

Backing Ukraine

West must hold its nerve and boost support — GIDEON RACHMAN, PAGE 19

Bank of Orbán

Merger adds financial weight to political machine — BIG READ, PAGE 17



Mohamed el-Erian

Why private equity cannot avoid the market reckoning — PAGE 13

Colombia vote
Populist fights
for presidency

Rodolfo Hernández, a populist businessman dubbed Colombia's Trump, has ridden a late surge to win a place in the presidential run-off vote, where he will face former guerrilla Gustavo Petro.

The 77-year-old millionaire — pictured rallying supporters in his home town of Bucaramanga this month — had trailed for most of the campaign but soared in final opinion polls as voters on the right saw him as their best chance of felling the leftwing frontrunner.

Petro has solid support among the young and poor but appears to be stuck on a 40 per cent share of the electorate. He will struggle if Hernández can scoop up votes from Federico Gutiérrez, the defeated centre-right candidate.

Run-off page 4



Briefing

EU wrestles with Russia oil embargo

Leaders are struggling to agree a ban that exempts pipeline delivery, a concession to Hungary after it blocked the sanctions. — PAGE 3, ROSNEFT RECORD, PAGE 6; \$120 A BARREL, PAGE 10; GIDEON RACHMAN, PAGE 19

ECB rejects big moves in interest rates

Chief economist Philip Lane has said increases of 25 basis points in July and September will be the central bank's "benchmark pace", rebuffing calls for bigger jumps to end its negative rate policy. — PAGE 2

Bahamas disclosure illuminates Tether

The stablecoin issuer has held reserves at Capital Union, a small bank, people familiar with the issue say, shedding light on how it manages the \$73bn stablecoin underpinning the crypto market. — PAGE 6

Top Gun gives \$248m boost to cinemas

Top Gun: Maverick, the sequel to the 1986 original, has given struggling cinema owners hope for a summer box office revival by taking a bumper haul on its opening weekend. — PAGE 4

Islands fail to back China security push

Beijing has suffered its first setback in an escalating tussle with western powers for dominance in the Pacific, failing to win support for a comprehensive partnership centred on security. — PAGE 4

SoftBank slashes pay for top executives

The investor has cut salaries after its Vision Fund posted a historic loss of \$27.6bn caused by a rout in tech stocks, rising interest rates and a regulatory crackdown in China. — PAGE 8; LEX, PAGE 20

Investors target UK student housing

Singapore's sovereign wealth fund and US property developer Greystar have agreed to buy a £3bn-plus portfolio, signalling confidence in UK rentals in spite of inflation and rate rise. — PAGE 6; LEX, PAGE 20

Qualcomm seeks Arm investment
alongside rivals to spur neutrality

◆ US listing planned ◆ Fears for chipmaker's ownership ◆ Call for golden share in UK

ANNA GROSS AND
TIM BRADSHAW — LONDON

The US chipmaker Qualcomm wants to buy a stake in Arm alongside its rivals and create a consortium that would maintain the UK chip designer's neutrality in the highly competitive semiconductor market.

Japan's SoftBank plans to list Arm in New York after Nvidia's \$66bn purchase collapsed this year. However, the IPO has sparked concern over the future ownership of the company, given its crucial role in the global technology sector.

"We're an interested party in investing," Cristiano Amon, Qualcomm chief executive, told the Financial Times. "It's a very important asset and it's an asset which is going to be essential to the development of our industry."

He added that Qualcomm, one of Arm's biggest customers, could join forces with other chipmakers to buy Arm outright, if the consortium making the purchase was "big enough". Such a move could settle concerns over corporate control of Arm after the IPO.

"You'd need to have many companies participating so they have a net effect that Arm is independent," he said.

Arm, founded and headquartered in the UK, was listed in New York and London before SoftBank acquired it for £24.6bn in 2016, despite widespread concern over Britain's most successful tech company falling into foreign hands.

Some UK politicians have called for the government to buy a "golden share" in Arm that would recognise the company's place as a crucial strategic asset.

But despite intense British lobbying, SoftBank is thought to be pushing ahead with a US listing, leading to questions over the future control of a company that has long been "the Switzerland" of the \$500bn global semiconductor industry. Arm strikes licensing deals with partners regardless of size or geography, which has led to its intellectual property being used in the majority of chips sold worldwide.

Amon's intervention will give fresh momentum to the idea of a syndicate of chipmakers becoming cornerstone investors in Arm. Intel chief executive Pat Gelsinger suggested this year that the chipmaker could support such a move.

Qualcomm had opposed Nvidia's proposed acquisition of Arm, claiming it made no sense for one chipmaker to



Qualcomm chief Cristiano Amon told the FT: "You'd need to have many companies participating so they have a net effect that Arm is independent"

take control of a company that was fundamental value to the entire sector.

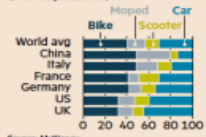
"Arm has won everywhere because of the collective investment of... companies like Apple and Qualcomm and many others. That's because it was an independent, open architecture that everybody could invest in," said Amon, referring to the period before SoftBank purchased the company.

With demand for semiconductors set to double over the next 10 years, manufacturers of the technology found in all modern electronics will rely increasingly on Arm's designs.

"I think the trend is that everything is moving to Arm," said Amon, pointing to the chip designer's recent expansion beyond mobile phones into cars, the Internet of things and data centres.

Datawatch

Scout to commute
Preferred vehicle, 2021
(% of respondents)



Source: McKinsey

Growing numbers of workers are hopping on to smaller, more environmentally friendly vehicles for their commute. Globally, more than two-thirds are embracing "micromobility" vehicles such as bikes and electric scooters

Airbus production targets
set supply chain challenge

Each Airbus aircraft is made of about 3mn parts, so the plane manufacturer's decision to boost production poses a big test for its supply chain. China's anti-Covid lockdown has disrupted flows of goods while costs are rising. A skills deficit and fears over availability of titanium and aluminium following the war in Ukraine bring extra strains. Despite warnings from customers, the A320 maker is sure it can lift output by half to 75 planes a month by 2025.

Output boost ► PAGE 9

France says sorry for botched security
after chaos at Champions League finalLEILA ARBOUD — PARIS
JIM PICKARD — LONDON

France has apologised for the chaos that marred the Champions League final in Paris on Saturday but sharp differences over who was to blame threatened to turn into a diplomatic row after the UK called the scenes "deeply upsetting and concerning".

French ministers admitted that the way British football fans were handled at the game between Liverpool and Real Madrid went badly wrong. But they blamed mass distribution of fake tickets for crowd control issues that resulted in women and children being tear-gassed by police outside the Stade de France.

The game, won by Real Madrid, was delayed while thousands of Liverpool fans struggled to gain entry.

At a press conference yesterday Inter-

rior minister Gérald Darmanin and sports minister Amélie Oudéa-Castéra said they regretted the plight of Liverpool fans. "We have nothing to be proud of about what happened on Saturday night," said Darmanin.

But he defended police action, saying the problem stemmed from as many as 40,000 fans arriving without tickets or with fake tickets, leading to a dangerous build-up of crowds at the gates.

Darmanin said this "massive fraud on an industrial scale" came about because nearly all Liverpool fans were using paper tickets, in contrast to the 22,000 Madrid fans mostly using digital tickets.

Liverpool mayor Joanne Anderson said the French claim that fake tickets had caused the crowding were "deeply irresponsible and contrary to the video and witness accounts from multiple Liverpool fans on the ground".

A spokesman for Boris Johnson, the UK prime minister, said footage from the Stade de France "was deeply upsetting and concerning. We know many Liverpool fans travelled to Paris in good time. We're hugely disappointed by how they were treated."

Others, including journalists and fans who were on site, cast doubt on the French version. Roman Evian, head of fans group Football Supporters Europe, said the 40,000 figure was "a fantasy" used to blame Liverpool supporters for the behaviour of police.

The incidents are politically sensitive for the French government, not only for the negative image they projected of France at a high-profile event but also because the country is preparing to host the Rugby World Cup next year and the summer Olympics in 2024.

Additional reporting by Jennifer Williams

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS

	May 29	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	4158.24	4057.94	2.47
Nasdaq Composite	12131.13	11740.65	3.32
Dow Jones Ind	35212.96	35037.19	1.76
FTSEurofirst 300	1749.89	1740.02	0.57
Euro Stoxx 50	3843.77	3806.86	0.92
FTSE 100	7600.06	7465.46	0.19
FTSE All-Share	4202.96	4190.21	0.30
CAC 40	6862.39	6615.75	0.72
Xetra Dax	14575.98	14482.19	0.79
Nikkei	27389.43	26781.68	2.19
Hang Seng	21123.92	20697.36	2.06
MSCI World \$	2802.59	2743.96	2.14
MSCI EM \$	1043.17	1022.96	1.98
MSCI ACWI \$	462.84	458.30	2.12
FT Wilshire 2500	5403.69	5279.10	2.53
FT Wilshire 5000	42197.53	41154.20	2.54

CURRENCIES

Pair	May 30	Prev	Pair	May 30	Prev
\$/£	1.078	1.071	€/£	0.808	0.804
\$/¥	1.205	1.201	€/¥	0.791	0.790
\$/HK	0.852	0.849	€/HK	1.173	1.178
\$/B	127.635	127.125	€/B	137.584	136.150
\$/C	161.439	160.262	€/C	80.391	80.223
\$/R	1.032	1.025	\$/R/£	1.211	1.207

CRYPTO

	May 30	Prev	%Chg
Bitcoin (\$)	30637.71	29445.11	4.05
Ethereum	1916.15	1811.05	5.80

COMMODITIES

	May 30	Prev	%Chg
Oil WTI \$	116.18	115.07	0.96
Oil Brent \$	116.50	115.58	1.16
Gold \$	1861.80	1848.25	0.71

GOVERNMENT BONDS

Yield (%)	May 30	Prev	Chg (bp)
US 2 yr	2.46	2.46	-0.02
US 10 yr	2.74	2.74	0.01
US 30 yr	2.97	2.96	0.01
UK 2 yr	1.51	1.46	0.05
UK 10 yr	1.99	1.92	0.07
UK 30 yr	2.25	2.18	0.07
JPN 2 yr	-0.07	-0.07	0.00
JPN 10 yr	0.23	0.22	0.00
JPN 30 yr	1.00	0.99	0.01
GER 2 yr	0.34	0.34	0.11
GER 10 yr	1.05	0.96	0.09
GER 30 yr	1.31	1.24	0.07

Prices are shown for editors.
Data provided by Bloomberg

A Nikkei Company

ALPINE EAGLE

Chopard

THE ARTISAN OF EMOTIONS — SINCE 1860

s402_u1105



CALLAGHAN O'HARE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

After the killings in Uvalde, Texas, many Americans are asking basic questions about how much value we place in a human life.

Election Denier Musters 'Army' To Watch Vote

By ALEXANDRA BERZON

In a hotel conference center outside Harrisburg, Pa., Cieta Mitchell, one of the key figures in a failed scheme to overturn Donald J. Trump's defeat, was leading a seminar on "election integrity."

"We are taking the lessons we learned in 2020 and we are going forward to make sure they never happen again," Ms. Mitchell told the crowd of about 150 activists in training.

She would be "putting you to work," she told them.

In the days after the 2020 election, Ms. Mitchell was among a cadre of Republican lawyers who frantically compiled unsubstantiated accusations, debunked claims and an array of confusing and inconclusive eyewitness reports to build the case that the election was marred by fraud. Courts rejected the cases and election officials were unconvinced, thwarting a stunning assault on the transfer of power.

Now Ms. Mitchell is prepping for the next election. Working with a well-funded network of organizations on the right, including the Republican National Committee, she is recruiting election conspiracists into an organized cavalry of activists monitoring elections.

In seminars around the country, Ms. Mitchell is marshaling volunteers to stake out election offices, *Continued on Page A12*

What's the Limit on How Much We Can Cry?

By ELIZABETH DIAS

Two days after the massacre of children in Uvalde, Texas, and 12 days after the racist mass killing in Buffalo, Channing Han, a chaplain and teacher, told a Buddhist parable.

A man is shot with a poisoned arrow. Ms. Han recounted as she drove a group of high school seniors to visit a Thai temple in Massachusetts.

The arrow piercing his flesh, the man demands answers. What kind of arrow is it? Who shot the arrow? What kind of poison is it? What feathers are on the arrow, a peacock's or a hawk's?

But all these questions miss the point, the Buddha tells his disciple. What is important is pulling

As Casualties Mount, Americans Grapple for Meaning

out that poison arrow, and tending to the wound.

"We need to be moved by the pain of all of the suffering. But it is important that we are not paralyzed by it," Ms. Han said. "It makes us value life because we understand life is very precious, life is very brief, it can be extinguished in a single instant."

Recent days have revealed an arrow lodged deep in the heart of America. It was exposed in the slaughter of 19 elementary school children and two teachers in

Uvalde, and when a gunman steeped in white supremacist ideology killed 10 people at a Buffalo supermarket. The United States is a nation that has learned to live with mass shooting after mass shooting.

And there are other arrows that have become subsumed into everyday life. More than one million people have died from Covid, a once unimaginable figure. The virus is now the third-leading cause of death, even with the availability of vaccines in one of the most medically advanced countries in the world. An increase in drug deaths, combined with Covid, has led overall life expectancy in America to decline to a degree not seen since World War II. Police killings of unarmed Black men continue

Continued on Page A10

Senate Chasing an Ever-Elusive Gun Law Deal

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

WASHINGTON — The decision of the Senate majority leader, Chuck Schumer of New York, to try for a negotiated compromise on new gun laws in the wake of the

latest pair of mass shootings may prove to be a high-stakes bet on representative democracy itself, made at a time when faith in Congress — and the Senate in particular — is in tatters in both parties.

President Biden's promise on Sunday to the families of the shooting victims in Uvalde,

Bipartisan Talks Are a Risk to Both Sides

Texas — assuring them that "we will" do something about gun violence — raised the pressure on a Senate in which filibusters and disunity have been the watchwords of the past year.

By raising expectations that a bipartisan deal on gun safety, mental health and school security is even possible, Mr. Schumer is intensifying the spotlight — not only on Republicans and whether they will come to the

table in good faith, but also on the institution of the Senate and its ability to grapple with a pressing national issue like gun violence, so searing in its trauma and obvious in its impact.

On Monday, the government in Canada banned handgun sales and proposed legislation requiring that most owners of "military-style assault weapons" turn over their rifles to a government buyback program.

Nothing like that is on the offing in Washington. But even if a compromise means scaling back gun control legislation, it would be worth it, said Senator

Continued on Page A9

E.U. Reaches Deal to Ban Most Russian Oil Imports

Toughest Penalties Yet Are Announced as Ukraine's East Is Bombarded

By MATINA STEVIS-GRIDNEFF and RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

BRUSSELS — The European Union on Monday agreed to ban most imports of Russian oil, the harshest economic penalty yet imposed on Russia for its invasion of Ukraine, and potentially the biggest sacrifice by Europe, itself.

The deal is the latest and most far-reaching demonstration that over more than three months of war, in reaction to mounting Russian aggression and atrocities, European leaders have grown willing to take steps they considered too extreme when the invasion began. They have already barred imports of Russian natural gas, cut off Russian banks from global financial networks, frozen Russian assets and sent advanced weaponry to Ukraine.

After weeks of intense wrangling, E.U. leaders meeting in Brussels endorsed an embargo on Russian oil delivered by tankers, the primary method, with commitments to reduce imports by pipeline, according to a draft agreement seen by The New York Times. The deal was announced in a late-night tweet by Charles Michel, president of the European Council, though many details remain to be hashed out.

The endorsement came as a multipronged Kremlin assault closed in on the easternmost Ukrainian-controlled city, Sievierodonetsk. Russian forces continued their pattern of bombing cities and towns, including civilian areas, reducing them

to depopulated wastelands before attempting to seize control.

At the same time, Ukraine's military mounted a counteroffensive to retake the strategic southern city of Kherson. And a car bombing in another Russian-held city, Melitopol, hinted at the kind of fierce resistance the occupiers may face.

President Vladimir V. Putin's war machinery is financed by Russia's sales of crude and refined petroleum and natural gas, which account for most of the country's export revenue, collected primarily by state-controlled energy companies. With the war driving up prices, the European Union countries alone have been paying \$23 billion a month for Russian oil.

Analysts say that Russia, offering discounts compared to the prices on world markets, will continue to find some buyers for its oil, but that sales volume and profits are likely to drop significantly once the embargo takes effect.

Europe relies heavily on Russian fuels — 27 percent of the crude oil imported to the European Union comes from Russia — and while E.U. countries are scrambling for alternatives, officials have warned that the finan-

Continued on Page A6

LIFE AND DEATH As a Russian plane fell, survival on the ground depended on timing. *PAGE A5*



© KEVIN MAZUR/VIA REUTERS

She Didn't Even Flinch

A man threw cake at the Mona Lisa, the latest attack on a painting that has also seen a teacup and a rock hurled at it. *PAGE A4.*

In Maloney vs. Nadler, New York Must Pick a Side (East or West)

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

As he sat in the shade of Riverside Park on a sparkling recent weekday morning in Manhattan, Representative Jerrold Nadler tried to make sense of how two powerful allies suddenly found themselves at war.

A court-ordered redrawing of New York's congressional district lines had combined the East and West Sides of Manhattan into a single district for the first time since World War II, putting Mr. Nadler and Representative Carolyn Maloney, a longtime colleague, on a potentially disastrous

collision course in the Aug. 23 Democratic primary.

Attempts to broker a peace settlement were had, but Mr. Nadler, over a chilled Diet Coke, acknowledged that they were somewhat halfhearted.

He recalled telling Ms. Maloney in a private conversation on the House floor in Washington a few days earlier that he would win, suggesting she run for a neighboring seat.

"She said basically the opposite, and so it was an impasse," Mr. *Continued on Page A15*

They Live and Play in Brooklyn. Now They Can Work There, Too.

By MATTHEW HAAG

Before the pandemic, Maz Karimian's commute to Lower Manhattan was like that of many New Yorkers: an often miserable 30-minute journey on two subway lines that were usually crammed or delayed.

By comparison, when he returned to the office last week for the first time since the coronavirus began sweeping through the city, his commute felt serene: a leisurely bicycle ride from his home in Carroll Gardens to his company's relocated office about 10 minutes away in Dumbo.

"I love the subway and think it's a terrific transit system but can-



JOSE A. ALVARADO JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Maz Karimian has biked to work since his office moved to Dumbo.

didly, if I can be in fresh air versus shared, enclosed air, I'll choose that 10 times out of 10," said Mr. Karimian, the principal strategist at utstwo, a digital design studio.

More than 26 months after the pandemic sparked a mass exodus from New York City office buildings, and after many firms announced and then shelved return-to-office plans, employees are finally starting to trickle back to their desks. But remote work has fundamentally reshaped the way people work and diminished the dominance of the corporate workplace.

Companies have adapted. Conference rooms got a makeover. *Continued on Page A13*

BUSINESS B1-6

Hawaii Has a Bold Energy Plan

The state is seeking to replace coal and oil with solar energy, aiming to rely extensively on rooftop panels. *PAGE B1*



Market Clouded by Doubts

As stocks have tumbled this year, predictions that the selling is over have been wrong time and again. *PAGE B1*

INTERNATIONAL A4-7

U.S. Drops in Climate Ranking

Donald J. Trump's presidency left the country far behind in the race to net-zero emissions, but few other countries are on track either. *PAGE A7*

NATIONAL A8-15

Jan. 6 Inquiry Expands

Officials subpoenaed a former aide to Donald J. Trump, a sign the review will reach inside the White House. *PAGE A9*

Cracks Behind the Scenes

Homeowners said they were promised a dream house by makeover TV shows. Lawsuits told a different story. *PAGE A8*

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Jimmy Carter Joins Fight

A battle over an Alaska road could gut an environmental law that the ex-president, now 97, had championed. *PAGE D8*



Soothing War-Torn Psyches

The psychedelic drug MDMA may offer hope for people with post-traumatic stress disorder. *PAGE D1*

SPORTS B7-9

Rangers in Conference Finals

The Rangers beat the Hurricanes in North Carolina in Game 7 of their N.H.L. playoff series, advancing to face Tampa Bay. The Hurricanes had been 7-0 at home in these playoffs. *PAGE B7*

Stepping Into a New Ring

Cuba, known for having the best amateur boxers, gave its blessings for six fighters to compete in a professional card in Mexico, in a shift from the country's socialist ideals. *PAGE B8*

OPINION A16-17

Ezra Klein

PAGE A17

ARTS C1-6

Liberating Performances

Three operas at the Spoleto Festival in Charleston, S.C., including "Unholy Wars," below, distort time. *PAGE C1*



The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.



Hot 95/75 • Tomorrow: Hot, humid 92/72 B

Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, MAY 31, 2022 • \$2

Concerns on climate spark push for nuclear

Unlikely allies work to keep old plants in mix of clean energy

BY EVAN HALPER

SAN LUIS OBISPO, CALIF. — Charles Komanoff was for decades an expert witness for groups working against nuclear plants, are going blistering critiques so effective that he earned a spot at the podium when tens of thousands of protesters descended on Washington in 1979 over the Three Mile Island meltdown.

Komanoff would go on to become an unrelenting adversary of Diablo Canyon, the hulking 37-year-old nuclear facility perched on a pristine stretch of California's Central Coast that had been the focal point of anti-nuclear activism in America. But his last letter to California Gov. Gavin Newsom, in February, was one Komanoff never expected to write. He implored Newsom (D) to scrap state plans to close the coastal plant.

"We're going to have to give up some of our long-held beliefs if we are going to deal with climate," Komanoff said in an interview. "I am still a solar and wind optimist. But I am a climate pessimist. The climate is losing."

Komanoff's conversion is emblematic of the rapidly shifting politics of nuclear energy. The long controversial power source is gaining backers amid worries that shutting U.S. plants, which have almost no emissions, makes little sense as governments race to end their dependence on fossil fuels and the war in Ukraine heightens worries about energy security and costs. The momentum is driven in large part by longtime nuclear skeptics who remain unsettled by the technology.

SEE NUCLEAR ON A20



SARAH L. VOISIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

At Country Gardens & Seed, a flower shop in Uvalde, Tex., owner Yolanda Moreno, 62, exits a walk-in refrigerator with a wreath as Karron Dunlap, 77, and her daughter, Melanie Rathbun, 49, volunteers from San Antonio, help make flower arrangements Monday.

On a somber Memorial Day, Uvalde begins to bury its dead

BY ANNIE GOWEN AND TEO ARMUS

UVALDE, TEX. — The family of a 10-year-old shooting victim made a prayer circle in the yard here Monday as the temperatures rose and the mourners came.

The relatives of Jayce Luevano didn't know what else to do, the boy's uncle said in a brief interview. "With the funerals getting closer and closer, it's getting harder and harder," said the uncle, who spoke on the condition of anonymity out of respect for his nephew's memory.

American flags fluttered in the hot wind Monday as Memorial Day dawned in Uvalde, a day of mourning and remembrance

that had an unfathomable overlay of grief this year because this close-knit town of 15,000 near the Mexican border was beginning to bury its dead — the 19 students and two teachers gunned down at Robb Elementary School on May 24.

The first days of anger and grief over the senseless tragedy, made worse by catastrophic mistakes by law enforcement, gave way to the difficult but necessary period of mourning — a relentless cycle of visitations, rosaries, and prayers.

SEE FUNERALS ON A7

Familiar silence: Manufacturer of rifle used in shooting stays mum. **A4**

Officials respond: Full inquiry and gun legislation are promised. **A5**

The school shooting 'stirred' him. So he decided to give up his gun.

BY HOLLY BAILEY AND JOSHUA LOTT

UVALDE, TEX. — For years, even as mass shootings swept the country, Richard Small bristled at any talk of tighter gun restrictions, viewing it as nothing more than politically driven finger-pointing that would do little to stop the violence while infringing on his rights as a gun owner.

But then, the 68-year-old retired high school history teacher saw a photo of one of the young victims of the shooting last Tuesday at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, a pleasant little town that he had visited often when he coached youth football.

"He looked like my grandson. I mean, they could have been

twins. They have the same face," Small said, his voice shaky with emotion. "It just stirred something in me."

After the massacre, Small and his wife, Marina, drove nearly 90 minutes from their ranch in Charlotte, a tiny town south of San Antonio, to pay their respects in Uvalde. He stood on the edge of the town square where 21 crosses, for the 19 fourth-graders and two teachers killed in the shooting, have become the epicenter of the anguish here. Somehow tears did not feel like enough.

On Saturday night, Small, a self-described "devout NRA Republican," did what he acknowledged would have been unthinkable days earlier. He unlocked his

SEE UVALDE ON A6

MASCULINITY IN AMERICA

The reinvention of a 'real man'

In cowboy country, a father pained by suicide reimagines cultural norms, a conversation at a time

BY JOSE A. DEL REAL
IN BUFFALO, WYO.

Bill Hawley believes too many men are unwilling or unable to talk about their feelings, and he approaches each day as an opportunity to show them how.

"There's my smile," he says to a leathered cowboy in the rural northeast Wyoming town where he lives.

"I could cry right now thinking about how beautiful your heart is," he says to a middle-aged male friend at work.

"After our conversation last week, your words came back to me several times," he tells an elderly military veteran in a camouflage vest. "Make of that what you will, but it meant something to me."

On paper, Bill is the "prevention specialist" for the public health department in Johnson County, a plains-to-peaks frontier tract in Wyoming that is nearly the size of Connecticut and has a population of 8,600 residents. His official mandate is to connect

SEE MASCULINITY ON A8



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Bill Hawley, left, speaks with a veteran in Buffalo, Wyo. As the prevention specialist in Johnson County, he helps people struggling with addiction and mental health issues.

At the Ukrainian border, fears of a new invasion

Troops prepare to defend as towns at edge mourn forever-changed homes

BY MAX BEARAK

TYKHONOVYCH, UKRAINE — The deep trenches and scattered observation posts that marked Ukraine's northern border with Russia were no match for the columns of tanks that rolled across on Feb. 24.

Now, having beaten the Russians back to their side — over weeks of battle, and at great cost — the border guards of Ukraine's Chernihiv region are watching warily as their adversaries again mass troops and equipment.

The war here is different from elsewhere in the country, where Russian troops are firmly entrenched in Ukrainian territory. This is a cross-border war. Russian tanks lob shells at Ukrainian villages. Bullets fly across a tense no man's land in sporadic gunfights.

"The border will never be the

same," said Serhiy Khomenko, 30, commander of a unit patrolling the border near the village where he grew up. "If before there was just a tank moat, now the whole thing will be mined."

Khomenko and his subordinates don't get days off anymore. They live in the swamps and forests that line the border, battling not just the Russians but also "knuckle-sized mosquitoes." The coils they burn in the trenches to keep them away used to make them dizzy, he said. Now they're used to it.

Many weeks have passed since the Russians withdrew from the Chernihiv region. Winter has turned to spring, and tens of thousands of displaced people have returned as roads and public services are restored.

Border officials say it's all happening too soon. Between two and eight shells land in the Chernihiv

SEE UKRAINE ON A13

Two months of terror: Villagers emerge from basement shelter. **A11**

Energy deal: The European Union agrees to cut back Russian oil. **A12**

IN THE NEWS



JOHN MCCORMELL/THE WASHINGTON POST

Those towering Terps The Maryland men's lacrosse team beat Cornell to claim the national title and finish undefeated at 18-0. **D1**

THE NATION

At least seven people were killed and 49 injured in mass shootings over the Memorial Day weekend, according to the Gun Violence Archive and local reports. **A2**

In 2018, after a school shooting, Florida passed significant gun restrictions. But Republicans doubt that can happen at the federal level. **A3**

THE WORLD **Nepali officials** had re-

covered 21 bodies at the site of a plane crash in the Himalayan Mountains, with one person aboard still unaccounted for. **A14**

A report about sexual misconduct in the Canadian military provided 48 recommendations for a "deeply deficient culture." **A15**

At the Louvre, a man disguised as an elderly woman in a wheelchair tried to smear the Mona Lisa with cream. **A15**

THE ECONOMY

Oil companies including Shell and Exxon are feeling pressure from activists and investors to do more to address climate change. **A16**

A push to regulate social media hit a roadblock after a court ruled that the First Amendment may protect tech companies. **A17**

THE REGION

Ocean City is again deploying rapidly trained armed seasonal police officers during the summer, the only place in the nation to do so. **B1**

A D.C. firefighter

caught a toddler who was let go from a second-floor window in an apartment building that was burning. **B1**

A Maryland city is pleading for support and engagement from community leaders to tackle rising crime and bring a sense of safety to the community. **B1**

A rush-hour lane in Virginia will close as early as Tuesday as work intensifies on the expansion of the 495 Express Lanes to the Maryland line. **B2**

INSIDE



HEALTH & SCIENCE

Brain cleanup Researchers explore the power of deep sleep. **E1**

STYLE

A voice you know Hearing Kristen Schaal everywhere? There's a good reason for that. **C1**

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The Washington Post / New 405, No. 177



3

espectáculos**Nabucco.** La ópera de Verdi llega al Colón con una puesta única

La célebre tragedia lírica se estrena hoy y es una de las grandes apuestas del año.

**POLÉMICA POR EL DUELO MÁS ESPERADO DEL TENIS EN PARÍS**

—deportes

Rafael Nadal y Novak Djokovic se enfrentan hoy en el que puede ser el último partido en Roland Garros del español, que no quería jugar en el turno nocturno.

EXTIENDEN LA JORNADA EN ESCUELAS BONAERENSES

—sociedad

Se hará una prueba piloto en 26 institutos primarios (después de las vacaciones de invierno serán 100), que sumarán entre una y cuatro horas de clases. **Página 25**

LA NACION

MARTES 31 DE MAYO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

Una renuncia en Energía pone en duda el futuro del gasoducto Néstor Kirchner

GOBIERNO. La obra debe transportar el gas que se produce en el yacimiento Vaca Muerta

La construcción del gasoducto Néstor Kirchner, que debe transportar combustible desde el yacimiento Vaca Muerta a los centros de consumo, quedó ayer sumergida en la incertidumbre por la renuncia de Antonio Pronisato, el funcionario del área de Energía a cargo de avanzar con la obra.

La partida del funcionario que tenía bajo su control la unidad eje-

cutora del gasoducto se produjo en medio de fuertes enfrentamientos internos en el kirchnerismo y dificultades para avanzar con las licitaciones para construir la obra.

El portazo impactó especialmente en La Cámpora, el sector del Frente de Todos que controla la mayoría de los resortes energéticos y desde donde suelen partir las principales

críticas a la política económica de Martín Guzmán. Pronisato había integrado los equipos de Julio De Vido durante los primeros gobiernos kirchneristas y había sido adoptado como asesor por La Cámpora.

En la Casa Rosada intentaron ayer negar que las internas en el área de Energía fueran a retrasar todavía más el inicio de las obras. **Página 10**

Efectivizan a 29.000 trabajadores en el Estado**Página 22****Monotributo: actualizarán en julio los topes de facturación****INFLACIÓN.** Subirán 29,12% para aliviar los efectos de los cambios de categoría

En julio, el mes en el que los monotributistas deberán tramitar su recategorización, los montos de la facturación tope de cada categoría subirán un 29,12%, si se aprueba un proyecto de ley impulsado por el oficialismo. La medida busca compensar los efectos de la inflación sobre los ingresos y aliviar los efectos del cambio de categoría, e implica anticipar parte del reajuste de los montos que está previsto para enero de 2023. **Página 18**

“Átenlo y llévenselo, no quiero tener que velarlo”**sociedad—** Los casos de Chano y Felipe Pettinato reavivaron el debate sobre las trabas de la ley de salud mental para internar a un paciente. Ayer, con la participación de la madre de Charpentier, que relató el drama de su hijo, hubo una tensa discusión en el Senado. **Página 24**

Marina Charpentier denunció que la ley no ayuda a las familias y, emocionada, recordó el drama de su hijo Chano

GERARDO VIERCOVICH

Postergan hasta 2024 los pagos al Club de París**NEGOCIACIÓN.** Mediante un decreto de necesidad y urgencia, el Gobierno postergará hasta el 30 de septiembre de 2024 el pago de capital e intereses de la deuda con el Club de París por US\$2000 millones que vence hoy. Durante ese lapso, el Gobierno buscará acordar una renegociación de plazos e intereses, que podría cerrarse antes. **Página 19****Frenética lucha por apoyos entre Petro y Hernández****Daniel Lozano**
PARA LA NACION

BOGOTÁ.— Colombia despertó ayer una nueva era política, marcada por la ausencia en la primera línea del expresidente Álvaro Uribe, tras 20 años como su dirigente más influyente. Y en el primer día de una campaña feroz que certificará el giro inédito hacia la izquierda o hacia un populismo de corte desconocido. **Continúa en la página 2**

Se postergó el juicio por el crimen en el country Carmel**CASO GARCÍA BELSUNCE.** Uno de los jueces tiene Covid; Nicolás Pacheco, el principal acusado. **Página 26****La UE aprueba su mayor medida contra Putin: un embargo parcial al petróleo ruso****ACUERDO.** El bloque decidió prescindir de dos tercios de las importaciones

PARÍS (De nuestra correspondencia).— Los líderes de la Unión Europea alcanzaron a última hora de anoche, luego de un encendido debate, un acuerdo para aplicar el sexto paquete

de sanciones a Rusia, que incluye el embargo de dos tercios de las importaciones de petróleo ruso, medida que enfrentó la severa resistencia de algunos países por el impacto so-

bre sus economías. El acuerdo prevé el bloqueo de las importaciones por mar, pero no de las que llegan a Hungría, Eslovaquia y República Checa por el oleoducto Druzhba. **Página 6**

Branços têm o dobro de chance de voto à Câmara

Pessoas negras encontram mais entraves do que as brancas para se elegerem ao Legislativo estadual ou federal, mostra o estudo "Desigualdade Racial nas Eleições Brasileiras", dos economistas Sergio Firpo, Michael França, Alysso Portella e Rafael Tavares.

De 3.117 candidatos pretos e pardos em 2018, 124 se elegeram, ou 3,98%. Entre os 4.425 postulantes brancos, 386 foram eleitos, ou 8,72%. **Política A4 e A5**



Milton Gonçalves, em 2017

Ilustrada C1

Morre Milton Gonçalves

Com mais de cem filmes no currículo e longa carreira na TV, ator foi importante voz antirracista. Morreu ontem, aos 88 anos, em decorrência de um AVC sofrido em 2020.

Metade dos municípios tem espera pelo Auxílio Brasil

Programa atinge recorde de 18 milhões de lares, mas demanda extrapola caixa

Metade dos municípios do país tem famílias em situação de pobreza ou extrema pobreza que, mesmo com cadastro verificado e aprovado, não recebem o Auxílio Brasil por falta de recursos do programa. Bandeira eleitoral do presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL), o plano de transferência atinge hoje recorde de 18 milhões de lares.

Dados do Ministério da Cidadania obtidos pela Folha mostram fila de espera em 2.525 cidades, com mais de 764 mil famílias aguardando um eventual aumento no orçamento do programa ou a saída de um beneficiário para receber o pagamento, cujo valor médio é de R\$ 409,51 mensais. Questionada, a pasta não se manifestou.

Versão de Bolsonaro para o Bolsa Família, vitrine eleitoral do ex-presidente Lula, o Auxílio Brasil surgiu com a premissa de ampliar a verba do antecessor, tendo aumentado a cobertura de 13 milhões de famílias, no início de 2020, para 18,1 milhões. Com a inflação crescente e o desemprego, porém, a demanda superou a oferta.

Estudo da Confederação Nacional de Municípios que inclui candidatos ao benefício cujo cadastro foi feito mas carece de verificação de documentos aponta uma fila de espera com 1,3 milhão de famílias. **Mercado p.1**

Insuficiente para quem recebe, programa não vira voto, indica Datafolha p.1



Casas ficam ilhadas no Recife após chuvas que já deixaram 91 mortos em Pernambuco **Clauber Cleber Caetano/Presidência da República**

Sobe a 91 número de mortos por chuvas no Grande Recife

O número de mortos pelas chuvas em Pernambuco, concentradas no Grande Recife, chegou a 91, informaram ontem autoridades estaduais. Há 26 desaparecidos. Diante da tragédia, a prefeitura da capital cancelou festividades juninas.

Jair Bolsonaro (PL) sobrevoou áreas atingidas ao lado de ministros e disse não ter sido procurado pelo governo local. O governador Paulo Câmara (PSB) afirma que não foi chamado para falar com o presidente e que não sabia da visita. **Cotidiano B3**

Joel P. da Fonseca Politização da Lei Rouanet e cachês milionários

Artistas que desmerecem a Lei Rouanet ganham centenas de milhares de reais de municípios. Mas não deixam a paixão política colorir seu julgamento. Sem provas, é injusto atribuir a eles possíveis irregularidades de quem contrata. **Política A6**

Bolsonaro critica imprensa em caso Genivaldo

Jair Bolsonaro (PL) criticou a cobertura da imprensa no caso da morte de Genivaldo de Jesus Santos, asfixiado em viatura da Polícia Rodoviária Federal após ser detido por andar de moto sem capacete. Ele disse que não se pode generalizar a conduta dos agentes. **Cotidiano B4**

Internações por Covid em SP sobem 74%; vacina chega a clínicas privadas

Saúde B1

UE define veto parcial a petróleo russo por invasão

Quase um mês após prometer vetar toda a compra de petróleo da Rússia, a União Europeia sinalizou um acordo para cortar em até dois terços a importação do produto até o fim do ano, como punição a Moscou por invadir a Ucrânia. O barril subiu na casa dos US\$ 120. **Mundo A10**

Volks é convocada para audiência sobre trabalho escravo na ditadura

Mercado p.8

Equilíbrio B2

No Dia Mundial Sem Tabaco, leitores contam como estão após largar vício

Ciência B5

Cientistas leem DNA de uma vítima da erupção do vulcão Vesúvio

Comida C8

Aos 60, Gero Fasano lança livro e planeja restaurante de peixes no Itaim Bibi

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APRESENTAM

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INOVAÇÃO E SEGURANÇA NAS ESTRADAS

É hora de discutir esse assunto tão importante
Presenças confirmadas (entre outras):



Hildo Rocha
Deputado federal, presidente da Comissão de Viação e Transportes da Câmara dos Deputados



Rafa Zimbaldi
Deputado estadual, ex-presidente da Comissão de Transportes da Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São Paulo



Laura Arantes
Membro da Diretoria Executiva da Amobitec

Hoje, 31/5 às 15h

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Empresário reivindica área no Campo de Marte

Amparado em documentos do século 19, Adilson de Souza Bezerra afirma que tem direito sobre parte do Campo de Marte, cujo domínio ficou dividido entre União e município de São Paulo. A Justiça rejeitou, e Bezerra deve recorrer. **B5**

EDITORIAIS A2

Catástrofes em série
Acerca de mortes provocadas pelas chuvas no Recife.

Guinada colombiana
Sobre 1º turno da eleição presidencial naquele país.

ATMOSFERA

São Paulo hoje





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QUI REGRETTENT D'AVOIR VOULU
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et d'Hugues
Dewavrin
• La chronique
de Renaud
Girard
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FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON

**Réponses à la question
de lundi :**
Après les incidents
au Stade de France,
êtes-vous inquiet
pour l'organisation
des JO 2024 à Paris ?

OUI 79 % **NON** 21 %
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 189 158

**Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr**
L'inflation vous a-t-elle
amené à changer
vos habitudes
de consommation ?

ANNE-CHRISTINE POUJOLATJULIEN DE
ROSA/AFP - YURAKRASIL/
SHUTTERSTOCK

Fiasco du Stade de France : Darmanin sur la défensive

Le ministre de l'Intérieur dénonce un trafic « industriel » de faux tickets qui serait à la racine du chaos le soir de la finale. Les Britanniques et l'opposition lui reprochent de se défaire.

La pagaille, les fraudes, quelques gazages policiers sans discernement, les agressions en série par des voyous difficilement assimilables à des Britanniques... Samedi dernier, le

Stade de France, qui accueillait la finale de la Ligue des champions, a pris des allures de champ de bataille. Revenant lundi sur ces événements au cours d'une conférence de

presse, Gérard Darmanin a bien été forcé de le reconnaître : « Non, il n'y a pas lieu d'être fier, évidemment, de ce qu'on a vu samedi soir. » Le ministre de l'Intérieur, qui avait d'emblée

indiqué la piste des supporters anglais pour expliquer les dérives, maintient son analyse, en dépit des images qui ont tourné sur les réseaux sociaux. Pour leur part, les policiers ont

identifié des délinquants « connus des abords du Stade de France ». Une chose est certaine : le gouvernement et l'UEFA vont devoir tirer les leçons du fiasco.

→ LONDRES RÉCLAME UNE ENQUÊTE → PARMI LES INTERPELLÉS, DE NOMBREUX SANS-PAPIERS → L'EXÉCUTIF S'EXPLIQUE, MACRON SE TIENT À DISTANCE
→ LES POLICIERS DE TERRAIN ÉVOQUENT DES « VOYOUS DES CITÉS VOISINES » → AMÉLIE OUDÉA-CASTÈRE GÈRE SON PREMIER DOSSIER BRÛLANT PAGES 2, 3, 4 ET 16



À Orikhiv, dans les tranchées avec les soldats ukrainiens

Notre reporter raconte la peur et l'attente des soldats de la 28^e brigade d'assaut de Transcarpatie, situés à 300 mètres des positions russes et qui défendent ce verrou protégeant la ville de Zaporijjia. PAGES 6, 7, 17 ET 22

Comment l'inflation contamine l'ensemble de l'économie

Après l'énergie et l'alimentaire, la hausse des prix se diffuse petit à petit à de nombreux secteurs sous l'effet d'une forte demande et d'une désorganisation du commerce mondial, à l'origine de goulets d'étranglement et parfois de pénuries. Dans l'ameublement, la décoration, le textile, le bricolage ou le jouet, les produits se commandent six mois à l'avance. Face à cette flambee, le gouvernement prépare de nouvelles mesures de soutien au pouvoir d'achat. PAGES 20, 21 ET L'ÉDITORIAL

ÉDITORIAL par Gaëtan de Capèle gdecapelle@lefigaro.fr

Avec quel argent ?

Bientôt un chèque habilement ? Un virement bricolage ? Un bonus ameublement ? Au train où vont les choses, les questions les plus saugrenues ne vont pas tarder à se poser au pays de la providence. Car, un à un, tous les rayons de la grande consommation attrapent le virus de l'inflation. Et le scénario optimiste d'une poussée de fièvre temporaire sur les prix semble s'évaporer au fil des catastrophes (guerre en Ukraine, confinement chinois, dérèglements météo...) qui s'abattent simultanément sur la planète. Le plus probable est que nous allons devoir réapprendre à vivre avec une inflation forte et durable. Marqué au fer rouge par les « gilets jaunes », Emmanuel Macron s'est fixé comme ligne de conduite d'éviter coûte que coûte une crise sociale. Respirons : d'emblée ont été écartées les idées simplistes et mortifères de Jean-Luc Mélenchon - blocage des prix, augmentation massive du smic -, qui menaieraient les entreprises, puis le pays tout entier, à la ruine. Sans succomber à ces folies, l'exécutif s'est néanmoins résolu à prendre en charge une partie de l'addition, en distribuant des aides massives aux Français. Ce

choix politique, partagé par la majorité de nos voisins, peut s'entendre face aux menaces sur le pouvoir d'achat. Mais avec quel argent ? L'État n'ayant pas un sou en poche, ces dizaines de milliards d'euros de dépenses imprévues sont autant de dettes supplémentaires qu'il faudra rembourser. Cela exigerait, au minimum, de donner en contrepartie des garanties de saine gestion. En gageant par exemple, comme le ferait tout débiteur, ces nouveaux emprunts sur des recettes à venir ou sur des économies à réaliser. Chez nous, où l'on confond rigueur comptable et austerité fantasmée, cet exercice est devenu inconcevable. À peine évoquée, la réforme des retraites, seule piste sérieuse susceptible de renflouer les caisses publiques, rétrécit déjà à vue d'œil. Au moment où disparaît l'argent gratuit et illimité des banques centrales, où les créanciers internationaux recommencent à faire le tri entre bons et mauvais débiteurs, il faudra pourtant bien se résoudre à devenir enfin responsables. ■

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