are estimated at 210,000. The Supreme Court holds a conference.

FRIDAY
European Union trade ministers meet in Brussels.

INSIDE



STYLE
One last laugh
Contending with the pandemic and a cancer diagnosis, comedian Norm Macdonald made a final special before he died in September. C1
With flying colors
In an era of biggest, loudest and most outrageous, "Top Gun: Maverick" succeeds with its effortlessness. C1

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Marcha de vecinos en Bariloche en contra de un fallo

Hubo un abrazo simbólico a la Escuela Militar de Montaña en rechazo a la sentencia que ordenó entregar 180 hectáreas a comunidades mapuches. **Página 17**



GUIDO RODRÍGUEZ, EL OBRERO DE LA SELECCIÓN

—deportes

"Somos un equipo incómodo, estamos unidos y acá nadie se relaja", dice el N° 5, que jugará pasado mañana contra Italia. **Página 17**

HOT SALE: PREVEN UN AUMENTO DE LAS ÓRDENES DE COMPRA

—economía

El evento de ventas online con descuento empieza hoy y termina el miércoles; los organizadores esperan un alza de 20%, igual que en 2021. **Página 20**

LA NACION

LUNES 30 DE MAYO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Sorpresa en Colombia: ganó Petro, pero habrá ballottage con el populista Hernández

ELECCIONES. El candidato de la izquierda y exguerrillero obtuvo el 40,3% en la primera vuelta; el outsider y exalcalde protagonizó un verdadero hito al desplazar a Gutiérrez, su rival de derecha

Daniel Lozano
PARA LA NACION

BOGOTÁ. Colombia hizo ayer historia en las urnas, algo que anticipaban las encuestas y que se percibía en las calles del país cafetero desde hacía meses. La izquierda ganó el primer round de un proceso electoral plagado de escándalos y lo hizo por primera vez, al conquistar Gustavo Petro

—un exguerrillero que formó parte de la organización M-19—ocho millones y medio de votos, el 40,33%.

El segundo hito, la verdadera gran sorpresa, lo protagonizó el outsider Rodolfo Hernández, el populista exalcalde de Bucaramanga, de 77 años, quien con su discurso contra la corrupción logró convencer al 28,16% de los votantes y desplazar del ballottage a Federico "Fico" Gu-

tiérrez, el aspirante de la derecha, que sufrió una derrota inédita. Conocidas las primeras proyecciones, Gutiérrez anunció que respaldará a Hernández en la segunda vuelta, el 19 del mes próximo, porque es "la forma más sensata de cuidar las libertades" y porque su adversario, Petro, constituye "un peligro, por lo que dijo y lo que hizo". Continúa en la página 2

EL ANÁLISIS

Daniel Lozano

La victoria menos deseada por Petro **Página 2**

EL ESCENARIO

Inés Capdevila

Los males de Colombia, la Argentina y la región **Página 4**



Gustavo Petro
COALICIÓN
PACTO HISTÓRICO

Profesión: economista,
exalcalde de Bogotá
Edad: 62 años

40,33%



Rodolfo Hernández
LIGA DE GOBERNADORES

Profesión: ingeniero,
exalcalde de Bucaramanga
Edad: 77 años

28,16%

La Corte define si frena la quita de fondos a la Ciudad

JUSTICIA. Debe resolver una cautelar contra el recorte que aplica la Nación

La Corte Suprema de Justicia de la Nación tiene en carpeta definir la disputa por los fondos que le sacó el gobierno nacional a la ciudad de Buenos Aires. Y el primer paso, según fuentes judiciales, será resolver la cautelar que presentó Horacio Rodríguez Larreta para suspender el recorte sistemático que aplica la Casa Rosada a los recursos que llegaban a la Capital Federal hasta que defina el tema de fondo. **Página 10**

Macri. "Ya estamos viajando a una inflación del 100% anual"

Texto José Del Río

El expresidente Mauricio Macri asegura que la economía argentina ya está "viajando" a una inflación del 100% anual y, en una entrevista con LA NACION, califica de "mamarracho" la política exterior de Alberto Fernández por sus elogios a Rusia y sus críticas a las sanciones contra Nicaragua, Cuba y Venezuela. A la vez, sobre su eventual candidatura presidencial, dice que no piensa en "aspiraciones personales". **Página 16**

La Mesa de Enlace pide ver al Presidente por las retenciones

TEMOR. Hay inquietud por las versiones dentro del propio Gobierno sobre un aumento. **Página 19**

Enfermedad cardiovascular. Es la primera causa de muerte en mujeres, pero aún poco controlada

Pacientes y médicos suelen priorizar los chequeos de prevención del cáncer

Durante 2020, murieron más mujeres (48.136) que hombres (48.123) por enfermedades cardiovasculares; en el mismo periodo, fallecieron 30.101 mujeres por tumores malignos.

No obstante, coinciden especialistas consultados, las mujeres suelen priorizar los controles ginecológicos y los destinados a prevenir el cáncer de mama, mientras que pos-

tergan el cuidado del corazón. Por eso, advierten sobre la necesidad de reforzar los chequeos cardiológicos correspondientes, sobre todo en el embarazo y la menopausia. **Página 22**

EL ESCENARIO

Cambiamos: una pregunta sin respuesta

Claudio Jacquelin
—LA NACION—

Página 13

Influência da economia no voto

Como a situação econômica afeta escolha?



O que levaria a alterar a escolha até a eleição?

A inflação aumentar
Chance de mudar o voto, em %



Fonte: Datafolha

Situação econômica influi muito no voto, diz maioria

Segundo Datafolha, para 53% economia é fundamental na escolha do candidato

Pesquisa Datafolha aponta que 53% dos brasileiros consideram que a situação econômica do país está tendo "muita influência" na decisão do voto — e, para a maior parte dos eleitores, o quadro piorou nos últimos meses. Há "um pouco de influência" para 24%, enquanto 21% não veem influência alguma.

Nesse contexto, subiu de 46% para 52% (entre levantamento feito em março e agora) o total de eleitores que consideram que sua situação econômica pessoal piorou nos últimos meses. Os números ajudam a explicar, até aqui, o fraco desempenho eleitoral do presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL).

Segundo o Datafolha, se a eleição fosse hoje, o ex-presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) venceria no 1º turno com 54% dos votos válidos, ante 30% de Bolsonaro. A pesquisa mostra ainda que, se a inflação aumentar, 32% dos apoiadores do presidente podem mudar o voto. Entre os de Lula, são 23%.

Cerca de 2 em cada 3 eleitores (66%) avaliam que a economia do país piorou nos últimos meses, mesmo índice captado em março. O instituto ouviu 2.556 eleitores em 181 municípios, na quarta (25) e na quinta-feira (26). A margem de erro é de dois pontos, para mais ou para menos. Mercado A10



Bombeiros e moradores buscam vítimas no bairro do Ibura, no Recife; o presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) deve visitar a cidade nesta segunda (30) Brenda Alcântara/APP

Bolsonaro enforca dias e faz do lazer uma rotina

Em três anos e cinco meses de governo, o presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) aproveitou férias, folgas autoconcedidas e dias de expediente para escapadas ao litoral, motociatas e afins. Em várias dessas ocasiões, apesar de se tratar de dia útil, não participou publicamente de quase nenhum compromisso diretamente ligado à Presidência. Política A4

Chuvas no Grande Recife matam ao menos 84

O número de mortos no Grande Recife subiu para ao menos 84 neste domingo (29). O total de desaparecidos agora é incerto. Há 12 pontos de deslizamentos, nos quais os bombeiros buscam sobreviventes. Também há registro de 3.957 desabrigados. Muitos bairros estão sem luz, e a lama que obstruiu ruas e estradas dificulta o trabalho de socorro. Cotidiano B1

Virada Cultural tem tom político e atos violentos

A volta de um dos maiores eventos culturais do país foi manchada por uma série de atos violentos no centro de São Paulo. Além de roubos, furtos e brigas, ao menos seis pessoas foram esfaqueadas. Sobre os palcos, artistas se manifestaram contra Bolsonaro e a favor de Lula. Ilustrada C1

Mpme A16

Aposta em ambiente 'instagramável' atualiza conceito do boca a boca

Equilíbrio B10

Ainda sem estudos, lubrificantes de cânabim prometem mais prazer feminino

Esporte B11

Anelotti cumpre promessa após fase ruim e vira recordista na Champions

semináriosfolha

Pressionadas pela Covid, UTIs avançam no país, mas faltam investimentos B4



A ativista climática Vanessa Nakate, 25 Yves Herman/Reuters

ENTREVISTA DA 2ª Vanessa Nakate Sabemos quem causou e quem vai pagar pela crise do clima

Um dos destaques da COP26, a ativista climática ugandense Vanessa Nakate defende a criação de um fundo para perdas e danos adicionais aos US\$ 100 bilhões por ano prometidos por países desenvolvidos às nações mais vulneráveis.

"Conhecemos a história das emissões globais, que foram causadas por países desenvolvidos. É responsabilidade desses países pagar", diz Nakate. A Folha estreia série Planeta em Transição, que amplia a cobertura de mudanças climáticas. B5

Populista arranca e vai ao segundo turno na Colômbia

Rodolfo Hernández disputará Presidência com o esquerdista Gustavo Petro em 19 de junho. Populista pelo discurso anticorrupção, ex-prefeito de Bucaramanga cresceu nas últimas semanas e, com 99,97% da apuração, tinha 28,15% dos votos, contra 40,32% de Petro. Mundo A8

Lygia Maria

Proibir a palavra 'denegrir' é polícia etimológica

Até quando vamos fingir que faz sentido proibir palavras em um país no qual chacinhas em comunidades pobres são rotineiras? Até quando vamos bater palma para alucinações enquanto somos estapeados pela realidade? Opinião A2

Prazo para enviar o IR 2022 acaba amanhã

O prazo para a entrega da declaração termina às 23h59 desta terça-feira (31). Se atrasar, há multa mínima de R\$ 165,74. A13

EDITORIAIS A2

Gargalo econômico A respeito da corrida eleitoral, segundo o Datafolha.

VW terá de se explicar sobre trabalho escravo

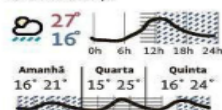
Mídia alemã diz que montadora teria se valido de prática no Brasil de 1974 a 1986 e que foi intimada por tribunal de Brasília. A12

Primeiro passo

Acerca de pesquisa do IBGE sobre sexualidade.

ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje



Fonte: www.climatempo.com.br



Sospechosas movidas financieras del ex presidente para justificar patrimonio

SET investiga por evasión al esquema vinculado a Cartes

Intervención de Tributación es con base en informe remitido por Seprelad a Fiscalía que pone en evidencia estructuras para lavar dinero, producto del contrabando de cigarrillos.

PÁGINAS 2 a la 4 y 8

Narco del clan Rotela fue recapturado cerca del penal
Gordito lindo se vistió de mujer y logró escapar de Tacumbú

PÁGINA 40

Maratón sanitario:
Tres días continuos
de cirugía mejoran
calidad de vida de
más de 70 niños

PÁGINA 18

Inédita decisión: El
izquierdista Petro
disputará el balotaje
con Hernández, el
Trump colombiano

PÁGINA 39

Presidenciables con Luis Bareiro y Mina Feliciángeli
Debates en Telefuturo y Latele:
Preocupa debilidad de instituciones

PÁGINAS 5 y 6



**Los Pynandi
son campeones
de América**

Triunfadores. La Selección de fútbol de playa ganó por 3-2 a Brasil y obtuvo por primera vez el título continental. SUPLEMENTO DEPORTIVO

**Adalberto
Martínez,
primer
cardenal
paraguayo**



Histórico. El arzobispo de Asunción asumirá el purpurado el 27 de agosto en la Santa Sede, junto a otros 20 clérigos.

PÁGINAS 16 y 17

ETIOS

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PALME D'OR
RUBEN ÖSTLUND SAUVE
LE PALMARÈS DU FESTIVAL
DE CANNES PAGE 36

LE FIGARO SANTÉ
DES TATOUAGES
« THÉRAPEUTIQUES » POUR EFFACER
LES TRACES DE LA MALADIE PAGE 11



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• La « génération Mélenchon » cherche à s'implanter
PAGES 8 ET 10

RELIGION

Le pape François nomme seize nouveaux cardinaux
PAGE 15

PROCHE-ORIENT

La parade des nationalistes israéliens à Jérusalem-Est
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RUGBY

L'irrésistible couronnement de La Rochelle
PAGE 17

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Dalida et Orlando, une relation hors norme
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CHAMPS LIBRES

• Un entretien avec Gaspard Koenig
• Les tribunes de Jean-Frédéric Légraré-Tremblay et de Loris Chavanette
• La chronique de Nicolas Baverez
PAGES 22 ET 23

FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON

Réponses à la question de samedi :
Édouard Philippe est-il le successeur naturel d'Emmanuel Macron

OUI 52% NON 48%

TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 186 880

Votez aujourd'hui sur lefigaro.fr

Après les incidents au Stade de France, êtes-vous inquiet pour l'organisation des JO en 2024 à Paris ?

STEPHANE MAHE/REUTERS

Ukraine : l'unité de l'Europe au défi d'une guerre longue

Les Vingt-Sept, conviés à se réunir lundi soir à Bruxelles, divergent sur un projet d'embargo sur le pétrole russe.

Les Vingt-Sept, qui s'appliquaient à parler d'une seule voix depuis le début de la guerre en Ukraine, peinent de plus en plus à masquer leurs divergences. Alors qu'un sommet européen consacré à cette crise s'ouvre

lundi soir à Bruxelles, ils ont le plus grand mal à se mettre d'accord sur un sixième paquet de sanctions censé intégrer un embargo sur le pétrole russe. La Hongrie, étroitement dépendante de cette ressource, refuse d'y

renoncer sans garantie de recevoir des aides en contrepartie. D'autres désaccords portent sur l'appui financier et militaire à l'Ukraine ainsi que sur la future politique d'indépendance énergétique et stratégique européenne.



→ FACE À LA SUPÉRIORITÉ DE L'ARMÉE Russe, L'UKRAÏNE PEUT-ELLE GAGNER LA GUERRE ?

→ LE COÛT ÉLEVÉ DE L'AUTONOMIE STRATÉGIQUE

→ LA HONGRIE, MÉFIANTE, RÉCLAME DES GARANTIES

→ FACE AU PILONNAGE Russe, L'UKRAÏNE MISE SUR UNE STRATÉGIE DE FERMETÉ

→ L'ÉGLISE ORTHODOXE UKRAÏNIENNE ROMPT AVEC LE PATRIARCHE KIRILL, PAGES 2, 4, 20 ET 21

Polémique et questions sur un soir de chaos au Stade de France



Des partisans de Liverpool bloqués, samedi soir, devant les grilles du stade dans une atmosphère de violence. Le ministre de l'Intérieur a mis en cause la responsabilité des « supporters britanniques », une accusation largement contestée. PAGES 6, 17 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

ÉDITORIAL par Vincent Trémolet de Villers vtremolet@lefigaro.fr

Les yeux grands fermés

Ah, les supporters britanniques ! S'ils n'étaient pas là, la ville de Saint-Denis serait un havre de paix et les grandes soirées de football au Stade de France, une kermesse familiale. Habituellement, le discours officiel se méfie des amalgames, mais, depuis samedi soir, on pourrait croire qu'en chaque Anglais il y a un hooligan qui sommeille. C'est la version orwellienne du fiasco de la finale de la Ligue des champions. Le problème, c'est que les mots de Gérard Darmanin ne correspondent pas au récit des envoyés spéciaux et des spectateurs présents dans le stade. Quant à la police, parmi les fameux supporters britanniques, elle a souvent retrouvé le sentiment d'impunité qui caractérise les voyous des cités alentour. La confusion se dissipe et l'on commence à faire le tri entre faux supporters, Britanniques dépouillés de leurs places (parfois de leurs smartphones) et vraies racailles. Est-ce possible, dans notre pays, d'envisager une grande fête populaire sans qu'elle ne dégénère en affrontements ? Même un événement daté, en mondovision et qui permet toutes les anticipations n'échappe pas à cette malédiction. Des dizaines de millions de té-

lécpectateurs ont découvert en direct la friabilité de la septième puissance mondiale.

On désignera l'UEFA ou les faux billets comme coupables pour ne pas voir qu'à mesure que les incantations sur le « vivre-ensemble » se développent la chose s'éloigne tragiquement. Les causes sont reconnues, rebatues, ressassées. Immigration anarchique : une, deux, trois générations déracinées qui

Une version officielle orwellienne du fiasco

une dérive délinquante habillée de fierté identitaire. Tous les ingrédients du mal français se retrouvent dans ce précipité. Du France-Algérie de 2001 et La Marseillaise sifflée jusqu'à cette finale honteuse, le « Stade de Farce », comme l'écrit cruellement la presse étrangère, nous rappelle en grand format ce processus dévastateur. Dans deux ans, Paris accueille les Jeux olympiques. Si nous gardons encore les yeux grands fermés, nous connaissons les mêmes humiliations. ■

Hôtellerie-restauration : le casse-tête de la pénurie de personnel

Alors que les Français et les touristes retrouvent le goût de dîner au restaurant et de voyager, les professionnels de l'hôtellerie et de la restauration font face à un manque cruel de personnel. Depuis la pandémie, une bonne partie des salariés ont déserté ces métiers. Il y a actuellement 360 000 emplois disponibles, dans ces deux secteurs, dont les deux tiers ne devraient pas être pourvus malgré des hausses de salaires de 16 %. Pour s'adapter, des restaurants n'ouvrent plus le week-end et des hôtels ferment une partie de leurs chambres. PAGES 26 ET 27

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Home Office report decries 30 years of racist laws

Exclusive
Amelia Gentleman

The origins of the Windrush scandal lie in 30 years of racist immigration legislation designed to reduce the UK's non-white population, according to a leaked government report.

The stark conclusion was set out in a paper commissioned by the Home Office that officials have repeatedly tried to suppress over the past year.

The 52-page analysis by an unnamed historian, which has been seen by the Guardian, describes how "the British empire depended on racist ideology in order to function", and sets out how this affected the laws passed in the postwar period.

It concludes that the origins of the "deep-rooted racism of the Windrush scandal" lie in the fact that "during the period 1950-1981, every single piece of immigration or citizenship legislation was designed at least in part to reduce the number of people with black or brown skin who were permitted to live and work in the UK".

It finds that the scandal was caused by a failure to recognise that changes to British immigration law over the

past 70 years have had a more negative impact on black people than on other racial and ethnic groups.

"As a result, the experiences of Britain's black communities of the Home Office, of the law, and of life in the UK have been fundamentally different from those of white communities," the report states.

"Major immigration legislation in 1962, 1968 and 1971 was designed to reduce the proportion of people living in the United Kingdom who did not have white skin."

It was not clear why officials were reluctant to release the document. The Labour MP Diane Abbott, who attempted without success to have the history released through the home affairs select committee, said the Home Office appeared to be "unwilling to acknowledge the racism that has disfigured British immigration policy for decades".

The history was commissioned by the Home Office as part of a commitment to educating civil servants about the causes of the Windrush scandal, which saw thousands of people wrongly classified as illegal immigrants by the department. After the scandal,



'A genius on a racehorse'
Sporting great
Lester Piggott
dies aged 86

News Page 9 →

PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENKINS/THE GUARDIAN

Families say Paris had echoes of Hillsborough

Josh Halliday
Angélique Chrisafis Paris

The families of Hillsborough victims have likened the "terrifying" treatment of Liverpool fans at the Champions League final to the disaster that scarred the city 33 years ago.

Witnesses described seeing people scared for their lives, with children "trembling with fear", as French police fired teargas into crowds outside the Stade de France in Paris on Saturday night.

Uefa, European football's governing body, initially blamed the late arrival of Liverpool supporters

for the delay, as well as claiming that an influx of thousands of fake tickets had held up proceedings.

However, that version of events was questioned by Merseyside police, who said the "vast majority of fans behaved in an exemplary manner" in "shocking circumstances".

Nadine Dorries, the culture secretary, said Liverpool fans' accounts of what happened were "deeply concerning", adding: "I urge Uefa to launch a formal investigation into what went wrong and why."

Tens of thousands of supporters were guided under a bridge near the

stadium, with many left waiting for hours. Some were forced to clamber over barriers as crowds began to swell behind them, and the kick-off was delayed by 36 minutes after police clad in riot gear moved into the area.

David Hughes, a Liverpool fan who watched the 1-0 defeat to Real Madrid, said the shambolic organisation and attempts to blame the fans "echoes" the April 1989 Hillsborough disaster, in which his father, Eric, was one of 97 people fatally injured. "The first thing they do is blame the fans," he told the Guardian. "They seriously need to have a

Exclusive
Spacey could
be extradited

British authorities will pursue return of actor from US to face sexual assault charges

News Page 5 →