



How the War Against ISIS Was Won

REVIEW

WSJ

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEEKEND



DOW JONES | News Corp *****

SATURDAY/SUNDAY, JUNE 4 - 5, 2022 - VOL. CCLXXIX NO. 129

WSJ.com ★★★★★ \$6.00

What's News

World-Wide

After 100 days, the war being waged by Russia against Ukraine is turning into a bloody slog with no end in sight, causing mounting devastation in Ukraine and prolonged costs around the world. **A1, A8**

◆ **Federal prosecutors** charged Peter Navarro with contempt of Congress for defying a subpoena from the Jan. 6 panel, as the DOJ said it wouldn't bring similar charges against two other former Trump advisers. **A4**

◆ **Former hedge fund executive** David McCormick conceded to celebrity doctor Mehmet Oz in Pennsylvania's GOP Senate primary. **A4**

◆ **A bipartisan group** of House and Senate leaders announced broad agreement on establishing online-privacy rights for Americans, in a big step forward for the long-delayed legislation. **A4**

◆ **A Chinese-owned company** bought an obscure chip factory in Britain last year. After the U.S. made it clear it opposed the purchase, the U.K. initiated a probe that could unwind the deal. **A9**

◆ **Novavax's vaccine** was 90% effective at preventing Covid-19 in its pivotal trial, but the performance came before the emergence of the Omicron variant that has eluded vaccines more than earlier strains, the FDA said. **A3**

Business & Finance

◆ **U.S. job growth** cooled slightly in May, adding to signs the economy is starting to lose some steam after its rapid recovery last year. Employers added 390,000 jobs, a robust increase but down from a gain of 436,000 in April and below the monthly average pace of growth last year. **A1, A7**

◆ **U.S. stocks** dropped in the wake of the jobs report, with the S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow losing 1.6%, 2% and 1%, respectively. All three indexes declined 0.9% or more for the week. **B1**

◆ **Amazon's consumer CEO**, Dave Clark, disclosed plans to leave the company, bringing an end to the tenure of a key executive behind a massive warehouse and logistics expansion during the pandemic. **B3**

◆ **Supply-chain problems** led Boeing to recently pause production of its 737 MAX aircraft for about 10 days, people familiar with the matter said. **B3**

◆ **The Stellantis unit** formerly known as Chrysler is paying \$300 million for conspiring to defraud federal regulators and customers about vehicle emissions, U.S. authorities said. **B3**

◆ **Bristol-Myers Squibb** said it would acquire biotech company Turning Point Therapeutics for \$4.1 billion. **B3**

NOONAN

The Uvalde Police Scandal **A15**

CONTENTS Opinion.....A13-15
Books.....C7-12
Sports.....A36
Business News.....B3
Style & Fashion.....D2-4
Food.....D10-11
Travel.....D6-7
Gear & Gadgets.....D12-13
U.S. News.....A2-7
Heard on Street.....B12
Weather.....A16
Obituaries.....A11
World News.....A8-10



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



A girl draws on the wall of a destroyed house in the village of Andriivka in Ukraine's Kyiv region on Friday. After 100 days of war, many Western governments fear that a destructive stalemate looms between Russia and Ukraine.

After 100 Days of War, Ukraine Girds for a Long, Bloody Grind

After 100 days, Russia's war on Ukraine is turning into a bloody slog with no end in sight, causing mounting devastation in Ukraine and prolonged

that is ebbing as Russia concentrates its firepower on a narrower, grinding advance.

On Friday, Russian forces were on the move behind heavy artillery barrages in eastern Ukraine's Donbas region, where they have slowly gained ground, sending tens of thousands of civilians fleeing.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky marked 100 days of war with a somber but defiant video message: "The armed forces of Ukraine are here. Most importantly, our people—the people of our nation—are here. We have been

defending our country for 100 days already. Victory will be ours! Glory to Ukraine!"

Many Western governments fear a destructive stalemate looms, with Russian President Vladimir Putin and Ukraine's defenders locked in a struggle they both view as existential. Around 6.9 million Ukrainians have left the country since the war began, according to the United Nations, with Poland alone receiving 3.7 million, although some are returning home. Millions more Ukrainians have been displaced internally by the Russian onslaught. The

invasion has devastated cities in Ukraine's east, including Mariupol, where at least 22,000 residents were killed during the weeklong Russian siege, according to local officials.

Ukrainian and international investigators are gathering evidence of possible war crimes in areas where Russian troops killed and mistreated civilians. Kyiv has accused Moscow of

Please turn to page A8

◆ **Josh Zumbrun:** Ukraine faces staggering population loss. **A2**
◆ **Last trains** leave with Donbas evacuees. **A8**

By Marcus Walker, Daniel Michaels and Michael R. Gordon

costs world-wide. The biggest conflict between European states since World War II has undergone swings of fortune that offer a reminder of war's unpredictability. The failure of Russia's early blitzkrieg fueled Ukrainian confidence

EXCHANGE



'THIS IS HARD'
Rivian's great expectations meet the harsh reality of manufacturing. **B1**

CEOs Gauge the Warnings As Economic Winds Shift

Over the past week, business leaders have laid out in the starkest terms yet that a period of universal strength in the U.S. economy has given

By Chip Cutter, Nick Timiras and Sam Goldfarb

way to a muddled outlook in which a labor shortage, soaring stock markets and a healthy consumer are no longer givens.

Technology companies from Facebook parent Meta Plat-

forms Inc. to Uber Technologies Inc. have sharply slowed hiring in recent weeks, and Elon Musk told staff at Tesla Inc. this past week that he plans to cut 10% of its salaried jobs.

Retailers such as Walmart Inc. and Target Corp., whose profits soared in the pandemic, reported that higher costs had begun to eat into earnings and that some shoppers were beginning to curtail spending. In recent weeks, stores that struggled with too little inventory last year because of supply bottlenecks

have reported that they are carrying more apparel, appliances and furniture than consumers want.

"That hurricane is right out there down the road coming our way," JPMorgan Chase & Co. Chief Executive Officer Jamie Dimon said this past week. "We just don't know if it's a minor one or superstorm Sandy. You have to brace yourself."

At the same conference, Bank of America Corp. CEO Brian Moynihan had a more tempered outlook, saying his

Please turn to page A6

'Wizard of Oz' Dress Is Not In Kansas, It's in Federal Court

Dispute over Dorothy's gingham frock has university and donor's heir in a twist

By MELISSA KORN

Judy Garland in the 1939 classic "The Wizard of Oz" is off to see a federal courthouse, in a legal dispute that also involves a deceased priest, his niece and the auction house Bonhams.

The battle centers on who can fairly claim ownership of the frock, and whether Catholic University and Bonhams should be allowed to auction it. The feuding parties are set to face off in court next week.



My pretty

The donation, one of the blue-and-white gingham costumes donned by

Russian Sanctions Signal End Of Free Trade in Energy

Geopolitical calculations are starting to rule market, raising costs

Russia's attack on Ukraine is redrawing the world's energy map, ushering in a new era in which the flow of fossil fuels is influenced by geopolitical rivalries as much as supply and demand.

By Christopher M. Matthews in Houston, Summer Said in Dubai and Benoit Faucon in London

Over the past half-century, oil and natural gas have moved with relative freedom to the markets where they commanded the highest prices around the world. That ended abruptly when Russian tanks rumbled across the Ukraine border on Feb. 24, triggering a

barrage of trade sanctions by the U.S. and Europe targeting Russia that have plunged global commerce into disarray.

This week, the European Union agreed to its toughest sanctions yet on Russia, banning imports of its oil and blocking insurers from covering its cargoes of crude.

Whatever new order emerges won't be fully clear for years. But traders, diplomats and other experts in energy geopolitics generally agree that it will be more Balkanized, and less free-flowing, than what the world has seen since the end of the Cold War.

Three likely axes of energy influence are emerging: the U.S. and other Western na-

Please turn to page A12

Growth In Jobs Market Extends Streak

Slower pace of gains suggest economy may be cooling off; wages rose 5.2% in May

By DAVID HARRISON

U.S. job growth cooled slightly in May, adding to signs the economy is starting to lose some steam after its rapid recovery last year.

Employers added 390,000 jobs last month, a robust increase but down from a gain of 436,000 in April and below the monthly average pace of growth last year, the Labor Department reported Friday.

The unemployment rate held at 3.6% in May, close to the half-century low level it reached in 2020 before the Covid-19 pandemic sent the economy into a deep but short recession. About 330,000 people joined the labor force, but the participation rate remained below prepandemic levels.

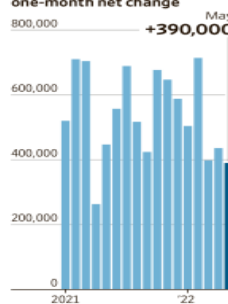
The report follows other indications that the economy remains strong, but its momentum is slipping in some sectors.

Annual wage gains slowed in May. Existing-home sales were down 5.9% in April from the previous year, according to the National Association of Realtors. Consumer spending in April grew at its slowest pace this year. And a measure of output in the service sector rose more slowly in May than in April, the Institute for Supply Management said Friday.

U.S. stocks dropped Friday. Please turn to page A7

◆ **Retailers cut staff** in May as other sectors hired. **A7**
◆ **Heard on the Street:** Jobs data won't slow the Fed. **B12**

U.S. nonfarm payrolls, one-month net change



Note: Seasonally adjusted
Source: Labor Department

Britons hail frail Queen's 70-year reign

Decades of duty without drama
Person in the News
PAGE 7

'Churchill was heavily in love with her'

Exclusive memoir by a private secretary
LIFE & ARTS

Elizabeth in India: steel under the hats

Nilanjana Roy
LIFE & ARTS



A view of London's St Paul's Cathedral during the jubilee service yesterday missed by the Queen who was not well enough to attend. By illustrator Lucinda Rogers

US jobs growth beats expectations

◆ Biden cheers 'historic' gains ◆ Retail sector is sole laggard ◆ Inflation remains a threat

COLBY SMITH — WASHINGTON

The US economy registered solid jobs gains in May, despite employers grappling with a historically tight labour market and policymakers' efforts to cool demand.

Employers in the world's largest economy added 390,000 jobs during the month, less than the upwardly revised 436,000 positions created during the previous period but more than economists had expected.

The jobless rate steadied at 3.6 per cent, which was only 0.1 percentage point above the level it stood at in February 2020 before the pandemic spread globally.

President Joe Biden yesterday touted the historic nature of the jobs bounce, with 8.7mn jobs recovered since the

beginning of his administration last year. But he acknowledged the toll imposed by the highest inflation in four decades.

"We've laid an economic foundation that's historically strong, and now we're moving forward to a new moment where we can build on that foundation without sacrificing all the historic gains we've made," he said.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, leisure and hospitality was among the sectors to see "notable" gains. More than 80,000 positions were added in May, with an additional 75,000 professional and business-services jobs created. The only sector to see losses was retail, with the number of jobs declining by 61,000.

"This was a very good, Goldilocks

report that so far is consistent with a soft landing," said Ellen Gaske, an economist at FGM Fixed Income. "These job gains are coming alongside decelerating average hourly earnings, so that suggests potentially the economic expansion could turn out to be fairly robust."

But top business leaders have warned of a darkening economic outlook. Jamie Dimon, JPMorgan Chase's chief, warned investors this week to brace for an economic "hurricane" owing to the war in Ukraine and rising interest rates.

Yesterday Elon Musk was reported by Reuters to have ordered a hiring freeze and a 10 per cent cut in staff salaries at Tesla, his electric-car group, owing to a "super bad feeling" about the economy.

Biden brushed Musk's comment aside when asked, saying that other carmakers were hiring more workers for their



Despite the brighter news for the labour market, business leaders were cautious

electric operations. "Lots of luck on his trip to the moon," Biden quipped.

Thanks Mr President," Musk replied on Twitter, pointing to a story about how NASA had awarded his company SpaceX a \$2.9bn contract to land Americans on the moon.

The data from the BLS yesterday did show the labour force increasing by 330,000, but the share of Americans either employed or looking for work, known as the labour force participation rate, was little changed.

Economists believe labour-supply issues are starting to ease, helping to explain the moderate pick-up in monthly wage growth.

Average hourly earnings in May rose 0.3 per cent, in line with last month's increase.

Day in the markets page 11

HTSI

How to style it this summer
Separate magazine



It's a terrible time for Shanghai
Restaurateur Michelle Garnaut
LUNCH WITH THE FT



Club Alt Med
Southern Europe property
HOUSE & HOME



Kitchen culture
The dark heart of elite dining
LIFE & ARTS



Opinions split as Sandberg steps down from Facebook

When Sheryl Sandberg resigns this autumn as Facebook's chief operating officer she will leave behind a mixed legacy. During her 14 years as Mark Zuckerberg's right-hand woman she became one of Silicon Valley's most polarising figures. While she built an image as a female role model who helped grow a \$538bn group, she is also accused of attempting to conceal controversies over moderation and privacy after the 2016 US election.

Entering a new era — PAGE 10

Defiant Zelensky claims 'victory is ours' 100 days after Putin's invasion of Ukraine

ROMAN OLEARCHYK AND MAX SEDDON
KIVIV

Ukraine's president Volodymyr Zelensky has hailed the survival of his country 100 days into a Russian invasion that has devastated the nation, claimed thousands of lives and threatened global food supplies.

In a defiant video that echoed his rallying cry to the country shortly after Moscow launched an all-out assault on February 24 that at the time targeted him, his government and Kyiv, Zelensky spoke from outside his office in the capital with top aides at his side.

"The president is here, the armed forces of Ukraine are here. And, most importantly, our people are here," he declared. "We have been defending Ukraine for 100 days. Victory is ours."

His bravado in part reflected fresh

supplies of heavier and longer-range weaponry from the US and European countries. When Russia launched the invasion of Ukraine, western leaders expected the capital to fall within days.

While millions of Ukrainians have become refugees and casualties have risen, Zelensky remains in control of the capital. But the country is braced for a drawn-out war.

Russia now occupies 20 per cent of Ukrainian territory in the east and south of the country, up from 7 per cent previously, and is pressing on with its proclaimed aim of capturing all of the eastern Donbas region.

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights said yesterday that it had recorded 4,183 civilian deaths but warned that "actual figures are considerably higher". This figure does not include combat casualties.

Zelensky has in recent days said that his country is losing up to 100 soldiers per day. His army estimates more than 50,000 Russian soldiers have been killed, a figure that Russian officials have not confirmed and which could not be independently verified.

The conflict between the two large agricultural exporters has rocked global grain and vegetable-oil markets. Ukraine accounts for about 10 per cent of global wheat exports and the Russian naval blockade of Ukraine's Black Sea ports has all but halted grain shipments. Amin Awad, a UN crisis co-ordinator, said yesterday that the conflict risked triggering starvation globally. "Failure to open those ports will result in famine, destabilisation and mass migration around the world," he said.

Russia's 'atrocity factory' page 2
Lawrence Freedman page 7

Subscribe In print and online
www.ft.com/subscribe

Tel: 1 800 528 8088
For the latest news go to
www.ft.com

© THE FINANCIAL TIMES LTD 2022
No: 41,032 ★

Printed in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin, Frankfurt, Milan, Madrid, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul, Dubai



World Markets											
STOCK MARKETS			CURRENCIES			GOVERNMENT BONDS					
	Jun 3	Prev	%Chg		Jun 3	Prev	%Chg		Jun 3	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	4102.35	4178.92	-1.87	\$/£	1.072	1.072	0/0	US 2 yr	2.46	2.46	0.00
Nasdaq Composite	12001.47	12216.90	-2.56	\$/€	1.252	1.254	-0.2	US 10 yr	2.96	2.92	0.04
Dow Jones Ind	32601.79	33248.28	-1.94	€/£	0.856	0.854	0/0	US 30 yr	3.12	3.09	0.03
FTSEurofirst 300	1724.15	1729.81	-0.33	\$/¥	130.725	129.845	0/0	UK 2 yr	1.70	1.70	0.00
Euro Stoxx 50	3779.80	3796.12	-0.43	\$/¥	163.699	162.878	0/0	UK 10 yr	2.16	2.16	0.00
FTSE 100	7552.95	7607.06	-0.78	\$/¥	1.032	1.029	0/0	UK 30 yr	2.41	2.41	0.00
FTSE All-Share	4164.00	4201.96	-0.90					JPY 2 yr	-0.07	-0.07	0.00
CAC 40	6485.30	6500.44	-0.23					JPY 10 yr	0.23	0.24	-0.01
Xetra Dax	14460.00	14495.17	-0.17					JPY 30 yr	1.63	1.64	-0.01
Nikkei	27361.57	27413.86	-1.27					GER 2 yr	0.64	0.61	0.03
Hang Seng	21062.13	21294.94	-1.00					GER 10 yr	1.27	1.24	0.04
MSCI World \$	2014.03	2079.43	-3.57					GER 30 yr	1.51	1.48	0.03
MSCI EM \$	1061.44	1067.86	-0.60								
MSCI ACWI \$	656.45	647.67	1.32								
FT Mibindex 2000	5421.73	5226.38	3.87	Oil (WTI) \$	118.56	116.67	1.45				
FT Mibindex 5000	42415.03	41595.70	1.97	Oil (Brent) \$	119.32	117.61	1.46				
				Gold \$	1844.90	1838.70	0.34				

Prices are subject to fluctuations
Data provided by Bloomberg

A Nikkei Company

Daniel FEAU *Belles demeures de France*
Fine Residences

PARISIAN LUXURY REAL ESTATE

www.danielfeau.com

CHRISTIE'S
INTERNATIONAL REAL ESTATE

EXCLUSIVE AFFILIATE

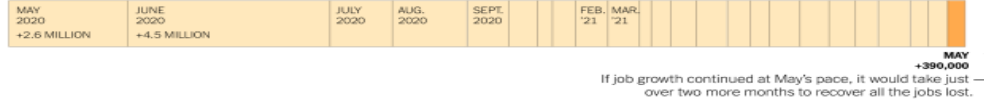
Marching Closer to a Full Jobs Recovery ...

Total jobs lost in the pandemic: **-22,106,000**

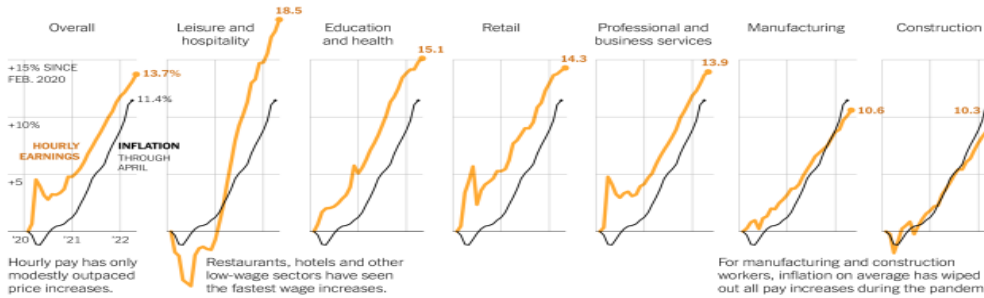
DEC. 2020
-115,000

MAR. 2020	APRIL 2020
-1.5 M	-20.5 MILLION

Jobs gained since April 2020: **+21,284,000**



... as High Inflation Blunts Wage Gains in Many Sectors



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics | Notes: Data is seasonally adjusted. Earnings data are for nonmanagers.

Hiring Is Strong Even as the Fed Hits the Brakes

This article is by **Talmon Joseph Smith, Lydia DePillis and Jeanna Smialek.**

American employers extended an impressive run of hiring in May, even as policymakers took steps to cool the economy in an effort to ease high inflation. The Labor Department reported Friday that employers added 390,000 jobs, the 17th straight monthly gain. The unemployment rate was 3.6 percent for the third straight month, a touch away from a half-century low.

At the same time, the labor force grew by 330,000 people, and the share of adults employed or looking for work continued to edge closer to prepandemic levels.

The data signaled that the Federal Reserve's initial moves to dial back its monetary support for the economy were — at least so far — not constraining business activity so much that hiring was feeling a pinch.

After the strong rebound from the depths of the coronavirus lockdowns — all but 800,000 of the 22 million jobs that were lost have been recovered — the Fed has shifted its emphasis from maximum employment to its other mandate: price stability. The challenge is to apply its primary tool, a steady series of interest-rate increases, without inflicting a recession.

"I think we're on sort of what looks like a glide path right now, and that's good — nothing's broken," said Guy Berger, the principal economist at the career-focused social network LinkedIn. "But keep fast-forwarding it a year and the question marks are still big."

The closely watched indicators included the impact on wages, which have been increasing at a pace not seen in decades, though not enough to keep up with inflation over the past year. The Fed is worried that rising labor costs will be passed along to consumers.

On that score, the Labor Department report showed little change in trajectory. Average hourly earnings rose 0.3 percent from the previous month, the same pace as in April, and were 5.2 percent higher than a year ear-

Continued on Page A15

On Eve of Jan. 6, Aide Warned of Risk to Pence

By **MAGGIE HABERMAN**

The day before a mob of President Donald J. Trump's supporters stormed the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, Vice President Mike Pence's chief of staff called Mr. Pence's lead Secret Service agent to his West Wing office.

The chief of staff, Marc Short, had a message for the agent, Tim Giebel: The president was going to turn publicly against the vice president, and there could be a security risk to Mr. Pence because of it.

The stark warning — the only time Mr. Short flagged a security concern during his tenure as Mr. Pence's top aide — was uncovered recently during research by this reporter for an upcoming book, "Confidence Man: The Making of

Is Said to Have Alerted Secret Service About Trump's Anger

Donald Trump and the Breaking of America," to be published in October.

Mr. Short did not know what form such a security risk might take, according to people familiar with the events. But after days of intensifying pressure from Mr. Trump on Mr. Pence to take the extraordinary step of intervening in the certification of the Electoral College count to forestall Mr. Trump's defeat, Mr. Short seemed to have good reason for concern. The vice president's refusal to go

along was exploding into an open and bitter breach between the two men at a time when the president was stoking the fury of his supporters who were streaming into Washington.

Mr. Short's previously unreported warning reflected the remarkable tension in the West Wing as Mr. Trump and a band of allies, with the clock running out, searched desperately for a means of overturning the election. Mr. Trump grew agitated as his options closed, and it became clear that he was failing in his last-ditch effort to muscle his previously compliant vice president into unilaterally rejecting the voting outcomes in key states.

The warning also shows the concern at the highest levels of the

Continued on Page A11



Ukrainian soldiers being examined for injuries at an aid station in the city of Bakhmut on Friday.

War Grinds On in Ukraine, With No End in Sight

This article is by **Valerie Hopkins, Neil MacFarquhar, Steven Erlanger and Michael Levenson.**

One hundred days ago, before sunrise, Russia launched artillery strikes on Ukraine before sending troops racing toward major cities, beginning a war against a much smaller country and outnumbered military that seemed destined to quickly topple the government in Kyiv.

But the brutal invasion has

Crisis Growing Between Russia and the West

ripped apart those predictions, reawakening old alliances, testing others and spreading death and destruction across the country. Both armies are now locked in fierce and bloody battles across a 600-mile-long front for control of Ukraine's east and to gain the up-

per hand in the conflict.

The winner, if there is one, is not likely to emerge even in the next 100 days, analysts say. Some foresee an increasingly intractable struggle in eastern Ukraine and a growing confrontation between President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and the West.

New Western arms promised to Ukraine — such as long-range missiles announced by President Biden this week — could help it re-

Continued on Page A7

Coordination Broke Down In Uvalde Police Response

Commander at Scene Reportedly Lacked a Radio and Relied on Old Tactics

This article is by **J. David Goodman, Serge F. Kovaleski, Eduardo Medina and Mike Baker.**

UVALDE, Texas — Two minutes after a gunman burst through an unlocked door at Robb Elementary School and began shooting inside a pair of connected classrooms, Pete Arredondo arrived outside, one of the first police officers to reach the scene.

The gunman could still be heard firing repeatedly, and Chief Arredondo, as leader of the small school district police force in Uvalde, took charge.

But there were problems from the start. Chief Arredondo did not have a police radio with him, according to a law enforcement official familiar with the investigation, which may have impeded his immediate ability to communicate with police dispatchers. As two supervisors from the local police department were grazed by bullets fired by the gunman, he made a decision to fall back, the official said.

Using a cellphone, the chief called a police hotline with a message that set the stage for what would prove to be a disastrous delay in interrupting the attack: The gunman has an AR-15, he told them, but he is contained; we need more firepower and we need the building surrounded.

Rather than confront an actively firing gunman immediately, as officers have been trained to do

since the killings at Columbine High School in 1999, the ever-growing force of increasingly heavily armed officers arriving at Robb Elementary held back for more than an hour.

A New York Times examination of the police response, based on dozens of interviews with law enforcement officials, children who survived, parents who were witnesses outside and experts on policing, found that breakdowns in communication and tactical decisions that were out of step with years of police preparations for school shootings might have contributed to additional deaths and certainly delayed critical medical attention to the wounded.

A tactical team led by Border Patrol officers ultimately ignored orders not to breach the classroom, interviews revealed, after a 10-year-old girl inside the classroom warned 911 dispatchers that one of the two teachers in the room was in urgent need of medical attention.

The report that the commander at the scene at least initially had no police radio emerges as the latest important detail in what has been a shifting official account of the police response that has at times proved to be inaccurate on key points about the May 24 shooting.

Spokesmen for the Texas Rangers and the U.S. Justice Department

Continued on Page A13

Bucking G.O.P. On Gun Control Exacts a Price

By **NICHOLAS FANDOS and JESSE MCKINLEY**

In the wake of deadly mass shootings in Buffalo and Uvalde, Texas, Representative Chris Jacobs of New York, a congressman serving his first full term in the House, stunned fellow Republicans by embracing a federal assault weapons ban and limits on high-capacity magazines.

Speaking from his suburban Buffalo district a week ago, about 10 miles from the grocery store where 10 Black residents had been slaughtered, Mr. Jacobs framed his risky break from bedrock Republican orthodoxy as bigger than politics. "I can't in good conscience sit back and say I didn't try to do something," he said.

It took only seven days for political forces to catch up with him.

On Friday, facing intense backlash from party leaders, a potential primary from the state party chairman and a forceful dressing down from Donald Trump Jr., Mr. Jacobs announced that he would abandon his re-election campaign.

"We have a problem in our country in terms of both our major parties. If you stray from a party position, you are annihilated," Mr. Jacobs said. "For the Republicans, it became pretty apparent to me over the last week that that issue is gun control. Any gun control?"

Citing the thousands of gun permits he had issued as Erie County clerk, Mr. Jacobs emphasized that he was a supporter of the Second Amendment, and said he wanted to avoid the brutal intraparty fight that would have been inevitable had he stayed in the race.

But he warned Republicans that their "absolute position" on guns would hurt the party in the long run and urged more senior

Continued on Page A14

OZ WINS A rival conceded, giving Dr. Mehmet Oz the G.O.P. Senate nod in Pennsylvania. PAGE A10



Judy Cheung had two freezers full of excess milk to share.

Mothers Step In To Donate Milk They Can Spare

By **SHARON OTTERMAN and SARAH BLESENBER**

Diana Feng, a mother in Douglaston, Queens, spent weeks this spring caught up in the frenzy of the ongoing infant formula shortage, refreshing store websites and asking friends to help her track down the Similac formula she needed to feed her 5-month-old daughter, Charlotte.

Then a friend told her about Judy

Cheung, in nearby Whitestone, is a packaging designer and first-time mother who also happens to be a superproducer of breast milk. She has already donated 2,399 ounces to the New York Milk Bank, which mainly provides milk to hospitals for sick or premature infants. And yet she still had two full freezers of excess supply.

The friend asked Ms. Feng if she wanted any of Ms. Cheung's extra milk. Ms. Feng, who has had difficulty breastfeeding, said she did. Before long, Ms. Feng had hundreds of ounces of gifted breast milk in her freezer, enough to supplement formula feedings for Charlotte — and enough to share with another mother she

Continued on Page A15



What the Bones Tell Her

Dr. Raquel Fortun is unearthing the real toll of the drug war in the Philippines. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A4

Israel Builds a Laser Weapon

Defense officials say they have a working model of a high-powered gun that can intercept airborne targets. PAGE A5

NATIONAL A9-17

Democrats Pressured on Crime

Rising fear of violence, especially in communities of color, has led candidates to change focus from police reform to community safety. PAGE A10

Tough Homecoming in Albany

Mayor Eric Adams, a former New York State senator, faced challenges in pushing his agenda, particularly his school goals, to lawmakers. PAGE A16

Mall Mogul Leads the Field

Rick Caruso, the billionaire front-runner in the primary election for Los Angeles mayor, has built his campaign on a law-and-order message. PAGE A9

BUSINESS B1-7

SPACs Are Losing Steam

Wall Street has lost its appetite for special purpose acquisition companies, which not long ago were a preferred way for companies to go public. PAGE B1

Assessing the Sandberg Era

A powerful Big Tech figure's departure leaves behind relatively few women having reached similar heights and women still facing obstacles. PAGE B1

Tesla Will Cut Staff

The electric carmaker plans to reduce its salaried work force by 10 percent. Elon Musk appears to be concerned about a weakening economy. PAGE B4



SPORTS B8-10

Agony at the French Open

Alexander Zverev's ankle injury abruptly ended a match, letting Rafael Nadal advance to the final. PAGE B10

A Celtic for the Big Moments

Payton Pritchard is just over 6 feet tall, which can hurt on defense. But clutch shooting is his strength. PAGE B9

ARTS C1-7

Toggling from Stage to Screen

From Rooster in "Jerusalem" to a delusionally optimistic golfer, Mark Rylance connects with every role. PAGE C1

In Depp Trial, Misogyny Wins

A backlash against #MeToo protects famous men, especially rule-breaking bad boys. A. O. Scott writes. PAGE C1

OPINION A18-19

Ro Khanna

PAGE A19



COLUMN ONE

On path to higher ed, they walk together

UCLA grad drew from her family to study the ups and downs of overlapping journey by Latina mothers and daughters in college.

BY MELISSA GOMEZ

Cindy R. Escobedo's college years have been, in many ways, shaped by her mother's.

When Cindy completed an undergraduate degree in political science at UCLA in 2015, she followed her mother, Cecilia, who had earned her bachelor's degree at Azusa Pacific University a year earlier.

In 2016 Cindy graduated with a master's degree in education. Her mother caught up one year later, obtaining her master's in nursing. And in 2021, the same year Cecilia's doctorate in nursing practice was conferred, Cindy successfully defended her own dissertation and her degree was also conferred.

On June 11, Cindy will walk at UCLA's graduation in full doctoral regalia, and her novel dissertation — born of her own story — captures what it took to reach this milestone. Cindy chronicled the aspirations, challenges and joys of Latina mothers and daughters who pursued college degrees together.

Cindy identified nine working-class mother-daughter families consisting of 22 women — all but three of whom attended college in California at the same time. Some are one mother, one daughter, while others are triads like the Escobedo women — Cecilia and daughters Cindy and Abigail. The mothers are largely immigrants — from Mexico, Peru, Belize, Guatemala — while all but one of the daughters U.S. born.

But beneath the joy of achievement are complex journeys because for every mother who made sacrifices on the way to her degree, so too did her daughter.

For mothers, it meant balancing school nights and full-time jobs, straining to be there for family moments while succeeding as nontraditional students. For daughters, it meant caring for younger siblings while mom studied, becoming an extra pair of eyes on mom's essays and explaining meetings with academic counselors while trying to flourish

[See Together, A12]



ROBERT GAUTHIER Los Angeles Times

RICK CARUSO, right, tours Grand Central Market as part of his campaign to become Los Angeles mayor. With a real estate fortune estimated at \$4.3 billion, he has been able to outspend his political rivals.

How Caruso built a real estate empire

Developer found success by wooing locals, spending lavishly

BY ROGER VINCENT AND MICHAEL HILTZIK

Encino residents weren't happy in the early 1990s about a planned shopping center at Hayvenhurst Avenue and Ventura Boulevard. They were even less happy when the developer went bankrupt after digging up the contaminated soil at the site, a former gas station, leaving behind a deep crater that filled with water.

Rick Caruso, then a real estate rookie, took over the site, derisively

nicknamed "Lake Hayvenhurst," and proceeded with a strategy he would deploy many times in the future: wooing the locals, spending lavishly to move the project forward.

He asked residents of the affluent Los Angeles community to offer suggestions for his retail center's design and ambience, even hiring a shuttle bus to take them to a tree farm to select varieties for the development.

What neighbors had wanted "was really just simple stuff in my opinion," he told Los Angeles Magazine years later, "and we got 100% support."

Encino Marketplace, as he called it, was a step up from a typical neighborhood shopping center of the time. It had its grocery store and drugstore, but Caruso dressed up the place with arches, cupolas and patios. People came to linger by a bubbling fountain outside Starbucks.

At the center's 1994 opening, Caruso arranged appearances by TV stars John Goodman and Phil Hartman. He invited a crowd of community residents to a celebratory dinner.

Over the ensuing decades, Caruso [See Caruso, A8]

GOP controlled the House. But Bass still thrived

She entered a tea party Congress — a big change from Sacramento

BY JENNIFER HABERKORN

WASHINGTON — When Karen Bass landed in Washington in early 2011, the newest member of Congress from California wasn't merely geographically distant from the Democratic-controlled Sacramento she left behind.

She was elected to a

House of Representatives that had just been taken over by Republicans, including a mammoth freshman class of 87 GOP lawmakers, many of them members of the tea party. By contrast, she was one of only nine freshman Democrats that year.

The Republican grip on Congress forced Bass — at [See Bass, A6]



GINA PERAZZI Los Angeles Times

REP. KAREN BASS, center, and Marcia Fudge, right, the secretary of U.S. Housing and Urban Development, tour homeless facilities in Los Angeles.

Church leader pleads guilty to abusing girls



AL SEIB Pool Photo

NAASON JOAQUIN GARCIA, right, leader of the Mexico-based church La Luz del Mundo, in court with his attorney in 2019. Garcia pleaded guilty on Friday.

BY LIBOR JANY, MATTHEW ORMSETH AND LEILA MILLER

Just days before his long-awaited trial was set to start, La Luz del Mundo leader Naason Joaquin Garcia pleaded guilty Friday to sexually abusing girls from his congregation, a stunning reversal for a man who followers believe is an "apostle" appointed by God.

Originally facing 36 charges, Garcia at the last minute took a plea deal that called for him to admit to three counts, the state attorney general's office announced Friday: two counts of forcible oral copulation involving minors and one count of a lewd act upon a child who was 15 years old.

"Today's conviction sends a clear message that sexual exploitation is never acceptable in California. We will hold you accountable if you break the law," Atty. Gen. Rob Bonta said in a news release issued late Friday afternoon.

Garcia, he said, abused his authority to "take advantage of children," while relying on his underlings "to groom congregants for the purposes of sexual assault."

"Today's conviction can never undo the harm," Bonta declared, "but it will help protect future generations."

Garcia, 53, had publicly maintained his innocence for years. His unexpected plea change came during an unannounced hearing Fri- [See Abuse, A7]

Three stabbed at Encino hospital

A doctor and two nurses are attacked. A suspect has been taken into custody. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Singer promotes local elections

John Legend is touting progressive candidates in district attorney races. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

Rams' McVay weighs options

Coach to get married, but his football future is cloudier. **SPORTS, B12**

Weather Cloudy, then sunny. L.A. Basin: 76/59. **B8**



The Washington Post

Please say say in area outside metropolitan Washington

RE: 11 12 13 14

Sunny 85/62 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 80/63 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 2022 • B2

Why mass shooters are mostly young men

Experts point to mix of teen frustration and still-developing brains

BY ARIANA EUNJUNG CHA, MEGHAN Hoyer AND TIM MEKO

When Vanderbilt University psychiatrist Jonathan Metzler learned that the perpetrator of the Uvalde, Tex., school massacre was a young man barely out of adolescence, it was hard not to think about the peculiarities of the maturing male brain.

Salvador Rolando Ramos had just turned 18, eerily close in age to Nikolas Cruz, who was 19 when he shot up a school in Parkland, Fla. And to Adam Lanza, 20, when he did the same in Newtown, Conn. To Seung-Hui Cho, 23, at Virginia Tech. And to Eric Harris, 18, and Dylan Klebold, 17, in Columbine, Colo.

Teen and young adult males have long stood out from other subgroups for their impulsive behavior. They are far more reckless and prone to violence than their counterparts in other age groups, and their leading causes of death include fights, accidents, driving too fast, or, as Metzler put it, "other impulsive kinds of acts."

"There's a lot of research about how their brains are not fully developed in terms of regulation," he said. Perhaps most significant, studies show the prefrontal cortex, critical to understanding the consequences of one's actions and controlling impulses, does not fully develop until about age 25. In that context, Metzler said, a shooting "certainly feels like an-SEE SHOOTERS ON A4

Gun control: Democratic Senate hopefuls call to end filibuster. **A3**

Legislation: N.Y. lawmakers raise age to buy semiautomatic rifle. **A6**



Ukrainian soldiers scramble under a tank during shelling on their way to the eastern city of Lyman on Thursday. As the war has reached its 100th day, Russian forces are killing as many as 100 troops each day, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy said.

Morale tested in hail of Russian artillery

BY SIOBHÁN O'GRADY, ANASTACIA GALOUCHKA AND PAUL SONNE

ON THE ROAD TO LYMAN, UKRAINE — First came the distant bang of Russian artillery firing.

Then the ominous whistle and crackle of incoming shells, which landed within 50 feet of a Ukrainian tank position, sending dirt and rocks flying and shards of deadly metal slashing through the air. The soil shook — boom, boom, boom.

Ukrainian troops dove under their tank, screaming at Washington Post reporters to take cover with them. Together, they pressed their bodies against the

damp earth and grass, as Russian firepower rained down along this eastern front, where Moscow is concentrating its military might and inflicting massive casualties on outgunned Ukrainian forces.

"Get out from under here!" one soldier yelled, understanding that the tank — despite serving as temporary cover — was in fact a prime target. "Go! Go! Go!"

The group sprinted through the woods, as the tank roared down a dirt path. Having reached its 100th day, the war between Russia and Ukraine is now at a demoralizing stage for many Ukrainian

SEE ARTILLERY ON A12

Veterans teaming up to provide gear to Ukraine

BY KAROUN DEMIRJIAN

In the three months since Chris left the United States to join the war in Ukraine, he has fought, he said, in some of its deadliest battles, in places like Irpin, Kherson and Zaporizhzhia.

A former member of the U.S. Army's 75th Ranger Regiment, he went to Ukraine with extensive experience conducting nighttime raids in Iraq and Afghanistan. But until recently, he was unable to employ it against Russian troops because the Ukrainian units with which he has been paired lacked the necessary technology.

"In the American military, these kinds of things get provid-

ed. The night vision and thermal, those are things I can't afford," said Chris, who spoke on the condition that his full name not be disclosed, citing the sensitivity of his work in Ukraine. "Without it, it was just difficult... It's pretty terrifying to be at the front and you can't aim your weapons systems about half of the time."

The Washington Post interviewed Chris in May and verified his military credentials through official service records. He's part of a small, shadowy network of former military personnel and small-scale contractors aiding Ukraine's war effort by providing advanced, commercially avail-

SEE WEAPONS ON A10

Putin bets on fatigue in West

PLANS TO DEPLOY ECONOMIC WEAPONS

Russian elites say he expects war of attrition

BY CATHERINE BELTON

Russian President Vladimir Putin is digging in for a long war of attrition over Ukraine and will be relentless in trying to use economic weapons, such as a blockade of Ukrainian grain exports, to whittle away Western support for Kyiv, according to members of Russia's economic elite.

The Kremlin has seized on recent signs of hesitancy by some European governments as an indication the West could lose focus in seeking to counter Russia's invasion of Ukraine, especially as global energy costs surge following the imposition of sanctions on Moscow.

Putin "believes the West will become exhausted," said one well-connected Russian billionaire, speaking on the condition of anonymity for fear of retribution. Putin had not expected the West's initially strong and united response, "but now he is trying to reshape the situation, and he believes that in the longer term, he will win," the billionaire said. Western leaders are vulnerable to election cycles, and "he believes public opinion can flip in one day."

The embargo on Russia's seaborne oil exports announced by the European Union this week — hailed by Charles Michel, presi-

SEE RUSSIA ON A10

100 days, in photos: A look at life in Ukraine since the war arose. **A11**

Formula shortage threatens some adults and older kids

Specialty powders are needed to live for people with rare ailments

BY FRANCES STEAD SELLERS

Eight years ago, after a routine pinprick on her newborn daughter's heel revealed a rare nutritional disorder, Sarah Chamberlin worried about the costs and insurance wrangling that would lie ahead. But she never dreamed the nationwide supply of metabolic formula, which helps keep her daughter alive, might run short.

That changed after Abbott Nutrition recalled formula and closed a plant. Now Chamberlin, whose daughter needs a low-protein diet, has found herself counting cans, experimenting with small quantities of potential substitutes and reassuring 8-year-old Izzy. "We're going to be able to get my milk, right?" Izzy sometimes asks. "And I say yeah," Chamberlin said. "Because it's kind of all I can say right now."

The nationwide formula shortage has focused on the plight of infants. But some older children and adults depend on specially formulated powders, much of it made by Abbott, to compensate for a variety of ailments, from malformed bowels and allergies to problems processing nutrients like protein. While most healthy babies can switch easily from brand to brand, for these people, a poorly chosen substitute can either taste intolerable or prompt dehydration, seizures and even death.

"It's a cautionary tale of allowing a company to monopolize the marketplace when it's a very sensitive population of clients," said Tiffani Hays, the director of pediatric clinical nutrition education and practice at Johns Hopkins Hospital. The shortage began in February after revelations of bacterial contamination at the Abbott plant in Sturgis, Mich., which the company closed. Four children were sickened, and two died.

The shutdown stopped production of specialized products like the one that Izzy relies on. Izzy, who has the rare inherited

SEE FORMULA ON A5

How schools are learning to teach gender identity

What educators can tell their students often depends on what grade — and what state — they're in

BY LAURA MECKLER



Walter Johnson High School in Bethesda, Md., hosted its annual Pride Town Hall on May 21 for students and their families, as well as staff, youth-service providers and community members.

Some lessons are direct: "Who can describe what transgender means?" In other classes, the discussion is more subtle: "Remember, families can come in all shapes and sizes!"

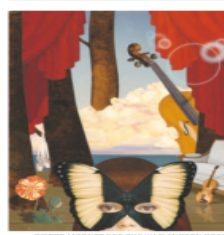
Sometimes, teachers simply shift their language to reflect gender diversity that might be in the room. Instead of "Good morning, boys and girls!" the teacher might say, "Good morning, scholars!"

In Florida and several other states, educators are restricted in teaching about gender identity, but elsewhere, teachers are embracing the topic as the number of transgender and gender nonbinary children rises.

Resources and lesson plans for those who want to teach about gender identity are becoming much more common. Seven states now require that curriculums include LGBTQ+ topics. The National Sex Education Standards, developed by experts and advocacy groups, name gender identity as one of seven essential

SEE GENDER ON A7

IN SUNDAY'S POST



PIERRE-MORNET FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

<< A season to savor
This summer's guide to dance, classical music and outdoor theater around D.C. that offer fresh air and a sweet escape. **Arts & Style**

Crossing your T's
Outside Boston, a new Union Square subway station has turned a working-class area into the bustling center of the "brain triangle." **Travel**



THE WASHINGTON POST

<< Possible post-Roe future
Five patients, a provider, future provider and antiabortion leader reflect on the social reckoning over abortion rights, and the work still to be done. **Magazine**

\$225 SUNDAY'S COUPONS

INSIDE

REAL ESTATE
A leap in a volatile market
Seeking to relocate to Virginia, a couple from South Carolina bought a home after a FaceTime tour.

THE ECONOMY
Market's growth eases
May's unemployment rate stayed at 3.6 percent, despite 6 million jobs added in the past year. **A13**

BUSINESS NEWS...A13
COMICS...C5
OPINION PAGES...A15
LOTTERIES...B9
OBITUARIES...B5
TELEVISION...C2
WORLD NEWS...A8

THE REGION
Md. coach pleads guilty
Kirk Shipley could face up to 20 years in prison as part of plea deal over charges he abused 2 girls. **B1**

THE REGION
Rate your officer
In Warrenton, Va., the Guardian Score program allows citizens to provide feedback on police. **B1**

CONTENT © 2022 The Washington Post / Year 141, No. 181



01706282110013

deportes

"Patear el tablero"
Delfina Pignatiello se retira de la nataciónDeja la competencia de alto rendimiento a los 22 años; la decisión generó sorpresa. **Página 8****HARRY Y MEGHAN**
ATRAEN TODAS LAS
MIRADAS EN EL JUBILEO

—el mundo

Los príncipes, que se habían alejado de la corona, concentran la atención en la celebración, en Londres, por los setenta años de reinado de Isabel II. **Página 9****VACA MUERTA, ENTRE**
LAS PROMESAS
Y LOS FRACASOS

—ideas

El yacimiento neuquino sigue atrapado entre la falta de planificación y de reglas claras; radiografía de su potencial. **Por Diego Cabot**

LA NACION

SÁBADO 4 DE JUNIO DE 2022 | LANACION.COM.AR

"Te pido que la lapicera la uses", le reclamó Cristina al Presidente en su reencuentro**ACTO.** Volvieron a estar juntos por los 100 años de YPF y otra vez quedó expuesta la tensión entre ambos; ella le atribuyó falta de determinación, y él se defendió y apeló a la unidad

Cristina Kirchner y Alberto Fernández, ayer, con el minué de la lapicera como símbolo del mensaje de la vicepresidenta

RODRIGO NÉSPOLO

El esperado reencuentro entre Alberto Fernández y Cristina Kirchner, después de tres meses sin cruzarse, tuvo ayer todos los elementos para reeditar la tensión que atraviesa la relación entre ambos. Sobre todo por una frase, lapidaria, que ella le dirigió al Presidente: "Te pido que la lapicera la uses".

Fue el punto culminante del mensaje que Cristina pronunció en el acto por los 100 años de YPF, del que participaron los principales referentes de la coalición gobernante, con la excepción de Sergio Massa y Máximo Kirchner. Antes de eso, la vicepresidenta le subrayó la falta de voluntad para enfrentar a los sectores

poderosos y la escasa defensa de las reservas del Banco Central.

Después habló Fernández y defendió su estrategia: plantear que en realidad sí da las peleas necesarias, que prefiere no referirse al pasado como su vice y que es clave la unidad para que no regrese el macrismo al poder. **Página 12**

ROSSI, A LA AFI

Agustín Rossi asumirá al frente de la Agencia Federal de Inteligencia en reemplazo de Cristina Caamaño. **Página 14**

Crece el rechazo al proyecto de ampliar la Corte**REFORMA.** Las provincias claves no apoyan el plan, que se complica

La intención del Presidente y gobernadores aliados para ampliar a 25 miembros la Corte Suprema de Justicia chocó con el rechazo de cinco jurisdicciones determinantes. Con distintos niveles de crítica, tomaron distancia del proyecto oficial Córdoba, Santa Fe, Mendoza, Corrientes y la ciudad de Buenos Aires. Además, Roberto Lavagna, referente del interbloque Federal, se sumó a las críticas de Juntos por el Cambio, lo que dificultaría el avance del plan en el Congreso. **Página 16**

Ya se prevé una inflación superior al 70% este año**ESTIMACIÓN.** El Relevamiento de Expectativas de Mercado (REM), que realiza el Banco Central, indica que los principales analistas ya proyectan para este año una inflación de entre el 72,6 y el 75,1 por ciento. Eso ubicaría el alza de precios de 2022 en el nivel más alto desde el final de la última hiper, registrada en 1991. El indicador refleja una fuerte aceleración de la expectativa inflacionaria. **Página 20****Escuelas sin gas. En Quilmes, el frío define el horario de entrada a clases**

Si hay menos de 10°C, los chicos ingresan a las 9.30; la crisis de infraestructura

Alejandro Horvat
LA NACION

Al levantarse, los padres que envían a sus hijos a la Escuela Provincial N° 2 Provincia de Santa Cruz, en el oeste de Quilmes, buscan en

el pronóstico del tiempo la información para saber a qué hora irán sus hijos a cursar.

Desde el lunes pasado, en la puerta de la institución pegaron una cartulina celeste, firmada por "la dirección", que establece la si-

guiente relación entre la temperatura y el horario de ingreso: "Si la temperatura es menor a 10°C, los alumnos ingresarán a las 9.30, ya que la escuela no cuenta con sistema de calefacción eléctrica o a gas". Continúa en la **página 24**

Rusia se prepara para anexar partes de Ucrania**GUERRA.** Si bien la conquista de regiones no era el objetivo principal, es improbable una retirada

KIEV (AP).— Cuando ordenó la invasión de Ucrania en febrero pasado, Vladimir Putin prometió que su plan no era anexar partes de Ucrania. Pero ahora, 100 días después de iniciada la guerra, Rusia ocupa casi un quinto del territorio ucrainiano y todo apunta a que no tiene ningún plan de devolverlo. En las últimas semanas tomó medidas en esas zonas, como la instauración del rublo y la entrega de pasaportes, y avanza planes para celebrar referendums. **Página 6**

niano y todo apunta a que no tiene ningún plan de devolverlo. En las últimas semanas tomó medidas en esas zonas, como la instauración del rublo y la entrega de pasaportes, y avanza planes para celebrar referendums. **Página 6**



Christian Braga/ISA

TERRA INDÍGENA YANOMAMI COMPLETA 30 ANOS DE DEMARCAÇÃO COM FESTAS, RITUAIS E RELATOS DE VIOLÊNCIAS

Pajés yanomamis em ritual na comunidade Xihopi, norte do Amazonas; em meio a agressões recentes, líderes anunciaram a criação de associação multiétnica em defesa dos territórios **Política A12**

Governo estuda subsidiar estados para zerar ICMS

A PEC em avaliação no governo Jair Bolsonaro (PL) para combater a alta dos combustíveis deve prever repasse de cerca de R\$ 20 bilhões aos estados em troca de zerarem alíquotas do ICMS sobre diesel e gás. **Mercado A19**

Preço de voos chega a dobrar ante pré-Covid

Com o dólar e o combustível em disparada, as passagens aumentaram além da inflação de 2019 a 2022, segundo dados de empresas de viagens. Em algumas rotas, o preço dobrou. **A23**

Troca de comando faz Petrobras frear venda de refinarias

Mercado A21

Rússia e Ucrânia sinalizam guerra mais prolongada

Mundo A14

EDITORIAIS A2

Desprezo ao eleitor
Sobre resistência de Lula e Bolsonaro aos debates.

Um lugar pior

Acerca de saldo dos cem dias da guerra na Ucrânia.

Equilíbrio B7

Caneta indicada para tratamento do diabetes é usada contra a obesidade

Ciência B5

Pedraço de foguete que caiu no Brasil é de Musk, que ignorou resgate da peça

Ilustrada C1

Escritora Paulina Chiziane expõe cicatrizes coloniais de Moçambique

Folhinha C10

Leitores visitam os Estúdios Mauricio de Sousa e contam como é feito um gibi

39% defendem lei atual do aborto; cai apoio a veto total

Ao Datafolha 32% se dizem favoráveis a maior restrição; eram 41% em 2018

A parcela da população brasileira que defende proibir o aborto em qualquer circunstância — inclusive em casos de estupro, risco de morte para a mãe ou anencefalia do feto, hoje resguardados pela lei — encolheu de 41% em 2018 para atuais 32%, aponta o instituto Datafolha.

O grupo mais numeroso passa a ser o dos favoráveis à atual legislação, que subiu de 34% para 39%. A faixa que defende ampliar o direito ao procedimento também cresceu: hoje 18% acham que ele deveria cobrir mais situações (eram 16%), e 8%, qualquer situação (eram 6%).

A pesquisa, que ouviu 2.556 pessoas em 25 e 26 de maio e tem margem de erro de dois pontos percentuais, mostra o apoio à ampliação do direito crescer conforme a idade cai e a escolaridade sobe: vai a 42% entre quem tem de 16 a 24 anos e 39% entre aqueles com ensino superior.

A defesa do veto cresce com os anos (é de 22% entre os mais jovens e 38% entre os mais velhos) e vai a 47% na fatia que tem só o ensino fundamental. Já homens e mulheres não divergem: 26% deles e 27% delas querem expandir o direito; 31% deles e 33% delas, vetar. **Cotidiano B6**

Comandante da Marinha levou família ao Rio em voo da FAB

Comandante da Marinha, Almir Garnier Santos levou a mãe e a esposa num avião da FAB para passar com elas o último Natal no Rio.

A lista de passageiros foi obtida pela Folha via Lei de Acesso à Informação. A Marinha negou o pedido em três ocasiões. **Política A6**

Manobra de Kassio em caso de bolsonaristas desgasta Fux

A reversão da cassação de deputados bolsonaristas no STF é vista por outros ministros como fruto de manobra de Kassio Nunes Marques.

O presidente da corte, Luiz Fux, é criticado por colegas por ter validado a estratégia de Kassio para seguir na reitoria do caso. **Política A4**

Marília Marz



Cracolândia vive repressão há 30 anos sem solução

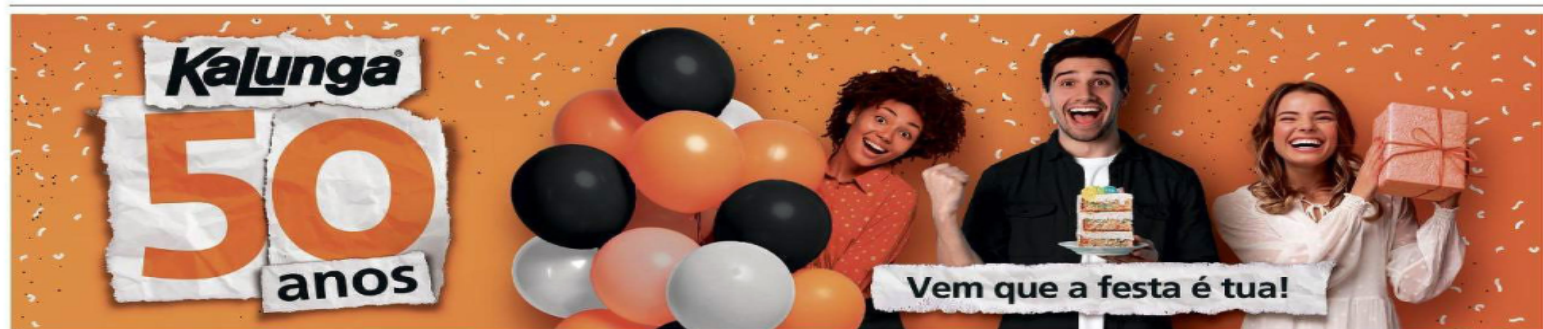
Surgida nos anos 1990 na Santa Ifigênia, a cracolândia se deslocou pelo centro de São Paulo ora em bloco, a mando do crime organizado que vende crack e outras drogas no local, ora dispersa após operações policiais, sem sinal de solução. Especialistas cobram políticas urbanísticas e sociais. **Cotidiano B4 e B5**

Renato S. de Lima

A força das polícias militares

No atual quadro político, se o Exército sinalizar que não interferirá, as PMs poderão servir como fator de desestabilização institucional caso sejam lenientes ante atos que questionem as eleições. **Cotidiano B2**

ISSN 1414-5753
9 771414 572070 3 4030



El plan habría costado USD 120 mil, según datos que manejan los investigadores

Grupo mafioso multinacional fue el que ejecutó a Pecci

Detuvieron a 4 colombianos y a un venezolano como presuntos autores del crimen. Francisco Pecci, padre del agente asesinado, no tiene fe en que se pueda derrotar al crimen organizado.

PÁGINAS 42 y 43

Pesa la estabilidad económica

Capital argentino sigue eligiendo a Paraguay para hacer inversiones

PÁGINA 13

Varias diócesis necesitan obispos

La Iglesia paraguaya gestiona la creación de más arzobispados

PÁGINA 19

Alumnos están en tiempo de exámenes

Mayoría de colegios seguirán con las clases presenciales

PÁGINA 17



Abortan red narco para clientes vip

Procedimientos. La Senad desarticuló estructura de venta de drogas sintéticas. Diez personas fueron detenidas en 14 allanamientos en Asunción y Central. PÁGINA 44

Filtración de pagos realizados a Santiago Peña

Fiscalía procesa al secretario de Abdo mientras no avanza informe de Seprelad

PÁGINA 4

Mandatarios se reunieron para ver avances del 2° puente

Marito propuso a Bolsonaro tarifa intermedia para energía de Itaipú

PÁGINA 9

ETIOS MÁS POR DESCUBRIR

CUOTA DESDE 145 USD

2 AÑOS DE GARANTÍA

VERSATILIDAD Y ECONOMÍA

★★★★★



WWW.TOYOTA.COM.PY
+596 21 6190000

TOYOTA



TOYOTOSHI

lefigaro.fr

LE FIGARO

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



ÉTATS-UNIS
JANE ROE, L'ICÔNE FÉMINISTE
DEVENUE ÉGÉRIE
ANTI-AVORTEMENT PAGE 15

ART DE VIVRE
SUR LA ROUTE DES
GRANDS CRUS DE 1855
PAGE 28



LÉGISLATIVES
Carole Delga
à la conquête
de l'opinion PAGE 4

ÉLYSÉE
Macron veut créer
un Conseil national
de la refondation
PAGE 6

IRAN
La crise nucléaire
iranienne
prolifère PAGE 7

SÉCURITÉ
Les gendarmes
se démultiplient
pour traquer
les hackers PAGE 10

ROLAND-GARROS
Face à Nadal,
une fin déchirante
pour Zverev
PAGE 12

PÉTROLE, GAZ
Les Européens
convoient
l'eldorado africain
PAGES 20 ET 21

AUTOMOBILE
Elon Musk appuie
fort sur le frein
chez Tesla PAGE 23

MUSIQUES
Émotions fortes
aux Chorégies
d'Orange PAGES 33 À 36

CHAMPS LIBRES
• Les tribunes
de Fatiha
Boudjahlat
et de Valérie
Péresse
• La chronique
de Mathieu
Bock-Côté
• L'analyse
de Jean-Marie
Guénois
PAGES 16 ET 17

**FIGARO OUI
FIGARO NON**

**Réponses à la question
de vendredi :**
Les chefs d'établissement
doivent-ils pouvoir
choisir leurs enseignants ?

NON 30% OUI 70%
TOTAL DE VOTANTS : 110 650

**Votez aujourd'hui
sur lefigaro.fr**
La reine d'Angleterre
devrait-elle passer
la main au prince
Charles ?

MANUEL BALCE CENETA/AP-VINCENT
BOISOT/LE FIGARO

Pénurie d'enseignants : les raisons d'une désaffection

Crise des vocations, échecs aux concours, démissions... L'Éducation nationale fait face à une situation très critique pour recruter ses professeurs. Un défi de taille pour le nouveau ministre.

Ce sera la première tâche et l'immense défi du nouveau ministre de l'Éducation, Pap Ndiaye : enrayer la crise du recrutement des enseignants. Attractivité en berne,

salaires bas... Les vocations s'évanouissent, les démissions se multiplient, et le nombre de candidats admissibles aux concours du Capes est inférieur, dans certaines

disciplines, au nombre de postes proposés. Une situation très critique, notamment en mathématiques. Même chose pour le concours de professeur des écoles.

Le privé comme le public s'escriment à colmater les brèches, au moyen d'initiatives inattendues : « job dating », création de « brigades numériques de remplace-

ment »... Les syndicats enseignants, qui prédisent un scénario noir pour la rentrée 2022, réclament une « revalorisation inconditionnelle » des salaires.

→ À PARIS, L'ENSEIGNEMENT CATHOLIQUE SE DÉMÈNE POUR RECRUTER 400 NOUVEAUX ENSEIGNANTS PAR AN → SANDRINE, LE GRAND ÉCART DE L'INDUSTRIE PHARMACEUTIQUE À L'ÉCOLE → QUAND L'ACADÉMIE DE VERSAILLES RECOURT AU « JOB DATING » POUR TROUVER D'AUTRES PROFILS PAGES 2, 3 ET L'ÉDITORIAL



**Aux Kerguelen, les éléphants de mer
alliés inattendus des scientifiques français**

Les grands mammifères marins sont capables de plonger plusieurs fois par jour à plus de 500 mètres de profondeur. Équipés de balises, ils réalisent des mesures de l'océan dans des endroits totalement inaccessibles à l'homme. PAGE 11

**Ukraine :
Poutine sous
pression
pour lever
le blocus
maritime**

Depuis le début de la guerre, la marine de Vladimir Poutine a pris le contrôle du nord de la mer Noire, avec au moins une cinquantaine de bâtiments en mer. D'intenses efforts diplomatiques sont en cours pour éviter une crise alimentaire mondiale. Avec une certaine ironie, Moscou s'est dit prêt à autoriser « des corridors » pour permettre le transit de bateaux céréaliers à condition que l'Ukraine assure au préalable le déminage de son port d'Odessa. PAGES 8 ET 9

ÉDITORIAL par Vincent Trémolet de Villers vtremolet@lefigaro.fr

L'école aux urgences

La langue, d'abord. « Mission Flash » pour les urgences à l'hôpital, « l'école du futur » pour l'Éducation nationale. Un sabir techno-managérial qui décourage de la politique autant qu'il éloigne de la réalité. Il accentue aussi un phénomène ancien (qui précède de loin Emmanuel Macron), celui du gouffre entre l'ambition du discours et l'expérience vécue. Dans les mots, on célèbre les grands piliers de l'État ; dans les faits, la grande transhumance du public vers le privé, à l'école comme à l'hôpital, est irrésistible. Sur l'estrade : « Vive Jules Ferry ! » ; en coulisse : « Vous n'aurez pas l'École alsacienne ! » Pour seule réponse, on propose une vision budgétaire modulée selon la vigueur des revendications. Les mots usés - mobilité, flexibilité, adaptation - habillent de leur modernité supposée la force d'inertie d'une bureaucratie boulimique. Ajoutez à cela une insécurité physique grandissante, quelques coupes financières tatillonnes (à pression fiscale constante) et l'omniprésence d'une idéologie du nivellement par le bas, Bourdieu plus Bruxelles, vous obtenez l'Éducation nationale. Lucides, les jeunes diplômés ne s'y pressent plus. Une suite de « job dating » n'y changera rien.

S'il faut beaucoup mieux payer les professeurs, c'est entendu, l'essentiel pour espérer sauver nos services publics, et l'école en particulier, est de restaurer ce qui les constitue : l'État et le métier. Définir clairement le champ d'action de l'État lui-même. Il n'est ni une entreprise ni une administration, mais cette chose ancienne érodée par nos sociétés liquides que l'on appelle institution. Elle oblige celui qui la sert. Préfets, diplomates en sont de fiers représentants : on leur demande de faire place aux managers... Le métier ? C'est le contraire du job multiple et changeant. Un savoir-faire que l'on apprend, que l'on transmet et qui peut combler de satisfaction. Du professeur, on disait qu'il exerçait le plus beau métier du monde. Il reposait sur l'autorité et la transmission. La première est bafouée à tous les niveaux de la société, la seconde surveillée comme le véhicule d'une domination sournoise. Comment s'étonner que « l'école du présent » pointe aux urgences ? ■

**La grande
transhumance
du public
vers le privé**

TABLES DE REPAS
VENTES PRIVÉES
JUSQU'AU 20 JUIN 2022

Sur présentation de cette annonce, bénéficiez d'offres privilégiées sur les plus grandes marques françaises et italiennes : Bontempi, Bonaldo, Calligaris, Mobilerica...

EspaceTopper®
Maison familiale depuis 1926

Tables et chaises de repas Paris 15 • 7/7 • M² Javel ou Charles Michels
145 et 147 rue Saint-Charles. 01 45 75 02 81
60 bis et 63 rue de la Convention. 01 45 77 80 40
Canapés, literie, mobilier sur 3000 m² : toutes nos adresses sur www.topper.fr

Keep the party going!
Ravener Gulls big summer trifile

Feast

Nov. 28
Nov 4 & 2008 2002

Highlights @ocado

- Yotam Ottolenghi**
Adobo pie with
pistachio anglaise
- Thomasina Miers**
Lemon-banana cake
with pistachios
- Morgan Audley**
Coffee waffles and
blueberry-cake
- Joe Woodbridge**
Lemon popovers
- Mexican wine**
Pasta fiasco
- Felicity Chubb**
How to make
oven-baked chicken
- Flora MacKinnon**
Best of British beer
- Rachel Roddy**
Tomato, pickles,
olives and cream tart
- Fran Hunt**
Tortilla rolls per
- Grace Dent**
Swirling make-up
from the new show

9 770261 307569 22

The Guardian

Saturday
4 June 2022
£3.50
From £1.85 for subscribers

News provider of the year

100 ways to have an epic summer ON THE CHEAP

▲ The Duke and Duchess of Sussex made their first public appearance for the platinum jubilee at St Paul's Cathedral yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: RICHARD POHLE/GETTY

→ *Saturday magazine*

Reinventing Elvis

→ *News*

