

PUTIN ORDERS FORCES INTO EASTERN UKRAINE



Taking shelter in a basement in eastern Ukraine. The nation’s president, Volodymyr Zelensky, spoke to President Biden on Monday.

Inside the White House’s Race to Prevent an Invasion by Russia

This article is by Michael D. Shear, Julian E. Barnes and Eric Schmitt.

WASHINGTON — In a series of top-secret meetings last October, President Biden’s national security team presented grim intelligence that would soon trigger a fierce effort to prevent what could become the largest armed conflict in Europe since World War II.

Vladimir V. Putin, the Russian president, was preparing to invade Ukraine, top intelligence and military officials told Mr. Biden.

Gathering each morning in the Oval Office for the global threat assessment known as the President’s Daily Brief, they described satellite images of Russian forces methodically advancing toward Ukraine’s border.

Not only did the United States have images of troops moving into position, it also had the Russian military’s plans for a campaign against Ukraine — elements of which had already begun. At one of the morning meetings, Mr. Biden dispatched William J. Burns, the C.I.A. director, to Moscow with a message for Mr. Putin:

Blunting Provocations
While Seeking to
Unite Allies

We know what you’re planning to do.

Stopping him would be a challenge. Many of America’s closest allies were skeptical that Mr. Putin — a master of disinformation — would actually invade. The use of U.S. military force against

Russia was off the table, so the allies would have to threaten Mr. Putin with economic pain so severe it would also have consequences in Europe and the United States. And it was far from certain that Republicans in Congress would back whatever the administration did.

On Monday, after delivering a grievance-filled speech attacking Ukraine’s sovereignty, Mr. Putin ordered troops into two Russia-backed separatist regions in the country. But it remains unclear

Fiery Speech Claims Nation as Part
of Russia and Hints at Wider Aims

This article is by Anton Troianovski, Valerie Hopkins and Steven Erlanger.

MOSCOW — President Vladimir V. Putin on Monday ordered troops into separatist-held eastern Ukraine and hinted at the possibility of a wider military campaign, delivering an emotional and aggrieved address to his nation that laid claim to all of Ukraine as a country “created by Russia.”

After the speech, state television showed Mr. Putin at the Kremlin signing decrees recognizing the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk People’s Republics, which were formed after Russia fomented a separatist war in eastern Ukraine in 2014. The decrees, published by the Kremlin, directed the Russian Defense Ministry to deploy troops in those regions to carry out “peacekeeping functions.”

The action by Mr. Putin, who has commandeered the world’s attention with an enormous deployment of troops along Ukraine’s border in recent weeks, was the most blatant yet in a confrontation that Western officials warn could escalate into the biggest armed conflict in Europe since World War II.

It was a momentous decision for Mr. Putin, a reversal of his eight-year-old strategy to use the separatist enclaves the Kremlin backed with arms and money as a means of pressuring Ukraine’s government without recognizing them outright as independent from Ukraine itself.

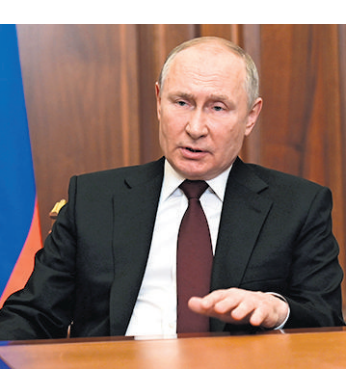
But he continued to keep the world guessing about his next steps, signaling in his hourlong

speech that his goals extended beyond the enclaves. He laid out such a broad case against Ukraine — describing its pro-Western government as a dire threat to Russia and to Russians — that he appeared to lay the groundwork for action against the rest of the country.

He even went so far as to describe Ukraine’s elected pro-Western leaders as stooges and cast them as the aggressors — even though Russia has 190,000 troops, including allied separatist fighters, surrounding Ukraine.

“As for those who captured and are holding onto power in Kyiv, we demand that they immediately cease military action,” Mr. Putin said at the end of his speech, referring to Ukraine’s capital. “If not, the complete responsibility for the possibility of a continuation of bloodshed will be fully and wholly on the conscience of the regime ruling the territory of Ukraine.”

It was a thinly veiled threat against the government of President



President Vladimir V. Putin recognized separatist regions.

U.S. and Its Allies Considering
Timing and Scope of Response

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — Russia’s decision to order troops into Ukraine on Monday presented the United States and Europe with the challenge of deciding how quickly to move in imposing stiff sanctions on Moscow, seeking to balance punishment, deterrence and maintaining unity among the allies.

President Biden’s initial reaction was cautious, limited to issuing a narrow set of sanctions aimed at two regions in eastern Ukraine that are partly controlled by Russian-backed separatists and that President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia recognized as independent on Monday.

The targeted nature of the penalties appeared intended to allow the United States and its European allies to hold in reserve the most aggressive sanctions they have threatened to impose on Moscow if Mr. Putin carries out a full-scale assault to bring down Ukraine’s democratically elected government.

In private, administration officials have conceded that Mr. Putin did not seem interested in further negotiations that did not address his core demands that NATO stop expanding to the east, and speculated that he had tolerated diplomatic overtures mostly to gain

After Booster,
Body’s Defense
Is Long-Lived

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

As people across the world grapple with the prospect of living with the coronavirus for the foreseeable future, one question looms large: How soon before they need yet another shot?

Not for many months, and perhaps not for years, according to a flurry of new studies.

Three doses of a Covid vaccine — or even just two — are enough to protect most people from serious illness and death for a long time, the studies suggest.

“We’re starting to see now diminishing returns on the number of additional doses,” said John Wherry, director of the Institute for Immunology at the University of Pennsylvania. Although people over 65 or at high risk of illness may benefit from a fourth vaccine dose, it may be unnecessary for most people, he added.

Federal health officials have said they are not planning to recommend fourth doses anytime soon.

The Omicron variant can dodge antibodies — immune molecules that prevent the virus from infecting cells — produced after two doses of a Covid vaccine. But a third shot of the mRNA vaccines made by Pfizer-BioNTech or by Moderna prompts the body to make a much wider variety of antibodies, which would be difficult



Brandon Smith, a rancher, applied for debt relief. Instead, he received a foreclosure warning.

Debt Relief Blocked, Black Farmers Fear Ruin

By ALAN RAPPEPORT

WASHINGTON — For Brandon Smith, a fourth-generation cattle rancher from Texas, the \$1.9 trillion stimulus package that President Biden signed into law nearly a year ago was long-awaited relief.

Little did he know how much longer he would have to wait.

The legislation included \$4 billion of debt forgiveness for Black

and other “socially disadvantaged” farmers, a group that has endured decades of discrimination from banks and the federal government. Mr. Smith, a Black father of four who owes about \$200,000 in outstanding loans on his ranch, quickly signed and returned documents to the Agriculture Department last year, formally accepting the debt relief. He then purchased more equipment for his ranch, believing that he had been given a financial lifeline.

Instead, he has fallen deeper into debt. Months after signing the paperwork he received a notice informing him that the federal government intended to “accelerate” foreclosure on his 46-acre property and cattle if he did not start making payments on loans he believed had been forgiven.

“I trusted the government that we had a deal, and down here at the end of the day, the rug gets pulled out from under me,” Mr.

Jury to Decide Whether Racism
Motivated 3 Men to Kill Arbery

By TARIRO MZEZEWA and RICHARD FAUSSET

BRUNSWICK, Ga. — A federal prosecutor in the hate crimes trial for the three white men who murdered Ahmaud Arbery told the jury in closing arguments on Monday that the defendants had targeted Mr. Arbery because of his race and did not help him after he was shot because they considered him to be “subhuman.”

Defense attorneys argued that their clients had chased Mr. Arbery because they thought he might have committed a crime.

And despite copious evidence that the men harbored bigoted be-

liefs — including referring to Black people as animals — and that two of them repeatedly used racist slurs, defense lawyers said there was not enough evidence to prove that racism was the reason they had pursued Mr. Arbery, a 25-year-old Black man, through their neighborhood on a Sunday afternoon in February 2020.

On Monday afternoon, a jury began deliberating on whether the five-minute pursuit, which ended in the fatal shooting of Mr. Arbery, amounted to a crime of in-



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Japan’s Past With South Korea

A bid for a UNESCO World Heritage designation is the latest flash point over World War II colonial abuses. PAGE A4

Colombia to Allow Abortion

A court’s decision to decriminalize the procedure follows significant shifts in the region’s legal landscape. PAGE A14

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An Uproar Over ‘Crack Pipes’

“Harm reduction” is a key pillar of President Biden’s drug policy agenda, but the effort is threatened by a conservative backlash. PAGE A15

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Fallout for the Global Economy

Countries dependent on Ukraine’s rich supply of energy, wheat and nickel could face spikes in prices. PAGE B1

Crypto Scams via Romance

Women lured into cryptocurrency investing by suitors on a dating app have lost life savings. PAGE B1



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A Winning Horse No Longer

Medina Spirit, who failed a postrace drug test, was stripped of last year’s Kentucky Derby victory. PAGE B10

Taking On the Cold and Dark

In a Northwest Territories town above the Arctic Circle, women find mental health relief in curling. PAGES B8-9

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Paths to New Social Visions

MoMA explores an era of sweeping change, when South Asian architects — pioneering women among them — redefined the postcolonial era. PAGE C1

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Giant of Global Public Health

Dr. Paul Farmer, who cared for some of the world’s poorest people, influenced strategies for combating tuberculosis, H.I.V. and Ebola. He was 62. PAGE A19

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Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A21



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Protecting Gorillas From Covid

A preliminary report suggests that mask wearing and social distancing may curb the spread of disease from humans to great apes. PAGE D4



CONDEMNING RUSSIA, BIDEN ISSUES SANCTIONS

How Russian Troops Closed In on Ukraine Russian military positions: Existing position New position

Since October, Russia has built an enormous military force along Ukraine’s borders that appears prepared to attack from the north, east and south.



Source: Rochan Consulting | Note: Troop positions in eastern Ukraine and Transnistria include Russian-backed separatists. JOSH HOLDER AND SCOTT REINHARD/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Joins Allies in Financially Cutting Off Kremlin Over Ukraine ‘Invasion’

This article is by **Michael D. Shear, Richard Pérez-Peña, Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Anton Troianovski.**

WASHINGTON — The United States and its allies on Tuesday swiftly imposed economic sanctions on Russia for what President Biden denounced as the beginning of an “invasion of Ukraine,” unveiling a set of coordinated punishments as Western officials confirmed that Russian forces had begun crossing the Ukrainian border.

Speaking from the White House, Mr. Biden condemned President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and said the immediate consequences for his aggression against Ukraine included the loss of a key natural gas pipeline and cutting off global financing to two Russian banks and a handful of the country’s elites.

“Who in the Lord’s name does Putin think gives him the right to declare new so-called countries on territory that belonged to his neighbors?” Mr. Biden said on Tuesday afternoon, joining a cascade of criticism from global leaders earlier in the day. “This is a fla-

grant violation of international law and demands a firm response from the international community.”

Mr. Biden warned Mr. Putin that more sanctions would follow if the Russian leader did not withdraw his forces and engage in diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis.

But that prospect remained dim by the end of the day, as Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken canceled plans to meet with the Russian foreign minister on Thursday, saying that it does not “make sense” to hold talks while Russian forces are on the move.

“To put it simply, Russia just announced that it is carving out a big chunk of Ukraine,” Mr. Biden said, adding, “He’s setting up a rationale to take more territory by force.”

The global response began early on Tuesday, just hours after Mr. Putin recognized the self-declared separatist states in eastern Ukraine and Russian forces started rolling into their territory, according to NATO, European Un-

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Putin Aims to Blot Out History. Who Will Write Europe’s Future?

By **ROGER COHEN**

PARIS — For the prime minister of Lithuania — and Lithuania knows something of life in Moscow’s imperium — President Vladimir V. Putin’s rambling dismissal of Ukrainian statehood, used to justify sending Russian troops into the eastern part of that state, “put Kafka and Orwell to shame.”

There were “no lows too low, no lies too blatant,” the prime minister, Ingrida Simonyte, said of Mr. Putin’s menacing explanation on Monday of his decision to recognize two separatist regions of Ukraine, Donetsk and Luhansk. But if the speech revived the doublespeak of the

Soviet Union, more than 30 years after its demise, did it also rekindle the Soviet threat and the Cold War that went with it?

On many levels, the challenge Mr. Putin’s revanchist Russia presents to the West is different. This Russia has no pretense of a global ideology. The Cold War depended on closed systems; computer technology put an end to that. No Soviet tanks are poised to roll across the Prussian plains and absorb all Europe in a totalitarian empire. Nuclear Armageddon is not on the table.

Yet, perhaps because of the way he prepared the ground for full-scale war, saying Russia has “every right to take retaliatory measures” against what he called a fictive nation led by usurpers who would be responsi-

West Hears the Echoes of the Continent’s Darker Days

ble for the bloodshed, Mr. Putin’s decision felt like a breaking point that went beyond his annexation of Crimea in 2014. It held up the specter of Europe’s darkest days. He laid down a marker, setting the outer limit of the Europe whole and free of 1989.

The Russian president’s aggressive move was a slap in the face to President Emmanuel Macron of France, who has led efforts to engage with Russia, and it left, at least for now, the idea of some reconfigured Euro-

pean security architecture moribund.

In its place, division and confrontation loomed in a world marked by what Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken called “President Putin’s flagrant disrespect for international law and norms.” The White House called Russia’s move “the beginning of an invasion.”

China, walking a fine line between its support for Mr. Putin and its support for the territorial integrity of sovereign nations, has declined to criticize Russia, while saying those norms must be upheld. Still, in a month when Russia and China cemented a friendship with “no limits,” Mr. Putin’s order to dispatch troops into Ukraine suggested how

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U.S. Women’s Soccer Players Win a Promise of Equal Pay

By **ANDREW DAS**

For six years, the members of the World Cup-winning United States women’s soccer team and their bosses argued about equitable treatment of female players. They argued about whether they deserved the same charter flights as their male counterparts and about the definition of what constituted equal pay.

But the long fight that set key members of the women’s team against their bosses at U.S. Soccer ended on Tuesday just as abruptly as it had begun, with a settlement that included a multimillion-dollar payment to the players and a promise by their federation to equalize pay between the men’s and women’s national teams.

Under the terms of the agreement, the women — a group of several dozen current and former players that includes some of the world’s most popular and decorated athletes — will share \$24 million in payments from U.S. Soccer. The bulk of that figure is back pay, a tacit admission that compensation for the men’s and women’s teams had been unequal for



Alex Grimm/Getty Images

years.

Perhaps more notable is U.S. Soccer’s pledge to equalize pay between the men’s and women’s national teams in all competitions, including the World Cup, in the teams’ next collective bargaining agreements. That gap was once seen as an unbridgeable divide preventing any sort of equal pay settlement. If it is closed by the federation in negotiations with

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Federal Jury Finds That Arbery Killing Was Motivated by Racism

This article is by **Tariro Mzezewa, Audra D. S. Burch and Richard Fausset.**

BRUNSWICK, Ga. — A jury on Tuesday found the three white Georgia men who murdered Ahmaud Arbery guilty of a federal hate crime, determining that they were motivated by racism when they chased the 25-year-old Black man through their neighborhood.

The case was one of the most high-profile hate crime trials in years, and came after a rash of acts of violence against African Americans, including Mr. Arbery and George Floyd, led to protests and soul-searching around the nation. It was seen as a victory for the Justice Department, which has pledged to make such cases a priority.

While legal analysts say that hate crimes are especially difficult to prove, federal prosecutors in the Georgia trial presented voluminous evidence of the defendants’ racist beliefs and crude language, leaving some jurors visibly shaken. It took them roughly four hours to reach a verdict. When it was read aloud in court, some jurors wept.

National civil rights leaders

hailed the conviction as a victory for racial justice.

“As the nation continues to grapple with racially motivated violence by police and vigilantes who shroud themselves in self-appointed authority, the jury sent a powerful message: We see you for what you are, and we will not tolerate your deadly campaign of intimidation,” said Marc H. Morial, chief executive of the National Urban League. “This verdict draws a clear line in the sand.”

Mr. Arbery’s mother, Wanda Cooper-Jones, said she never doubted that the jury would find the defendants guilty, but her satisfaction was tempered with grief. “As a mother I will never heal,” she said. “They gave us a small sense of victory, but we will never get victory because Ahmaud is dead.”

In addition to the hate crime convictions, the jury also found the three men — Travis McMichael, 36, his father, Gregory McMichael, 66, and their neighbor William Bryan, 52 — guilty of attempted kidnapping and found the McMichaels guilty of one count each of brandishing or discharging a firearm during a vio-

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Dustin Chambers for the New York Times

Ahmaud Arbery’s mother after the verdict in Brunswick, Ga.



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U.N. Climate Change Report

Rising heat may bring a 50 percent increase in the occurrence of severe wildfires by the century’s end. PAGE A6

A Rise in Attacks in Pakistan

The Taliban takeover in Afghanistan has led to more terrorism, putting Pakistan in a tight spot. News Analysis. PAGE A4

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Checking In on Subway Plan

In the first morning rush hour since a policy to remove the homeless from the system took effect, there were signs of change and plenty of gripes. PAGE A17

Revisiting Gay Marriage Issue

The Supreme Court will look at how to reconcile claims of religious liberty with laws barring discrimination. PAGE A16

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A Spy With the Gift of Gab

Peter Earnest, who spent decades at the C.I.A., was also a savvy raconteur who led a spy museum. He was 88. PAGE A20

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Treasury Pushed on Its Hiring

Two Democratic lawmakers asked for an investigation into the revolving door between the department and the country’s biggest accounting firms. PAGE B3

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Five Weeks in Las Vegas

A new league with a short season has offered some women’s basketball players a lifeline. PAGE B6

Mickelson Offers an Apology

Facing a backlash, Phil Mickelson said he regretted supporting a breakaway Saudi Arabia-backed golf tour. PAGE B7



FOOD D1-8

Savoring Miami’s Croquetas

These finger foods come in flavors like ham, chicken or fish, but a new era of chefs isn’t stopping there. PAGE D6

Man’s Best Dinner Companion?

Paleo, vegan, gluten-free: Owners are putting pets on human regimens, but some experts are skeptical. PAGE D1

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Putting ‘Killing Eve’ to Rest

Sandra Oh and Jodie Comer talked about their journey together through four seasons of the series. PAGE C1

A Linguistic Struggle

In a play by Sanaz Toossi, four Iranians and a language teacher find much to learn in a second tongue. PAGE C1

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Madeleine Albright

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RUSSIA ATTACKS AS PUTIN WARNS WORLD; BIDEN VOWS TO HOLD HIM ACCOUNTABLE



TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Ukrainian soldier on Wednesday. President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia said his goal was to demilitarize but not occupy Ukraine.

Large Explosions in Ukrainian Cities — Moscow Says Not to Interfere

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI and NEIL MacFARQUHAR

MOSCOW — President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia declared the start of a “special military operation” in Ukraine, pledging in a televised speech broadcast just before 6 a.m. Thursday that he would seek to demilitarize but not occupy the country.

Minutes after Mr. Putin announced that he was ordering his troops to war, large explosions were visible near Kharkiv, Ukraine’s second-largest city. Explosions were also reported in other Ukrainian cities, including the capital, Kyiv.

The invasion had begun, the Ukrainian interior ministry said in a statement.

Mr. Putin said the operation would aim for the “demilitarization” of Ukraine. Evoking the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999 and the American invasion of Iraq in 2003, Mr. Putin cast his action as a long overdue strike against an American-led world order that he described as an “empire of lies.”

Even as he spoke, the United

Nations Security Council held an emergency meeting imploring him not to invade.

Mr. Putin said he was acting after receiving a plea for assistance from the leaders of the Russian-backed separatist territories formed in eastern Ukraine in 2014 — a move that Western officials had predicted as a possible pretext for an invasion.

Mr. Putin also described the operation as a response to a “question of life or death” that he said Russia was facing as a result of the eastward expansion of the NATO alliance — which Ukraine has aspired to join.

“This is that red line that I talked about multiple times,” Mr. Putin said. “They have crossed it.”

The operation’s goal, Mr. Putin said, was “to defend people who for eight years are suffering persecution and genocide by the Kyiv regime,” citing the false accusation that Ukrainian forces had been carrying out ethnic cleansing in separatist regions of east-

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Europe Hopes to Pressure Putin By Crimping Cronies’ Lifestyles

By MATINA STEVIS-GRIDNEFF

BRUSSELS — The list included some of the Kremlin’s highest ranking officials, the top Russian military leadership, senior bank executives, a prominent news anchor, the head of a global television network and a Russian businessman with links to a mercenary group.

For years, as part of the circles of power that surround President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, many have enjoyed lavish lifestyles — villas on Lake Como in Italy, jetting to see children living in European capitals, shopping on the Continent’s glitziest boulevards.

On Wednesday, the European Union took aim at them with an array of sanctions.

E.U. officials said the bloc’s nearly 600-page list of penalties —

including travel bans and asset freezes — was just a first step, punishing those involved in the recognition on Monday of the so-called republics of Donetsk and Luhansk, which the bloc regards as a violation of Ukraine’s territorial integrity.

They also banned Russia from raising funds in European capital markets through short- and long-term bonds.

In Washington, President Biden stepped up sanctions as well, a day after blocking two large Russian companies from doing business with the United States.

SHOCK WAVES The fallout from an invasion could further delay a U.S. economic rebound. PAGE B1

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Sleepless Nights in Moscow as a Nation Lurches Into a Conflict

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

MOSCOW — Waiting for her friends on Moscow’s primly landscaped Boulevard Ring earlier this week, Svetlana Kozakova admitted that she’d had a sleepless night. She kept checking the news on her phone after President Vladimir V. Putin’s aggrieved speech to the nation on Monday that all but threatened Ukraine with war.

“Things are going to be very, very uncertain,” she said, “and, most likely, very sad.”

For months, Russians of all po-

litical stripes tuned out American warnings that their country could soon invade Ukraine, dismissing them as an outlandish concoction in the West’s disinformation war with the Kremlin. But this week, after several television appearances by Mr. Putin stunned and scared some longtime observers, that sense of casual disregard turned to a deep unease.

Early Thursday morning, any remaining skepticism that their country would invade was put to rest, when Mr. Putin declared a “special military operation” in Ukraine.

Ordinary Russians Feel Powerless to Change Kremlin’s Course

Pollsters said that most Russians probably supported Mr. Putin’s formal recognition of the Russian-backed territories in eastern Ukraine this week, especially because they had no choice in the matter and because no significant political force inside the country has argued against it.

War is a different matter altogether, though; in recent days, Russia has not seen any of the jubilation that accompanied the annexation of Crimea in 2014.

Going to war is one of Russians’ greatest fears, according to the Levada Center, an independent pollster. And after Mr. Putin’s angry speech and his cryptic televised meeting with his Security Council on Monday, Russians realized that possibility was lurching closer toward becoming reality.

“This hatred that you could read in him so clearly, it wasn’t

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2 Manhattan Prosecutors Quit, Putting Trump Inquiry in Doubt

This article is by William K. Rashbaum, Ben Protess, Jonah E. Bromwich, Kate Christobek and Nate Schweber.

The two prosecutors leading the Manhattan district attorney’s investigation into former President Donald J. Trump and his business practices abruptly resigned on Wednesday amid a monthlong pause in their presentation of evidence to a grand jury, according to people with knowledge of the matter.

The unexpected development came not long after the high-

stakes inquiry appeared to be gaining momentum and now throws its future into serious doubt.

The prosecutors, Carey R. Dunne and Mark F. Pomerantz, submitted their resignations because the new Manhattan district attorney, Alvin Bragg, indicated to them that he had doubts about moving forward with a case against Mr. Trump, the people said.

Mr. Pomerantz confirmed in a brief interview that he had resigned but declined to elaborate. Mr. Dunne declined to comment.

Without Mr. Bragg’s commitment to move forward, the prosecutors late last month postponed a plan to question at least one witness before the grand jury, one of the people said. They have not questioned any witnesses in front of the grand jury for more than a month, essentially pausing their investigation into whether Mr. Trump inflated the value of his assets to obtain favorable loan terms from banks.

The precise reasons for Mr. Bragg’s pullback are unknown, and he has made few public statements about the status of the investigation.

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ANNA WATTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Alvin Bragg, the Manhattan district attorney, started Jan. 1.



GILLES SABRIÉ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Brain Failure, a Beijing band, in Wuhan. China’s clubs had a mix of local and foreign musicians.

Xi’s China-First Policy Is Shutting Out the World

By VIVIAN WANG

The miracle of modern China was built on global connections, a belief that sending young people, companies and future leaders to soak up the outside world was the route from impoverishment to power. Now, emboldened by its transformation, the country is shunning the influences and ideas that nourished its rise.

Curbing Flow of Ideas That Lifted Country

The country’s most dominant leader in decades, Xi Jinping, seems intent on redefining China’s relationship with the world, recasting the meeting of minds and cultures as a zero-sum clash.

Education officials are imposing restrictions on English education and requiring that scholars ask permission to attend even virtual international conferences. Regulators have punished Chinese companies for raising money overseas. Mr. Xi has exhorted artists to embrace “cultural confidence” by promoting traditional Chinese literature and art, and

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M.T.A. to Test Safety Barriers In the Subway

By MICHAEL GOLD
and ANA LEY

For years, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority had resisted calls to install the platform barriers that are used in subway systems around the globe to block access to tracks, citing the “special complexities” of bringing such technology to a century-old system not designed for it.

But on Wednesday, more than a month after a woman was shoved to her death in front of a train at the Times Square subway station, transit officials reversed course and said they would move to test such barriers.

While the pilot program will be limited to three stations, it does include some platforms at the Times Square station, one of the system’s busiest stops, and officials say it could lay the foundation for an eventual expansion elsewhere.

More than one-fourth of the system’s stations have layouts that could eventually accommodate platform barriers, according to an analysis commissioned by the

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Anti-Mandate Protests Spread
An occupation in New Zealand’s capital shows the influence that American disinformation about vaccines is having on other democracies. PAGE A4

A Regal President’s Softer Side
As elections near, Emmanuel Macron of France is aiming to put a more human face on his powerful position. PAGE A4

OBITUARIES B10-11

Growing Voice of Grunge
In bands like Screaming Trees and Queens of the Stone Age, Mark Lanegan, 57, helped lift a genre. PAGE B10

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Backing Florida’s Covid Policy
Gov. Ron DeSantis has a partner in Dr. Joseph Ladapo, the state’s new surgeon general, who has vowed to “reject fear” in managing the pandemic. PAGE A14

Ivanka Trump May Face Panel
Donald J. Trump’s elder daughter is in talks to sit for an interview with the Jan. 6 committee, which regards her as an important witness. PAGE A18

Transgender Care Criticized
Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas told state health agencies that medical treatments for transgender adolescents should be classified as “child abuse.” PAGE A15

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Apple vs. the Netherlands
Apple is fighting a Dutch regulator’s effort to make the company give people multiple payment options for using dating apps on their phones. PAGE B5

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Soccer by Numbers
For many clubs, the pursuit of a top data analyst has become as important as the pursuit for the best players. PAGE B7

It’s College Basketball’s Turn
With the N.C.A.A. tournament fast approaching, we get up to speed with how the season is shaping up. PAGE B9

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Restarting ‘Law & Order’
The show’s first episode in 12 years has the intro and some old stars. But it’s missing a few things. A review. PAGE C1

A Brutal Expression of Love
The Israeli dance troupe L-E-V displayed its sensuality in a work’s premiere at the Joyce Theater. PAGE C8



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A Lens on the World
Marilyn Stafford, who photographed a good bit of the 20th century, finally gets recognition in the 21st. PAGE D1

Italy’s Powerhouse Siblings
The social media personalities Chiara and Valentina Ferragni have emerged as a major force in fashion. PAGE D5

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Gail Collins PAGE A21



WAR IN UKRAINE

RUSSIANS PUSH INTO OUTSKIRTS OF CAPITAL AS DEATHS RISE AND THOUSANDS FLEE WEST



DESTRUCTION A military facility in southern Ukraine on Thursday as Russian forces unleashed artillery strikes across the nation.

Big Explosion Is Seen Over Kyiv; Zelensky Says He’s ‘Target No. 1’

This article is by Michael Schwartz, Eric Schmitt and Neil MacFarquhar.

SLOVYANSK, Ukraine — Russia continued its attack on Ukraine early Friday, one day after it invaded the country by land, sea and air, killing more than 100 Ukrainian soldiers and civilians and ominously touching off a pitched battle at the highly radioactive area around the Chernobyl nuclear reactor that melted down in 1986.

Videos verified by The New York Times showed a large explosion in the sky over the outskirts of southern Kyiv, the capital, around 4:20 a.m. Friday. Witnesses filmed fiery debris falling over parts of the city, and videos appeared to show at least two surface-to-air missiles being fired from Kyiv before the explosion.

On Thursday, Day 1 of the first major land war in Europe in decades, the Russian military began its attack before sunrise with the terrifying thud of artillery strikes on airports and military installations all over Ukraine. A senior



SARAHBETH MANEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES
President Biden denounced a “brutal assault” and said that “America stands up to bullies.”

Pentagon official said that three lines of Russian troops and military forces were moving swiftly toward Ukrainian cities — one heading south from Belarus toward Kyiv; another toward Kharkiv, in northeast Ukraine; and a third toward Kherson in the south, near Crimea. The forces were using missiles and long-range artillery, the official said.

By Thursday’s end, Russian

Continued on Page A6



DESPERATION A bus station in Kyiv, the capital. The roads were snarled with Ukrainians seeking the relative safety of the far west.

Russians Wake Up to Discover They Didn’t Really Know Putin

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

MOSCOW — Russians thought they knew their president. They were wrong.

And by Thursday, it appeared too late to do anything about it.

For most of his 22-year rule, Vladimir V. Putin presented an aura of calm determination at home — of an ability to astutely manage risk to navigate the world’s biggest country through treacherous shoals. His attack on Ukraine negated that image, and revealed him as an altogether different leader: one dragging the nuclear superpower he helms into a war with no foreseeable conclusion, one that by all appearances will end Russia’s attempts over its three post-Soviet decades to find a place in a peaceful world order.

Russians awoke in shock after they learned that Mr. Putin, in an address to the nation that aired before 6 a.m., had ordered a full-scale assault against what Russians of all political stripes often refer to as their “brotherly nation.”

There was no spontaneous pro-



ALEKSEY NIKOLSKIY/SPUTNIK
President Vladimir V. Putin at the Kremlin on Thursday.

war jubilation. Instead, liberal-leaning public figures who for years tried to compromise with and adapt to Mr. Putin’s creeping authoritarianism found themselves reduced to posting on social media about their opposition to a war they had no way to stop.

Other Russians expressed themselves more openly. From St. Petersburg to Siberia, thousands took to city streets chanting “No to war!” clips posted on social me-

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Sanctions Aim to Isolate Banks And Cut Off Russia Tech Imports

This article is by Edward Wong, Michael Crowley and Ana Swanson.

WASHINGTON — President Biden, vowing to turn President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia into a “pariah,” announced tough new sanctions on Thursday aimed at cutting off Russia’s largest banks and some oligarchs from much of the global financial system and preventing the country from importing American technology critical to its defense, aerospace and maritime industries.

The package unveiled by the U.S. government is expected to ripple across companies and households in Russia, where anxiety over Mr. Putin’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine has already begun setting in. The nation’s stock market fell more than 30 percent on Thursday, wiping out a huge amount of wealth. [Page B1.]

The new U.S. sanctions include harsh penalties against the two largest Russian financial institutions, which together account for more than half of the country’s banking assets.

Putin Will Be ‘Pariah,’ Biden Declares After Imposing Penalties

U.S. officials are also barring the export of important American technology to Russia, which could imperil industries there. In addition, the United States will limit the ability of 13 major Russian companies, including Gazprom, the state-owned energy conglomerate, to raise financing in Western capital markets. And it is penalizing families close to Mr. Putin.

The sanctions against the financial giants will cause immediate disruptions to Russia’s economy but are manageable over the longer term, analysts said. The technology restrictions, on the other hand, could cripple the ability of certain Russian industries to keep up.

“Putin chose this war, and now

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U.S. Intelligence Strengthens Biden’s Hand in Uniting Allies

By JULIAN E. BARNES and DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — The United States intelligence agencies unearthed Russia’s war plans. They accurately assessed President Vladimir V. Putin’s intentions and, through strategic public releases of information, complicated his efforts to create a pretext to send his armed forces into Ukraine. They got the timing of his invasion right almost to the hour.

The success of American intelligence in reading Mr. Putin and stripping away any element of surprise is one of the most striking developments of the crisis and has had substantial implications as the conflict has exploded into bloodshed.

It was not enough in the end to deter Mr. Putin from carrying out the broad assault that got underway early on Thursday.

But the depth and quality of the American intelligence strengthened President Biden’s hand in bringing the trans-Atlantic alliance into a unified front against

Accurate Assessments Helped Buy Time for Global Response

Moscow. It provided time to prepare waves of sanctions and other steps to impose a cost on Russia, dispatch troops to bolster NATO allies and move Americans out of harm’s way.

And after high-profile intelligence failures in Afghanistan, Iraq and other global crises over the past several decades, the accuracy of the intelligence gave the C.I.A. and the broader array of U.S. intelligence agencies new credibility at home and abroad.

The result has been a remarkable four months of diplomacy, deterrence and American-led information warfare, including the last-ditch effort to disrupt Mr. Putin’s strategy by exposing it publicly. Unlike the withdrawal from Afghanistan last year, it was

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An Untested President Steps Up To Rally His People in Wartime

By VALERIE HOPKINS

KYIV, Ukraine — He appeared on Ukrainian television early on Thursday morning, as the threat of war was pressing down. First, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine addressed the 44 million citizens of Ukraine. Then he turned to the 144 million Russians living next door and beseeched them to prevent an attack that evoked the darkest eras in Europe since World War II.

“Listen to the voice of reason,” Mr. Zelensky said after midnight Thursday in Kyiv. “The Ukrainian people want peace.”

It was an impassioned bid to save his country — and it did not work. Hours later, a full-scale Russian invasion had begun, and Mr. Zelensky, a former television actor and comic, had become a wartime leader. And for the moment, as the Russian attack is continuing, Ukrainians have rallied around him.

His dramatic speech on Thursday and his appearance at the Munich Security Conference last



UKRAINE PRESIDENCY, VIA GETTY IMAGES
Volodymyr Zelensky was elected as a corruption fighter.

weekend, where he warned European allies about “appeasement” of Russia, have given Mr. Zelensky something that even his allies would not normally ascribe to him — gravitas.

He will now face the greatest crisis in his country’s modern history, even as he must face off against President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

“Putin began a war against

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UKRAINIANS FORTIFY KYIV FOR FULL ATTACK; PRESIDENT URGES CITIZENS TO TAKE UP ARMS



TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The body of a Russian soldier near Kharkiv, Ukraine’s second-largest city, where Ukrainian soldiers destroyed several troop carriers.

U.S. and European Allies Impose New Sanctions Directly on Putin

This article is by **Valerie Hopkins, Andrew E. Kramer and Michael Levenson.**

KYIV, Ukraine — Ukraine braced for an all-out assault on its capital early Saturday, after a day in which the military blew up a bridge to slow the advance of Russian soldiers, street fights erupted in a northern district of the city, and the nation’s leaders warned residents that Russia wanted to “bring the capital to its knees.”

The moves to defend Kyiv escalated on Friday, the second day of a Russian military incursion, as bursts of small-arms fire and at least five explosions could be heard in the center of the city, hours after an overnight missile barrage struck it and a rocket crashed into a residential building.

The fighting came as Western governments imposed new sanctions, including on President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia himself, tens of thousands of refugees fled the country, and Ukraine’s president, Volodymyr Zelensky, appeared in a video warning that Russian forces planned an all-out attack and that “the fate of Ukraine is now being decided.”

“This night, the enemy will use all the forces available to break our resistance — treacherously, viciously, inhumanly,” Mr. Zelensky said in the speech posted online after midnight on Saturday,

according a translation provided by his office.

As soldiers in Kyiv set up firing points on bridges over the Dnieper River and checkpoints on highways into the city, Mr. Zelensky warned that Russian “sabotage groups” had entered the city with the aim of “destroying the head of state.”

By about 5 a.m. Saturday, gunfire could be heard every few minutes in central Kyiv, with the crack of shots and bursts of automatic fire apparently coming from neighborhoods in the north. Artillery fire was reported in the Shuliavka neighborhood, near the city zoo, and videos showed vehicles on fire there.

Reports on Friday from the Ukrainian military and the United

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MACIEK NABRDALIK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Refugees after crossing the border into Medyka, Poland.

Beijing Finds Itself in a Bind Over How Best to Respond

By **CHRIS BUCKLEY**

As Russian troops have poured into Ukraine, officials in Beijing have fumed at any suggestion that they are betraying a core principle of Chinese foreign policy — that sovereignty is sacrosanct — in order to shield Moscow.

They will not even call it an invasion. “Russia’s operation” is one preferred description. The “current situation” is another. And China’s leader, Xi Jinping, says his position on the crisis is perfectly coherent.

“The abrupt changes in the eastern regions of Ukraine have been drawing the close attention of the international community,” Mr. Xi told his Russian counterpart, Vladimir V. Putin, in a call on Friday, according to an official Chinese summary.

“China’s fundamental stance has been consistent in respecting the sovereignty and territorial in-

Firmly Refusing to Call Russian Attack an ‘Invasion’

tegrity of all countries, and abiding by the mission and principles of the United Nations Charter,” Mr. Xi said.

Outside the echo chamber of Chinese official media, however, there seems little doubt that Russia’s war has put its partner Beijing in a severe bind, including over where it stands on countries’ sovereign rights.

China may have played a role Friday in inducing Russia to look more accommodating, even as Russian forces advanced into Kyiv.

After Mr. Putin’s phone call with Mr. Xi, in which the Chinese leader

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Troops in Muddy Trenches Pose Only Shield for a Terrified City

By **MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ**

KHARKIV, Ukraine — The thuds of artillery start as a low-decibel rumble, but rattle the rib cage as you get closer. A cross-roads at the northern entrance of Kharkiv is about as close to the front lines as anyone would wish to be on Friday, as Ukrainian soldiers waged a fierce battle to push Russian forces away from the city.

The empty carcasses of burned-out Russian armored personnel carriers and a Ukrainian police jeep littered the roadway, along with the scattered belongings of their former occupants — water bottles, a soldier’s boot, camouflage clothing. Nearby, the body of a Russian soldier, in a drab green uniform, lay on the side of the road, dusted in a light coating of snow that fell overnight.

The position was held, as of Friday, by a group of lightly armed Ukrainian soldiers who had hastily dug trenches into the wet mud

Kharkiv Families Sleep in Subway Stations to Escape Shelling

beside the road, diving into them periodically when the artillery boom was especially loud.

Behind them, huge blue and yellow letters spelled KHARKIV, marking the entrance to Ukraine’s second-largest city, home to 1.5 million people, in the northeastern part of the country.

Whether the Russian troops in those destroyed armored carriers had meant to enter the city was unclear, as were the intentions of their comrades fighting what sounded like a vicious battle just beyond a line of trees in the distance. They had pushed into the region a day earlier, having traveled

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Refugees Surge Into Countries Once Under Moscow’s Thumb

By **ANDREW HIGGINS**

MEDYKA, Poland — Cradling her 3-year-old son, who was gravely ill with cancer, the 25-year-old Ukrainian mother staggered into Poland on Friday.

She was now safe from the bombs and rockets unleashed by President Vladimir V. Putin but despondent at being separated from her husband by a Ukrainian order that all able-bodied men stay behind to resist the Russians.

“He is not just my husband but my life and my support,” said Olha Zapotochna, one of the tens of thousands of Ukrainians, nearly all women and children, who have poured into Poland, Hungary and other neighboring countries since Monday. “I understand that our country needs men to fight, but I need him more,” she added, patting the head of her moaning sick child, Arthur.

The exodus from Ukraine gathered pace on Friday as fear spread

Over 50,000 Have Fled Across the Border, the U.N. Says

that the Kremlin intends to impose its will far beyond just the east of the country, the scene of what Mr. Putin claims, with no evidence, is a “genocide” of ethnic Russians.

More than 50,000 Ukrainians have fled the country so far, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Filippo Grandi, said on Friday, and the agency believes as many as 100,000 have been displaced.

Poland’s border service said that 29,000 people had arrived from Ukraine on Thursday, and many more on Friday, leading to waits of more than 12 hours at

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Biden Picks Jackson to Be First Black Woman on Supreme Court

By **KATIE ROGERS**

WASHINGTON — President Biden on Friday said he would nominate Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson to the Supreme Court, elevating a well-regarded federal appeals court judge who, if confirmed, would make history by becoming the first Black woman to serve as a justice.

Mr. Biden’s decision, made after a monthlong search, fulfilled a campaign promise to nominate a Black woman to the bench, and set into motion a confirmation battle that will play out in an evenly divided Senate. He announced the nomination at the White House, flanked by Judge Jackson and Kamala Harris, the first Black woman to be elected vice president.

“For too long our government, our courts, haven’t looked like



SARAHBETH MANEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson

America,” Mr. Biden said in remarks delivered two years to the day after he made his campaign promise in South Carolina. “I believe it is time that we have a court that reflects the full talents and greatness of our nation.”

In Judge Jackson, 51, Mr. Biden selected a liberal-leaning jurist who earned a measure of Republican support when he nominated her last year to the influential U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit — an accomplishment the president, intent on curtailing the sort of partisan rancor touched off by recent nominations, took pains to emphasize.

Judge Jackson will begin meeting with lawmakers on Capitol Hill next week. If confirmed by the Senate, she would replace Justice Stephen G. Breyer, the senior member of the court’s three-member liberal wing, who announced last month that he would retire at the end of the current court term this summer if his successor was in place.

In his remarks on Friday, Mr. Biden pointed out that Judge Jack-

son, a former clerk for Justice Breyer, was a jurist whose legal approach was informed by the man she hoped to replace.

“Not only did she learn about being a judge from Justice Breyer himself,” Mr. Biden said, “she saw the great rigor through which Stephen Breyer approached his work.”

While her confirmation would not change the court’s ideological balance — conservatives appointed by Republicans would retain their 6-3 majority — it would achieve another first: all three justices appointed by Democratic presidents would be women.

“If I’m fortunate enough to be confirmed as the next associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States,” Judge Jackson said in her own set of remarks, “I

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Fighting Near Kyiv

Russian forces drew closer to Kyiv on Friday, hammering the capital with missile strikes and pressing closer to the heart of the government.



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A Shift Right in Searches

Some conservative influencers who say Google is suppressing their views are embracing DuckDuckGo. PAGE B1

Pricey, This Experience Is

Star Wars: Galactic Starcruiser, opening at Walt Disney World, is part luxury hotel, part ride and part game. PAGE B7



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Scrutinizing Putin’s Words

In his second impassioned address on the Ukraine conflict within a week, President Vladimir V. Putin laid bare grievances old and new. PAGE A4

Outbreak Ravages Hong Kong

Covid has surged through the city’s nursing homes, but older residents are among the least vaccinated. PAGE A13

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Oscar-Nominated Actress

As Maj. Margaret (Hot Lips) Houlihan in “MASH,” Sally Kellerman became a star. She was 84. PAGE B12

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\$36.5 Million Asbestos Verdict

An insurer hired by a vermiculite mine in Montana kept workers in the dark about health risks, a jury found, buoying hundreds of other suits. PAGE A14

Texas Liberal Sharpens Tactics

As South Texas voters shift to the right, a progressive is using a strategy of attacks to unseat a moderate Democrat in the House. PAGE A15

C.D.C. Eases Mask Guidelines

Some 70 percent of the population could see mandates lifted as communities determine their risk level and adapt to living with the coronavirus. PAGE A18

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Art During Wartime

Civilians are tracking cultural sites in Ukraine as the U.S. lags in appointing modern-day Monuments Men. PAGE C1

Picturing Black Childhood

In light of two new exhibitions, a reflection on what has, and has not, changed in terms of self-representation. PAGE C1



SPORTS B9-11

An Olympic Protest

A Swedish speedskater donated one of his gold medals to the daughter of a publisher imprisoned in China. PAGE B9

Russia’s Loss Is a Win for Paris

Soccer officials shifted the Champions League final to Paris after deciding to remove the game from Russia. PAGE B11

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John McWhorter

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FIERCE STREET FIGHTING IN DEFENSE OF KYIV; U.S. AND OTHER NATIONS POUR IN MORE AID



DAMAGE An apartment building in Kyiv after a missile strike on Saturday.



PREPARING FOR WAR Ukrainian volunteers in Kyiv at a briefing before deployment.



VOLUNTEER Julia, a teacher, center, waiting in Kyiv to deploy and join the fighting.



URBAN BATTLEFIELD A burned vehicle at the scene of heavy predawn fighting.

In Sweatpants And Sneakers, Civilians Fight

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — Glass shards, bits of metal and shell casings, the detritus from a fierce and lethal street fight in Ukraine’s capital, Kyiv, lay scattered over hundreds of yards of pavement. Leading away from the site were bloody footprints.

The fighting, part of a seesaw battle over two nights in the northern parts of Kyiv, left Russian trucks and a tracked vehicle smoldering on a highway. And it signaled that, though vastly outgunned, Ukraine’s army and a growing corps of civilian volunteers are mounting a spirited defense of the capital.

While military experts say the odds are stacked against them, for now the combined Ukrainian defense forces have defied expectations by slowing and in some cases halting the Russian army’s advance, apparently upsetting Moscow’s war plans.

The change has been swift, for some almost bewilderingly so. What just three days ago had been a bustling, modern European capital, with lively restaurants, bars and cafes, slipped into an eerie war footing faster than seemingly imaginable. Vans and cars with armed men without uniforms careened along the streets. Checkpoints went up at almost every stoplight, with men and women in civilian clothes, carrying rifles, stopping cars.

“When I heard the explosions, I decided that I am ready,” said Olena Sokolan, a business manager who received a rifle to help defend the capital. “I am adult woman, I am healthy and it’s my responsibility.”

The newly armed civilians and members of various paramilitary groups are fighting under the loose command of the military in an organization called the Territorial Defense Forces.

“In the city itself, the territorial defense detachments are working quite effectively,” Mykhailo Podolyak, an adviser to the Ukrainian presidential chief of

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Kremlin Finds It Hard to Hide The Costs to People at Home

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI and IVAN NECHEPURENKO

MOSCOW — President Vladimir V. Putin has ushered in a crisis for his country — in its economy and identity.

The Kremlin is hiding the reality of the country’s attack on Ukraine from its own people, even cracking down on news outlets that call it a “war.”

But the economic carnage and societal turmoil wrought by Mr. Putin’s invasion is becoming increasingly difficult to obscure.

Airlines canceled once-ubiquitous flights to Europe. The Central Bank scrambled to deliver ruble bills as the demand for cash rose 58-fold. Economists warned of more inflation, greater capital flight and slower growth; and the S&P credit rating agency downgraded Russia to “junk” status.

The emphasis on hiding the war’s true extent was a sign that the Kremlin fears that Russians



Mud the Earth Can’t Live Without Villagers protect a critical network of peatlands in the Congo Basin that stores over 30 billion tons of carbon, letting the world breathe. But what is the world doing to help them? A Special Section.

Two Leaders Raised in Cold War Square Off in New Confrontation

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — As President Biden tells the story, he was blunt with Vladimir V. Putin during a meeting in Moscow more than a decade ago. “I’m looking into your eyes, and I don’t think you have a soul,” Mr. Biden recalled telling the K.G.B. veteran. Mr. Putin smiled. “We understand one another,” he said.

Now, as the United States seeks to rally the world to counter Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, Mr. Biden and Mr. Putin, the Russian president, are testing their understandings of one another as never before, trying to anticipate and outmaneuver each other with the fate of millions of people in the balance.

Not since John F. Kennedy and Nikita S. Khrushchev squared off over Berlin and Cuba have an American president and Russian leader gone eyeball to eyeball in

quite such a dramatic fashion. While the two nuclear states are not poised for war directly with each other, as they were six decades ago, the showdown between Mr. Biden and Mr. Putin nonetheless holds enormous consequences for the world order that may be felt for years to come.

Mr. Biden has denounced Mr. Putin as “the aggressor” for invading Ukraine and vowed to make him “a pariah on the international stage.” To that end, Mr. Biden decided on Friday to impose sanctions on Mr. Putin himself, targeting him personally in a way that never happened even during the Cold War. Mr. Putin, for his part, is testing Mr. Biden’s mettle at a time when the Russians have concluded that America is divided and distracted at home, leaving little room for consensus.

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Russian Banks Face Global Restrictions

This article is by Valerie Hopkins, Eric Schmitt and Michael Levenson.

KYIV, Ukraine — The Ukrainian military, outmanned and outgunned, waged ferocious, close-range battles on Saturday to maintain control of the capital, Kyiv, and other cities around the country as intense street fighting broke out on the third day of the Russian invasion.

A day after Ukrainian soldiers sought to forestall an attack on the capital by blowing up bridges and setting up armed checkpoints, bursts of gunfire and explosions could be heard across Kyiv, including in its heart, Maidan square, where Ukrainian protests led to the toppling of a pro-Moscow government in 2014.

In keeping with the pattern since the Russian invasion began, as night fell in the capital, the bombardment intensified. Two large explosions shook Kyiv shortly before 1 a.m. on Sunday after the government has warned that an airstrike was imminent.

Ukraine’s president, Volodymyr Zelensky, who was in Kyiv, said Saturday that the military, aided by civilians armed with rifles and firebombs, was repelling attacks throughout the country. He scoffed at reports that the United States had offered to evacuate him.

“The fight is here,” the Ukrainian Embassy in London quoted Mr. Zelensky as saying. “I need ammunition, not a ride.”

Many residents of the capital have fled underground in desperate search for shelter from the bombs. In one neighborhood, some have spent so long in a parking garage that it has taken on the look of a neighborhood street, with children riding bikes and scooters and playing while their parents watch, wondering what tomorrow will bring.

Among them on Saturday was Tetyana Khytryk, who was there with her husband and two young children. Earlier in the day, she said, they visited their apartment for food and witnessed a missile strike. “It’s painful seeing a building destroyed right before your eyes,” Ms. Khytryk said.

With Russian forces focused on three Ukrainian cities — Kyiv in the north, Kharkiv in the northeast and Kherson in the south — each side tried to shape perceptions of how the fighting was going.

Amid reports that Russian forces had been slowed by tenacious resistance, the Kremlin said Saturday that the assault on the capital was continuing “in accordance with the plan of operation,” as a spokesman, Dmitri S. Peskov, put it.

Mr. Zelensky offered a far different narrative in a video on Saturday.

“We know what we are protecting: the country, the land, the future of our children,” he said. “Kyiv and key cities around the

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A Family Divided as a Kennedy Campaigns Against the Vaccine

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Kerry Kennedy remembers how much she admired her older brother Robert as they grew up in Hickory Hill, the family estate in McLean, Va. She still talks about how he took her along to ford streams, crawl through drainpipes and catch frogs and snakes, ignoring his friends who did not want a 6-year-old girl tagging behind on their outdoor adventures.

“He was an extraordinary older brother,” she said the other day. “He’s brilliant, he’s well read, he cares deeply, he is extremely charismatic. He has a childlike buoyancy and lightness to him. He’s a beautiful person in a million different ways.”

“And then he has this.”

Nearly 60 years after Bobby took his sister along for the excursions into the woods, the son and namesake of Robert F. Kennedy, the New York senator, attorney general and Democratic presidential candidate assassinated on June 5, 1968, has become an unimaginably polarizing figure in this tight-knit political family.

Once a top environmental lawyer who led the charge to clean up the Hudson River in New York, the third eldest child of Robert and Ethel Kennedy has emerged as a leading voice in the campaign to discredit coronavirus vaccines and other measures being advanced by the Biden White House to battle a pandemic that was, near the end of February, killing close to 1,900 people a day.

“The minute they hand you that vaccine passport, every right that you have is transformed into a privilege contingent upon your obedience to arbitrary government dictates,” he told a cheering crowd at a rally against vaccine

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AS WAR RAGES, UKRAINE AGREES TO TALKS WITH RUSSIANS ‘WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS’

In Turnaround, Germany Vows Military Boost

By MELISSA EDDY

BERLIN — It took an invasion of a sovereign country nearby, threats of nuclear attack, images of civilians facing off against Russian tanks and a spate of shaming from allies for Germany to shake its decades-long faith in a military-averse foreign policy that was born of the crimes of the Third Reich.

But once Chancellor Olaf Scholz decided to act, the country’s about-face was swift.

“Feb. 24, 2022, marks a historic turning point in the history of our continent,” Mr. Scholz said in an address to a special session of Parliament on Sunday, citing the date when President Vladimir V. Putin ordered Russian forces to launch an unprovoked attack on Ukraine.

He announced that Germany would increase its military spending to more than 2 percent of the country’s economic output, beginning immediately with a one-off 100 billion euros, or \$113 billion, to invest in the country’s woefully underequipped armed forces. He added that Germany would speed up construction of two terminals for receiving liquefied natural gas, or LNG, to help ease the country’s reliance on Russian energy.

“At the heart of the matter is the question of whether power can break the law,” Mr. Scholz said. “Whether we allow Putin to turn back the hands of time to the days of the great powers of the 19th century. Or whether we find it within ourselves to set limits on a warmonger like Putin.”

The events of the past week have shocked countries with typically pacifist miens, as well as those more closely aligned with Russia. Both have found the invasion impossible to watch quietly. Viktor Orban, the pro-Russia, anti-immigrant prime minister of Hungary, who denounced sanctions against Russia just weeks ago, reversed his position this weekend. And Japan, which was

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Armed or Not, Villagers Rush To Join Fight

By MARIA VARENIKOVA

KHOMUTYNTSI, Ukraine — The villagers appeared as silhouettes in the headlights of cars and trucks, a few carrying guns and others clubs, as if they were gangsters roaming the streets.

They were local men and women formed into self-defense units in the villages of the Vinnytsya region in central Ukraine, which had gone silent and dark when the streetlights switched off. They stood by the roadsides, under a very low sky with bright stars.

“I am so proud of our people,” said Oksana Mudryk, the mayor of Khomutyntsi village, about 140 miles southwest of Kyiv, Ukraine’s capital. “Our village is so tiny that I was thinking, ‘Do we even have anybody to patrol the streets?’ I thought maybe three guys at most would come to patrol with me. But in one day after the war started in Kyiv, I have signed up more than 30 people.”

Most of the attention in the first days of the war has focused on Ukraine’s large cities, which are the main targets of Russian troop movements and the scene of pitched street battles and deafening artillery attacks. But out in the countryside, an enormous grass-roots movement is under way in villages like Khomutyntsi as ordinary Ukrainians — farmers, shop owners, day laborers, taxi drivers — take up arms to join a battle that has abruptly upended their lives.

The mobilization of civilians to fight against seemingly impossible odds has been one of the distinguishing features of Ukraine’s unexpectedly fierce resistance. And though it may end tragically, Ukrainian officials have been pointing to the effort with pride.

“The Russian leadership does not understand that it is at war not only with the armed forces of Ukraine, but with the entire Ukrainian people,” Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal said in a

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INDUSTRY Gathering empty bottles in the city of Dnipro on Sunday to make Molotov cocktails.



TENACITY Local men digging a bunker and erecting a checkpoint in the village of Hushchyntsi.



CHARITY Offering refugees arriving at the Polish border free rides to cities in Poland and beyond.

Putin’s Nuclear Arsenal Rhetoric Pushes Bounds of Brinkmanship

By DAVID E. SANGER and WILLIAM J. BROAD

WASHINGTON — When Vladimir V. Putin declared Sunday that he was putting his nuclear forces into “special combat readiness” — a heightened alert status reminiscent of some of the most dangerous moments of the Cold War — President Biden and his aides had a choice.

They could match the move and put American forces on Defcon 3 — known to moviegoers as that moment when the Air Force rolls out bombers, and nuclear silos and submarines are put on high alert. Or the president could largely ignore it, sending out aides to portray Mr. Putin as once again

manufacturing a menace, threatening Armageddon for a war he started without provocation.

For now, at least, Mr. Biden chose to de-escalate. The American ambassador to the United Nations reminded the Security Council on Sunday afternoon that Russia was “under no threat” and chided Mr. Putin for “another escalatory and unnecessary step that threatens us all.” The White House made it clear that America’s own alert status had not changed.

But to many in the administration

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After Partisan Districting, Primaries Matter Most

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

THE WOODLANDS, Texas — Representative Dan Crenshaw was tagged as a rising Republican star almost from the moment of his first victory: A conservative, Harvard-educated, ex-Navy SEAL who lost his right eye in Afghanistan, he bucked the 2018 suburban revolt against Donald J. Trump to win a House seat in the Houston suburbs.

Mr. Crenshaw won again in 2020, handily, even as Mr. Trump carried his district by only a whisper.

But this year, Mr. Crenshaw’s seat has been transformed by redistricting. More liberal enclaves, like the nightlife-rich neighborhoods near Rice University, were swapped out for conservative strongholds like The Woodlands, a master-planned community of



Representative Dan Crenshaw had his Texas district redrawn.

more than 100,000 that is north of the city.

The result: Mr. Trump would have carried the new seat in a landslide.

The new lines mean Mr. Crenshaw now has a vanishingly slim chance of losing to a Democrat in

the next decade. The only political threat would have to come from the far right — which, as it happens, is already agitating against him.

All across the nation, political mapmakers have erected similarly impenetrable partisan fortresses through the once-in-a-decade redrawing of America’s congressional lines. Texas, which holds the nation’s first primaries on Tuesday, is an especially extreme example of how competition between the two parties has been systemically erased. Nearly 90 percent of the next House could be occupied by lawmakers who, like Mr. Crenshaw, face almost no threat of losing a general election, a precipitous drop that dramatically changes the political incentives and pressures they confront.

“What the future of the Republic

Continued on Page A18

Police Train to Step In When Police Step Too Far

By SHAILA DEWAN

BALTIMORE — On an early Monday morning in a chilly classroom in Baltimore, a diverse group of recruits to one of the nation’s most troubled police departments gathered for a new kind of training. The screen flashed a photo of a man whose face is now familiar to the world.

“What happened to George Floyd?” the instructor barked.

“He was lynched,” one trainee responded. “He was murdered,” another said.

“How many other officers were there?” the instructor asked.

Many knew the answer: “Three.”

That was the crux of the matter at hand — not the senior officer who knelt on Mr. Floyd’s neck, Derek Chauvin, but the three others who did not stop him.

The question of what other officers could or should have done was not abstract: More than a thousand miles away those same three former officers, two of them rank rookies, were standing trial on charges that they failed to prevent the death of Mr. Floyd in Minneapolis in May 2020. On Thursday, they were convicted and could face many years in prison.

For decades, many police critics have complained that officers who allow police misconduct to happen do more damage to the community’s trust than the officers who commit it. Yet they have not been a focus — when Rodney King was Tased and beaten by four Los Angeles officers in 1991, more than a dozen others looked on. None of the onlookers faced charges.

The federal trial of Tou Thao, J. Alexander Kueng and Thomas Lane in Minnesota this month was one of the rare attempts to hold officers to account over the issue. The duty to stop a fellow officer who is engaging in misconduct has long been embedded in many department policies and upheld by the courts, but the defendants

Continued on Page A19



Cadets in Baltimore take part in a course on ethical policing.



ROCKET ASSAULTS KILL CIVILIANS IN UKRAINE
AS TIGHTENING SANCTIONS ISOLATE MOSCOW

Anxious Russians
Feel Sting of
Penalties

This article is by Anton Troianovski, Ivan Nechepurenko and Sergey Ponomarev.

MOSCOW — For two decades under President Vladimir V. Putin, Russians reaped the bounties of capitalism and globalization: cheap flights, affordable mortgages, a plethora of imported gadgets and cars. On Monday, those perks of modern life were abruptly disappearing, replaced by a crush of anxiety as sanctions imposed by the West in retaliation for Moscow’s invasion of Ukraine rattled the foundations of Russia’s financial system. The ruble cratered, losing a quarter of its value, and the central bank shuttered stock trading in Moscow through Tuesday. The public rushed to withdraw cash from A.T.M.s, and Aeroflot, the national airline, canceled all its flights to Europe after countries banned Russian planes from using their airspace.

Concern about travel was so great that some people rushed to book seats on the few international flights still operating. “I’ve become one concentrated ball of fear,” said the owner of a small advertising agency in Moscow, Azaliya Idrisova, 33. She said she planned to depart for Argentina in the coming days and was not sure whether her clients would still pay her. Compounding the pain was the decision by Western countries to restrict the Russian central bank’s access to much of its \$643 billion in foreign currency reserves, undoing some of the Kremlin’s careful efforts to soften the impact of potential sanctions and making it difficult for the bank to prop up the ruble. Other moves struck at the heart of critical Russian industries. Shell, a company that for years helped Russia profit from its energy riches, said it was exiting all its joint ventures with Gazprom, Russia’s energy giant. Continued on Page A13

CENTRAL BANK IS FROZEN OUT
Taking aim at a key weakness for Russia: its currency. PAGE B1



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A shelter at a children’s hospital in Kyiv on Monday. Russians bombarded a residential area of Kharkiv, Ukraine’s second-largest city.

Using Commerce and Culture,
World Turns Its Back on Russia

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — In Switzerland, the Lucerne music festival canceled two symphony concerts featuring a Russian maestro. In Australia, the national swim team said it would boycott a world championship meet in Russia. At the Magic Mountain Ski Area in Vermont, a bartender poured bottles of Stolichnaya vodka down the drain. From culture to commerce, sports to travel, the world is shunning Russia in myriad ways to protest President Vladimir V. Putin’s invasion of Ukraine. Not since the frigid days of the Cold War have so many doors closed on Russia and its people — a worldwide repudiation driven as much by the impulse to show solidarity

with besieged Ukrainians as by any hope that it will force Mr. Putin to pull back his troops. The boycotts and cancellations are piling up in parallel with the sanctions imposed by the United States, Europe, and other powers. Although these grass-roots gestures inflict less harm on Russia’s economy than sweeping restrictions on Russian banks or the mothballing of a natural gas pipeline, they carry a potent symbolic punch, leaving millions of ordinary Russians isolated in an interconnected world. Among the most visible targets of this opprobrium are cultural icons like Valery Gergiev, the conductor and a longtime backer of Continued on Page A10

As War Grinds Into 5th Day,
Kremlin Starts Hitting Harder

By STEVEN ERLANGER

BRUSSELS — When Russia launched its invasion of Ukraine with nearly 200,000 troops, many observers — and seemingly President Vladimir V. Putin himself — expected that the force would roll right in and the fighting would be over quickly. Instead, after five days of war, what appears to be unfolding is a Russian miscalculation about tactics and about how hard the Ukrainians would fight. No major cities have been taken after an initial Russian push toward Kyiv, the capital, stalled. While Russia appeared to pull its punches, Ukraine marshaled and armed civilians to cover more ground, and its mili-

tary has attacked Russian convoys and supply lines, leaving video evidence of scorched Russian vehicles and dead soldiers. But the war was already changing quickly on Monday, and ultimately, it is likely to turn on just how far Russia is willing to go to subjugate Ukraine. The Russian track record in the Syrian civil war, and in its own ruthless efforts to crush separatism in the Russian region of Chechnya, suggest an increasingly brutal campaign ahead. Signs of that appeared on Monday in Ukraine’s second-largest city, Kharkiv, when Russia accelerated its bombardment of a residential district where Continued on Page A10

Alarm in Kharkiv
— Talks Yield
No Progress

This article is by Valerie Hopkins, Steven Erlanger and Michael Schwartz.

KYIV, Ukraine — The first talks between Ukraine and Russia aimed at halting the Russian invasion were eclipsed Monday by a deadly Russian rocket assault on Kharkiv, Ukraine’s second-largest city, that raised new alarms about how far the Kremlin was willing to go to subjugate its smaller neighbor. The bombardment of a residential area of Kharkiv, which may have included internationally banned cluster munitions, killed at least nine civilians and wounded dozens. With the Ukrainian-Russian talks ending with little more than an agreement to meet again, the bombardment signaled a potential turn in the biggest military mobilization in Europe since World War II, in which Russia has met unexpectedly stiff resistance by Ukrainians and strong condemnation from much of the world. “Today showed that this is not only a war, it is the murder of us, the Ukrainian people,” Kharkiv’s mayor, Igor Terekhov, said in a video posted on Facebook. “This is the first time in its many-year history that the city of Kharkiv has been through something like this: shells that hit residential homes, killing and maiming innocent citizens.” Russian forces have been shelling the outskirts of Kharkiv, an eastern Ukrainian city with 1.5 million people, since launching an invasion last week. But they appeared to be avoiding heavily populated areas. On Monday, the fifth day of the Russian assault, that changed when Kharkiv was hit by a barrage of rockets. Mr. Terekhov said four people had been killed when they emerged from bomb shelters to find water. And he said a family of five — two adults and three children — was burned alive when a shell hit their car. Another 37 people were injured. Continued on Page A12



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MERIDITH KOHUT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

What Afghans Couldn’t Leave Behind

More than 120,000 people were airlifted out of Afghanistan last August, most with just a few hours to gather their belongings. Here are some of the keepsakes they chose. Pages A6-7.

Time Is Running Out to Fix Climate, Report Says

This article is by Brad Plumer, Raymond Zhong and Lisa Friedman.

The dangers of climate change are mounting so rapidly that they could soon overwhelm the ability of nature and humanity to adapt, creating a harrowing future in which floods, fires and famine displace millions, species disappear and the planet is irreversibly damaged, a major new scientific report concluded. The report, released on Monday

Warming May Outstrip
the Ability to Adapt

by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, a body of experts convened by the United Nations, is the most detailed look yet at the threats posed by global warming. It concludes that nations are not doing nearly enough to protect cities, farms and coastlines from the hazards that climate change has already un-

leashed, such as record droughts and rising seas, let alone from the even greater disasters in store as the planet keeps heating up. Written by 270 researchers from 67 countries, the report is “an atlas of human suffering and a damning indictment of failed climate leadership,” said António Guterres, the United Nations secretary general. “With fact upon fact, this report reveals how people and the planet are getting clobbered by climate change.” In the coming decades, as Continued on Page A8

Justices Dispute E.P.A. Power to Curb Emissions

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — Members of the Supreme Court’s conservative majority on Monday questioned the scope of the Environmental Protection Agency’s ability to regulate carbon emissions from power plants, suggesting that the

justices could deal a sharp blow to the Biden administration’s efforts to address climate change. The questioning during the two-hour argument was mostly technical, and several conservative justices did not tip their hands. But those who did sounded skeptical that Congress had meant to give the agency what they said

was vast power to set national economic policy. Climate change was mentioned in passing and only to buttress the point that an executive agency should not be allowed to tackle so large an issue without express congressional authorization. A ruling against the E.P.A. Continued on Page A16

NATIONAL A14-20 Biden Speech Gets a Rewrite The Ukraine crisis has supplanted the president’s domestic agenda as the primary focus of his State of the Union address on Tuesday. PAGE A18	SPORTS B7-9 Jeter and Marlins Part Ways A Hall of Famer used to excellence with the Yankees was an odd fit as chief executive of a franchise reluctant to spend, our columnist writes. PAGE B9	ARTS C1-6 Delving Into Dark Topics The Belgian musician Stromae marries serious subjects with dancey beats. His first album in years, “Multitude,” expands his spectrum of sounds. PAGE C1	SCIENCE TIMES D1-8 T. Rex, Relatively Speaking A new paper argues that Tyrannosaurus rex is not one but three species. Many experts disagree, saying the assertion requires more proof. PAGE D1	OPINION A22-23 Michelle Goldberg PAGE A23
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Carmen
Georges Bizet
JULY 1-AUG 27

The Barber of Seville
Gioachino Rossini
JULY 2-AUG 26

Falstaff
Giuseppe Verdi
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RUSSIA BATTERS KEY CITIES IN WIDER ATTACK;
BIDEN SEEKS TO RALLY WORLD AGAINST PUTIN



FLEEING UKRAINE A group traveled through Moldova. Europe may face its “largest refugee crisis this century,” a U.N. agency warned.



OFFERING SHELTER A refugee camp in Palanca, Moldova, near the border. “We don’t know where we’re going,” one woman said.



FACING SHELLING Emergency workers carrying a body in Kharkiv on Tuesday. An apparent rocket attack struck the city’s main square.

An Exodus of 660,000 Echoes
A 20th-Century Europe at War

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

ON THE BORDER OF UKRAINE AND MOLDOVA — The war in Ukraine has set off the fastest mass migration in Europe in at least three decades, prompting comparisons with the Balkan wars of the 1990s and providing echoes of the vast population displacement that followed World War II.

At least 660,000 people, most of them women and children, fled Ukraine for neighboring countries to the west in the first five days of Russia’s invasion, according to the United Nations refugee agency, which collated statistics recorded by national immigration authorities. That figure does not include those displaced within

Continued on Page A6

Deaths on Ukraine Battlefields
Could Haunt Putin Back Home

By HELENE COOPER and ERIC SCHMITT

WASHINGTON — When Russia seized Crimea in 2014, President Vladimir V. Putin was so worried about Russian casualty figures coming to light that the authorities accosted journalists who tried to cover funerals of some of the 400 troops killed during that one-month campaign.

But Moscow may be losing that many soldiers daily in Mr. Putin’s latest invasion of Ukraine, American and European officials said. The toll for Russian troops exposes a potential weakness for the Russian president at a time when he is still claiming, publicly, that he is engaged only in a limited military operation in Ukraine’s separatist east.

Continued on Page A8

Pitches Plans for
Economy and
the Virus

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — President Biden vowed on Tuesday to make President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia “pay a price” for invading Ukraine, seeking to rally the world as Moscow’s forces rained down missiles on Ukrainian cities and prepared to lay siege to the capital of Kyiv.

Appearing before a joint session of Congress at a fraught moment in modern history, Mr. Biden called for a united resistance to defend the international order endangered by Russian aggression and warned the oligarchs who bolster Mr. Putin’s regime that he would seize their luxury yachts and private jets.

“Six days ago, Russia’s Vladimir Putin sought to shake the very foundations of the free world, thinking he could make it bend to his menacing ways,” Mr. Biden said. “But he badly miscalculated. He thought he could roll into Ukraine and the world would roll over. Instead, he met with a wall of strength he never anticipated or imagined. He met the Ukrainian people.”

Hailing the heroism of the Ukrainian resistance, Mr. Biden introduced Oksana Markarova, Ukraine’s ambassador to the United States, who joined Jill Biden in the first lady’s box holding a small blue-and-white Ukrainian flag. In a show of bipartisan solidarity, lawmakers on both sides of the aisle, some of them wearing blue and yellow and many of them waving Ukrainian flags, leapt to their feet in an ovation to her and her country.

While the guns of Europe overshadowed the political disputes at home that have weighed down his presidency, Mr. Biden sought to use his first formal State of the Union address to persuade glum Americans that the country is making impressive progress containing the coronavirus pandemic and rebuilding the economy.

He made a fresh pitch for the social spending programs that have been logjammed in Congress, including expanded child care, elder care, prekindergarten education, climate change initiatives and prescription-drug price cuts, without explaining how he planned to overcome the opposition. And he vowed to take action to curb inflation, saying “my top

Continued on Page A19

Blasts Strike Kyiv
and a Hospital
in Kharkiv

This article is by Andrew E. Kramer, Valerie Hopkins and Nick Cumming-Bruce.

KYIV, Ukraine — Brushing aside international outrage, Russia widened its assault deep inside Ukraine on Tuesday, bombing civilian areas in the two biggest cities, amassing a miles-long convoy near the capital’s doorstep and warning an outside world intent on economic reprisals not to go too far.

The Russian attacks hit a hospital in Kharkiv — the second consecutive day of lethal Russian strikes on that eastern city’s civilian population — and a deadly blast struck a broadcasting tower in the capital, Kyiv, knocking out television and radio stations. A famous Holocaust memorial nearby sustained damage.

The escalation came amid rumors in Moscow and other Russian cities that the government might increase conscription to bolster its troop strength in Ukraine, where a surprisingly defiant resistance appears to have frustrated Kremlin expectations of quick victory. Now, the conflict in Ukraine looks as if it might become a more drawn-out fight that could plunge Europe into its worst refugee crisis of this century as hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians seek safety elsewhere.

With the Russian economy already reeling from an array of sanctions, associates of President Vladimir V. Putin reacted sharply to a declaration by France’s finance minister that Europe would wage “total economic and financial war” against Russia.

“Watch your tongue, gentlemen!” Dmitri A. Medvedev, a former Russian prime minister, declared on Twitter. “And don’t forget that in human history, economic wars quite often turned into real ones.”

On Tuesday, the sixth day of the invasion, satellite images showed a miles-long Russian military convoy making its way on a roadway north of Kyiv as a number of homes and buildings burned nearby. When it would make a move to enter the capital remained unclear.

The Kyiv transmission tower was struck after the Russian Defense Ministry had warned civilians to evacuate. Moscow said its military was engaged in “high-

Continued on Page A10



President Biden at the State of the Union address Tuesday.

Countries Free Up Oil Reserves
As War Drives Surge in Prices

By STANLEY REED

As oil prices soared in the sharpest one-day jump since Russia’s invasion of Ukraine last week, more than two dozen countries agreed on Tuesday to release 60 million barrels of oil from their emergency reserves, aiming to send a “strong message” that there will be “no shortfall as a result of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine.”

But the announcement from the International Energy Agency was greeted as a bust by oil traders. Prices kept climbing, topping \$107 at one point before closing above \$100 a barrel for a second day.

“The market is just very concerned,” said David Fyfe, chief economist of Argus Media, an energy research firm.

Russia’s increasingly violent war against Ukraine, forcing more than half a million residents to flee, has sparked intense volatility in energy markets, partly because Russia provides 10 percent of the world’s oil and more than a third of the European Union’s natural gas. Powerful economic penalties by Western countries in response to the fighting have caused the ruble to crater, prompting worries that Russia may retaliate by curbing or cutting off its energy supplies, or that the sanctions may be scaring off buyers.

While the Biden administration

Continued on Page A7



RUSSIANS CAPTURE CRUCIAL BLACK SEA PORT AS BOMBING OF CIVILIAN TARGETS ESCALATES



As many as 15,000 people, mostly women and children, are sheltering in cramped, communal conditions in Kyiv’s subway system.

Eastern Europe Uniting in Fear Of Putin’s Aims

By ANDREW HIGGINS

PODBORSKO, Poland — Scattered around the forest in Poland like archaeological ruins, the crumbling concrete bunkers for decades stored Soviet nuclear warheads. Today, they store only memories — deeply painful for Poland, joyous for the Kremlin — of the vanished empire that President Vladimir V. Putin wants to rebuild, starting with his war in Ukraine.

“Nobody here trusted the Russians before and we certainly don’t trust them now,” said Mięczyński, a former Polish soldier who oversees the once top-secret nuclear site. The bunkers were abandoned by the Soviet military in 1990 as Moscow’s hegemony over Eastern and Central Europe unraveled in what Mr. Putin has described as “the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century.”

Now Eastern European countries fear a catastrophe of their own could be in the making, as Mr. Putin seeks to turn back the clock and reclaim Russia’s lost sphere of influence, perilously close to their frontiers. Even leaders in the region who have long supported Mr. Putin are sounding the alarm.

Warnings about Moscow’s intentions, often dismissed until last Thursday’s invasion of Ukraine as “Russophobia” by those without experience of living in proximity to Russia, are now widely accepted as prescient. And while there has been debate about whether efforts to expand NATO

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Huddled in the Kyiv Subway, Three to a Mattress

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — As the escalator glides down the final few yards into the subway stop deep in Kyiv’s normally immaculate mass transit system, a sprawl of foam mattresses, suitcases and plastic bags filled with food comes into view. The space is surprisingly quiet, almost silent, despite the 200 or so people camped there to escape the bombing and artillery fire above.

They sleep three or four to a single mattress. The children push toy cars over the gray granite slabs of the station floors, watching their mothers scroll endlessly on their cellphones, searching for news of the war.

Little hands and feet stick out from underneath blankets, though it is noticeably warmer in the station than above ground. Volunteers come and go, bringing food and other necessities of life. One mother sets up a tent, for a mod-

Refuge for Thousands as Explosions Thud in the City Above

icum of privacy.

“It’s not so comfortable,” admitted Ulyana, who is 9 and has been living in Dorohozhychi station with her mother and their cat for six days now. “But you see, this is the situation, and we just have to put up with it. It’s better to be here than to get into a situation outside.”

As many as 15,000 people, the city’s mayor said Wednesday, most of them women and children, have taken up residence in Kyiv’s subway system to escape the grim conditions in the city as Russian forces bear down.

And the subway is not the only subterranean refuge. Doctors at Maternity Hospital No. 5 in Kyiv,

for example, have set up chambers in the basement to provide women a safe place to give birth. So far, five babies have been born in this way, said Dmytro Govseyev, the clinic’s director.

Six days into the conflict, the Kremlin’s war plans remain unclear. The movements of tanks, artillery guns, armored personnel carriers and other heavy weaponry toward Kyiv, with a population of about 2.8 million before the exodus of evacuees, is raising grave alarms about the potential onset of bloody street fighting.

But Russia might instead settle on a grinding siege punctuated with shelling and the cutting off of food supplies, water and ammunition in hopes of breaking the resistance without the destruction and killing of a frontal attack.

Either way, life underground in Kyiv, already difficult, is likely to get even harder.

Above ground, Ukrainian soldiers

Continued on Page A13



Ukrainian forces in Kyiv’s central square. “It’s better to be here,” said one girl in the subway, “than to get into a situation outside.”

Hard Reality of Conflict Sinks In Across Russia

By IVAN NECHEPURENKO and ANTON TROIANOVSKI

SOCHI, Russia — On Feb. 23, Rasil Malikov, a tank driver in the Russian Army, called his family and said he would be home soon; his unit’s military drills in Crimea were just about wrapping up.

The next morning, Russia invaded Ukraine, and Mr. Malikov hasn’t been heard from since. On Monday, Ukraine published a video of a captured soldier in his unit, apologizing for taking part in the invasion.

“He had no idea they could send

Kremlin Acknowledges Troop Deaths Even as It Cracks Down

him to Ukraine,” Mr. Malikov’s brother, Rashid Allaberganov, said in a phone interview from the south-central Russian region of Bashkortostan. “Everyone is in a state of shock.”

The reality of war is dawning across Russia.

On Wednesday, the Russian De-

fense Ministry for the first time announced a death toll for Russian troops in the conflict. While casualty figures in wartime are notoriously unreliable — and Ukraine has put the total of Russian dead in the thousands — the 498 Moscow acknowledged in the seven days of fighting is the largest in any of its military operations since the war in Chechnya, which marked the beginning of President Vladimir V. Putin’s tenure in 1999.

Russians who long avoided engaging with politics are now real-

Continued on Page A10

At Rikers, Savage Beatings Hidden From View

By JAN RANSOM and WILLIAM K. RASHBAUM

When a man was beaten on Rikers Island in December, guards at the New York City jail complex downplayed his injuries, delaying filing a report and then including only minimal information: Fractured eye socket. Swelling of the head. No hospitalization required.

The reality looked much different. Hours after another detainee slammed the man, Jose Matias,

Brutality May Be Even Worse at Jail Than Public Knew

25, to the floor and kicked him in the head, Mr. Matias began having seizures. He was taken to a hospital, where doctors removed a chunk of his skull to ease swelling in his brain. He spent six weeks in

a coma and, when he emerged, had to relearn how to walk and talk.

It was at least the second time in four months that the Department of Correction had failed to document a serious injury to a person in custody, records and interviews show. In the other case, in August, a man being held in an intake cell was beaten so badly by another detainee that he was paralyzed from the neck down. No re-

Continued on Page A20

Jan. 6 Panel Lays Out Potential Case vs. Trump

By LUKE BROADWATER and ALAN FEUER

WASHINGTON — The House committee investigating the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol said on Wednesday that there was enough evidence to conclude that former President Donald J. Trump and some of his allies might have conspired to commit fraud and obstruction by misleading Americans about the outcome of the 2020 election and attempt-

Suggests Ex-President Conspired on Fraud and Obstruction

ing to overturn the result.

In a court filing in a civil case in California, the committee’s lawyers for the first time laid out their theory of a potential criminal case against the former president.

They said they had accumulated evidence demonstrating that Mr. Trump, the conservative lawyer John Eastman and other allies could potentially be charged with criminal violations including obstructing an official proceeding of Congress and conspiracy to defraud the American people.

The filing also said the men might have broken a common law statute against fraud through Mr. Trump’s repeated lies that the

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RUSSIANS PUSH TO TIGHTEN GRIP IN SOUTH



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ROMAN ZAKREVSKYI/REUTERS

As Russia attacked Ukrainian residential areas, including a building in Chernihiv, above, in the north, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, top, hosted a news conference on Thursday in Kyiv. “We have a special people, an extraordinary people,” he said. Page A7.

On the Slow Exodus West, Ukrainians Find Hardship and Dread

By VALERIE HOPKINS
VIITIVTSI, Ukraine — The families staggered in, bleary-eyed, to a two-room kindergarten around 1 a.m., exhausted after a long journey from their home in Cherkasy, about 300 miles away. Fearful of the threat from the Russian invasion, they had decided it was time to leave and make their way along with tens of thousands of others to the safer regions of western Ukraine.
It was slow going. The roads were jammed with Ukrainians making a similar exodus. As they settled in for a few hours of sleep on a set of cots sized for 4-year-

olds, air raid sirens blared from the administrative building next door.
The next morning, as snow fell outside, 11-year-old Karolyna Tupytska and her younger sister Albina brushed their teeth, played with a small Terrier and braced themselves for another long day of travel. They were headed to Poland with their mother, Lyuba.
“My grandparents and my dad are still in Cherkasy,” Karolyna said. She said she was sad to leave behind her white hamster, Pearl.
In Ukraine, everyone who has the means is on the move, displaced by a war that seemed impossible to imagine, but has fi-

Sleeping in Classrooms and Halls of Hotels in Flight to Unknown

nally arrived. They are fleeing physical danger, of course — artillery attacks that ravaged hospitals, public squares and apartment buildings — but also the desperation of wartime conditions evident in food shortages, loss of work and a dearth of medical supplies.
In the past week, more than one million Ukrainians have fled to

neighboring countries, according to the United Nations. A million more are internally displaced. Aid groups have described it as one of the biggest humanitarian crises in recent memory. The European Union said Thursday that it would offer Ukrainians temporary legal protection to live and work in the bloc for up to three years, and the United States also said it would give them temporary protected status.
At the kindergarten, Iryna Boicharenko, a 19-year-old also from Cherkasy, was sleeping in a room with her extended family. The walls were painted with Sovi-

Continued on Page A8

Moscow and Kyiv Agree to Corridors to Allow Civilians to Evacuate

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ and RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA
ODESSA, Ukraine — Russian forces advanced deeper into southern Ukraine on Thursday, appearing intent on seizing the country’s entire Black Sea coast, as the number of people fleeing Ukraine reached one million just a week into Russia’s invasion and bombardment of cities and towns.
Defiant Ukrainians, bolstered by a huge influx of weapons from NATO countries, have put up surprisingly effective resistance, while Moscow’s forces have run into a host of logistical problems, according to Western military and intelligence assessments.
But the Russians, with numerical and technological superiority, have been slowed, not stopped, and the Kremlin insisted in a statement that the war was “going according to plan.”
Russian forces surging out of Crimea cut off Mariupol, a port city to the east, while to the west, where they seized the city of Kherson on Wednesday, they advanced on the port of Mykolaiv, leaving them just 60 miles from Odessa, a vital shipping center and the largest city in the south.
In a second round of talks held in Belarus, Russia and Ukraine agreed to establish “humanitarian corridors,” with possible cease-fires in them, for civilians to evacuate the most dangerous areas, and to allow food and medicine to reach those places. But there was no sign of progress on resolving the overall conflict.
President Biden spoke with President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine about the fire on Thursday night, and urged Russia to “cease its military activities in the area and allow firefighters and emergency responders to access the site,” according to a White House description of the call.
The International Atomic Energy Agency said on Twitter that it had been informed by Ukrainian regulators that there had been no reported change in radiation levels at the plant, and that the fire had not affected “essential equipment.”
For eight years, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia has been building what amounts to a massive military staging area in Crimea, the Black Sea peninsula he invaded and annexed from Ukraine in 2014, and forces sta-

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Russia Hushes Last Remnants Of a Free Press

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI and VALERIYA SAFRONOVA
As President Vladimir V. Putin wages war against Ukraine, he is fighting a parallel battle on the home front, dismantling the last vestiges of a Russian free press.
On Thursday, the pillars of Russia’s independent broadcast media collapsed under pressure from the state. Echo of Moscow, the freewheeling radio station founded by Soviet dissidents in 1990 and that symbolized Russia’s new freedoms, was “liquidated” by its board. TV Rain, the youthful independent television station that calls itself “the optimistic channel” said it would suspend operations indefinitely.
And Dmitri Muratov, the journalist who shared the Nobel Peace Prize last year, said that his newspaper Novaya Gazeta, which survived the murders of six of its journalists, could be on the verge of shutting down as well.
“Everything that’s not propaganda is being eliminated,” Mr. Muratov said.
Precipitating the outlets’ demise were plans by the Russian Parliament to take up legislation on Friday that would make news considered “fakes” about Russia’s war in Ukraine punishable by yearslong prison terms. The Russian authorities have already made it clear that the very act of calling it a “war” — the Kremlin prefers the term “special military operation” — is considered disinformation.
“We’re going to punish those who spread panic using fakes by up to 15 years,” a lawmaker, Sholban Kara-ool, said on Thursday. During World War II, he said, such people “were shot on the spot.”

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LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Ukrainian guard in Maidan Square in Kyiv on Wednesday.

Preparedness Aided Ukraine In Stalling Foe

This article is by Eric Schmitt, Helene Cooper and Julian E. Barnes.
WASHINGTON — Ukraine’s soldiers have blown up bridges to halt advancing Russian ground troops. Its pilots and air defenses have prevented Russian fighter jets from conquering the skies. And a band of savvy Ukrainian cyberwarriors are so far beating Moscow in an information war, inspiring support at home and abroad.
To the surprise of many military analysts, Ukrainian troops are mounting a stiffer-than-expected resistance to Russian forces up and down battle lines across a country the size of Texas, fighting with a resourcefulness and creativity that U.S. analysts said could trip up Russian troops for weeks or months to come.
The Ukrainians are also exploiting a bungled beginning to Russia’s all-out assault. Armed with shoulder-fired anti-tank weapons, they have attacked a milelong Russian armored convoy bearing down on Kyiv, the capital, helping

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Sacklers Strike New Deal to Settle Opioid Suits

By JAN HOFFMAN
Members of the billionaire Sackler family and their company, Purdue Pharma, have reached a deal with a group of states that had long resisted the company’s bankruptcy plan — a crucial step toward funneling billions of dollars from the family’s fortune to addiction treatment programs nationwide, according to a court filing on Thursday.
If Judge Robert Drain, who has

To End Cases, at Least an Extra Billion

presided over Purdue’s bankruptcy proceedings in White Plains, N.Y., approves the agreement, the Sacklers would pay as much as \$6 billion to help communities address the damage from the opioid crisis. In return, Sackler family members would get the

prize they insisted upon for nearly three years: an end to all current and future civil claims against them over the company’s prescription opioid business.
The Sacklers’ liability protection would not extend to criminal prosecutions.
The deal still faces potential hurdles in the courts, but it is the first time in three years of negotiations that all states have accepted a settlement agreement with Purdue.
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Trump Ignored Pleas on Election Lies, Panel Says

By LUKE BROADWATER and ALAN FEUER
WASHINGTON — Shortly after the 2020 election, as ballots were still being counted, the top data expert in President Donald J. Trump’s re-election campaign told him bluntly that he was going to lose.
In the weeks that followed, as Mr. Trump continued to insist that he had won, a senior Justice Department official told him repeat-

Details of Relentless Bid and Possible Crime

edly that his claims of widespread voting fraud were meritless, ultimately warning him that they would “hurt the country.”
Those concerns were echoed by the top White House lawyer, who told the president that he would be entering into a “murder-suicide

pact” if he continued to pursue extreme plans to try to invalidate the results of the 2020 election.
Yet Mr. Trump — time and again — discounted the facts, the data and many of his own advisers as he continued to promote the lie of a stolen election, according to hundreds of pages of exhibits, interview transcripts and email correspondence assembled by the House committee investigating the Jan. 6 attack for a legal filing
Continued on Page A18



TAKING NUCLEAR SITE, RUSSIA MARCHES ON

The Situation on Friday ■ Areas occupied by Russian forces — Major front ➔ Current advance ➡ Previous advance



Soviet Diaspora in U.S. Speaks A Common Language of Fear

By MIRIAM JORDAN

LOS ANGELES — Outside Babushka Grandma's deli in the heart of Hollywood, immigrants from Russia, Ukraine and other countries that were part of the former Soviet Union sipped coffee and nibbled on piroshkis during a recent warm, sun-drenched afternoon.

"We have never asked each other where we are from," said Mark Goren, 75, sitting at a patio table with friends from Uzbekistan and Moldova. "The Russian language unites us," said Mr. Goren, who arrived in the United States from Kyiv, Ukraine, more than four decades ago.

From New York to Chicago to Los Angeles to Seattle, whether Jewish, Christian or Muslim, members of the diaspora from the former Soviet Union have long bonded over Russian language and history, a testament to a shared background as immigrants from more than a dozen nations that once constituted the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that dissolved in 1991. Americans,

Wary of Backlash — 'I Don't Want to Be Called Russian'

too, have lumped them together as Russians.

But as President Vladimir V. Putin unleashes Russia's military might on Ukraine, killing civilians, causing a refugee crisis and drawing worldwide repudiation, boycotts and sanctions, generations of immigrants here are re-examining how they define their identities. Some, fearing how they will be perceived by the public at large, are shifting from accepting being broadly painted as Russians to explicitly identifying with their countries of origin.

"Today I brought my car to mechanic, they heard my accent, and the first question was, 'Are you Russian?'" said Eugene Levin, publisher of two Russian-language weeklies in California, who immigrated from Ukraine more

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Volunteer Hackers Join Conflict, Scrambling a Digital Battlefield

By KATE CONGER and ADAM SATARIANO

The hackers came from around the world. They knocked Russian and Ukrainian government websites offline, graffitied antiwar messages onto the home pages of Russian news media and leaked data from rival hacking operations. And they swarmed into chat rooms, awaiting new instructions and egging one another on.

The war in Ukraine has provoked an onslaught of cyberattacks by apparent volunteers unlike any that security researchers have seen in previous conflicts, creating widespread disruption, confusion and chaos that researchers fear could provoke more serious attacks by nation-state hackers, escalate the war on the ground or harm civilians.

"It is crazy, it is bonkers, it is unprecedented," said Matt Olney, the director of threat intelligence at the security firm Cisco Talos. "This is not going to be solely a conflict among nations. There are going to be participants that are not under the strict control of any

Determining Blame for Online Attacks Gets Even Tougher

government."

The online battles have blurred the lines between state-backed hackers and patriotic amateurs, making it difficult for governments to understand who is attacking them and how to retaliate. But Ukraine and Russia appear to have embraced tech-savvy volunteers, creating channels on the chat app Telegram to direct them to target specific websites.

Hackers have inserted themselves in international conflicts before in places like Syria. But experts said that those efforts attracted fewer participants. The hundreds of hackers now racing to support their respective governments represent a drastic, unpredictable expansion of cyberwarfare.

The involvement of the volunteers

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Panic and Terror as Crowds Try to Flee Kyiv

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — The crowds of exhausted, frightened women and children at Kyiv's central train station on Friday suddenly surged in a near-stampede to a station platform where a train heading to safety in western Ukraine was rumored to be arriving soon.

"Hurry! Hurry!" a mother shouted at her children. One couple ran along holding a small boy by the hands between them, so that his feet touched the ground only every few steps.

An employee in a train company uniform hurried the crowd along. "Go, go!" the woman said. "Follow the other people."

But no train turned up. A few minutes later, the people were on the move again, clambering over the tracks, dragging suitcases and holding babies, trying to reach another platform before the others did.

As Russian troops mass outside the city, there is a growing sense of a slowly tightening vise and, in some quarters, rising panic.

Kyiv, a city of 2.8 million before the war, is slowly being encircled by Russian troops and armor. Most of the fighting so far has been in towns outside the city, where a miles-long column of Russian armored and military vehicles remains stalled to the northwest.

The fear is that the Russian forces will follow the same script as in their assaults on Kharkiv and Mariupol, encircling the city, cutting its inhabitants off from supplies of food and medicine, depriving them of water, electricity and heat, and shelling neighborhoods.

Since the war began eight days ago, tens of thousands of people have fled Kyiv, heading west to Lviv and then on to Poland and other destinations in Europe. But tens of thousands more had remained behind, and as the avenues of escape have inexorably narrowed, they are growing increasingly desperate to get out.

Roads and rail lines remain open to the city's southwest. But trains for evacuees, so packed that only children get seats, have not nearly been able to take everybody.

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No Signs of Letup as Troops Push Along Coast

This article is by Andrew E. Kramer, Michael Schwartz and Michael Levenson.

KYIV, Ukraine — Russian forces in Ukraine seized Europe's biggest nuclear power plant on Friday, tightened their noose around the capital and threatened more southern cities in their march to control the Black Sea coast, intensifying the deadly destruction and chaos from the eight-day-old invasion.

The Russian military advance, punctuated by a firefight with Ukrainian forces at the nuclear plant and shelling of other areas, came as the Kremlin strengthened its own crackdown at home on how the invasion was reported, including enacting stiff prison penalties for criticism, a ban on Facebook and other social media restrictions. At least four major Western news outlets suspended operations in Russia.

The developments all pointed to a worsening crisis for Europe and the world as President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia showed no inclination to soften his goal of taking control of Ukraine, the former Soviet republic of 44 million that is now at the center of an intense new Cold War between Russia and the West.

As Russian troops moved deeper into the Ukrainian heartland, the number of civilians headed toward the western border to escape the onslaught increased sharply. In the western city of Lviv, the train station was swamped with desperate civilians seeking refuge from the Russian assault.

"We had 30,000 people arrive last night," a lawmaker, Viktoriya Khrystenko, said at the station. "Tonight, we will have 100,000."

The rising flight of civilians came as Ukraine said Russian forces were now occupying the Zaporizhzhia nuclear facility after an early-morning battle and fire there had raised worldwide alarms. It said that all of the site's power units remained intact and that no changes in radiation levels had been observed.

Russia and Ukraine accused each other of having recklessly damaged the nuclear site in southern Ukraine in a fight for control,

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A train out of Kyiv to Lviv, where a lawmaker estimated about 100,000 people would arrive Friday.



Elsewhere in Kyiv, female volunteers received weapons training as the city braced for an attack.

Unemployment Falls to a Pandemic Low of 3.8%

By BEN CASSELMAN

Falling coronavirus caseloads brought a flood of new jobs and new workers last month, signs that the pandemic's vise grip on the economy may be loosening.

U.S. employers added 678,000 jobs in February, the Labor Department said Friday, continuing a streak of strong job growth that persisted even during the latest

678,000 Positions Were Added in February

wave of coronavirus cases. The unemployment rate fell to 3.8 percent, its lowest level since the pandemic took hold.

Demand for workers has been strong for months. Now there are

signs that constraints on the supply of workers may be easing as well. More than 300,000 people rejoined the labor force in February, a sign that improving public health conditions, more predictable school schedules and abundant job opportunities are drawing people back to the job market.

The share of people working from home or missing work be-

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Tax Seasons Collide in Chaos of I.R.S. Backlog

By ALAN RAPPEPORT

WASHINGTON — At the Internal Revenue Service's sprawling Kansas City, Mo., processing center, teams of clerks earning \$15 per hour work through the night, trying to help the agency clear a backlog of more than 20 million tax returns that are a year overdue.

The conditions are subpar:

Agency Sputters After Decades of Neglect

Scanners sputter, forcing workers to enter data by hand, staplers are scarce and piles of tax documents overflow from carts.

"The general theme for the time I've been there has been chaos,"

said Shawn Gunn, a clerk in the receipt and operations group at the I.R.S. who started working at the facility in Kansas City last June and is moving toward becoming a tax examiner.

What's happening in Kansas City provides a window into the problems plaguing the I.R.S., which is mired in a political and logistical mess that has frustrated

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ATTACKS HALT EVACUATION; PUTIN ISSUES THREAT



EMILIO MORENATTI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Ukrainians near Kyiv on Saturday. The Russian assault has set off what the United Nations calls the fastest-moving exodus of European refugees since World War II.

For Art World,
Politics of War
Cause Distress

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ

In Canada, an acclaimed 20-year-old Russian pianist’s concert was canceled amid concerns about his silence on the invasion of Ukraine. The music director of an orchestra in Toulouse, France — who is also the chief conductor at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow — was instructed to clarify his position on the war before his next appearance. In New York, Anna Netrebko, one of opera’s biggest stars, saw her reign at the Metropolitan Opera end after she declined to denounce President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

As global condemnation of Russia’s attack on Ukraine grows, cultural institutions have moved with surprising speed to put pressure on Russian artists to distance themselves from Mr. Putin, a collision of art and politics that is forcing organizations to confront questions about free speech and whether they should be policing artists’ views.

Institutions are demanding that artists who have supported Mr. Putin in the past issue clear condemnations of the Russian president and his invasion as a prerequisite for performing. Others are checking their rosters and poring over social media posts to ensure Russian performers have not made contentious statements about the war. The Polish National Opera has gone so far as to drop a production of Mussorgsky’s “Boris Godunov,” one of the greatest Russian operas, to express “solidarity with the people of Ukraine.”

The tensions pose a dilemma for cultural institutions and those who support them. Many have long tried to stay above the fray of

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After Zelensky’s Plea, the West
Raced to Form a United Front

This article is by Mark Landler, Katrin Bennhold and Matina Stevis-Gridneff.

LONDON — The day after Russian tanks and troops poured across the Ukrainian border on Feb. 24, NATO leaders received a deeply frightening message. The alliance’s secretary general, Jens Stoltenberg, opened an emergency video summit by warning that President Vladimir V. Putin had “shattered peace in Europe” and that from now on, he would openly contest the continent’s security order.

However unlikely, Mr. Stoltenberg told the leaders, it was no longer unthinkable that Mr. Putin would attack a NATO member. Such a move would trigger the collective defense clause in the North Atlantic Treaty, opening the door to the ultimate nightmare scenario: a direct military conflict with Russia.

10 Days That Shook Up
Geopolitics, Sports
and Business

President Biden, who had dialed in from the White House Situation Room, spoke up swiftly. Article 5 was “sacrosanct,” he said, referring to the “one for all, all for one” principle that has anchored NATO since its founding after World War II. Mr. Biden urged allied leaders to step up and send reinforcements to Europe’s eastern flank, according to multiple officials briefed on the call.

Within hours, NATO had mobilized its rapid response force, a kind of military SWAT team, for the first time in history to deter an enemy. It was one in an avalanche of precedent-shattering moves,

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Soldiers and Prisoners Describe
Two Sides of the Battle Near Kyiv

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — With hands still dirty from the battlefield, a dozen Russian prisoners of war sat, stony-faced, in a conference room of a Ukrainian news agency on Saturday and described being captured after their armored columns were ambushed.

Lt. Dmitry Kovalensky, who had fought in a Russian tank unit and spoke at the behest of his Ukrainian captors, said he recently came under fire from an armed drone and shoulder-launched anti-tank missiles on a road near Sumy, in northeastern Ukraine. “The whole column burned,” he said.

Around the same time and a few miles away, at a makeshift Ukrainian military base in an abandoned building on the western edge of Kyiv, Ukrainian soldiers prepared for the same sort of ambushes that took out

A Slow-Moving Russian
Offensive Is Battered
in Ambushes

Lieutenant Kovalensky’s unit.

Lt. Yevgeny Yarantsev, a Ukrainian officer, said his country’s soldiers fight differently than the Russians. The troops under his command organize in small, nimble units that can sneak up on and ambush the lumbering columns of Russian tanks.

“They have a lot of tanks, we have a lot of anti-tank weapons,” said Lieutenant Yarantsev, who previously fought with a volunteer group against Russia in eastern Ukraine. “In the open field, it will be even. It’s easier to fight in the city.”

The two young officers — the

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ukraine’s ‘Soul,’ and Now Its Beating Heart

Left, refugees arriving in Lviv, a newly strategic hub near the Polish border. Right, a memorial for soldiers killed since 2014. Page 13.

Covid Drug Is in Demand but Doses Go Unused

By AMANDA MORRIS and SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

Sasha Mallett, Sue Taylor and Kimberly Cooley all have immune deficiencies that make them especially vulnerable to Covid-19, and all have tried to get the same thing: a new treatment that can prevent the disease in people who either cannot produce antibodies after receiving a coronavirus vaccine or cannot get vaccinated at all.

Ms. Cooley, a liver transplant

recipient in Duck Hill, Miss., got the antibody drug, called Evusheld, from her transplant team at the University of Mississippi Medical Center with no trouble. But Ms. Taylor, of Cincinnati, was denied the treatment by two hospitals near her home. And Dr. Mallett, a physician in Portland, Ore., had to drive five hours to a hospital willing to give her a dose.

As much of the nation un.masks amid plummeting caseloads and fresh hope that the pandemic is fading, the Biden administration

has insisted it will continue protecting the more than seven million Americans with weakened immune systems who remain vulnerable to Covid. Evusheld, which was developed by AstraZeneca with financial support from the federal government, is essential to its strategy.

But there is so much confusion about the drug among health care providers that roughly 80 percent of the available doses are sitting unused in warehouses and on

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The Unraveling of a D.A.’s Case Against Trump

This article is by Ben Protess, William K. Rashbaum and Jonah E. Bromwich.

On a late January afternoon, two senior prosecutors stood before the new Manhattan district attorney, hoping to persuade him to criminally charge the former president of the United States.

The prosecutors, Mark F. Pomerantz and Carey R. Dunne, detailed their strategy for proving that Donald J. Trump knew his annual financial statements were

works of fiction. Time was running out: The grand jury hearing evidence against Mr. Trump was set to expire in the spring. They needed the district attorney, Alvin Bragg, to decide whether to seek charges.

But Mr. Bragg and his senior aides, masked and gathered around a conference table on the eighth floor of the district attorney’s office in Lower Manhattan, had serious doubts. They hammered Mr. Pomerantz and Mr. Dunne about whether they could

show that Mr. Trump had intended to break the law by inflating the value of his assets in the annual statements, a necessary element to prove the case.

The questioning was so intense that as the meeting ended, Mr. Dunne, exasperated, used a lawyerly expression that normally refers to a judge’s fiery questioning:

“Wow, this was a really hot bench,” Mr. Dunne said, according to people with knowledge of the

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OUTGUNNED UKRAINE FENDS OFF ATTACKS



PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above, Ukrainian soldiers rushed to aid a family hit by Russian mortar fire on Sunday in the vil-
lage of Irpen, but there was little to be done. Below, a Ukrainian soldier ran to check on the family.

Weapons Flow
From the West
In a Vast Airlift

This article is by David E. Sanger,
Eric Schmitt, Helene Cooper, Julian
E. Barnes and Kenneth P. Vogel.

On a snowy tarmac at Amari Air Base in northern Estonia on Sunday morning, pallets of rifles, ammunition and other weapons were being loaded onto one of the largest cargo planes in the world, an Antonov AN-124, belonging to the Ukrainian air force. It is an artifact of the Cold War, built and purchased when Ukraine was still part of the Soviet Union.

Now it is being turned back against the Russian invasion of Ukraine, part of a vast airlift that American and European officials describe as a desperate race against time, to get tons of arms into the hands of Ukrainian forces while their supply routes are still open. Scenes like this, reminiscent of the Berlin airlift — the famed race by the Western allies to keep West Berlin supplied with essentials in 1948 and 1949 as the Soviet Union sought to choke it off — are playing out across Europe.

In less than a week, the United States and NATO have pushed more than 17,000 antitank weapons, including Javelin missiles, over the borders of Poland and Romania, unloading them from giant military cargo planes so they can make the trip by land to Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, and other major cities. So far, Russian forces have been so preoccupied in other parts of the country that they have not targeted the arms supply lines, but few think that can last.

But those are only the most visible contributions. Hidden away on bases around Eastern Europe, forces from United States Cyber Command known as “cybermission teams” are in place to interfere with Russia’s digital attacks and communications — but measuring their success rate is difficult.

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As Shell Falls,
Family’s Dash
To Safety Ends

By LYNSEY ADDARIO
and ANDREW E. KRAMER

IRPIN, Ukraine — The bridge was just a skeleton of its old self, blown up days earlier by Ukrainian soldiers intent on slowing the Russian advance on the capital, Kyiv, but battered as it was, it offered a lifeline to civilians desperate to flee the fighting.

On Sunday, as Ukrainian refugees were milling near the entrance to the structure, calculating their odds of making it safely over the Irpin River, a family laden with backpacks and a blue roller suitcase decided to chance it.

The Russian mortar hit just as they made it across into Kyiv.

A cloud of concrete dust lofted into the morning air. When it settled, Ukrainians could be seen running madly from the scene. But not the family. A mother and her two children lay still on the roadway, along with a family friend.

Russia’s president, Vladimir V. Putin, has repeatedly denied that his forces are targeting civilians fleeing battle zones. He did so again on Sunday, a day after a railroad track used to evacuate Ukrainians came under fire.

But only a handful of Ukrainian troops were near the bridge when mortar shells began raining down. The soldiers there were not engaged in combat but in helping refugees carry their children and luggage toward the capital.

“The military is the military and that is one thing,” one soldier said bitterly. “But these are civilians, people who waited until the last moment.”

The attack at the bridge was witnessed by a New York Times team, including the photojournalist Lynsey Addario, a security adviser and Andriy Dubchak, a free-

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Painful Goodbyes at the Border
As Men Stay to Fight Russians

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN and MONIKA PRONCZUK

MEDYKA, Poland — Iryna Dukhota has been married to her husband for 26 years. She met him when they were young, as he was riding his bike through her neighborhood in Kyiv, Ukraine’s capital.

But a few days ago, on a gray, windswept morning, with thousands of people rushing around them, the couple stood at the Ukraine-Poland border, lips quivering. After all these years, it was time to say goodbye.

“I told him ‘I love you’ and ‘We will see each other soon,’” Ms. Dukhota said, her eyes pooling.

Now, she says, she does not know when or even if she will ever see him again.

As the Russian Army bears down on Ukraine from the north, south and east, a mass migration

of millions of civilians is gathering like a storm over the plains.

But the international border gates are a painful filter, splitting families apart. The Ukrainian government has mandated that men aged 18 to 60 are not allowed to leave the country, so the crowds pouring into Poland, Hungary and other neighboring nations are eerily devoid of men. It is almost exclusively women and young children who pass through the checkpoints after heartbreaking goodbyes. The Ukrainian men, whether they want to or not, turn back to fight.

Some Ukrainian women referred to the separations as “a little death.”

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Talking to Relatives in Russia,
Ukrainians Hear, ‘What War?’

By VALERIE HOPKINS

LVIV, Ukraine — Four days after Russia began dropping artillery shells on Kyiv, Misha Katsiurin, a Ukrainian restaurateur, was wondering why his father, a church custodian living in the Russian city of Nizhny Novgorod, hadn’t called to check on him.

“There is a war, I’m his son, and he just doesn’t call,” Mr. Katsiurin, who is 33, said in an interview. So, Mr. Katsiurin picked up the phone and let his father know that Ukraine was under attack by Russia.

“I’m trying to evacuate my children and my wife — everything is extremely scary,” Mr. Katsiurin told him.

He did not get the response he expected. His father, Andrei, didn’t believe him.

But Its Control of
Black Sea Line
Is Tenuous

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ

MYKOLAIV, Ukraine — The remains of a Russian Tiger fighting vehicle sat smoldering on the side of the road, as Ukrainian troops lounged outside their trenches smoking cigarettes. Nearby, a group of local villagers was tinkering with a captured T-90 tank, trying to get it running again so that the Ukrainian Army might put it to use.

For three days, Russian forces had fought to take Mykolaiv, but by Sunday, Ukrainian troops had driven them back from the city limits and retaken the airport, halting the Russian advance along the Black Sea, at least temporarily.

“Few expected such strength from our people because, when you haven’t slept for three days, and when you only have one dry ration because the rest burned up, when it’s negative temperature out and there is nothing to warm you, and when you are constantly in the fight, believe me, it is physically very difficult,” an exhausted Col. Sviatoslav Stetsenko, of the Ukrainian Army’s 59th Brigade, said in an interview. “But our people endured this.”

Taking Mykolaiv remains a key objective for Russian forces, and the thwomp of artillery in the distance on Sunday suggested that the Ukrainians had not pushed them back that far. But the unexpected Ukrainian success of defending this critical port, about 65 miles from Odessa, underscores two emerging trends in the war.

Russia’s failure to seize Mykolaiv and other cities quickly, as President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia appears to have intended, is largely a function of its military’s faltering performance. Russian forces have suffered from logistical snafus, baffling tactical decisions and low morale.

But it is the fierce and, according to many analysts, unexpectedly capable defense by Ukrainian forces, who are significantly outgunned, that has largely stalled the Russian advance and, for now, prevented Mykolaiv from falling into Russian hands.

For three days, troops from the Ukrainian Army’s 59th Brigade, together with other military and territorial defense units, have been defending Mykolaiv from Russian attack along several fronts, facing down punishing artillery barrages, helicopter attacks and rocket strikes, some of which have hit civilian neighborhoods.

Civilians elsewhere in Ukraine on Sunday bore the brunt of an unrelenting Russian assault. For the second day in a row, Ukrainians

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Muting a Powerful Sound

In Burundi, the drum is a revered symbol of culture and unity. But after a 2017 decree, only men can play.

PAGE A9

Women’s Marches in Pakistan

What began in 2018 as a single rally has become an annual event in multiple cities. Opposition is rising.

PAGE A10

BUSINESS B1-5

Little Recourse for Zelle Fraud

The payments platform is a popular target of scammers. But banks have been loath to make fraud victims whole, despite owning the system.

PAGE B1

The Business With Russia

Of E.U. countries, Germany has by far the most business ties with Russia, and for many, those ties have become personal. Now come hard choices.

PAGE B1

More Internet Options, Maybe

Americans pay more for worse internet service. But fresh congressional funding and advances in technology may finally bring change.

PAGE B5



NATIONAL A11-14

Convoy Encircles Washington

Truckers protesting Covid mandates slowed traffic on the Beltway for hours before fading in the afternoon.

PAGE A14

Seeking Safety From Attacks

Younger Asian Americans in New York are less likely than their elders to back traditional policing solutions.

PAGE A11

ARTS C1-8

Not Her First ‘Mockingbird’

Six decades after she played the little girl Scout in the film version of Harper Lee’s novel, Mary Badham takes on the role of a mean, racist neighbor in the play’s national tour.

PAGE C1

Satisfyingly Creepy Viewing

Netflix’s “Archive 81,” Epix’s “From” and Starz’s “Shining Vale” all offer clever variations on a horror genre that is a perfect fit for our stir-crazy age, Mike Hale reports.

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OPINION A16-17

Boris Johnson

PAGE A16



SPORTS D1-7

One Last Night at Home

Mike Krzyzewski walked Cameron Indoor Stadium’s sideline for the last time on Saturday, and a coaching legacy at Duke was celebrated.

PAGES D4-5



DESPERATION GROWS FOR TRAPPED CIVILIANS

Pressure to Ban Russian Oil — Stocks Sink

This article is by Alan Rappeport, Edward Wong and Michael D. Shear.

WASHINGTON — President Biden came under pressure on Monday to ban Russian oil imports into the United States, forcing the administration to consider action that could further punish President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia but exacerbate high gas prices that are hurting consumers at home.

On Monday, a bipartisan group of American lawmakers agreed to move ahead with legislation that would ban Russian energy imports in the United States and suspend normal trade relations with Russia and Belarus. Some European countries, which are highly dependent on Russian energy, have expressed a willingness to reduce their reliance on those imports.

Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, said that “no decision has been made at this point by the president about a ban on importing oil from Russia,” adding that discussions were “ongoing internally” and with European allies.

“I would note what the president is most focused on is ensuring we are continuing to take steps to deliver punishing economic consequences while taking all actions necessary to limit the impact of prices at the gas pump,” she said.

Global stocks slid on Monday amid worries of an oil ban and escalating Russian attacks on Ukraine. It was Wall Street’s worst day in more than a year.

The S&P 500 fell 3 percent, its sharpest daily decline since October 2020. The Nasdaq composite dropped 3.6 percent and is now 20 percent off its November record, entering territory known on Wall Street as a bear market, denoting a serious downturn.

The Biden administration, along with its global allies, has already imposed sweeping financial, trade and technology sanctions on Russia, but Western countries have deliberately carved out its energy sector, with top U.S. officials saying it would be unwise to disrupt global supplies given how heavily Europe relies on Russian oil and gas. Some officials also view the move as potentially enriching Mr. Putin by driving up gas prices. The price in the United States reached a national average of \$4.07 per gallon on

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TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bombing more indiscriminately, Russian forces attacked neighborhoods in the southern Ukrainian city of Mykolaiv on Monday.



IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Women and children at a train station in Lviv, in the west. The invasion has turned at least 1.7 million Ukrainians into refugees.

Walling Off News From West, Putin Claims a Monopoly on Truth

By STEVEN LEE MYERS

One of the paradoxical things about Vladimir V. Putin’s increasingly authoritarian rule of Russia was how relatively open society always remained.

For all the state’s control of media, people could read or watch what they wanted, including foreign newscasts like BBC and CNN. The internet was largely unfettered, a portal to the rest of the world. Unlike, say, China, you could criticize the president with some assurance that the police would not knock at the door.

Until now.

As the war in Ukraine grinds on, Mr. Putin has strangled the vestiges of a free press to justify an invasion that has been almost universally condemned — and with that moved closer to the stultifying orthodoxy of the Soviet Union. The result will be to isolate the country, as Mr. Putin has isolated himself, leaving it with a one-sided view of the world no longer subject to debate.

Two of the remaining flagships of the country’s own independent media — Ekho Moskv, the liberal radio station, and TV Dohzd, or Rain, a digital upstart — went off

Censorship in Russia Is Reminiscent of the Soviet Era

the air last week, hounded by the authorities for reporting accurately on Ukraine. Access to Facebook, Twitter and TikTok, platforms pulsing with opposition to Mr. Putin’s war, have been blocked, as have other online sites in Russia.

Many foreign news organizations have withdrawn correspon-

dents or stopped reporting in Russia after Mr. Putin on Friday signed into law a measure to punish anyone spreading “false information” with up to 15 years in prison.

“Just two weeks ago it was not possible to imagine how quickly most of it would get closed,” said Nina L. Khrushcheva, a professor of international affairs at the New School in New York City and the great-granddaughter of the Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev. “And yet it is.”

Beyond the immediate impact on Russians’ ability to learn about

Continued on Page A7

Hate for Russia, Dark and Deep, Boils in Ukraine

By MARIA VARENIKOVA

LVIV, Ukraine — Trapped in his apartment on the outskirts of Kyiv during fierce battles over the weekend, the well-known Ukrainian poet Oleksandr Irvanets composed a few lines that encapsulated the national mood.

“I shout out to the whole world,” he wrote in a short poem published online by his fans, who have since lost touch with the writer and were worried that he may have fallen behind Russian lines. “I won’t forgive anyone!”

If there is one overriding emotion gripping Ukraine right now, it is hate.

It is a deep, seething bitterness for President Vladimir V. Putin, his military and his government. But Ukrainians are not giving a pass to ordinary Russians, either, calling them complicit through years of political passivity. The hatred is vented by mothers in bomb shelters, by volunteers preparing to fight on the front lines, by intellectuals and by artists.

The emotion is so powerful it could not be assuaged even by an Orthodox religious holiday on Sunday intended to foster forgiveness before Lent. Called Forgiveness Sunday, the holiday is recognized in both the Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox churches.

And this hatred has over-

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Military Giant Proves Clumsy. Rivals Notice.

This article is by Helene Cooper, Eric Schmitt and Julian E. Barnes.

CONSTANTA, Romania — When it comes to war, generals say that “mass matters.”

But nearly two weeks into President Vladimir V. Putin’s invasion of Ukraine — Europe’s largest land war since 1945 — the image of a Russian military as one that other countries should fear, let alone emulate, has been shattered.

Ukraine’s military, dwarfed by the Russian force in most ways, has somehow managed to stymie its foe. Ukrainian soldiers have killed more than 3,000 Russian troops, according to conservative estimates by American officials.

Ukraine has shot down military transport planes carrying Russian paratroopers, downed helicopters and blown holes in Russian convoys using American anti-tank missiles and armed drones supplied by Turkey, these officials said, citing confidential U.S. intelligence assessments.

The Russian soldiers have been plagued by poor morale and fuel and food shortages. Some troops have crossed the border with M.R.E.s (meals ready to eat) that expired in 2002, U.S. and other Western officials said, and others have surrendered and sabotaged their vehicles to avoid fighting.

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Justices Give Democrats a Win In Two Gerrymandering Cases

By ADAM LIPTAK

The Supreme Court on Monday allowed congressional maps that had been approved by state courts in North Carolina and Pennsylvania to stand, giving Democrats an advantage in this year’s election in two key states.

In issuing the orders, the Supreme Court rejected requests by Republicans to restore maps approved by G.O.P.-controlled state legislatures. Those district lines were thrown out and replaced by courts in both states after challenges by Democrats.

Under the new court-imposed

maps in both states, Democrats are likely to gain more seats than they would have under the legislature-approved versions.

But in the North Carolina case, there were signs that at least four of the court’s more conservative justices could later rule that state courts are powerless to change congressional maps adopted by state legislatures.

Such a ruling would fundamentally alter how congressional elections are conducted and amplify partisan gerrymandering, allow-

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ANDRES KUDACKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shedding Masks, Not Doubts

Arriving at a Staten Island school as New York City lifted a mandate Monday. Some students were hesitant to move on. Page A15.



BIDEN BANS RUSSIAN OIL OVER ‘VICIOUS WAR’



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Some of the thousands who have fled Irpin, a Kyiv suburb that has been without power for days, at an aid tent near Kyiv on Tuesday.

On the Front, Kyiv Hospitals Face Horrors

By ANDREW E. KRAMER
KYIV, Ukraine — A grim scene awaited Dr. Oleksandr Sherbina as he made the rounds of Clinical Hospital No. 7, a medical facility that once specialized in treating strokes but is now suddenly immersed in the atrocities of war. As he passed the operating theater, surgeons were amputating the lower leg of a wounded Ukrainian soldier.
The hospital is near a combat zone in a northwestern suburb of Kyiv, where the booms of incoming artillery can be heard inside the building amid a scramble of activity as triage nurses greet the ambulances arriving every few minutes. In a hallway, an orderly used a rag to wash blood off stretchers.
“The flow of wounded is growing,” said Dr. Sherbina, a surgeon who is the hospital’s director.
In recent days the fighting between Russian and Ukrainian forces has crept from outlying towns to the edge of Kyiv, and closer to his hospital. “We work and we understand that every day it is getting worse and worse,” he added.
This worries Dr. Sherbina deeply. Even as he and fellow doctors treat patients ravaged by the shrapnel that whistles off mortars and artillery shells, they know they are at risk of suffering the same type of wounds.
“This is what I am most afraid of, because we are close to the fighting,” he said. “I am hoping that the walls defend us.”
Around Ukraine, as Russian bombings have grown more indiscriminate and more civilians find themselves in harm’s way, hospitals have become increasingly perilous places to work. They

Continued on Page A6

Invoking Churchill, Zelensky Vows No Surrender

By MARK LANDLER and MARC SANTORA
LONDON — With Ukraine’s outgunned Army holding firm despite Russian bombardments that have displaced millions of civilians, the war in Ukraine has become a grim spectacle of resistance, no one more defiant than the country’s president, Volodymyr Zelensky, who vowed on Tuesday never to give in to Russia’s tanks, troops or artillery shells.
In a dramatic video address to Britain’s Parliament, clad in his now-famous military fatigue T-shirt, Mr. Zelensky echoed Winston Churchill’s famous words of no surrender to the same chamber at the dawn of World War II as Britain faced a looming onslaught from Nazi Germany.
“We will fight till the end, at sea, in the air,” Mr. Zelensky said with the blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flag draped behind him. “We will fight in the forests, in the fields, on the shores, in the streets.”
The speech, the first ever by a

Reflecting Nation’s Grit in Video to Britain’s Parliament

foreign leader to the House of Commons, was the climax of Mr. Zelensky’s darkest-hour messaging to fellow Ukrainians and the world in what has become a typical 20-hour day for him in Kyiv, the besieged capital.
In his daily speech to the nation, he claimed that Ukraine had inflicted 30 years of losses on Russia’s air force in 13 days. And in an internet video posted Monday night from his presidential office, he all but taunted President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.
“I’m not hiding,” Mr. Zelensky said. “I’m not afraid of anyone.”
Nearly two weeks into Russia’s war, it was becoming ever clearer that the Kremlin’s military planners, not to mention Mr. Putin himself, had dramatically miscalculated not only the grit of Ukrain-

ian resistance but also the calamitous economic consequences for Russia, which on Tuesday faced a major new embargo of its oil exports and a growing exodus of large American companies.
At the same time, the scope of the humanitarian disaster across Ukraine was growing by the hour, as were the reverberations among its European neighbors. Russia continued to batter Kyiv and other cities. In Mariupol, a strategically crucial port city surrounded by Russian forces, hundreds of thousands of people remained trapped without water, electricity and other basic services.
In his speech to British lawmakers, Mr. Zelensky reiterated his plea for NATO to impose a no-fly zone over Ukraine, something NATO leaders have ruled out because they fear it could trigger a wider military clash between the West and Russia.
But the West further tightened the economic vise on Russia, with the United States and Britain announcing oil embargoes and a

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Allies Pledge Own Import Curbs; U.S. Companies Pull Operations

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR
WASHINGTON — President Biden on Tuesday banned imports of Russian oil, gas and coal in response to what he called President Vladimir V. Putin’s “vicious war of choice” in Ukraine, but warned Americans that the decision to inflict economic pain on Russia would inevitably mean higher gas prices at home.
“Defending freedom is going to cost,” Mr. Biden said in televised remarks announcing the ban at the White House.
The president’s move immediately shut off a relatively small flow of oil into the United States, but it was quickly followed by a British pledge to phase out imports of Russian oil by the end of the year and a declaration from the European Commission — the executive arm of the European Union, which is heavily dependent on Russian oil and gas — to make itself independent of that supply in the coming years.
The impact of the decisions quickly rippled across the global energy market amid fears that the supply of oil would shrink. In the United States, the national average price of a gallon of regular gasoline, which had already surged in recent weeks, reached \$4.173, not adjusted for inflation, a new high and an average increase of about 72 cents from only a

month ago, according to AAA.
“If we do not respond to Putin’s assault on global peace and stability today, the cost of freedom and to the American people will be even greater tomorrow,” Mr. Biden said.
He vowed to “do everything I can to minimize Putin’s price hike here at home.”
Under intense, bipartisan pressure from lawmakers to deny Russia any more oil revenue from Americans, Mr. Biden acted without the unity among allies that has characterized most of the response to Russia’s aggression during the past several months.
The moves by Britain and the E.U. fell short of Mr. Biden’s ban. Franck Riester, the French minister for foreign trade, told the Franceinfo radio station on Monday that “everything’s on the table,” but that officials would need to consider “consequences” from an energy ban. In Italy, which imports more than 40 percent of its energy as Russian gas, Prime Minister Mario Draghi has said the overdependence on Russian gas is a strategic weakness for the country.
Even as Mr. Biden spoke, describing his ban as “another powerful blow to Putin’s war ma-

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No Quick Way for Oil Nations To Offset Lost Russian Output

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS
HOUSTON — Before its forces invaded Ukraine, Russia provided one out of every 10 barrels of oil the world consumed. But as the United States and other customers shun Russian crude, the global oil market faces its greatest upheaval since the Middle East tumult of the 1970s.
An energy price shock will probably last as long as the confrontation goes on, since there are few alternatives to quickly replace Russia’s exports of roughly five million barrels a day.
Oil prices were already rising as the world economy emerged from Covid-19 shutdowns and producers stretched to meet growing demand. International oil companies had cut back investment over the last two years.
Now traders are bidding up crude prices to levels not seen in years, expecting that Russia — one of the top three oil producers,

along with the United States and Saudi Arabia — will be sidelined. With the announcement of the American embargo on Tuesday, prices will probably climb higher, energy analysts say.
“We are catastrophically tightening,” said Robert McNally, a former energy adviser to President George W. Bush. “What we need right now is countries producing more oil.”
That will not be easy. Only Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait have spare capacity, together a little more than 2.5 million barrels a day. Venezuela and Iran could contribute about 1.5 million barrels a day to the market, but that would require lifting American sanctions against those countries. And the United States could increase output by more than a million barrels a day — but doing so would take a

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TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES
Russian forces hit a complex in Mykolaiv, Ukraine, where vegetables were stored.



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Ukrainian civilians being evacuated from Irpin past a destroyed bridge into Kyiv.

F.B.I. Finds ‘Massive’ Fraud in Food Assistance

By DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD
MINNEAPOLIS — Last year, with the federal government making available huge new sums of money for programs to feed needy children during the pandemic, a nonprofit organization called Advance Youth Athletic Development set up what it described as an enormous child care operation in northeast Minneapolis that could prepare 5,000 dinners each weeknight.
Based on the group’s claims, the

Funds Aimed to Ease Ravages of Pandemic

State of Minnesota channeled \$3.2 million of the federal food aid to the program.
But on a subzero morning in January, the F.B.I. carried out a series of pre-dawn raids around the region. It revealed a sprawling investigation into Advance Youth Athletic Development and other

groups like it — and the much larger nonprofit organization, Feeding Our Future, that was responsible for ensuring that the money provided to the smaller groups was spent properly.
In court filings, the F.B.I. said it had discovered a “massive fraud scheme” among groups that Feeding Our Future was supposed to oversee, saying they siphoned off tens of millions of dollars by charging taxpayers for nonexistent meals.
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First Jan. 6 Trial Ends in Texas Man’s Conviction

By ALAN FEUER
A federal jury on Tuesday swiftly convicted the first accused Jan. 6 rioter to go on trial even as prosecutors announced they had expanded their inquiry by indicting a former leader of the Proud Boys, the far-right nationalist group that played a prominent role in the Capitol attack.
After only three hours of deliberations, the jury found the defendant in the trial, Guy Wesley Reffitt, guilty on five counts. They

Proud Boys’ Ex-Leader Is the Latest Arrested

included obstructing Congress’s certification of the 2020 presidential election by helping to lead a pro-Trump mob in an advance against the police that resulted in the first violent breach of the building on Jan. 6, 2021.
Mr. Reffitt was also convicted of wearing an illegal pistol on his hip

during the attack and of later threatening his teenage son and daughter to keep them from turning him in to the authorities. He faces up to 20 years in prison on the obstruction count alone.
The trial, in Federal District Court in Washington, was an important victory for the Justice Department, which has only just begun the marathon process of bringing to trial what could be scores of rioters accused of storming the Capitol or assaulting the

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HOSPITAL HIT AS ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS GROW



EVGENIY MALOLETKA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

An injured woman was carried from a Mariupol, Ukraine, maternity hospital heavily damaged by Russian shelling on Wednesday.

For Oligarchs, U.A.E. Softens Sanctions’ Bite

This article is by David D. Kirkpatrick, Mona El-Naggar and Michael Forsythe.

Stretching into the Persian Gulf from the beaches and skyscrapers of Dubai is an artificial archipelago in the shape of a vast palm tree, its branchlike rows of islands lined with luxury hotels, apartments and villas.

Among the owners of those homes are two dozen close allies of President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, including a former provincial governor and nuclear power plant manager, a construction magnate and former senator, and a Belarusian tobacco tycoon.

At least 38 businessmen or officials linked to Mr. Putin own dozens of properties in Dubai collectively valued at more than \$314 million, according to previously unreported data compiled by the nonprofit Center for Advanced Defense Studies. Six of those owners are under sanctions by the United States or the European Union, and another oligarch facing sanctions has a yacht moored there. For now, they can count themselves lucky.

Since the invasion of Ukraine, much of the world has imposed sweeping sanctions on Russian financial institutions and the circle around Mr. Putin, and even notoriously secretive banking centers like Switzerland, Monaco and the Cayman Islands have begun to cooperate with the freezing of accounts, seizing of mansions and impounding of yachts.

But not Dubai, the cosmopolitan resort and financial center in the United Arab Emirates. Al-

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They Boil Snow for Water, With Death in the Air

By VALERIE HOPKINS

LVIV, Ukraine — Marina Lev-inchuk said she received an alarming text message from the local authorities in the besieged city of Mariupol several days ago, before she decided to flee. “If somebody dies in your family,” she said, recalling the message in her own words, “just put the body outside, cover it, tie up the hands and the legs and leave it outside.”

“That’s what’s going on in Mariupol now,” she said of the city, currently ringed by Russian forces pounding it with bombs, missiles and artillery, and hitting a maternity hospital on Wednesday. “There are just bodies lying in

Residents of Mariupol Are Told to ‘Just Put the Body Outside’

the streets.

“There is no water, no heating, no gas,” she continued in a video call on WhatsApp on Wednesday. “And they are collecting snow, melting the snow, and boiling the snow.”

It has been seven days since Russian forces encircled the city, an important port on Ukraine’s southern coast, and began to lay siege to the roughly half a million people living there. Most commu-

nications with the outside world were severed, leaving primarily those with access to satellite phones to alert Ukraine and the rest of the world to the increasingly dire state of affairs.

Having failed to defeat the Ukrainian army in the war’s first weeks, and encountering stiff resistance in major cities like Mariupol, Kharkiv and Kyiv, Russian commanders appear to be resorting to tactics used in previous wars in Chechnya and Syria: flattening cities with overwhelming and indiscriminate firepower.

A video uploaded to Facebook on Wednesday evening showed the center of Mariupol after an

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LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Putin vs. the West

Guarding Kyiv on Wednesday. The broader conflict is one of economics and politics. Page A17.

Hong Kong’s Virus Crackdown Stirs Desperation

By ALEXANDRA STEVENSON

HONG KONG — As the government in Hong Kong struggles to contain the city’s worst Covid outbreak ever, some residents have panicked. They have emptied supermarket shelves of vegetables and meat. They have raided drugstores for pain and fever medication. Those who could afford it have jumped on

flights out of the city.

Tens of thousands of new Omicron cases are being reported each day, and deaths have surged. The anxiety gripping Hong Kong is not just about the explosion of infections, but also about what the government will do next. Mixed messages from officials have left residents wondering: Will there be a lockdown? Will we be sent into isolation facilities? Will our

children be taken from us if they test positive?

Under pressure from Beijing to eliminate infections, Hong Kong officials have vowed to test all 7.4 million residents. Such an operation would require restricting people’s movements, but the government has been ambiguous about whether it would impose a lockdown, and if so, when. Just the

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Spending Bill Clears House, Minus Covid Funds

By EMILY COCHRANE

WASHINGTON — The House on Wednesday passed a sprawling \$1.5 trillion federal spending bill that includes a huge infusion of aid for war-torn Ukraine and money to keep the government funded through September, after jettisoning a package to fund President Biden’s new Covid-19 response effort.

Bipartisan approval of the first major government spending legislation of Mr. Biden’s presidency marked the first time since he took office that Democrats were able to use their congressional majorities and control of the White House to set funding levels for their priorities, including climate resilience, public education and child care.

But the exclusion of the \$15.6

billion pandemic aid package, amid disputes about its cost that threatened to derail the broader legislation, infuriated the White House and frustrated Democratic leaders, leaving the fate of the Biden administration’s coronavirus strategy uncertain.

The president’s team has said it is in urgent need of funding for testing, therapeutics, vaccines

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INTERNATIONAL A4-17

New Leader in South Korea

Voter discontent helped the conservative Yoon Suk-yeol, a former prosecutor, win a tight race for president. Page A4

A Boat Too Big to Ignore

As Europe targets the assets of Russian oligarchs, a 459-foot yacht cloaked in secrecy draws scrutiny in Italy. Page A11

NATIONAL A18-25

A First Shot at Pot Stores

New York officials intend to reserve the first 100 or more retail licenses to sell marijuana for people who have been convicted of related offenses. Page A25

A Crucial Clinic’s Demise

A Texas clinic for transgender adolescents shut down last year after pressure from top state officials, including the governor’s office. Page A18

Patient With Pig’s Heart Dies

David Bennett Sr. had received a heart from a genetically modified pig, a procedure that may yet offer hope to millions of Americans. Page A18

BUSINESS B1-7

Regulations for Crypto

The president signed an executive order that will coordinate efforts among financial regulators to better understand the risks. Page B7

Retail Exodus From Russia

The financial and reputational risks of doing business in Russia are rising for Western brands. Page B1

SPORTS B8-10

Ovechkin’s Putin Problem

The Washington Capitals superstar is a longtime friend and prominent supporter of the Russian president. Page B8



THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

Moving Through the Lens

After decades of modeling, Guinevere van Seenus has found love and is enjoying success as a photographer. Page D3

A Not-So-New Emerging Artist

It took a very long time for the art world to discover the painter Stephen Tashjian, a.k.a. Tabboo! Page D2

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A Bigger Vision of Black Art

With an exhibition at Gagosian, the photographer Awol Erizku is trying to reach a broader audience. Page C1

Packed Field for Best Actress

Which nominee has the inside track to pick up an Academy Award? Kyle Buchanan gives his assessment. Page C3

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Ross Douthat

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CARNAGE WIDENS AS CEASE-FIRE TALKS FALTER

Inflation Rises
At Fastest Clip
In 4 Decades

War Expected to Send
U.S. Costs Higher Yet

By JEANNA SMIALEK

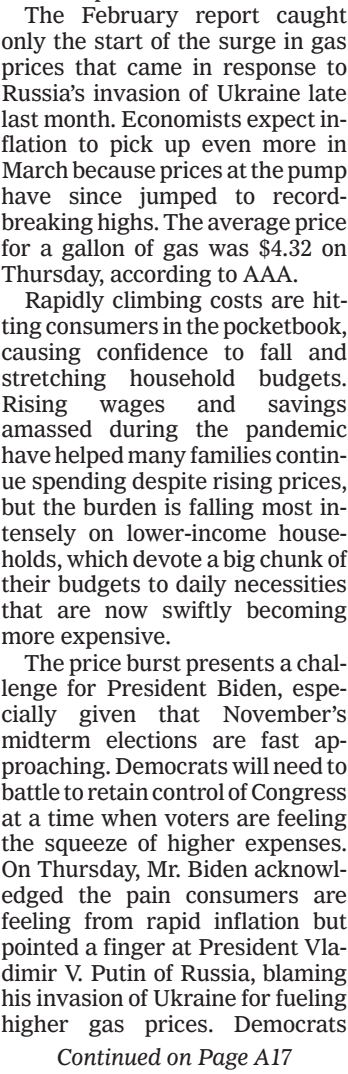
Prices climbed at the fastest pace in decades in the month leading up to the war in Ukraine, underlining the high stakes facing the United States — along with many developed economies — as the conflict promises to drive costs higher.

The Consumer Price Index rose by 7.9 percent through February, the fastest pace of annual inflation in 40 years. Rising food and rent costs contributed to the big increase, the Bureau of Labor Statistics said, as did a nascent surge in gas prices that will become more pronounced in the March inflation report.

The February report caught only the start of the surge in gas prices that came in response to Russia’s invasion of Ukraine late last month. Economists expect inflation to pick up even more in March because prices at the pump have since jumped to record-breaking highs. The average price for a gallon of gas was \$4.32 on Thursday, according to AAA.

Rapidly climbing costs are hitting consumers in the pocketbook, causing confidence to fall and stretching household budgets. Rising wages and savings amassed during the pandemic have helped many families continue spending despite rising prices, but the burden is falling most intensely on lower-income households, which devote a big chunk of their budgets to daily necessities that are now swiftly becoming more expensive.

The price burst presents a challenge for President Biden, especially given that November’s midterm elections are fast approaching. Democrats will need to battle to retain control of Congress at a time when voters are feeling the squeeze of higher expenses. On Thursday, Mr. Biden acknowledged the pain consumers are feeling from rapid inflation but pointed a finger at President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, blaming his invasion of Ukraine for fueling higher gas prices. Democrats



Russians Making
Gains — Tanks
Near Kyiv

By RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

The top diplomats of Russia and Ukraine failed to make even a hint of progress Thursday in their first face-to-face meeting since the Russian invasion began, while Russian bombardments spread more carnage in a two-week-old war that Ukraine estimated had already inflicted \$100 billion in damage.

The Russian side, which has refused to call the conflict a war, insisted that it would not end until Ukraine was “demilitarized,” dousing flickers of hope that the meeting in Turkey of Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba of Ukraine and his Russian counterpart, Sergey V. Lavrov, might lead to even a brief cease-fire. Mr. Lavrov later told reporters that was not even discussed.

“The broad narrative he conveyed to me,” Mr. Kuleba said afterward, “is that they will continue their aggression until Ukraine meets their demands, and the least of these demands is surrender.”

Across swaths of Ukraine, the fighting continued and suffering deepened, especially in besieged and bombarded cities like Mariupol in the southeast and Chernihiv in the north.

Near Kyiv, Russian forces gained control of the town of Bucha and moved southwest in an attempt to encircle the capital. They were also approaching Kyiv from the east, with heavy fighting involving a line of Russian tanks reported in the suburb of Brovary, according to videos posted online on Thursday.

In Mariupol, 70 bodies have been buried since Tuesday, without coffins, in a mass grave, according to video recorded by The Associated Press, and local officials said an airstrike that destroyed a maternity hospital on Wednesday had killed three people, including a child. In Chernihiv, residents lacked electricity, gas for cooking or warding off the winter cold, or even space to bury the dead, said the mayor, Vladyslav Atroshenko.

“Dozens of people have died,” he said. “Dozens of multistory buildings have been ruined. Thousands of people have no place to live.”

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, in his latest video message, said the hospital bombing in Mariupol, a port on the Sea of Azov, was further “proof that the genocide of Ukrainians is taking place.”

Despite photographs of the ravaged hospital and victims of the bombing, corroborated by the United Nations, Russian officials denied having hit the hospital, or alternatively said it had not been used as a hospital. Attacks on medical facilities can constitute war crimes.

The chief economic adviser to Ukraine’s government, Oleg Ustenko, estimated that his country had already suffered \$100 billion in damage since the invasion began Feb. 24. “The situation is a disaster that is really much deeper than somebody can imagine,” Mr. Ustenko said at a Peterson Institute for International Economics virtual event.

Vice President Kamala Harris, in Warsaw to meet with Polish officials, said Russians should be investigated for war crimes in Ukraine, though she did not name any individuals. Ms. Harris, a former prosecutor, said, “I have no

China’s Role:
Reamplifying
Kremlin Lies

By EDWARD WONG

WASHINGTON — One of Russia’s most incendiary disinformation campaigns ramped up days ago, when its defense and foreign ministries issued statements falsely claiming that the Pentagon was financing biological weapons labs in Ukraine.

Then Chinese diplomats and state media organizations repeated the conspiracy theory at news conferences in Beijing, in articles and on official social media accounts.

Now, the Biden White House has taken the extraordinary step of calling out both countries on their coordinated propaganda campaign and saying they might be providing cover for a potential biological or chemical weapons attack on Ukrainians by the Russian military.

“Now that Russia has made these false claims, and China has seemingly endorsed this propaganda, we should all be on the lookout for Russia to possibly use chemical or biological weapons in Ukraine, or to create a false flag operation using them,” Jen Psaki, the White House press secretary, wrote on Twitter on Wednesday evening. “It’s a clear pattern.”

She called the accusations “preposterous,” and said the United States “does not develop or possess such weapons anywhere.” The State Department labeled the assertions “total nonsense” and said Ukraine has no biological

Putin Threatens Takeover of Western Companies

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

Besieged by an onslaught of sanctions that have largely undone 30 years of economic integration with the West in the space of two weeks, President Vladimir V. Putin on Thursday opened the door to nationalizing the assets of Western companies pulling out of Russia and exhorted senior officials to “act decisively” to preserve jobs.

With Russia in danger of defaulting on its sovereign debt and facing a sharp contraction in its economy, the West is betting that the looming, generation-defining economic crisis could make Russians turn on their president. It is also possible, however, that the crisis could end up strengthening Mr. Putin, validating his narrative that the West is determined to destroy Russia.

Russian Leader Facing Generation-Defining Economic Crisis

“I have no doubt that these sanctions would have been implemented no matter what,” Mr. Putin said in televised remarks on Thursday, arguing that his intervention in Ukraine served merely as a pretext for the West to try to wreck Russia’s economy. “Just as we overcame these difficulties in years past, we will overcome them now, too.”

But the sanctions imposed in the two weeks since the invasion — combined with multinational companies that employ tens of thousands of Russians voluntarily deciding to withdraw amid the



GRIEF IN KYIV Yelena Lavinska, 22, on Thursday mourning the loss of her fiancé, Mikhaïlo Pristupa, a Ukrainian soldier killed last weekend fighting Russian forces near the embattled suburb of Irpin.

Baseball and Union Reach Deal,
Reviving a Happy Cry: Play Ball!

By JAMES WAGNER

It took 99 days of a contentious lockout, but baseball is back.

An agreement reached Thursday by Major League Baseball’s club owners and its players’ union after months of heated negotiations will allow for a full season, with opening day scheduled for April 7.

The five-year collective bargaining agreement will increase pay for young players and better incentivize teams to compete, among other provisions. Over the last two days, the deal was nearly derailed by a disagreement over creating a draft system for players overseas, but a compromise was struck that will be finalized later.

“Being back on the field is exciting for owners, players, fans as

Despite All That Gerrymandering, Potential for a Balanced Map

By NATE COHN

For years, America’s congressional map favored Republicans over Democrats.

But that may not remain the case for long.

In a departure from a decades-long pattern in American politics, this year’s national congressional map is poised to be balanced between the two parties, with a nearly equal number of districts that are expected to lean Democratic and Republican for the first time in more than 50 years.

Despite the persistence of partisan gerrymandering, between 216 and 219 congressional districts, out of the 435 nationwide, appear likely to tilt toward the Democrats, according to a New York Times analysis based on recent presidential election results. An identical 216 to 219 districts appear likely to tilt toward Republicans, if the maps enacted so far withstand legal challenges. To reach a majority, a party needs to secure 218 districts.

Defies Expectations of G.O.P. Advantage

The surprisingly fair map defies the expectations of many analysts, who had believed that the Republicans would use the redistricting process to build an overwhelming structural advantage in the House, as they did a decade ago.

As recently as a few months ago, it had seemed likely that Republicans could flip the six seats they needed to retake the House through redistricting alone. Instead, the number of Republican-tilting districts that voted for Donald J. Trump at a higher rate than the nation is poised to decline significantly, from 228 to a figure that could amount to fewer than the 218 seats needed for a majority.

Democrats could claim their first such advantage since the 1960s, when the Supreme Court’s



RUSSIA WIDENS ATTACKS ON UKRAINIAN CITIES



A funeral for Dmytro Kabakov, a Ukrainian soldier, in Lviv on Friday. The resistance by Ukraine’s forces has slowed Russia’s advance.

Repeating a Long-Slog Strategy
Used in Syria and Chechnya

This article is by **Michael Levenson, Eric Schmitt and Neil MacFarquhar.**

The Russian military struck Ukrainian cities far from the main battle lines on Friday, pressing its strategy of bombing Ukraine into submission as the country plunged deeper into misery and privation more than two weeks into the war.

President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia has demonstrated in past conflicts in Syria and Chechnya a willingness not only to bomb heavily populated areas indiscriminately but also to use civilian casualties as leverage against his enemies.

On Friday, evidence mounted that the Russian military was doing exactly that in Ukraine. A shoe factory, a psychiatric hospital and an apartment building were among the latest civilian targets hit by Russian forces, Ukrainian officials said.

Apart from the brutality of such an approach, analysts said it may reflect the mounting challenges that Russia faces, as Mr. Putin’s goal of a swift, decisive victory has been slowed by logistical problems and resistance by the smaller but highly motivated Ukrainian military.

Citing Russia’s second war with

Chechnya and its assault on the capital, Grozny, beginning in 1999, military experts raised doubts that Russia could prevail in Ukraine relying solely on a strategy of pulverizing cities and pummeling civilians.

“Grozny was the elusive target,” said Paul Stronski, a senior fellow with the Russia and Eurasia program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. “They were able to carpet bomb Grozny and destroy the city, but the insurgency continued.” It ended 10 bloody years later.

Moving to exact a heavier economic toll in response to the assault, President Biden on Friday said the United States would join the European Union and other allies in stripping Russia of permanent normal trade relations and would take steps to bar it from borrowing money from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

“Putin must pay the price,” Mr. Biden said, calling him an “aggressor.”

Mr. Biden said he also planned to ban certain imports from Russia, including seafood, vodka and nonindustrial diamonds, as well as American exports of luxury

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Putin Oligarch Finds Himself
Pariah in West’s Playgrounds

This article is by **David D. Kirkpatrick, Isabel Kershner, Rory Smith and Tariq Panja.**

As Russian troops massed near the border with Ukraine last month, the American ambassador to Israel received an appeal on behalf of Roman Abramovich, the most visible of the billionaires linked to President Vladimir V. Putin.

Leaders of cultural, educational and medical institutions, along with a chief rabbi, had sent a letter urging the United States not to impose sanctions on the Russian, a major donor, saying it would hurt Israel and the Jewish world. Days later, Mr. Abramovich and Yad Vashem, the Holocaust memorial, announced a partnership that a spokesman for the organization said included a pledge of at least \$10 million.

The request to the diplomat reflects the extraordinary effort Mr. Abramovich, 55, has made over the last two decades to parlay his Russian fortune into elite stand-

The Sanctions Pile Up
and Good Will Fades
for Abramovich

ing in the West — buying London’s Chelsea soccer team, acquiring luxury homes in New York, London, Tel Aviv, St. Barts and Aspen, collecting modern masterworks and contributing to arts institutions around the world. With two superyachts, multiple Ferrari, Porsche and Aston Martin sports cars, and a private 787 Boeing Dreamliner jet, Mr. Abramovich wanted everyone to know that he had arrived.

But now the backlash against the Russian invasion of Ukraine is tarnishing the status that Mr. Abramovich and other oligarchs have spent so much to reach. On Thursday, British authorities added him to an ever-expanding list of Russians under sanctions for

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Biden Moves to Further Isolate
Russia From the World Economy

By **ANA SWANSON**

WASHINGTON — President Biden and other Western leaders moved on Friday to further isolate Russia from the global trading system, saying they would strip the country of normal trade relations and take other steps to sever its links to the world economy in response to President Vladimir V. Putin’s invasion of Ukraine.

The measures, which were announced jointly with the European Union and other Group of 7 countries, would allow countries to impose higher tariffs on Russian goods and would prevent Russia from borrowing funds from multilateral institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Mr. Biden also moved to cut off additional avenues of trade between the United States and Russia, banning lucrative imports like seafood, vodka and certain diamonds, which the White House estimated would cost Russia more than \$1 billion in export revenues

Joining Allies to Stanch
Flow of Goods Like
Seafood and Vodka

per year.

The United States will also restrict exports to Russia and Belarus of luxury items like high-end watches, vehicles, alcohol, jewelry and apparel. The European Union announced its own set of bans, including banning imports of Russian iron and steel.

The restrictions add to a list of barriers that much of the developed world has put in place on Russia, whose economy is already suffering as a result. The ruble has lost nearly half its value over the past month, food prices are soaring and Russia is in danger of defaulting on its sovereign debt. Its stock market has remained closed since the war began.

Mr. Biden said on Friday the

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Tanks Rumble Toward Kyiv
But Fight Shows Their Limits

By **ANDREW E. KRAMER**

BROVARY, Ukraine — The column of Russian tanks rumbled along a main highway to the east of Kyiv, between two rows of houses in a small town — a vulnerable target.

Soon, Ukrainian forces were sending artillery shells raining down on the Russian convoy, while soldiers ambushed them with anti-tank missiles, leaving a line of charred, burning tanks.

Brovary is just 8 miles from downtown Kyiv, and the skirmish on the M01 Highway on Wednesday illustrated how close Russian forces have come as they continue to tighten a noose on the nation’s capital — the biggest prize of all in the war. The Russians continued on Friday to try to close in on Kyiv, with combat to the northwest and east that consisted mostly of fierce, seesaw battles for control of small towns and roads.

But the attack by Ukrainian troops in Brovary also cast into sharp relief the strategic chal-

Trying to Stop Convoy
as It Advances on
Nation’s Capital

lenges — and, military analysts say, the strategic missteps — that have bedeviled Russian forces and prevented them, so far, from gaining control of most major cities.

Though Russian forces greatly outnumber the Ukrainian army and have far superior weaponry, their size and their need to mostly use open roads make them less mobile and susceptible to attack from Ukrainian troops that can launch artillery strikes from several miles away, in tandem with surgical ambushes.

“Urban combat is always difficult, and I don’t think the Russians are any better at it than others,” said Tor Bukkvol, a senior research fellow at the Norwegian

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILE DUCKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Running to, or Away From, the Front Lines by Rail

Europe’s train system, once again pressed into service during wartime, is delivering volunteer soldiers and rescuers into Ukraine, bringing desperate families out, and dropping off much-needed humanitarian aid. “I’m afraid, everyone is afraid,” said a former soldier heading home to central Ukraine. “Fear is all around us.” Page A8.

Sewers or Stadiums? A Clash Over Covid Aid.

By **DEBORAH B. SOLOMON**

Last June, a meeting of the Dutchess County Legislature in New York’s Hudson Valley quickly turned heated over how to spend some of the county’s \$57 million in federal pandemic relief aid.

For more than two hours, residents and Democratic lawmakers implored the Republican majority to address longstanding problems that the pandemic had exacerbated.

Fierce Fights Over How
to Spend Millions

ed. They cited opioid abuse, poverty and food insecurity. Some pointed to decrepit sewer systems and inadequate high-speed internet. Democrats offered up amendments directing funds to addiction recovery and mental health services.

In the end, the Legislature rebuffed their appeals. It voted 15 to 10 to devote \$12.5 million to renovate a minor-league baseball stadium that’s home to the Hudson Valley Renegades, a Yankees affiliate.

“Who created this plan? Some legislators?” asked Carole Pickering, a Hyde Park resident. “These funds were intended to rescue our citizens to the extent possible, not to upgrade a baseball field.”

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Texas Court Ends Challenge to Ban on Abortion

By **KATE ZERNIKE and ADAM LIPTAK**

The Texas Supreme Court on Friday effectively shut down a federal challenge to the state’s novel and controversial ban on abortion after about six weeks of pregnancy, closing off what abortion rights advocates said was their last, narrow path to blocking the new law.

The decision was the latest in a line of blows to the constitutional

Similar Laws Foreseen
in Other States

right to abortion that has prevailed for five decades.

The Texas law, which several states are attempting to copy, puts enforcement in the hands of civilians. It offers the prospect of \$10,000 rewards for successful lawsuits against anyone — from

an Uber driver to a doctor — who “aids or abets” a woman who gets an abortion once fetal cardiac activity can be detected.

It is the most restrictive abortion law in the nation, and flies in the face of the Supreme Court’s landmark 1973 decision in Roe v. Wade.

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POLICY PAUSE A Texas court halts abuse inquiries into parents of transgender children. PAGE A16



U.S. WILL SEND MORE ARMS, DEFYING MOSCOW

‘New Era’ as U.S.
Rethinks Allies
and Rivals

By MICHAEL CROWLEY
and EDWARD WONG

WASHINGTON — The war in Ukraine has prompted the biggest rethinking of American foreign policy since the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, infusing the United States with a new sense of mission and changing its strategic calculus with allies and adversaries alike.

The Russian invasion has bonded America to Europe more tightly than at any time since the Cold War and deepened U.S. ties with Asian allies, while forcing a reassessment of rivals like China, Iran and Venezuela.

And it has re-energized Washington’s leadership role in the democratic world just months after the chaotic U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan ended 20 years of conflict on a dismal note.

But the new focus on Russia will come with hard choices and internal contradictions, similar to ones that defined U.S. diplomacy during the Cold War, when America sometimes overlooked human rights abuses and propped up dictators in the name of the struggle against communism.

“It feels like we’re definitively in a new era,” said Benjamin J. Rhodes, a former deputy national security adviser in the Obama White House. “The post-9/11 war on terror period of American hubris, and decline, is now behind us. And we’re not sure what’s next.”

The attack by President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia on his neighbor has become a prism through which nearly all American foreign policy decisions will be cast for the foreseeable future, experts and officials said.

In recent weeks, Western officials have spoken in terms that often echo the grand declarations that followed the 2001 terrorist attacks. On Friday, President Biden said that “the free world is coming together” to stand up to Mr. Putin — a phrase reminiscent of President George W. Bush’s talk of how “the entire free world” was at war against terrorism.

In the near term, Russia’s aggression is sure to invigorate Mr. Biden’s global fight for democracy against autocracies like Moscow, making vivid the threats to fledgling democracies like Ukraine. Yet three increasingly authoritarian NATO nations — Poland, Hungary and Turkey — play key roles in the coalition aiding Kyiv. And the United States is grappling with internal assaults to its own democracy.

The war lends urgency to Mr. Biden’s climate change agenda, reinforcing the need for more reliance on renewable clean energy over the fossil fuels that fill Russian coffers. Yet it has already generated new pressure to increase the short-term supply of oil from the likes of Venezuela’s isolated dictatorship and Saudi Arabia’s authoritarian monarchy.

And it creates a powerful new incentive for the United States to

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LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Smoke billowed from a frozen foods warehouse struck by artillery on Saturday in Brovary, Ukraine, a city just east of the capital.

Once a Refuge,
Ukraine’s West
Tastes Violence

By VALERIE HOPKINS

LUTSK, Ukraine — Men in camouflage, hardened by battle, sniffled as a Ukrainian Orthodox choir sang the haunting funeral Mass. One man put his arm around another as tears welled in his eyes.

“The glory and freedom of Ukraine has not yet perished,” said the priest during the funeral rites on Saturday for two of the four soldiers who died when the city’s military airfield was bombed before dawn on Friday.

“For 30 years, we were singing these words and saying we would suffer for our freedom, but we could not have imagined these words would become our reality, that we would have to send our sons to defend us against our neighbors,” the priest, Father Mykhail, said.

The Russian invasion of Ukraine is now in its third week. With the four deaths at the airfield, it arrived in Lutsk, a provincial capital only 55 miles from Poland. It was a rare attack in the west by a Russian military that has focused primarily on the south, the north and around Ukraine’s capital, Kyiv.

For weeks, western Ukraine has been a haven for millions of Ukrainians who have fled battle zones, as well as businessmen, journalists, diplomats and others.

But with bombings early Friday in

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Limbo for 19 Surrogate Babies in Kyiv Basement

By ANDREW E. KRAMER
and MARIA VARENIKOVA

KYIV, Ukraine — Down a dusty stairwell, hidden from the shelling that has become the grim background noise of Ukraine’s capital, Ludmila Yashenko fusses with the babies. There are 19 of them, sleeping or cooing in neatly arranged cribs, fed regularly from tubs of baby formula.

The kitchen has a sterilizer for bottles, while the nursery has a changing station stocked with diapers. Ms. Yashenko and other nannies

bounce the babies on their laps and straighten their bibs, even as they watch television, wide-eyed, to learn the latest news from the war.

Death and destruction are rampant in Ukraine, but in this basement there is new life, if also new problems.

The babies were born to surrogate mothers, with their biological parents still outside the country. Because of the war, the citizenship of the newborns is unclear, as is the question of who their legal guardians are, since under Ukrainian law their biological par-

ents must be present to confirm their nationality.

There is also the question of how, or if, they can possibly be taken to safety.

Elsewhere, expectant surrogate mothers are trapped by the fighting. Couples abroad have no idea how they will pick up their babies. One agent who connects would-be parents with Ukrainian women made a dash out of Kyiv with two of her clients’ newborns.

In the Kyiv basement, Ms. Yashenko and the other nannies are caring for the babies, even as

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LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The citizenship of the babies is unclear and it is uncertain how, or if, they can be taken to safety.

Party Presses Biden to Hone Midterm Message

By JONATHAN MARTIN

WASHINGTON — After offering her customary lavish praise of President Biden, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi got to the business at hand at a White House meeting last month on the midterm elections.

Democrats, Ms. Pelosi told Mr.

Biden and a group of his aides, need a more succinct and consistent message. The speaker, who has long been fond of pithy, made-for-bumper-sticker mantras, offered a suggestion: Democrats Deliver.

What Ms. Pelosi did not fully detail that February evening was that some of her party’s most politically imperiled lawmakers

were revolting against Mr. Biden’s preferred slogan, “Build Back Better,” believing it had come to be a toxic phrase that only reminded voters of the party’s failure to pass its sweeping social policy bill. And what the president and his advisers did not tell the speaker was that they had already surveyed “Democrats Deliver” with voters

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Who Will Answer at the New 988 Crisis Hotline?

By STEVE EDER

The National Suicide Prevention Lifeline — the number posted on student identification cards, atop Google search results and in warning labels on television shows — is about to get a major reboot, casting it as the 911 for mental health.

With an infusion of federal money, the upgraded Lifeline starting in July will have its own three-digit number, 988, and operators who will not only counsel callers but eventually be equipped to dispatch specially trained responders. That will reduce interventions by armed law enforcement and reliance on emergency rooms — and ultimately keep peo-

ple alive, advocates say.

But there are growing concerns that the 24-hour hotline, already straining to meet demand, will not be able to deliver on the promises of the overhaul unless states supplement the federal money with significant funds for staffing, according to interviews and government reports.

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INTERNATIONAL 4-14

Outbreak in South Pacific

In New Caledonia, a surge in cases of the coronavirus is disproportionately hurting the French territory’s Indigenous population.

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METROPOLITAN

Vanishing Cultural Markers

In Manhattan’s Chinatown, the Chinese population is shrinking, and the bilingual street signs that have been around for decades are going away, too.

PAGE 6

ARTS & LEISURE

‘The Godfather’ Turns 50

A special package features an interview with Al Pacino, a look at how the movie became a kind of playbook for real wiseguys and much more.

SUNDAY BUSINESS

No One-Size-Fits-All Office

From casual banter to high heels, many workers don’t miss the traditional workplace. The pandemic offers a do-over. What might that look like?

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SUNDAY REVIEW

Daniela J. Lamas

PAGE 4



ACADEMY AWARD® NOMINEE
BEST ACTRESS
“Kristen Stewart’s
performance is a gift to cinema”
VARIETY

S P E N C E R



NEON
topic
Presents

MOSCOW HITS MILITARY BASE NEAR POLAND



A fighter captured an image of the attack Sunday on the International Peacekeeping and Security Center. Western troops had trained Ukrainians there since 2015.



Ukrainian soldiers carried the body of a comrade in Irpin. As Moscow continued its attacks on civilian areas, Ukraine’s leader continued to press for a no-fly zone.

Jitters as Battle Finds NATO’s Doorstep

This article is by Marc Santora, Jack Nicas and Eric Schmitt.

Lviv, Ukraine — Russia launched a barrage of airstrikes on Sunday against a military base in western Ukraine where American troops had trained Ukrainian forces just weeks earlier, bringing the war 11 miles from the border with Poland, where NATO forces are stationed on high alert.

Western officials said the attack at NATO’s doorstep was not merely a geographic expansion of the Russian invasion but a shift of tactics in a war many already worried might metastasize into a larger European conflict.

“He’s expanding the number of targets,” the U.S. national security adviser, Jake Sullivan, said of Russia’s president, Vladimir V. Putin, adding that “he’s trying to cause damage in every part of the country.”

In recent days, Russian forces have been broadening their air war right up to the border with Poland, said John Kirby, a Pentagon spokesman. Before Sunday’s attack, Russian missiles also struck airfields in Lutsk and Ivano-Frankovsk, cities in western Ukraine near the Polish border. The airport in Ivano-Frankovsk was struck again on Sunday, according to the city’s mayor.

Pentagon and NATO officials reiterated on Sunday that they did not intend to directly confront Russian forces in Ukraine. But they are sending military supplies, and Russia has warned that it regards those convoys as legitimate targets.

The military base that was hit, which is called the International Peacekeeping and Security Center, has been a hub for Western military troops to train Ukrainian forces since 2015. Troops from the United States, Britain, Canada, Poland, Sweden and Denmark have trained 35,000 Ukrainians there under a project called “Operation Unifier.”

But Western nations withdrew their forces ahead of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine. Since then, the base has been used by Ukraine to train and organize the thousands of foreigners who have arrived in the country and volunteered to help defend it.

The Russian missiles struck the base during the predawn hours Sunday.

“They hit us when we were sleeping,” said one of volunteer fighters, Jesper Söder, a Swede who had arrived at the base three days earlier. “We woke up to them bombing a building.”

At least 35 people were killed and 134 were wounded in the strikes, including both military personnel and civilians, according to Ukrainian officials. Russia’s Defense Ministry said it killed 180 foreign fighters in the strikes. Neither figure could be independently confirmed.

Two senior Pentagon officials said the U.S. military believes the sites in western Ukraine were

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AID REQUEST Russia has asked China for military and economic support, U.S. officials say. PAGE A6

DOCUMENTARIAN KILLED Brent Renaud, 50, was fatally shot while filming in Ukraine. PAGE A18



Officers in Moscow removing a demonstrator from a rally Sunday in Manezhnaya Square. To protest the war, Russians have fled their country by the thousands.



On the outskirts of Kyiv, a resident of Irpin explained how he jumped from a window in his home last week to flee an artillery strike. He sustained multiple burns.

How Far Will Putin Go? West Is Left Guessing.

By DAVID E. SANGER and ERIC SCHMITT

WASHINGTON — The United States accurately predicted the start of the war in Ukraine, sounding the alarm that an invasion was imminent despite Moscow’s denials and Europe’s skepticism. Predicting how it might end is proving far more difficult.

There are three separate back-channel efforts underway to start negotiations — by the leaders of France, Israel and Turkey; and, in a recent entree, the new chancellor of Germany. But so far, all have hit the stone wall of Russian Presi-

Fear That Conflict Goes Beyond Ukraine and Conventional Arms

dent Vladimir V. Putin’s refusal to engage in any serious negotiation. At the Pentagon, there are models of a slogging conflict that brings more needless death and destruction to a nascent European democracy, and others in which Mr. Putin settles for what some believe was his original objective: seizing a broad swath of the south and east, connecting Russia by

land to Crimea, which he annexed in 2014.

And there is a more terrifying endgame, in which NATO nations get sucked more directly into the conflict, by accident or design. That possibility became more vivid on Sunday, when Russian missiles landed in Ukraine’s western reaches, an area unscathed until now by the 18-day-old conflict, about a dozen miles from the Polish border. Russia declared over the weekend that continued efforts to funnel weapons through that region to the Ukrainian forces would make the convoys “legitimate targets,” a warning that just

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‘The Entire Sky Was in Flames’: Attack Spreads Pain and Fear

By VALERIE HOPKINS and YOUSUR AL-HLOU

NOVOYAVORIVSK, Ukraine — Hours after Russian missiles decimated a military base near the Polish border on Sunday, soldiers in camouflage were still being wheeled out of an overwhelmed nearby hospital on stretchers, many in so much pain they could only turn their heads to reveal eyes stricken with fear.

The soldiers, who were headed to larger hospitals with more capacity, were casualties in one of the worst attacks in the war thus far by Russian forces on the western region of Ukraine.

The base at Yavoriv, a strategic hub for military training, is roughly a dozen miles from the border with Poland, a member of the NATO alliance and the European Union. It was the closest Russian missiles had landed near NATO territory since Russia invaded Ukraine, deepening fears that the conflict could spread into a wider war.

“After us, comes Europe,” said Volodymyr Matseliukh, the mayor of the nearby town of Novoyavorivsk. “For as long as Russia is not punished, no one in Ukraine or in Europe is safe.”

With much of the fighting in recent weeks contained to Ukraine’s south, north and east, many have



THE NEW YORK TIMES

tried to escape the violence by traveling west to places like Novoyavorivsk, the town near the base, which until early Saturday morning had not been bombed since the first day of the war.

“People thought they were safe here because they are under NATO’s shelter, due to the proximity of the border,” said Volodymyr Lytvyn, a banker and former Ukrainian government minister who had come from the capital, Kyiv, to Novoyavorivsk, his hometown.

“Now people are really panicked,” he said. “They began looking for real shelters. They had this

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Russians Who Want to Be Anywhere but Russia

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI and PATRICK KINGSLEY

ISTANBUL — They lined up at A.T.M.s, desperate for cash after Visa and Mastercard suspended operations in Russia, swapping intelligence on where they could still get dollars. At Istanbul cafes, they sat quietly studying Telegram chats or Google Maps on their phones. They organized support groups to help other Russian exiles find housing.

Tens of thousands of Russians have fled to Istanbul since Russia invaded Ukraine last month, out-

Thousands Flee as Life Becomes Untenable

raged about what they see as a criminal war, worried about conscription or the possibility of a closed Russian border, or concerned that their livelihoods are no longer viable back home.

And they are just the tip of the iceberg. Tens of thousands more traveled to countries like Armenia, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan which are

better known as sources of migration to Russia. At the land border with Latvia — open only to those with European visas — travelers reported waits lasting hours.

While the exodus of about 2.7 million Ukrainians from their war-torn country has focused the world on a humanitarian crisis, the descent of Russia into new depths of authoritarianism has many Russians despairing of their future. That has created a flight — though much smaller than in Ukraine — that some are comparing to 1920, when more than

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A Family’s Fatal Crossing on America’s Desolate Northern Border

By MIRIAM JORDAN

PEMBINA, N.D. — The air temperature was pushing 20 below zero and howling winds were whipping up blinding snow one morning in January when U.S. Border Patrol agents in North Dakota spotted five human forms moving through the barren borderland where America and Canada meet.

They were migrants from India: listless, disoriented and determined to reach the United States along one of its most desolate frontiers. They had been trudging through knee- to waist-deep snow for 11 hours in whiteout conditions, and two had to be

rushed to a hospital.

But what felt like a heroic rescue quickly turned ominous when agents found among the migrants’ belongings a backpack with toys and diapers: A family with children, the migrants said, was still out there somewhere in the unforgiving blizzard. An urgent search, involving drones, a plane, all-terrain vehicles and agents on both sides of the border, led to the discovery several hours later of the ice-encased bodies of a family of four, lost in the snow just 15 yards short of the United States.

Jagdish Patel, 39, and his wife, Vaishali, 37, had been teachers in the Indian state of Gujarat until Covid-19 closed schools. With few

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Hundreds of migrants have been trying to cross through Canada.

In California, More Leave Grid As Solar Power Gets Cheaper

By IVAN PENN

NEVADA CITY, Calif. — In the Gold Rush, Northern California attracted prospectors looking for financial independence. Now, this area is at the vanguard of a new movement — people seeking to use only the energy they produce themselves.

Angry over blackouts, wildfires caused by utilities and rising electricity bills, a small but growing number of Californians in rural areas and in the suburbs of San Francisco are going off the grid. They can do so because of a stunning drop in the cost of solar pan-

els and batteries over the last decade. Some homeowners who have built new, off-grid homes say they have even saved money because their systems were cheaper than securing a new utility connection.

There have long been free spirits and survivalists who have lived off the grid. But the decline in solar and battery costs and growing frustrations with utilities appear to be laying the groundwork for more people to consider doing so.

Nobody is quite sure how many off-grid homes there are but local

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Despite Talks, Attacks Broaden and Devastation Mounts

Beijing Sees One Victor in War: It’s China

By STEVEN LEE MYERS and CHRIS BUCKLEY

The war in Ukraine is far from over, but a consensus is forming in Chinese policy circles that one country stands to emerge victorious from the turmoil: China.

After a confused initial response to Russia’s invasion, China has laid the building blocks of a strategy to shield itself from the worst economic and diplomatic consequences it could face, and to benefit from geopolitical shifts once the smoke clears.

China’s leader, Xi Jinping, has avoided criticizing President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, but he has also tried to distance China from the carnage. His government has denounced the international sanctions imposed on Russia but, so far at least, has hinted that Chinese companies may comply with them, to protect China’s economic interests in the West.

Mr. Xi reached out to European leaders last week with vague offers of assistance in negotiating a settlement, even as other Chinese officials amplified Russian disinformation campaigns meant to discredit the United States and NATO.

On Monday, President Biden’s national security adviser, Jake Sullivan, met with a top Chinese official in Rome, and warned that the United States had “deep concerns” about Beijing’s growing alignment with Russia.

In the end, China’s leadership has calculated that it must try to rise above what it considers a struggle between two tired powers and be seen as a pillar of stability in an increasingly turbulent world.

“This means that as long as we don’t commit terminal strategic blunders, China’s modernization will not be cut short, and on the contrary, China will have even greater ability and will to play a more important role in building a new international order,” Zheng Yongnian, a professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong,

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LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Residents of a shelled building in Kyiv, Ukraine, mourned their losses on Monday as Russian forces kept bombarding the city.

Hundreds Escape a Port City in Ukraine

By MARK LANDLER and DAVID E. SANGER

LONDON — Diplomatic activity quickened on multiple fronts Monday as Russia’s war on Ukraine entered an uncertain new phase, with President Vladimir V. Putin’s forces widening their bombardment of Kyiv and other cities, hundreds of civilians escaping the devastated port of Mariupol, and the United States warning China over its deepening alignment with an isolated Russia.

There were no breakthroughs, either at the negotiating tables or on the battlefield. But as the human cost of the war continued to mount, the flurry of developments suggested that people were groping for a way out of the crisis — or, failing that, for ways to prevent it from mutating into a wider proxy war.

In Rome, President Biden’s top national security aide, Jake Sullivan, met with a top Chinese foreign affairs official, Yang Jiechi, to try to peel away one of Mr. Putin’s few potential allies, after reports — denied by Moscow and Beijing — that Russia had sought military aid from China, and that Chinese leaders were open to such a request. Mr. Sullivan, a Biden administration official said, had expressed “deep concerns” about “China’s alignment at this time.”

Ukrainian and Russian officials held another round of direct negotiations, adjourning without signs of progress, though they agreed to meet again on Tuesday. The negotiations unfolded against a backdrop of thunderous Russian artillery strikes that led the secretary general of the United Nations, António Guterres, to declare that Ukraine was “being decimated before the eyes of the world.”

An uncharacteristically angry Mr. Guterres accused Russia of attacking 24 health facilities and leaving hundreds of thousands of people without water or electricity. Having once predicted there would be no war in Ukraine, he now warned there could be a calamitous cascade of world hunger and food inflation because Ukraine is one of the world’s foremost grain producers.

The impact on civilians, Mr. Guterres said, was “reaching terrifying proportions.”

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine plans to address the U.S. Congress on Wednesday in a virtual speech that could increase pressure on the Biden administration to send fighter jets to Kyiv.

In one of dozens of episodes of violence, a missile slammed into an apartment block in a once-quiet Kyiv neighborhood just after dawn on Monday, when many residents were asleep. They had become accustomed to the percussive noise of shelling after more than two weeks of Russian bombardment, but never thought their

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Two Refugees Cross Poland’s Border, and Enter Different Worlds

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN and MONIKA PRONCZUK

KUZNICA, Poland — On the day war broke out in Ukraine, Albagir, a 22-year-old refugee from Sudan, was lying on the frozen forest floor at the gateway to Poland, trying to stay alive.

Drones sent by the Polish border patrol were looking for him. So were helicopters. It was night, with subzero temperatures and snow everywhere. Albagir, a premed student, and a small band of African refugees were trying to sneak into Poland, down to the last few shriveled dates in their

pockets.

“We were losing hope,” he said. That same night in a small town near Odessa, Katya Maslova, 21, grabbed a suitcase and her tablet, which she uses for her animation work, and jumped with her family into a burgundy Toyota Rav 4. They rushed off in a four-car convoy with eight adults and five children, part of the frantic exodus of people trying to escape war-torn Ukraine.

“At that point, we didn’t know where we were going,” she said. Over the next two weeks, what would happen to these two refugees crossing into the same country at the same time, both about

Africans Endure Scorn Even as Ukrainians Are Embraced

the same age, could not stand in starker contrast. Albagir was punched in the face, called racial slurs and left in the hands of a border guard who, Albagir said, brutally beat him and seemed to enjoy doing it. Katya wakes up every day to a stocked fridge and fresh bread on the table, thanks to a man she calls a saint.

Their disparate experiences underscore the inequalities of Europe’s refugee crisis. They are victims of two very different geopolitical events, but are pursuing the same mission — escape from the ravages of war. As Ukraine presents Europe with its greatest surge of refugees in decades, many conflicts continue to burn in the Middle East and Africa. Depending on which war a person is fleeing, the welcome will be very different.

From the instant they cross into Poland, Ukrainian refugees like Ms. Maslova are treated to live pi-

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U.S. Boss Keeps 190 Pizza Shops Open in Russia

By JULIE CRESWELL

Papa John’s International said last week that it was suspending all of its corporate operations in Russia, following in the footsteps of other high-profile American brands like McDonald’s and Starbucks.

However, the 190 Papa John’s restaurants in the country are still open and selling pizzas. And they have no plans to stop.

These Papa John’s shops are primarily owned by Russians through a franchise agreement with a company controlled by Christopher Wynne, a Colorado native who has lived part time and worked in the country since the early 2000s. And even as the war with Ukraine continues and numerous global food brands and retailers suspend operations and stop selling goods in Russia, little has changed with his operation, said Mr. Wynne, 45.

“The best thing I can do as an individual is show compassion for the people, my employees, franchisees and customers without judging them because of the politicians in power,” he said.

On the day in late February when Russia recognized two Ukraine provinces as independent, Mr. Wynne said, an anxiety blanketed the country since many Russians have friends and family

Continued on Page A12



Katya Maslova, 21, standing at left, with her family in Ulez, Poland, where they are being hosted after fleeing their hometown outside Odessa, Ukraine. Right, Albagir, a 22-year-old Sudanese man, with another refugee in the forest along the Poland-Belarus border.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Document Reveals Jan. 6 Plan To Storm Other D.C. Buildings

By ALAN FEUER

A document found by federal prosecutors in the possession of a far-right leader contained a detailed plan to surveil and storm government buildings around the Capitol on Jan. 6 last year, people familiar with the document said on Monday.

The document, titled “1776 Returns,” was cited by prosecutors last week in charging the far-right leader, Enrique Tarrio, the former head of the Proud Boys extremist group, with conspiracy. The indictment of Mr. Tarrio described the document in general terms,

A Project for Green Jobs Meets Local Opposition

By DAVID GELLES

It is billed as the largest economic development project in the history of Georgia, an electric vehicle factory that could grow to be five times as large as the Pentagon and produce as many as 400,000 emissions-free trucks a year.

The factory, to be built by the upstart electric automaker Rivian, is being heralded by many as a transformational \$5 billion investment that will invigorate the local economy with 7,500 new green jobs and help accelerate the transition away from fossil fuels and toward clean energy.

It has also created an unlikely pairing, uniting Rivian, a California company committed to combating climate change, and Gov. Brian Kemp, a Republican, in a bid to bring electric vehicle production into an area where gas-guzzling pickups rule the road.

But in recent months, the project has gotten tangled in the kind of partisan politics that is pulsing through many aspects of American life. Opponents have been holding rallies, organizing online, dabbling in conspiracy

theories and even threatening local officials.

And beyond the political disputes, the debate over the factory is emblematic of broader tensions bedeviling the environmental movement, with the need to build new emissions-free infrastructure colliding with the age-old impulse to preserve unspoiled lands.

“This is a story that’s playing out with solar facilities, wind farms and transmission lines for renewable energy all across the country,” said Michael Burger, executive director of the Sabin Center for Climate Change Law at Columbia University. “It’s always going to be a case-by-case

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INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Alone at Angkor Wat

Cambodia has been open to foreign tourists for months, but in this time of Covid, few have made the trip. PAGE A4

Plant Trees, Cautiously

Reforestation can fight climate change and restore biodiversity. But when done badly, it can speed extinctions. PAGE A7

BUSINESS B1-6

Opposition to Fed Nominee

Senator Joe Manchin III said he would not support Sarah Bloom Raskin as the central bank’s vice chair for supervision, putting her path in peril. PAGE B3

California’s Privacy Police

A state agency has a \$10 million budget to regulate Google, Facebook and others. But first it must be created. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-6

Juilliard Leader Keeps Post

The school’s president, Damian Woetzel, had resisted an effort to push him out following a bad evaluation. PAGE C1



NATIONAL A13-18, 22

A Capital and a Capitol Stir

City leaders are trying to revive downtown Albany, N.Y., after the pandemic shut the state government. PAGE A13

Homeless Rattled by Attacks

Authorities believe a single gunman shot five men sleeping on the street in New York and Washington. PAGE A18

SPORTS B7-10

Used to Starting at the Bottom

Texas Southern and Norfolk State, like almost all teams from historically Black universities that have made the men’s N.C.A.A. basketball tournament, are seeded 16th. PAGE B7

One, Two, Three, Hike

Tom Brady, who retired and rejoined the Bucs, will be a major story line at quarterback along with Aaron Rodgers of the Packers and Russell Wilson, now with the Broncos. PAGE B10

OPINION A20-21

Paul Krugman PAGE A21



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Africa’s Shaky Vaccine Effort

Supplies are more plentiful now but they are an unpredictable jumble of brands. Many places can’t meet recommended dosing schedules. PAGE D1



Three Defiant European Leaders Visit a Kyiv in Flames



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The aftermath of a Russian attack last week in Mykolaiv, Ukraine. President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine is scheduled to speak to Congress via video on Wednesday.

Europe Braces For High Costs Of Refugee Aid

By PATRICIA COHEN

Nearly everyone who crossed the Danube on the open-air ferry from Ukraine and landed in the frostbitten Romanian port city of Isaccea on a recent morning had a roller bag and a stopgap plan. One woman planned to join her husband in Istanbul. Another was headed to Munich, where her company has its headquarters. Others were meeting brothers, cousins, in-laws and friends in Paris or Sofia, Madrid or Amsterdam.

And then, they hoped to go back to Ukraine.

“I need to return,” said Lisa Slavachevskaya, who traveled with her 10-year-old son and 5-year-old daughter from Odessa. “My husband, my mother and my grandmother are there.” She said she planned to go home in a month.

Whether such quick turnabouts are possible is one of the many uncertainties hanging over Europe’s fastest-growing refugee crisis since World War II. No matter how the catastrophe in Ukraine ends, the costs of helping the millions of Ukrainians fleeing Russian bombs will be staggering. Some early estimates put the bill for housing, transporting, feeding and processing the flood of humanity at \$30 billion in the first year alone.

“This is a humanitarian and medical emergency in the next weeks,” said Giovanni Peri, director of the Global Migration Center

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Standing in Russia’s Way as the Bodies Pile Up and Life Goes On

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ

MYKOLAIV, Ukraine — Alla Ryabko stood in the courtyard of the city morgue, trembling with grief and rage. Her son, Capt. Roman Ryabko, had been killed in fighting on the first day of the war in Ukraine, but two weeks had passed and his body had not yet been prepared for burial.

“He’s there lying in a bag,” she said, gesturing to the covered bodies on the ground. “They’re not even giving him to me so that I can wash him. I have to take him away in a bag, a garbage bag.”

The morgue is overflowing. Bodies are being released to families in the state they arrived, half-dressed in shredded military uniforms, spackled with blood and blackened by fire. Bodies are in

the corridor, in the administrative offices, in the courtyard, in a storage shed nearby. They are soldiers and civilians, wrapped in sheets or carpets or nothing at all.

Even as Ms. Ryabko cried out her anguish, artillery strikes shook the ground beneath her feet. There were already 132 bodies in the morgue that day. More would be on the way.

There is shelling every day in Mykolaiv. It usually starts before dawn, as a rumble or a thud or a thwack. It electrifies the air and sends a jolt through the gut, and those who choose to stay in bed, rather than flee to a basement, can shut their eyes and let their ears paint a picture of the battle raging in the dark.

Russian forces want to take Mykolaiv because it stands in their way. The Varvarivsky

A City That Awakens to Bombs Maintains Its Routines

Bridge in the city is the only passage for miles across the wide mouth of the Southern Buh River. By seizing the bridge, Russian fighters can push along the Black Sea coast west to Odessa, the headquarters of the Ukrainian Navy and the country’s largest civilian port.

To get to the bridge, they have to go through the Ukrainian fighters who so far have not budged. And so the Russian troops bomb, randomly and indiscriminately, striking neighborhoods, hospitals

and supermarkets, opting for terror in the absence of military gain. At least a dozen civilians were killed by airstrikes over the weekend, according to the local authorities.

Yet there is also a refusal to succumb. Trash is still being collected, and city workers have embarked on an aggressive tree-pruning campaign, though the shelling is knocking down some of those trees.

There is the family who closed down a high-end interior design business and now drives around the city all day delivering food to needy residents, pausing only on occasion to dash into a basement for cover.

There is the group of local guys who banded together to try to fix a

Continued on Page A12



Alla Ryabko trying to find her son, who died in battle, at the morgue in Mykolaiv.



Citizens tried to start a damaged Russian tank so Ukrainian forces could take it.

Pfizer Is Seeking a 2nd Booster for Older Adults

By SHARON LaFRANIERE

WASHINGTON — Pfizer and BioNTech said on Tuesday that they had sought emergency authorization for a second booster shot of their coronavirus vaccine for adults 65 and older.

The companies’ request to the Food and Drug Administration was based heavily on data from Israel, where such shots are authorized for a somewhat broader group. Their move could further inflame a tortuous debate among

Experts Still Clash Over Benefit of Extra Shot

scientists over when and how the vaccines’ protection should be bolstered, and for whom.

Pfizer’s chief executive, Dr. Albert Bourla, said repeatedly over the past week that he believed an additional dose would be necessary to counteract waning protection after the third dose, now au-

thorized for all Americans 12 and older.

“The protection that you are getting from the third, it is good enough, actually quite good for hospitalizations and deaths,” he told CBS’s “Face the Nation” on Sunday. “It’s not that good against infections.”

Previous requests last fall for a booster shot set off a fierce public debate. Some public health experts vigorously opposed a third dose for the general population

Continued on Page A18

California Cannabis Sellers Face a Bleak Reality

By MICHAEL CORKERY

OAKLAND, Calif. — Across from where the Athletics play baseball sits a two-story concrete building painted bright orange and white. It is home to a cannabis dispensary called Blunts and Moore.

A pair of inflatable “tube guys” flap crazily on the roof, beckoning customers with their windblown gyrations. A food truck sells tacos in the parking lot under a bright California sun.

Thefts and High Taxes Stymie Businesses

But there are signs that all is not well here. Bullet holes etched by an assault rifle dot the entrance. Three security guards, dressed in military fatigues, screen customers as they pass through a metal detector. One of the guards, a former infantryman, wears a camouflage Kevlar vest and mir-

rored sunglasses. A 9-millimeter pistol and 50 rounds of ammunition are strapped to his waist.

“It’s crazy to think we need all this war stuff to protect our business,” said the store’s owner, Alphonso Blunt, who is known as Tucky. “But that’s where we are today.”

In May 2020, Blunts and Moore was ransacked by thieves with automatic weapons, incurring losses of nearly \$1 million, much of which insurance would not cover. The

Continued on Page A17



Zelensky Presses Congress to Help as Russia Pounds Cities



President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, addressing Congress on Wednesday, likened Russia’s war to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

A Divided America Is Uniting
To Support a Besieged Ukraine

This article is by Audra D. S. Burch, Jennifer Medina, Jazmine Ulloa and Maya King.

After two years of political divisions and economic disruptions bolstered by an unending pandemic, many Americans say they are coming together around a common cause: support for Ukraine, a country under daily siege by Russian forces.

The rare moment of solidarity is driven, in part, by the perception of America as a steadfast global defender of freedom and democracy. Many Americans say they see a lopsided fight pitting a great power against a weaker neighbor. They see relentless images of dead families and collapsed cities. They see Ukraine’s president pleading for help.

In polls and interviews since the attack, Americans across the

Opinions Diverge Over What Action to Take

political spectrum said the nation had a duty to respond to President Vladimir V. Putin’s brazen invasion — even if that means feeling, at least in the short term, the pinch of high gas prices and inflation.

“I understand we want to stay out of it, but what’s happening is worse than anyone could imagine. We can do without gas when there are children there being killed,” said Danna Bone, a 65-year-old retiree in McMinnville, Ore., and a Republican. “It’s horrific what’s happening there, and we need to be doing our part. I would like to see them doing more. What that

Continued on Page A10

After Ex-Judo Partner of Putin’s
Faced Sanctions, He Got Richer

By MATT APUZZO and JANE BRADLEY

The first time the United States government slapped his family with sanctions and locked him out of the American financial system, Arkady Rotenberg waited about eight weeks, investigators say, before buying a \$7.5 million painting in New York City.

That was in 2014, after Russia annexed Crimea, and since then the sanctions have hardly slowed down Mr. Rotenberg, a lifelong friend and former judo partner of the Russian president, Vladimir V. Putin. His estimated worth sits at about \$3 billion, and his brother, Boris, became a billionaire after sanctions were imposed on him. Investigators have tracked at least \$91 million passing into the American economy from accounts linked to the Rotenberg family.

Squeezing Russian Elite Has Been Ineffective

Today, as Mr. Putin’s soldiers lay siege to neighboring Ukraine, world leaders have responded by strangling the Russian economy. Major Russian banks have been cut off from the global financial system, the government faces default, and many multinationals are closing their Russian operations.

And a new raft of European and American sanctions has been announced, against Mr. Putin himself, as well as those considered close to him, including Boris Rotenberg and Arkady Rotenberg’s son, Igor. The logic now is the same as it was in 2014:

Continued on Page A15

After a Battering,
Ukraine Seeks
Momentum

This article is by Michael Schwartz, Valerie Hopkins and Carlotta Gall.

ODESSA, Ukraine — Ukrainian forces carried out counteroffensives against Russian positions on Wednesday, seeking to inflict what one official called “maximum losses,” even as the invading Russian military stepped up its lethal attacks on cities.

In Mariupol, an airstrike destroyed a theater where about 1,000 people had taken shelter, according to city and regional administrators, and photos and videos posted online showed the burning wreckage of the building.

Officials in Mariupol, the besieged southern city that has suffered the most intense bombardment, said they could not yet estimate the number of casualties among civilians, who might have been in a bomb shelter beneath the theater. The strike came as 11,000 residents evacuated the city on Wednesday, according to its City Council.

In a video address to Ukrainians early Thursday, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine called for more sanctions against Russia and said it was a “terrorist state.”

“Our hearts are broken by what Russia is doing to our people,” he said, “to our Mariupol.”

After falling back under a relentless pounding over the war’s first weeks, Ukrainian troops tried to gain some momentum with counterattacks on Russian positions outside of Kyiv and in the Russian-occupied city of Kherson, in Ukraine’s south, a senior Ukrainian military official said.

Rather than seek to regain lost territory, Ukrainian forces tried to cause as much destruction and death as possible, attacking Russian troops and equipment with tanks, fighter jets and artillery, the official said, speaking on condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive military information.

“In the task of inflicting maximum losses, we’ve done excellently,” the official said.

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THEATER ATTACKED Mariupol officials say the building sheltered hundreds of civilians. PAGE A9

Biden Announces
\$800 Million in
Added Aid

By CATIE EDMONDSON and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine invoked the memory of America’s darkest days on Wednesday as he pleaded for more military aid to combat Russia’s “inhumane destruction” of his country, directly challenging President Biden and members of Congress to help by showing a wrenching video of the carnage in Ukraine’s cities.

Appearing before Congress by video link from Kyiv, Mr. Zelensky likened Russia’s three-week onslaught in Ukraine to Japan’s World War II air assault on Pearl Harbor, when “your sky was black from the planes attacking you,” and to Sept. 11, when “innocent people were attacked, attacked from the air.” Dressed in an olive green T-shirt and seated next to a Ukrainian flag, he urged the United States and its allies to fulfill a moral duty by imposing a no-fly zone over his country to prevent Russian attacks from the air.

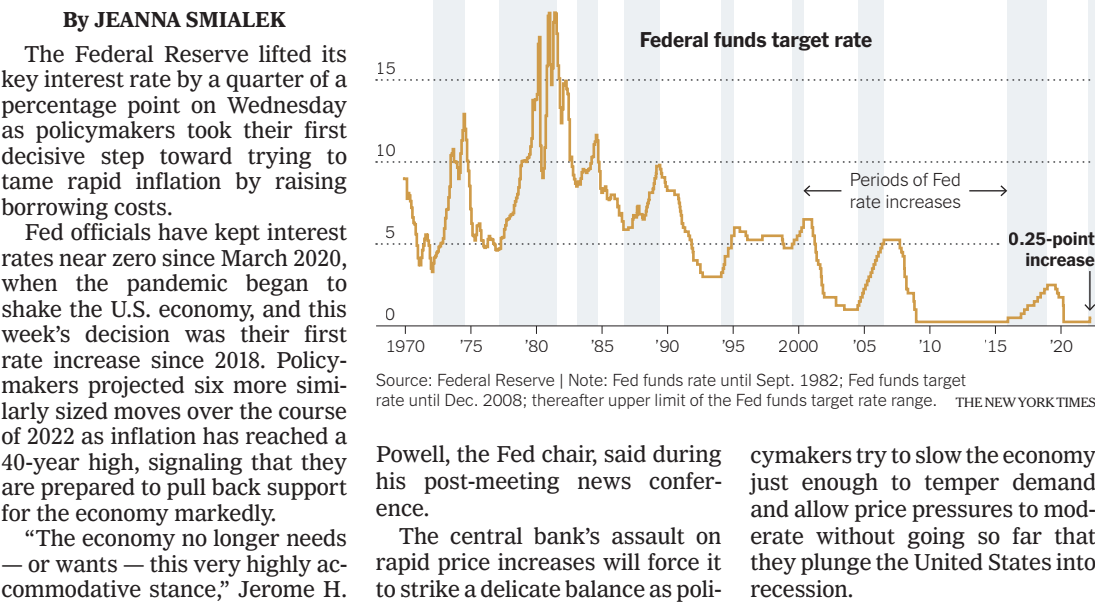
“I call on you to do more,” Mr. Zelensky said, describing the conflict raging in Ukraine as an assault on the world’s civilized nations. Speaking directly to Mr. Biden, he added: “I wish you to be the leader of the world. Being the leader of the world means to be the leader of peace.”

The appeal and the explicit video of people wounded and killed by Russian attacks left some lawmakers in tears and brought members in both parties to their feet in lengthy standing ovations for the wartime leader. In his own remarks a few hours later, Mr. Biden praised Mr. Zelensky for demonstrating “remarkable courage and strength in the face of brutal aggression” and announced that the United States would soon deliver \$800 million worth of anti-aircraft and anti-armor missiles, grenades, rifles, body armor and more.

Mr. Zelensky’s appeals in recent weeks, capped by his emotional speech on Wednesday, have helped spur bipartisan action from Mr. Biden and members of Congress, including a nearly \$14 billion aid package that includes help for refugees, economic assistance and billions of dollars in military aid. Mr. Biden signed that

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Fed Raises Interest Rates in Initial Step Toward Taming Inflation



First Increase in 4 Years,
With More Predicted

Mr. Powell said that, in his view, “the probability of a recession within the next year is not particularly elevated,” and that “all signs are that this is a strong economy and, indeed, one that will be able to flourish” with less policy help.

“The economy, we think, can handle interest rate increases,” he said.

In spite of the forecast for higher rates, stocks rose 2.2 percent on Wednesday, a possible signal that investors took heart in Mr. Powell’s insistence that the economy was strong enough to with-

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Jackson’s Record as Defender
Likely to Be Target of Senators

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Senator Josh Hawley had a pointed question this month for a federal appeals court nominee who, as a public defender, helped get a man off death row despite a conviction for two murders.

“Do you regret trying to prevent this individual who committed these heinous crimes from having justice served upon him?” asked Mr. Hawley, Republican of Missouri, as he grilled Arianna Freeman, President Biden’s pick for a seat on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit.

Last month, Senator Tom Cotton, Republican of Arkansas, asked Nina Morrison, a nominee

G.O.P. May Try to Tie Nominee to Clients

for a Federal District Court seat in New York, whether she was “proud that you encourage such defiance in convicted murderers” when a man she represented declared to the prison warden that he would not be executed. Senator Ted Cruz, Republican of Texas, told Ms. Freeman she had “devoted your entire professional career to representing murderers, to representing rapists, representing child molesters.”

Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson, Continued on Page A19



INTERNATIONAL A4-16

Powerful Quake Rocks Japan

An undersea earthquake near the Fukushima region rekindled memories of the horrific tsunami and nuclear disaster 11 years ago. PAGE A16

Clues to Possible War Crimes

Two suspected mass graves are believed to hold the bodies of thousands of Syrians killed in government detention during the 11-year civil war. PAGE A4

BUSINESS B1-8

Shake-Up at Starbucks

Kevin Johnson, who was named chief executive in 2017, will retire on April 4. Howard Schultz, a familiar face since the 1980s, will step back into the role as a unionization battle rages. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A17-21, 24

The Hunt for Shipping Hubs

An e-commerce boom is putting a premium on warehouse space, and that is transforming New York neighborhoods, home to the largest concentration of online shoppers in the country. PAGE A17

Biden’s Son Pays a Tax Bill

Hunter Biden retired a significant liability, even as a grand jury continues a broad investigation of his international business dealings. PAGE A20

SPORTS B9-13

N.C.A.A. Tournament: Day 1

There will be games from midday to midnight, with would-be Cinderellas and maybe a buzzer-beater or two. We give you a few things to watch. PAGE B11



ARTS C1-8

How ‘Dune’ Got Its Crackle

The director Denis Villeneuve explains how Rice Krispies and other tricks made the sci-fi film sound right. PAGE C1



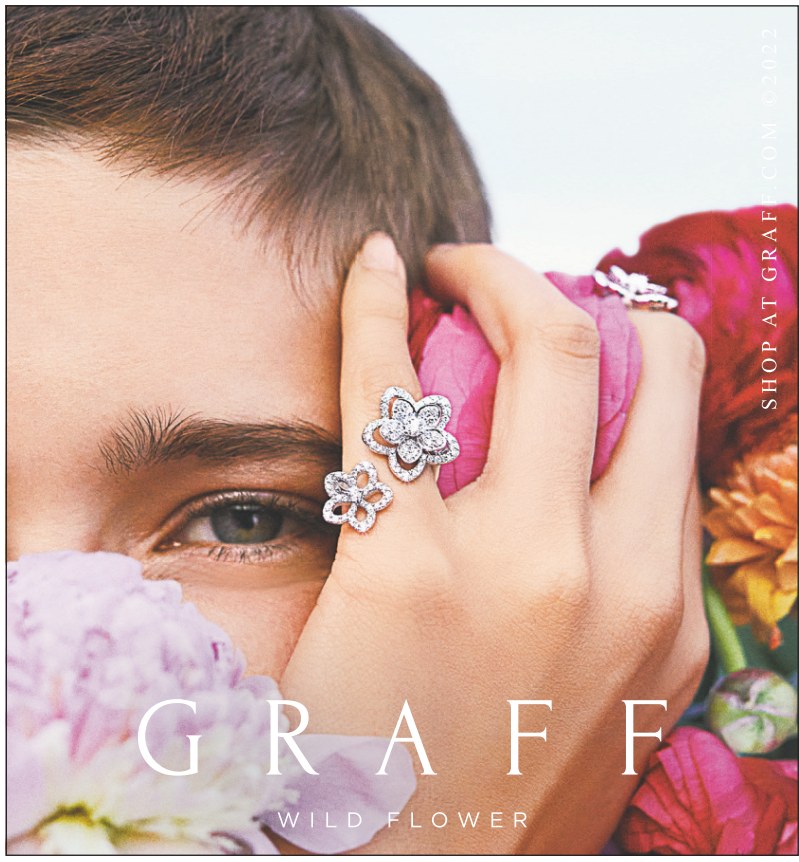
THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

A Lens on Inner Selves

The Ghanaian-British photographer, filmmaker and artist Campbell Addy is helping to redefine what, and who, is considered beautiful. PAGE D7

OPINION A22-23

Ross Douhat PAGE A22



Survivors Found in Theater Rubble, but Suffering Widens



PAVEL DOROGOV/ASSOCIATED PRESS



PAVEL DOROGOV/ASSOCIATED PRESS



ANDREW MARIENKO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

From top: Debris in the center of Kharkiv, Ukraine; the regional administration building; and an apartment blown open by shelling.

Unable to Seize Kharkiv, Russia Destroys It

This article is by Allison McCann, Lazaro Gamio, Denise Lu and Pablo Robles.

Last month, Dmytro Kuzubov put on his headphones and walked around Kharkiv for hours. He felt that the war would start soon and he wanted to visit some of his favorite places. Kharkiv is his hometown: a vibrant,

youthful city of nearly 1.5 million people steeped in academia, art and literature. The attacks started a few days later. Unable to take control of the city, Russia has resorted to destroying it. As in Syria and Chechnya, Russia aims to demoralize the city’s inhabitants with overwhelming and indiscriminate firepower. It is following a similar plan in other Ukrainian cities, such as Mariupol and

Mykolaiv. “The most horrible thing was the whistle of jets. I will remember them all my life,” said Mr. Kuzubov, who has since fled Kharkiv, along with hundreds of thousands of others. There were scenes of a destroyed kindergarten classroom, a living room blown open and the Old Hem, a popular pub in the base-

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Taking Heavy Losses on Battlefield, Russians Aim Missiles at Cities

This article is by Andrew E. Kramer, Michael Schwartz and Eric Nagourney.

KYIV, Ukraine — A day after a Russian strike reduced to rubble a theater in southern Ukraine where hundreds of people had been huddling for shelter, rescuers wading through the debris — even as Russian shells kept falling — began pulling out survivors one by one.

“Adults and children are emerging from there alive,” Ukraine’s human rights ombudsman, Lyudmila Denisova, reported early Thursday as the rescue effort continued at the Drama Theater in Mariupol, a southern port city under siege by Russian forces.

But information was scarce from the desperate city, which has been squarely in Moscow’s cross hairs since the invasion began three weeks ago.

With as many as a thousand people, many of them children, reported to have taken shelter at the theater and still unaccounted for, fears remained that whatever hope emerged from the rescue scene Thursday would eventually be eclipsed by despair.

“Our hearts are broken by what Russia is doing to our people, to our Mariupol,” President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine said

in an overnight public address. The rescue efforts at the theater came against a fearsome backdrop of thousands of civilian casualties across much of Ukraine. Taking heavy losses on the battlefield, Russian forces have increasingly been aiming bombs and missiles at towns and cities. Unable to capture urban centers, they are leveling them instead, and the toll on civilians is worsening.

In Mariupol, it was people sheltering in a theater where the word “children” was written in huge letters on the pavement on both sides of the building, clearly visible from the air. In Chernihiv, it was people waiting in a bread line. In Kyiv, it was a 16-story apartment building pierced by a missile fragment, and, amid the debris and broken glass outside, a man with a sweatshirt pulled over his head kneeling silently beside a body under a bloody sheet, holding a lifeless hand for several minutes and then staggering away in grief.

As a fourth consecutive day of peace talks Thursday yielded no announcements, and the United Nations Security Council held an emergency session on the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine, Western officials portrayed the

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Biden Makes It Personal By Use of ‘War Criminal’

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — When President Biden declared to reporters on Wednesday, almost off the cuff, that President Vladimir V. Putin was a “war criminal,” he was speaking from the heart, his aides said, reacting to the wrenching images of civilians — including children — being dragged, dead or disfigured, from ruins of buildings shelled by Russian forces.

But he was also personalizing the conflict, in a way past presidents have avoided at moments of crisis with the United States’ leading nuclear-armed adversary. And his remark underscored how personal condemnation has become policy, as Mr. Biden and his top aides frame Mr. Putin as a pariah, an indiscriminate killer who should be

standing trial at The Hague. Mr. Biden amplified his attacks on Thursday, calling Mr. Putin “a murderous dictator, a pure thug who is waging an immoral war against the people of Ukraine.” His secretary of state, Antony J. Blinken, chimed in, saying: “Personally, I agree. Intentionally targeting civilians is a war crime.” But what began as a visceral reaction appears to reflect a strategic decision. Branding Mr. Putin as a war criminal supports the administration’s case as it simultaneously tries to keep the Western alliance unified and attempts to pressure China not to bail Mr. Putin out of his economic crisis and military mistakes. That effort will face a new test on

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In Conjuring ‘Nazis’ in Ukraine, Putin Stokes Russian Memories

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

Ukraine’s government is “openly neo-Nazi” and “pro-Nazi,” controlled by “little Nazis,” President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia says. American officials led by President Biden are responsible for the “Nazification” of Ukraine, one of Russia’s top lawmakers says, and should be tried before a court. In fact, another lawmaker says, it is time to create a “modern analogy to the Nuremberg Tribunal” as Russia prepares to “denazify” Ukraine.

In case the message was not clear, the Kremlin’s marquee weekly news show aired black-and-white footage on Sunday of German Nazis being hanged on what is now central Kyiv’s Independence Square. The men drop, dangling from a long beam, and the crowd cheers.

The language of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine has been dominated by the word “Nazi” — a puzzling assertion about a country whose president, Volodymyr Zelensky, is Jewish and who last fall signed a law combating antisemitism. Mr. Putin only began to apply the word regularly to the country’s present-day government in recent months, though he has long referred to Ukraine’s pro-Western revolution of 2014 as a fascist coup. The “Nazi” slur’s sudden emergence shows how Mr. Putin is trying to use stereotypes, distorted reality and his country’s lingering World War II trauma to justify his invasion of Ukraine. The Kremlin is casting the war as a continuation of Russia’s fight against evil in what is known in the coun-

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‘Finish Them Off’: Aid Workers Slain in Ethiopia

By SIMON MARKS and DECLAN WALSH

As the fight intensified in northern Ethiopia in June last year, three aid workers from Doctors Without Borders jumped into their four-wheel drive and raced across the battle-scarred landscape, searching for casualties.

Hours later they vanished. The aid workers stopped answering their satellite phone. A tracking device showed their vehicle making a sudden U-turn, then stopping. Colleagues frantically tried to locate them. The next day they were found dead, their bullet-riddled bodies sprawled on a dusty roadside near their burned-out vehicle: María

Hernández, a 35-year-old Spaniard and conflict veteran, in a bloodstained white bib with the Doctors Without Borders logo; Yohannes Halefom, a 32-year-old Ethiopian medic, face down in the dirt; and their Ethiopian driver Tedros Gebremariam, 31, lying on the road about 300 yards away. Doctors Without Borders,

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G.O.P. Targets Voter Crime, No Matter if It Exists

By REID J. EPSTEIN and NICK CORASANTI

The Florida Legislature last week created a law enforcement agency — informally called the election police — to tackle what Gov. Ron DeSantis and other Republicans have declared an urgent problem: the roughly

0.000677 percent of voters suspected of committing voter fraud. In Georgia, Republicans in the House passed a law on Tuesday handing new powers to police personnel who investigate allegations of election-related crimes. And in Texas, the Republican attorney general already has created an “election integrity unit” that is charged solely with investigat-

ing illegal voting. Voter fraud is exceedingly rare — and often accidental. Still, ambitious Republicans across the country are making a show of cracking down on voter crime this election year. Legislators in several states have moved to reorganize and rebrand law enforcement agencies while stiffening penal-

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Russia Hits Western Ukraine; Biden Issues Warning to Xi



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ASSESSING THE TOLL Residents of Kyiv, Ukraine’s capital, surveying the death and destruction in the aftermath of a bombardment by Russia on civilian structures.

In Suburb’s Streets, a Fight to Protect the Capital

By CARLOTTA GALL and ANDREW E. KRAMER
KYIV, Ukraine — A tall woman with blonde and pink hair and a small dachshund stood out among the crowd of police officers and volunteers at the checkpoint on the edge of Kyiv. She looked as if she were out for a stroll, but she had just survived a dangerous evacuation under mortar fire.
The woman, Sasha Myhova, 21, and her boyfriend, Stas Burykov, 19, were evacuated Friday from their home in Irpin, the northwestern suburb that has become one of the most fiercely contested areas in the three weeks of fighting since Russia’s invading troops advanced toward the capital and Ukrainian troops blocked their way.
“It was dangerous,” she said.

Guerrilla Warfare Plays Out Block by Block in Irpin

“They were bombing as we drove.”
The heavy boom of artillery sounded again as she spoke. “Shells were landing right in our yard,” she said, pulling out a piece of metal shrapnel she had kept.
As the war in Ukraine settles into its fourth week, the suburbs on the edge of Kyiv have become important if unlikely front lines of the war, where the Russian and Ukrainian forces are stuck in a savage give-and-take at one of the gateways to the capital, in positions that have not really moved.

Blocked and badly mauled, Russian forces have nevertheless established positions around three sides of the capital. Ukrainian forces have successfully stalled them, and on Wednesday mounted a series of coordinated counterattacks to challenge those positions.
President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine hailed the defense of Kyiv, led by the commander of land forces, Oleksandr Syrsky, saying that Ukrainian forces had regained control of 30 settlements around the city in the counterattack. “The enemy suffered significant losses and was driven away from the capital,” he said.
Yet the mortar fire and gunfire was so heavy in Irpin that the Ukrainians stopped attempting further evacuations after the one
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Evading Beijing’s Censorship To Rally Chinese Against War

By CHRIS BUCKLEY
When Hu Wei, a politically well-connected scholar in Shanghai, warned that China risked becoming a pariah if it didn’t denounce Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, he ignited a war of words on China’s internet.
Some readers praised Mr. Hu’s article, which spread online last week, seeing its gloomy prognosis about China becoming isolated behind a new Iron Curtain of hostility from Western countries as a welcome challenge to official Chinese soft-pedaling of President Vladimir V. Putin’s aggression. Many others denounced him as a stooge of Washington, unduly critical of Russia’s war aims and prospects. Chinese authorities

Criticism in a Country Supportive of Russia

blocked the website of U.S.-China Perception Monitor, where his article first appeared, and tried to censor it on social media.
Inside China, the war in Ukraine “has ignited enormous disagreements, setting supporters and opponents at polar extremes,” Mr. Hu wrote. His own stance was clear: “China should not be yoked to Putin and must sever itself from him as soon as it can.”
Mr. Hu’s article has been the
Continued on Page A6

Pope Denounces Invasion, but Not Mastermind

By JASON HOROWITZ
ROME — The day after Russia invaded Ukraine, Pope Francis broke protocol and went directly to the Russian Embassy in the Holy See to appeal for peace. The next day he spoke to President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, offering him spiritual support. As the war intensified, he raised his voice against “unacceptable armed aggression” and the “barbarism of the killing of children.”
“In the name of God,” he declared Sunday, “I ask you: Stop this massacre!”
Whom, though, was Francis asking?

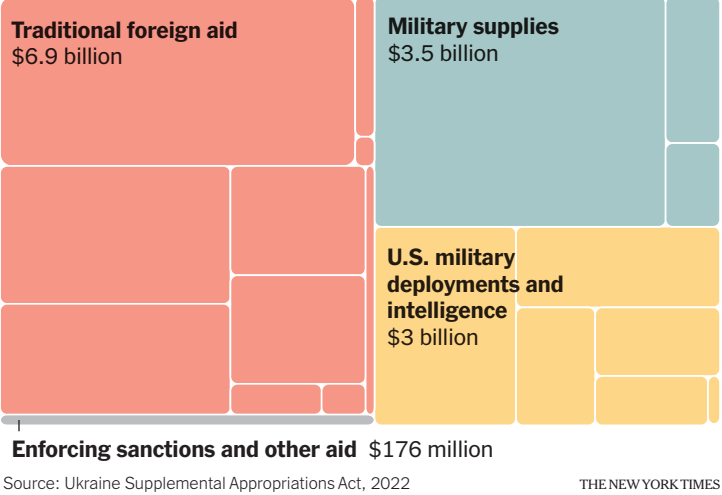
Francis Is Pressured to Put Blame on Putin

The Pope has studiously avoided naming President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, or even Russia itself, as the aggressor. And while he has said that whoever justifies violence with religious motivations “profanes the name” of God, he has avoided criticism of the war’s chief religious backer and apologist, Patriarch Kirill of the Russian Orthodox Church.
Unlike some European nation-

alists, who have suddenly blanked on Mr. Putin’s name to avoid reminding voters that they belonged to the Russian leader’s fan club, Francis’ motivation stems from his walking a fine line between global conscience, real-world diplomatic player and religious leader responsible for his own flock’s safety.
Nevertheless, some of his own bishops and other supporters within the Roman Catholic Church want him to name names, and historians say the pontiff risks slipping off his high moral ground and into a murky space occupied prominently by Pope Pius XII, the
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Visualizing \$13.6 Billion in Aid

The outlay for Ukraine was one of the largest by the U.S. in years. Page A10.



Prolonged Grief Is Declared a Mental Disorder

By ELLEN BARRY
After more than a decade of argument, psychiatry’s most powerful body in the United States added a new disorder this week to its diagnostic manual: prolonged grief.
The decision marks an end to a long debate within the field of mental health, steering researchers and clinicians to view

A New Diagnosis Leads to Treatment Options

intense grief as a target for medical treatment, at a moment when many Americans are overwhelmed by loss.
The new diagnosis, prolonged grief disorder, was designed to ap-

ply to a narrow slice of the population who are incapacitated, pining and ruminating a year after a loss, and unable to return to previous activities.
Its inclusion in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders means that clinicians can now bill insurance companies for treating people for the condition.
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Rival Targets Dr. Oz’s Heritage in Senate Primary

By SHANE GOLDMACHER
Late last year, before he had formally entered the Pennsylvania Senate race, David McCormick flew to Florida for a private meeting with Donald J. Trump, angling to get in the former president’s good graces ahead of a Republican primary that would soon pit him against Dr. Mehmet Oz, the celebrity surgeon and television

Vying for Trump’s Favor in Pennsylvania

personality.
Mr. McCormick, then the chief executive of the world’s largest hedge fund, had an edge in pitching Mr. Trump: His wife, Dina Powell McCormick, had been a

senior national security official in the Trump White House, and she accompanied him to the meeting at Mar-a-Lago.
As Mr. McCormick and his wife, now a top Goldman Sachs executive, made their case, the topic soon turned to electability and Dr. Oz’s Turkish American heritage, which has since become a central point of contention in the campaign.
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Russians Breach Mariupol; Barracks Strike Kills Dozens



A survivor was pulled from the rubble Saturday in Mykolaiv, Ukraine, a day after a missile strike killed at least 40 marines. Page 16.

U.S. Isn’t Ready
If Covid Surges,
Scientists Warn

By BENJAMIN MUELLER

Scarcely two months after the Omicron variant drove coronavirus case numbers to frightening heights in the United States, scientists and health officials are bracing for another swell in the pandemic and, with it, the first major test of the country’s strategy of living with the virus while limiting its impact.

At local, state and federal levels, the nation has been relaxing restrictions and trying to restore a semblance of normalcy. Encouraging Americans to return to prepandemic routines, officials are lifting mask and vaccine mandates and showing no inclination of closing down offices, restaurants or theaters.

But scientists are warning that the United States isn’t doing enough to prevent a new surge from endangering vulnerable Americans and potentially upending life again.

New pills can treat infections, but federal efforts to buy more of them are in limbo. An aid package in Congress is stalled, even as agencies run out of money for tests and therapeutics. Though less than one-third of the population has the booster shots needed for high levels of protection, the daily vaccination rate has fallen to a low.

While some Americans may never be persuaded to roll up their sleeves, experts said that health officials could be doing a lot more, for example, to get booster shots to the doorsteps of older people who have proved willing to take the initial doses.

“You use the quiet periods to do the hard work,” said Jennifer Nuzzo, an epidemiologist at Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. “You don’t use the quiet to forget.”

The clearest warnings that the brief period of quiet may soon be over have come, as they often have in the past two years, from Western Europe. In a number of countries, including Britain, France and Germany, case num-



Less than a third of Americans have gotten booster shots, like these offered in Washington.

Fight for Kyiv Looms as a Long, Fierce Conflict

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — The city of Kyiv covers 325 square miles and is divided by a broad river. It has about 500,000 structures — factories, ornate churches and high-rise apartments — many on narrow, winding streets. Roughly two million people remain after extensive evacuations of women and children.

To the northwest and to the east, tens of thousands of Russian troops are pressing toward the city, Ukraine’s capital, backed by columns of tanks, armored vehicles and artillery. Inside Kyiv, Ukrainian soldiers and civilian volunteers are fortifying the downtown with barriers, anti-tank mines and artillery.

Kyiv remains the biggest prize

May Be Biggest Urban
Battle in 80 Years

of all for the Russian military; it is the seat of government and ingrained in both Russian and Ukrainian identity. But capturing it, military analysts say, would require a furious and bloody conflict that could be the world’s biggest urban battle in 80 years.

“What we are looking at in Kyiv would dwarf anything we’ve seen since World War II,” said David Kilcullen, a retired lieutenant colonel in the Australian Army who has extensively studied urban combat. “If they really, really want to level Kyiv, they can,” he said of the Russian leadership.

“But the level of political and economic damage would be tremendous.”

For comparison, one of the largest urban battles this century was the nine-month siege of Mosul, Iraq, in 2016 and 2017 to oust its Islamic State occupiers. Mosul covers 70 square miles and had a wartime population of about 750,000 people — a fraction of the numbers for Kyiv, where the metropolitan area’s prewar population was 3.6 million.

Negotiations over a cease-fire are continuing, and a long, heated battle over Kyiv is not inevitable. Despite superior numbers and firepower, Russia has not achieved a breakthrough. A Western official, in a briefing with reporters this past week, said the

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‘My Heart Burst’: The Voices of Women Escaping War

Sabrina Tavernise interviewed four Ukrainian women fleeing the front lines of the war. This is the account of Maria Nuzhna, 36, an interior designer who escaped the village of Andriyivka, west of Kyiv, which Russia occupied in early March. More on Page 12.

I kept a diary. When I realized that day was like a day but not exactly like a day, I started writing down what was going on because I woke up, I didn’t know what day of the week it was. I didn’t know what date it was because it seemed like it was going on for a long time even though it was a few days.

Our house and garden is on 25 acres. We plant vegetables there. If you go out of the house, you can see the old farm next to us. The Russians put a Grad rocket launcher in this farm. We counted how many volleys. From three to seven and sometimes up to 30. It makes very scary noises — I can’t express to you how scary. It makes this sound: shoooh, shoooh, shoooh. These rockets they fly with such force, and at night they make these red streaks. It sounds like a murderous force.

Missiles were also hitting. Tanks were passing by. The roof was constantly shaking. The dishes in the closet clattering. And I feel it with my feet.

The first time the Russian soldiers came to us, they said they wanted to check the men’s documents and see how many of us were in the house. They said we had to tie a white rag on the gate to show that people lived in this house. My husband’s mother did not let them in. She said, “No, we have children in the house.”



Maria Nuzhna with her daughters, Sofia, 12, and Solomiia, 7. The family fled their home on March 10 after days of shelling.

Suddenly, I heard bangs. There are four people out on the street from our family. And four shots were fired. Bang bang bang bang. It was like my heart burst. The children started screaming: “Where’s Dad?” I ran outside, then saw that both my husband and brother and husband’s parents were still talking, that they were still alive.

We were lucky because my husband’s mother, she found a connection. The soldiers were from Dagestan and Buryatiya. They were not Russian. Russians are mean. But these were national minorities.

My mother-in-law, she said, “We’ve also been to Dagestan.” She was very calm with him.

He said, “We’re here to protect

U.S. Goal: Stave Off,
Don’t Set Off, Putin

This article is by Mark Mazzetti, Helene Cooper, Julian E. Barnes and David E. Sanger.

WASHINGTON — In the first weeks of the first major European land war of the 21st century, the United States has sent tank-killing weapons to Ukrainian forces, but not fighter jets. It is equipping embattled Ukrainian troops with lightweight “kamikaze” attack drones, but not, at least in an obvious way, conducting an aggressive cyberwar to degrade Russia’s technological advantage.

The White House will commit no American or NATO planes to the skies above Ukraine, a move American officials fear could risk turning a regional war into a global conflagration, but it is providing Ukraine with missiles that could accomplish the same task of destroying Russian aircraft.

Such is the tenuous balance the Biden administration has tried to maintain as it seeks to help Ukraine lock Russia in a quagmire without inciting a broader conflict with a nuclear-armed adversary or cutting off potential paths to de-escalation.

Navigating this path has led to a tangle of decisions, and sometimes tortured distinctions, when it comes to what kinds of assistance Washington should provide, even as the situation on the ground evolves, pictures of dead civilians circulate around the globe and President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine pleads with Congress and President Biden to do more to help.

The balancing act informs every aspect of American policy about the war, including the scope of the punishing sanctions imposed on the Russian economy, the granularity of the battlefield intelligence provided to Ukrainian troops, the killing power of the weapons systems coming over the border and whether, as Mr. Biden did this past week, to label

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Zelensky Seeks Talks
but Vows to Fight

This article is by Michael Levenson, Marc Santora and Valerie Hopkins.

Russian forces made significant gains in Ukraine on Saturday, advancing into the besieged port of Mariupol, destroying an underground weapons depot in the west and leaving a marine barracks in ruins following one of the deadliest rocket strikes on Ukraine’s military in the nearly month-old war.

As the fighting raged, Ukraine faced a worsening humanitarian crisis, and military losses mounted on both sides. A senior Ukrainian military official said on Saturday that the strike on the barracks, which happened Friday in the southern city of Mykolaiv, had killed more than 40 soldiers.

Separately, Russia’s Defense Ministry claimed on Saturday that it had used a hypersonic missile for the first time to destroy an underground ammunition depot in the western region of Ivano-Frankivsk. Ukraine’s military spokesman confirmed the hit on Saturday, but said the missile type was “yet to be determined.”

If confirmed, the Russian military’s use of a new generation of its missiles, called Kinzhal or Dagger, would mark an escalation in the conflict. Hypersonic missiles are capable of flying at five times the speed of sound, according to military analysts.

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine on Saturday appealed directly to Russians to support a diplomatic resolution to the war, and added a stark warning.

“I want everyone to hear me now, especially in Moscow,” Mr. Zelensky said in a video address hours after President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia had spoken to tens of thousands of Russians in a rally at Moscow’s largest stadium. “It’s time to meet, time to talk. It is time to restore territorial integrity and justice for Ukraine. Otherwise,

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SOVIET SCARS The war is posing a strategic dilemma for countries like Georgia, which endured its own Russian invasion in 2008. PAGE 14

FAR APART A top official in Turkey, which has been acting as a mediator, said Putin wasn’t ready for direct talks with Zelensky. PAGE 14

Stalking Trucks
For a Bounty
In New York

By MICHAEL WILSON and SARAH BLESENER

A white-paneled midsize motoring and idling in Midtown on a recent morning, its driver wrapped up in his phone and oblivious to what was happening outside.

There in the street, Paul Slapikas was stalking his prey. Wire-thin and 81 years old, Mr. Slapikas stood in front of the truck like a lost tourist, a camera dangling around his neck and a map sticking out of his jacket pocket. He appeared to be deep in conversation on an old flip-phone — big hand gestures, a peek at a watch, a crane of the neck like he’s looking for a friend.

After exactly three minutes and 10 seconds, Mr. Slapikas — a lifelong New Yorker who lives a few miles away in Queens — snapped the phone shut, tapped the screen of his watch and walked away. If everything goes as it should, he just earned \$87.50, and maybe more, for those few minutes of time, and the company that owns the truck will receive a fine of at least \$350 that it never saw coming. But for now, Mr. Slapikas is off down the block, a bounty hunter jauntily seeking his next target.

“Easy pickings,” said the former marine and retired computer specialist from Woodside.

This is a scene from the city’s benign-sounding but often raucous Citizens Air Complaint Program, a public health campaign that invites — and pays — people to report trucks that are parked and idling for more than three minutes, or one minute if outside a school. Those who report collect 25 percent of any fine against a truck by submitting a video just

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Russia Bombards Strategic Port From Land, Air and Sea

War Threatens to Cause a Global Food Crisis

By JACK NICAS

The war in Ukraine has delivered a shock to global energy markets. Now the planet is facing a deeper crisis: a shortage of food.

A crucial portion of the world’s wheat, corn and barley is trapped in Russia and Ukraine because of the war, while an even larger portion of the world’s fertilizers is stuck in Russia and Belarus. The result is that global food and fertilizer prices are soaring. Since the invasion last month, wheat prices have increased by 21 percent, barley by 33 percent and some fertilizers by 40 percent.

The upheaval is compounded by major challenges that were already increasing prices and squeezing supplies, including the pandemic, shipping constraints, high energy costs and recent droughts, floods and fires.

Now economists, aid organizations and government officials are warning of the repercussions: an increase in world hunger.

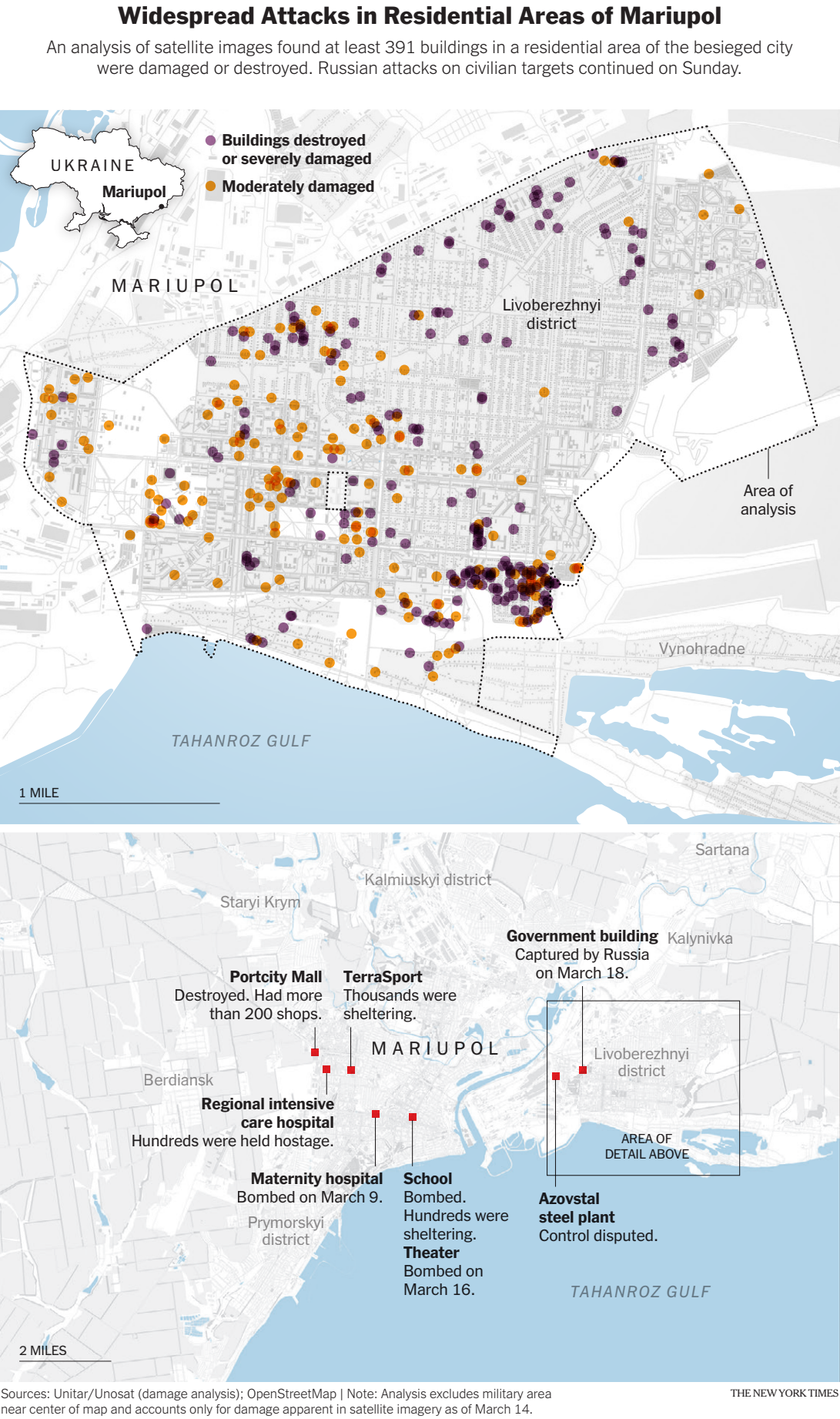
The looming disaster is laying bare the consequences of a major war in the modern era of globalization. Prices for food, fertilizer, oil, gas and even metals like aluminum, nickel and palladium are all rising fast — and experts expect worse as the effects cascade.

“Ukraine has only compounded a catastrophe on top of a catastrophe,” said David M. Beasley, the executive director of the World Food Program, the United Nations agency that feeds 125 million people a day. “There is no precedent even close to this since World War II.”

Ukrainian farms are about to miss critical planting and harvesting seasons. European fertilizer plants are significantly cutting production because of high energy prices. Farmers from Brazil to Texas are cutting back on fertilizer, threatening the size of the next harvests.

China, facing its worst wheat crop in decades after severe flooding, is planning to buy much more of the world’s dwindling supply. And India, which ordinarily exports a small amount of wheat, has already seen foreign demand

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For Putin, ‘Truth’ Is Just Another Front Line

By STEVEN LEE MYERS and STUART A. THOMPSON

In the tense weeks before Russia invaded Ukraine on Feb. 24, Russian officials denied that it planned anything of the sort, denouncing the United States and its NATO allies for stoking panic and anti-Russian hatred. When it did invade, the officials denied it was at war.

Since then, the Kremlin has cycled through a torrent of lies to explain why it had to wage a “special military operation” against a sovereign neighbor. Drug-addled neo-Nazis. Genocide. American biological weapons factories. Birds and reptiles trained to carry pathogens into Russia. Ukrainian forces bombing their own cities, including theaters sheltering children.

Disinformation in wartime is as old as war itself, but today war unfolds in the age of social media and digital diplomacy. That has given Russia — and its allies in China and elsewhere — powerful means to prop up the claim that the invasion is justified, exploiting disinformation to rally its citizens at home and to discredit its enemies abroad. Truth has simply become another front in Russia’s war.

Using a barrage of increasingly outlandish falsehoods, President Vladimir V. Putin has created an alternative reality, one in which Russia is at war not with Ukraine but with a larger, more pernicious enemy in the West. Even since the war began, the lies have gotten more and more bizarre, transforming from claims that “true sovereignty” for Ukraine was possible only under Russia, made before the attacks, to those about migratory birds carrying bioweapons.

Russia’s message has proved successful domestically, where the Kremlin’s claims go unchallenged. Surveys suggest a majority of Russians support the war effort. Internationally, the campaign has seeped into an information ecosystem that allows them to spread virulently, reaching audiences that were once harder to reach.

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Art School Is Hit as Hundreds Try to Hide

This article is by Valerie Hopkins, Marc Santora and Catherine Porter.

LVIV, Ukraine — Firing rockets and bombs from the land, the air and — probably for the first time — warships in the Sea of Azov, Russian forces broadened their bombardment of the Ukrainian city of Mariupol on Sunday and have forcibly deported thousands of residents, according to city officials and witnesses.

Among the freshly devastated was an art school, where about 400 residents were hiding, according to city officials who claimed it had been bombed by Russian forces targeting civilians. The number of casualties was not known.

Into the fourth week of the Russian assault on the country, the coastal city — a strategic port that would give Russia control over much of Ukraine’s southern coast — has increasingly become a grim symbol of Russian frustration that its superior manpower and weaponry has not forced the quick capitulation of the country. And it has come to symbolize Russia’s brutality, with its forces increasingly targeting civilian sites with long-range missiles to crush the public’s spirit and break the Ukrainian military resistance.

The city has been without food, water, electricity or gas since the early days of the Feb. 24 invasion. But its situation deteriorated even more over the weekend, with reports of street battles and Russian forces successfully conquering three neighborhoods.

On Sunday morning, the Azov battalion, a Ukrainian regiment that has drawn far-right fighters from around the world and is charged with the city’s defense, said four Russian naval vessels had shelled the city. With Mariupol largely cut off from the outside world, the toll on civilians there is difficult to assess.

Last week, a Mariupol theater shielding hundreds of people was reduced to rubble. The word “children” was written in huge letters on the pavement, clearly visible from the air. Even now, the fates of

Continued on Page A10

Tracking Route Of Biden Diary To Provocateur

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT and ADAM GOLDMAN

A month before the 2020 election, Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s daughter, Ashley, received a call from a man offering help. Striking a friendly tone, the man said that he had found a diary that he believed belonged to Ms. Biden and that he wanted to return it to her.

Ms. Biden had in fact kept a diary the previous year as she recovered from addiction and had stored it and some other belongings at a friend’s home in Florida where she had been living until a few months earlier. The diary’s highly personal contents, if publicly disclosed, could prove an embarrassment or a distraction to her father at a critical moment in the campaign.

She agreed with the caller to send someone to retrieve the diary the next day.

But Ms. Biden was not dealing with a good Samaritan.

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At Harvard, Jackson Weighed Race, Justice and Academics

By ERICA L. GREEN

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — When a Confederate flag was hung from the window of a dormitory at Harvard University more than 30 years ago, members of the Black Students Association saw it as an attempt to tell them they did not belong there.

They sprang into action, “being vocal, agitating, militating, marching, doing all that great stuff,” Antoinette Coakley, one of the students, recalled recently. But the voice of another member — Ketanji Brown, a classmate who was soon to become one of Ms. Coakley’s best friends — cut through the noise.

“Ketanji said: ‘Wait a minute, as we’re doing this, we’re missing out on classes. As we’re fighting against this injustice, we’re actually doing them a service because we’re going to be failing,’” Ms. Coakley, now a law professor at Northeastern University, recalled.

“So we protested, but we made sure we were in class,” she added.



“We were going to show them that by showing up the way that we did — excellently — that they were wrong.”

The Confederate flag incident was one of several at Harvard in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when a tense debate about whether it was a justifiable form of free speech roiled the campus. The university administration ultimately decided it could not force

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NATIONAL A13-19

How Climate Affects the Mind
Experts and psychologists are racing to understand how a volatile, unpredictable and warming planet shapes our minds and mental health. PAGE A18

BUSINESS B1-5

Tech Blooms in Toronto
For all the excitement around the growing hubs in places like Austin, Texas, and Miami, the biggest expansion has been in Canada’s largest city. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-6

Enticed by the Web
TikTok and Instagram are fueling interest in an exhibition featuring the work of Tomás Saraceno, an artist exceptionally fond of spiders. PAGE C2

SPORTS D1-8

Krzyzewski’s Run Continues
Duke, a No. 2 seed, put off the retirement of Coach Mike Krzyzewski, outlasting No. 7 Michigan State to advance to the men’s round of 16. PAGE D6

OPINION A22-23

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A23



Russian Shells Blanket Ukrainian Capital and Port City

Europe Rushes to Fill Jobs With Refugees

By LIZ ALDERMAN and PATRICIA COHEN

PARIS — German companies are touting thousands of jobs for Ukrainian refugees. Portuguese firms promise language training for Ukrainians looking for work. In Lithuania, businesses are providing on-site child care to help Ukrainian women move seamlessly into the workplace.

As the wartime exodus from Ukraine grows larger, companies are rushing forward with offers of employment, from high-level engineering jobs to retail and factory work, to help those displaced by the fighting settle quickly — as well as to fill their own labor shortages.

The outreach is happening with a speed and scope that are rare for the European Union. Unlike refugees who have flooded Europe from wars in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, the three million Ukrainians fleeing Russian bombs are being placed on a fast track for protection and employment, as governments waive visa requirements and provide almost instant access to labor markets and education.

Thousands of jobs are being offered exclusively to Ukrainian refugees by on-the-ground recruitment agencies and through a vast network of online job boards that has sprung up across social media.

“I will work at anything,” said Nastya Filipas, 25, who escaped to Romania last week with her 15-year-old sister, Viktoriya, as Russia’s assault came closer to her hometown, Odessa.

With just \$200 in their pockets, the sisters planned to stay with a Ukrainian friend who had rented an apartment in Bucharest. Nastya said that at home she had worked in restaurants, doing needlework and making handmade carpets. “I hope I will find something,” she said, adding that she worried her inability to speak Romanian or English would be a handicap.

For many others, though, the jobs have been offered before they have decided whether to stay.

Some offers are aimed at filling openings that have languished in Europe since the reopening of economies after coronavirus lockdowns, in industries ranging from health care in Germany to warehouse work in the Czech Republic.

The global temporary staffing agency Adecco launched a recruitment site last week to match Ukrainian job seekers with employers. More than 200 companies have posted jobs, and about 900 Ukrainians have registered on the platform. “Work underpins their ability to begin new lives and secure their futures,” said Alain De-

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LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Russian forces hit a shopping mall Monday in Kyiv, Ukraine, in what appeared to be the most powerful explosion yet in the capital.

Clinging to Survival in an ‘Apocalyptic’ Mariupol

By VALERIE HOPKINS

LVIV, Ukraine — Eduard Zarubin, a doctor, has lost everything. But he does still have his life.

His street is destroyed, and his city, the southern port of Mariupol, is so far the greatest horror of Russia’s scorched-earth war against Ukraine. Russian missiles decimated a theater that sheltered more than 1,000 people. Another attack hit an art school where children were hiding in the basement.

Water is so scarce that people are melting snow. Heating, electricity and gas have disappeared. People are chopping trees for firewood to fuel outdoor cooking stoves shared by neighbors. To walk from one street to another often means passing corpses, or fresh graves dug in parks or grassy medians.

On Sunday, Russia gave an ultimatum that Ukrainian fighters in the city must give up, or face annihilation. Ukrainian officials refused. Evacuation buses, including some carrying children, were shelled on Monday, according to Ukrainian officials. Thousands of people have escaped the city, including Dr. Zarubin, but more than 300,000 others remain, even as fighting has moved onto the streets of some neighborhoods.

“If the war ends and we win, and get rid of them, then I think



EVGENIY MALOLETKA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Anastasia Erashova with her child this month at a hospital in Mariupol, Ukraine. Her other child was killed in the shelling.

that there will be excursions in Mariupol, just like there are to Chernobyl,” he said of the abandoned site of a Soviet-era nuclear calamity. “So that people understand what kind of apocalyptic things can occur.”

The destruction of Mariupol, one of Ukraine’s largest cities, has been a siege and a relentless bombardment that for the last three weeks has left its population cut off from the outside world. What news does arrive comes from grainy cellphone videos taken by people still inside the city, from bulletins from Ukrainian officials,

or from the accounts of people like Dr. Zarubin, who have witnessed the destruction of everything they had.

Dr. Zarubin, a urologist, lived in a beautiful house on the Left Bank, one of Mariupol’s elite neighborhoods. He had a comfortable life and the expectation that he had worked hard enough to have a secure future. But after the shelling began, he had to walk nearly eight miles a day with his son, Viktor, just to find water for their family. Later, as desperation set in, Dr. Zarubin said that people

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Smaller Bombs Raise a Specter Of Atomic War

By WILLIAM J. BROAD

In destructive power, the behemoths of the Cold War dwarfed the American atomic bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. Washington’s biggest test blast was 1,000 times as large. Moscow’s was 3,000 times. On both sides, the idea was to deter strikes with threats of vast retaliation — with mutual assured destruction, or MAD. The psychological bar was so high that nuclear strikes came to be seen as unthinkable.

Today, both Russia and the United States have nuclear arms that are much less destructive — their power just fractions of the Hiroshima bomb’s force, their use perhaps less frightening and more thinkable.

Concern about these smaller arms has soared as President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, in the Ukraine war, has warned of his nuclear might, has put his atomic forces on alert and has had his military carry out risky attacks on nuclear power plants.

The fear is that if Mr. Putin feels cornered in the conflict, he might choose to detonate one of his lesser nuclear arms — breaking

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As Confirmation Hearing Opens, Jackson Pledges Independence

By KATIE ROGERS

WASHINGTON — Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson on Monday emphasized “my duty to be independent” if confirmed as the first Black woman on the Supreme Court, as Republican senators almost immediately began previewing attack lines accusing her of being lenient on crime.

On the first day of her confirmation hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Judge Jackson sat mostly in silence listening to 22 senators talk about what they wanted in a nominee. Race was not always an unspoken subtext, as Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina, suggested that tough questioning would be criticized as racism.

“‘We’re all racist if we ask hard questions’ is not going to fly with us,” Mr. Graham said.

More than four hours after the hearing began, Judge Jackson, 51, cleared her throat, turned her microphone on and spoke for herself.

“If I am confirmed, I commit to you that I will work productively to support and defend the Constitution and this grand experiment of American democracy that has endured over these past 246 years,” Judge Jackson, who cur-



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

“I decide cases from a neutral posture,” Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson said in her opening remarks.

rently serves on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, said in opening remarks that lasted about 13 minutes.

“I have been a judge for nearly a decade now, and I take that responsibility and my duty to be independent very seriously,” she

said. “I decide cases from a neutral posture. I evaluate the facts and I interpret and apply the law to the facts of the case before me without fear or favor, consistent with my judicial oath.”

As the day began, some Democrats in the room were celebrating her nomination.

Representative Sheila Jackson Lee of Texas, who had no formal role in the proceedings, held up her phone to record as Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey spoke about the sheer joy he felt at a moment that he called, simply, “not a normal day for America.”

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In Killings of Homeless Men, Portraits of 3 Lives Derailed

This article is by Andy Newman, Campbell Robertson, Samira Asma-Sadeque and Ashley Southall.

By the time Morgan Holmes and Gerald Brevard III crossed paths on a scrubby strip of highway behind an animal shelter in Washington, they had spent years following each other’s erratic footsteps, tracing zigzag paths through the courts and jails and mental hospitals of the nation’s capital and its suburbs.

They had done stints at the same city psychiatric institution and sometimes spent nights in the same neighborhood: Mr. Brevard at a men’s shelter, Mr. Holmes in a tent along the roadside.

Still, they had arrived at this place with different histories. Mr. Holmes, popular and full of promise as a young man, was a generation older at 54, and after a lifetime of attempts at stability, he had eventually withdrawn from his family, ashamed of his condition. Mr. Brevard, 30, often tormented by illusions that people were plotting against him, had been in and out of the criminal justice system his entire adult life.

In New York City, Abdoulaye

Mental Illness Sapped Families’ Hopes

Coulibaly had taken a separate route to the streets. Born in the West African nation of Gambia, he came to New York about 20 years ago and made a bare living selling knockoff pocketbooks and directing customers to street vendors on a sidewalk in Chinatown until he, too, fell prey to mental illness and homelessness.

The three men’s lives collided violently this month, the authorities said. On March 9, after shooting and wounding two other homeless men, Mr. Brevard approached Mr. Holmes’s tent, shot and stabbed him and then set the tent aflame, prosecutors said.

Three nights later, Mr. Brevard surfaced in Manhattan, still apparently looking for targets. Ninety minutes after shooting a man in the arm, the police say, he came upon Mr. Coulibaly sleeping in a doorway next to an art supply store that was closed for the night. A volley of shots, and Mr.

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Ukraine Mounts Counterattacks as Russia Pounds Cities



Nurses caring for a young patient on Tuesday in a room fortified by sandbags in Zaporizhzhia, a city in southeastern Ukraine.

Strands Break In Global Web Of Commerce

By EDWARD WONG and ANA SWANSON

WASHINGTON — When the Cold War ended, governments and companies believed that stronger global economic ties would lead to greater stability. But the Ukraine war and the pandemic are pushing the world in the opposite direction and upending those ideas.

Important parts of the integrated economy are unwinding. American and European officials are now using sanctions to sever major parts of the Russian economy — the 11th largest in the world — from global commerce, and hundreds of Western companies have halted operations in Russia on their own. Amid the pandemic, companies are reorganizing the way they obtain their goods because of soaring costs and unpredictable delays in global supply chains.

Western officials and executives are also rethinking the way they do business with China, the world’s second-largest economy, as geopolitical tensions and the Chinese Communist Party’s human rights abuses and use of advanced technology to reinforce autocratic control make corporate dealings more fraught.

The moves reverse core tenets of post-Cold War economic and foreign policies forged by the United States and its allies that were even adopted by rivals like Russia and China.

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As Moscow’s Attack Stalls, Blame Game Starts

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI and MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ

In January, the head of a group of serving and retired Russian military officers declared that invading Ukraine would be “pointless and extremely dangerous.” It would kill thousands, he said, make Russians and Ukrainians enemies for life, risk a war with NATO and threaten “the existence of Russia itself as a state.”

To many Russians, that seemed like a far-fetched scenario, since few imagined that an invasion of Ukraine was really possible. But two months later, as Russia’s advance stalls in Ukraine, the prophecy looms large. Reached by phone this week, the retired general who wrote the declaration, Leonid Ivashov, said he stood by it, though he could not speak freely given Russia’s wartime censorship: “I do not disavow what I said.”

In Russia, the slow going and the heavy toll of President Vladimir V. Putin’s war on Ukraine are setting off questions about his military’s planning capability, his confidence in his top spies and loyal defense minister, and the quality of the intelligence that reaches him. It also shows the pitfalls of Mr. Putin’s top-down governance, in which officials and military officers have little leeway to make their own decisions and adapt to developments in real time.

The failures of Mr. Putin’s campaign are apparent in the striking number of senior military commanders believed to have been killed in the fighting. Ukraine says it has killed at least six Russian generals, while Russia acknowledges one of their deaths, along with that of the deputy commander of its Black Sea fleet. American officials say they cannot confirm the number of Russian troop deaths, but that Russia’s invasion plan appears to have been stymied by bad intelligence.

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FELIPE DANA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A destroyed Russian tank near Kyiv. The Russian forces’ poor performance has surprised many.

Strategic Town Retaken by Kyiv — Moscow Targets Dissent at Home

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

Ukrainian forces pressed to thwart the Russian invasion, mounting counteroffensives on multiple fronts and retaking a town outside Kyiv on Tuesday, while the more heavily armed Russians, unable so far to gain a decisive upper hand, tried to pound Ukraine’s cities and people into submission.

As the fighting seesawed around Kyiv, Ukrainian military officials said soldiers had prevailed in Makariv, a key crossroads on the western approaches to the city, while in Ukraine’s south they sought to reclaim the Kherson region. The southern port of Mariupol still endured a brutal siege, however, with the government saying that some 100,000 civilians remained trapped in that ruined city with little food, water, power or heat.

“This war will not end easily or rapidly,” Jake Sullivan, the U.S. national security adviser, told reporters on the eve of President Biden’s departure for a NATO summit in Europe.

Mr. Biden is set to impose sanctions this week on hundreds of members of the State Duma, Russia’s lower house of Parliament, according to a person familiar with the planned announcement.

In Russia, President Vladimir V. Putin’s government, which had apparently expected a lightning conquest, responded to its setbacks in Ukraine and its plummeting reputation in the West by expanding its recent crackdown on dissent, making it a criminal offense to discredit the activities of all state agencies working abroad, like embassies. A Russian court sentenced the imprisoned opposition leader Aleksei A. Navalny, who opposes Russia’s war on Ukraine, to nine more years in prison on fraud charges.

A Pentagon assessment concluded that Russia’s “combat power” in Ukraine had for the first time dipped below 90 percent of its original force — the more than 150,000 troops massed in western Russia and Belarus before the Feb. 24 invasion. That reflected steady losses suffered by the Russian military, to an extent that U.S. officials say can leave units unable to carry out combat duties.

Russian forces were “struggling on many fronts,” including routine supply lines and logistics, according to a senior Defense Department official, who was not authorized to discuss details of Russia’s actions in Ukraine on the record. The Pentagon had even seen indications that some Russian troops had been evacuated because of frostbite, the official said.

The official declined to address Russian casualty numbers, though the Pentagon estimated last week that at least 7,000 Russians had been killed.

New satellite imagery analyzed by The New York Times showed that Russia had removed all of its

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FADEL SENNA/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES

Firefighters after a strike near a research institute in Kyiv.

Ukraine Pilots Are Outgunned, But Russia Doesn’t Rule Skies

By MARIA VARENIKOVA and ANDREW E. KRAMER

LVIV, Ukraine — Each night, Ukrainian pilots like Andriy loiter in an undisclosed aircraft hangar, waiting, waiting, until the tension is broken with a shouted one-word command: “Air!”

Andriy hustles into his Su-27 supersonic jet and hastily taxis toward the runway, getting airborne as quickly as possible. He takes off so fast that he doesn’t yet know his mission for the night, though the big picture is always the same — to bring the fight to a Russian Air Force that is vastly superior in numbers but has so far failed to win control of the skies above Ukraine.

“I don’t do any checks,” said Andriy, a Ukrainian Air Force pilot who as a condition of granting an interview was not permitted to give his surname or rank. “I just take off.”

Nearly a month into the fighting, one of the biggest surprises of the war in Ukraine is Russia’s failure to defeat the Ukrainian Air Force. Military analysts had expected Russian forces to quickly destroy or paralyze Ukraine’s air defenses and military aircraft, yet neither have happened. Instead, Top Gun-style aerial dogfights, rare in modern warfare, are now raging above the country.

“Every time when I fly, it’s for a real fight,” said Andriy, who is 25 and has flown 10 missions in the war. “In every fight with Russian jets, there is no equality. They always have five times more” planes in the air.

The success of Ukrainian pilots

Continued on Page A8

Attacking Jackson and Appealing to G.O.P. Base

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and JAZMINE ULLOA

WASHINGTON — After all of the entreaties from top Republicans to show respect at Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson’s confirmation hearings, Senator Ted Cruz on Tuesday afternoon chose to grill the first Black woman nominated for the Supreme Court on her views on critical race theory and

Senators Target Crime, Race and School

insinuate that she was soft on child sexual abuse.

The message from the Texas Republican seemed clear: A Black woman vying for a lifetime appointment on the highest court in the land would, Mr. Cruz suggested, coddle criminals, go easy

on pedophiles and subject white people to the view that they were, by nature, oppressors.

The attack, the most dramatic of several launched from inside and outside the Senate Judiciary Committee’s hearing room, contained barely coded appeals to racism and clear nods to the fringes of the conservative world. Two other Republican senators, Josh Hawley of Missouri and Marsha Blackburn of

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Violent Weekend May Portend Bloody Summer

By TIM ARANGO and TROY CLOSSON

On Friday night in Louisiana, a 7-month-old baby was shot in the head, caught in the crossfire during a drive-by shooting. In Norfolk, Va., an argument early Saturday over a spilled drink escalated into gunfire outside a pizzeria, killing two people, including a young reporter for the local newspaper.

Later that same day in the Arkansas farming town of Dumas, an annual car show and community event to promote nonviolence became a bloody crime scene after a gunfight broke out, killing one and injuring more than two dozen people, including several children.

And in Miami Beach, where spring break revelers have descended, officials this week declared a state of emergency and imposed a curfew after a pair of weekend shootings.

All told, in a single weekend when the calendar turned to spring, there were at least nine mass shooting events — defined by at least four people shot — across the country, as well as many more with fewer victims. It

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No Hope? ‘OK, Doomer.’

A growing number of young activists like Alaina Wood, above, say that climate pessimism isn’t helping.

Pandemic’s Hidden Toll

Alcohol-related deaths in 2020 spiked 25 percent over 2019 as stress levels rose and treatment was delayed.

Hope Dims After Plane Crash

A Boeing 737’s steep plunge from the sky in China suggested there was a “minuscule” chance of finding any survivors, one expert said.

Israel, U.A.E. and Egypt Meet

All three are navigating fraught relationships with the U.S. while responding to Russia’s war on Ukraine.

Prickly Voice for Civil Liberties

Julian Heicklen, 90, won a First Amendment case affirming his right to hand out fliers on jury nullification.

Clean Energy’s Hard Choices

To become less reliant on Russian fuel, European governments are fast-tracking plans for a green future but face major costs and disruptions.

Not Just the Usual Suspects

Upset-minded teams may zap the powerhouses in the N.C.A.A. women’s basketball tournament round of 16.

Transgender-Sports Bill Vetoed

Utah’s governor refused to sign a measure that would bar transgender athletes from competing in girls’ sports.



Making Great Conchas

Done right, the Mexican sweet bread, with its seashell-shaped topping, can be transcendent, Pati Jinich says.

The Art of Thai Noodles

We have tips from Thai home cooks to upgrade your homemade pad Thai, pad kee mao and pad see ew.

Crucial Camaraderie

Caroline Polachek, Charli XCX and Christine and the Queens took different paths in the music industry.

A Red-Carpet Rematch

Jane Campion and Steven Spielberg are nominees for the best director Oscar, just as they were back in 1994.

Thomas L. Friedman



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Aiming to Limit Russia, Allies Boost Forces Near Ukraine



Vladimir Bogdanov, 80, narrowly escaped injury when shrapnel from a rocket attack tore through his Kyiv home on Wednesday.

Biden in Europe to Meet With NATO — Fear That Conflict Will Spread

This article is by **Matina Stevis-Gridneff, David E. Sanger and Rick Gladstone.**

BRUSSELS — NATO announced a doubling of its military presence near Ukraine on Wednesday and said the alliance would help the country prepare for possible chemical, biological and even nuclear threats from the Russian invaders, which would be a once-unthinkable expansion in the month-old war.

The announcement by Jens Stoltenberg, NATO’s secretary general, came hours before President Biden landed in Europe for an extraordinary strategy session with the alliance, created in 1949 to contain the Soviet Union. The warnings underscored the urgency of efforts to prevent the conflict from spreading beyond Ukraine’s borders and entangling NATO in a direct fight with Russia.

The possibility that Russia might resort to weapons of mass destruction also reflected the Russian military’s failure — even with the use of indiscriminate weapons aimed at terrorizing civilians — to achieve more than a stalemate so far in the face of an unexpectedly tenacious Ukrainian resistance.

Mr. Biden’s NATO meeting on Thursday will be followed by a session with counterparts from

the Group of 7 industrialized powers, and then with the European Union. The last will include an appearance by President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, via video link from an embattled Kyiv. That discussion is expected to explore ways to further tighten the already-severe Western economic sanctions on Russia that are aimed at pressuring its president, Vladimir V. Putin, into halting the war.

Those punishments, which have crashed the ruble’s value and begun to cause severe shortages inside Russia, have erased decades of its financial integration with the world in the space of a few weeks. Russia’s decision to strictly control how the Ukraine conflict is reported domestically — it is a criminal offense to call the conflict a war or invasion — has further raised repression in the country.

Mr. Biden wants to steel the allies for the likelihood that the conflict lasts for months or years, requiring a long-term commitment to economic and military confrontation, administration officials say.

But the Europeans are unwilling to follow the United States in stopping purchases of Russian oil

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Trump ‘Guilty,’ Ex-Prosecutor Says in Letter

This article is by **William K. Rashbaum, Ben Protess and Jonah E. Bromwich.**

One of the senior Manhattan prosecutors who investigated Donald J. Trump believed that the former president was “guilty of numerous felony violations” and that it was “a grave failure of justice” not to hold him accountable, according to a copy of his resignation letter.

The prosecutor, Mark F. Pomerantz, submitted his resignation last month after the Manhattan district attorney, Alvin Bragg, abruptly stopped pursuing an indictment of Mr. Trump.

Mr. Pomerantz, 70, a prominent former federal prosecutor and white-collar defense lawyer who came out of retirement to work on the Trump investigation, resigned on the same day as Carey R. Dunne, another senior prosecutor leading the inquiry.

Mr. Pomerantz’s Feb. 23 letter, obtained by The New York Times, offers a personal account of his decision to resign and for the first time states explicitly his belief that the office could have convicted the former president. Mr. Bragg’s decision was “contrary to the public interest,” he wrote.

“The team that has been investigating Mr. Trump harbors no doubt about whether he committed crimes — he did,” Mr. Pomerantz wrote.

Mr. Pomerantz and Mr. Dunne planned to charge Mr. Trump with falsifying business records, specifically his annual financial statements — a felony in New York State.

Mr. Bragg’s decision not to pursue charges then — and the resignations that followed — threw the fate of the long-running investigation into serious doubt. If the prosecutors had secured an indictment of Mr. Trump, it would have been the highest-profile case ever brought by the Manhattan district attorney’s office and would have made Mr. Trump the first American president to face criminal charges.

Earlier this month, The Times reported that the investigation un-

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Moscow and U.S. Far Right Share Talking Points

By **SHEERA FRENKEL and STUART A. THOMPSON**

After President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia claimed that action against Ukraine was taken in self-defense, the Fox News host Tucker Carlson and the conservative commentator Candace Owens repeated the assertion. When Mr. Putin insisted he was trying to “denazify” Ukraine, Joe Oltmann, a far-right podcaster, and Lara Logan, another right-wing commentator, mirrored the idea.

The echoing went the other way, too. Some far-right American news sites, like Infowars, stoked a longtime, unfounded Russian claim that the United States funded biological weapons labs in Ukraine.

Russian officials seized on the chatter, with the Kremlin contending it had documentation of bio- weapons programs that justified

A Two-Way Stream of Conspiracy Theories and Falsehoods

its “special military operation” in Ukraine.

As war has raged, the Kremlin’s talking points and some right-wing discourse in the United States — fueled by those on the far right — have coalesced. On social media, podcasts and television, falsehoods about the invasion of Ukraine have flowed both ways, with Americans amplifying lies from Russians and the Kremlin spreading fabrications that festered in American forums online.

By reinforcing and feeding each other’s messaging, some right-wing Americans have given credibility to Russia’s assertions, and vice versa. Together, they have

created an alternate reality, recasting the Western bloc of allies as provokers, blunderers and liars, which has bolstered Mr. Putin.

The war initially threw some conservatives — who had insisted no invasion would happen — for a loop. Many criticized Mr. Putin and Russia’s assault on Ukraine. Some have since gone on to urge more support for Ukraine.

But in recent days, several far-right commentators have again gravitated to narratives favorable to Mr. Putin’s cause. The main one has been the bioweapons conspiracy theory, which has provided a way to talk about the war while focusing criticism on President Biden and the U.S. government instead of Mr. Putin and the Kremlin.

“People are asking if the far right in the U.S. is influencing Russia or if Russia is influencing the

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Griner Detention Poses Dilemma For U.S. as Tensions Keep Rising

This article is by **Jason Horowitz, Jonathan Abrams and Ivan Necheperenko.**

One of the last times Brittney Griner, a two-time Olympic gold medalist and seven-time All Star center for the women’s professional basketball team in Phoenix, appeared in public, it was on a Russian airport security video.

She wore a Black Lives for Peace sweatshirt and rolled her luggage through security, where officers with Russia’s Federal Customs Service said they had found in her bag illegal vape cartridges that contained hashish oil. The authorities detained her on drug charges.

Now, a month later, as Ms. Griner — too tall at 6-foot-9 for her top-bunk mattress — languishes in a cell she shares with two Rus-

Basketball Star Held in Russia for a Month

sians also accused of drug trafficking in a pretrial detention center near Moscow, U.S. officials have finally been able to see her.

“A consular official was able to visit Brittney Griner today and found her to be in good condition,” Jennifer L. Palmer, a spokeswoman for the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, said Wednesday. “We will continue to do everything we can to see to it that she is treated fairly throughout this ordeal.”

Some supporters in Moscow and Washington are wary of raising Ms. Griner’s profile too high, or linking her case to the war in

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On Hearing’s Last Day, Jackson Faces Growing G.O.P. Hostility

By **CARL HULSE and JONATHAN WEISMAN**

WASHINGTON — Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson emerged on Wednesday from two grueling days of testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee having weathered escalating Republican attacks on her record but leaving Democrats confident that she would become the first Black woman on the Supreme Court.

Questioning of President Biden’s nominee by Republicans grew increasingly hostile as they stepped up their criticism of what they portrayed as a pattern of leniency in her sentencing of child sex abusers and tried to paint her as a liberal on issues of race, gender, guns and abortion rights.

Despite early pledges from Republican leaders that the process would be marked by decorum and respect, the hearings were a bruising affair for the Senate, no less bitter or partisan than their immediate predecessors.

Even Senator Ben Sasse, Republican of Nebraska, vented his exasperation at “the jackassery



SARAHBETH MANEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES
Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson’s hearings were a bruising affair.

we see around here” of “people mugging” for the cameras.

But notwithstanding the grilling Judge Jackson endured, there was no indication that Republicans had succeeded in derailing a confirmation that could be approved along party lines as

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From Refugee to First Female Secretary of State

By **ROBERT D. McFADDEN**

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT, 1937-2022

Madeline K. Albright, a child of Czech refugees who fled from Nazi invaders and Communist oppressors and then landed in the United States, where she flourished as a diplomat and the first woman to serve as secretary of state, died on Wednesday in Washington. She was 84.

The cause was cancer, her daughter Anne said.

Enveloped by a veil of family secrets hidden from her for most of her life, Ms. Albright rose to power and fame as a brilliant analyst of world affairs and a White House counselor on national security. Under President Bill Clinton, she became the country’s representative to the United Nations (1993-97) and secretary of state (1997-2001), making her the highest-ranking woman in the history of American government at the time.

It was not until after she became secretary of state that she accepted proof that, as she had long suspected, her ethnic and religious background was not what



RUTH FREMSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS
Madeleine K. Albright in Washington in 1997. “Everybody has their own style,” she once said, “and mine is people to people.”

she had thought. She learned that her family was Jewish and that her parents had protectively converted to Roman Catholicism during World War II, raising their children as Catholics without telling them of their Jewish heritage. She also discovered that 26 family members, including three

grandparents, had been murdered in the Holocaust.

With her father, a diplomat, probably facing execution, the family’s odyssey from a Europe on the brink of World War II to safety in America took 10 years and two escapes to London. The first came

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China Keeps Crash a Mystery
Officials recovered a flight recorder but have revealed little else about the China Eastern Airlines disaster. PAGE A6

Israel Blocked Sale of Spyware
Ukraine and Estonia had sought to buy a tool to carry out intelligence operations against Russia. PAGE A14

NATIONAL A15-21
‘I Bet It Didn’t Take 15 Seconds’
Tornadoes ripped through the New Orleans area, killing at least one resident, knocking out power and heavily damaging homes. PAGE A15

Former Ally Feuds With Trump
After losing the backing of ex-President Donald J. Trump, Representative Mo Brooks said Mr. Trump had asked him to “rescind” the 2020 election. PAGE A18

A Shot for Young Children
Moderna seeks emergency F.D.A. approval for its vaccine for children, saying it produces a strong immune response in those under 6. PAGE A20

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Weighing a Leap Into Crypto
Investors and financial firms, urging caution even as they increasingly embrace digital currency, talk about what you need to know. PAGE B1

Europe’s Russian Gas Habit
A Soviet pipeline that President Ronald Reagan opposed set up the reliance that now helps fund Russia’s war. PAGE B1

SPORTS B7-11
A Retiree at 25 Years Old
Ashleigh Barty was on a track to be the dominant tennis player of her time, except she says her time is up. PAGE B7



THURSDAY STYLES D1-6
Bigger Than Ever
The pandemic seemed to increase an interest not just in balloons, but also in how they are displayed. PAGE D6

Still Going Strong
For the 100-year-old businesswoman Natalie Harley, living intensely has been the best revenge. PAGE D4

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Inspiring a Musical
“Bhangin’ It” explores complex identity issues through an intensely competitive North American dance scene. PAGE C1

Ruling in Ex-Child Star’s Case
A judge in California freed Amanda Bynes from a conservatorship that had been governing her life. PAGE C4

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Ross Douthat PAGE A24



U.S. and Allies Rally Against Russia in 3 Urgent Summits



President Biden spoke with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada as leaders of the Group of 7 gathered on Thursday in Brussels.

A Vow of Sanctions and Refugee Aid, but New Options Appear Limited

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and MATINA STEVIS-GRIDNEFF

BRUSSELS — President Biden and leaders of more than 30 nations convened Thursday to demonstrate united opposition to Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, announcing new economic sanctions, aid for refugees, deployment of additional forces to Eastern Europe and grim preparations in case Russia uses chemical, biological or nuclear weapons.

But the historic gathering of world leaders in a series of three summits on Thursday underscored how the United States and its allies have in some ways reached their self-imposed limits in crafting a united global response to the largest European conflict in more than a half-century. While they are sharpening the tools they are using against Russia, they appear to have few new ones to reach for.

Mr. Biden and the allies have moved with unexpected speed and authority over the past four weeks, rallying much of the world against President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

Yet the sense of stalemate on the battlefield is now also felt in the halls of diplomacy, where taking dramatic new steps to counter Mr. Putin’s aggression is proving difficult. Europeans have said they are not willing to bear the consequences of new limits on the Russian energy that they depend on. And Mr. Biden has said he is not willing to commit troops to Ukraine and risk going to war against Russia.

As the allied leaders met in Brussels, the Ukrainian military, entering the second week of a counteroffensive, claimed on Thursday to have destroyed a Russian military landing ship in the southern port of Berdyansk. In the embattled towns around the capital, Kyiv, intense fighting had set so many fires on Thursday that the city was shrouded in a ghostly haze of white smoke.

Mr. Biden said the United States would accept 100,000 Ukrainian refugees, and he and his counterparts announced a new round of weapons shipments for Ukraine, but not the fighter jets that President Volodymyr Zelensky has pleaded for.

They expressed in one voice their “resolve to counter Russia’s attempts to destroy the foundations of international security and stability.” But they again declined to enforce a no-fly zone in the skies over Ukraine, which would mean readiness to shoot down Russian planes.

They vowed to tighten sanctions on Russia, but the Europeans stopped short of blocking imports of Russian oil and gas, as the United States has done. Europe is hugely dependent on Russian energy, paying Mr. Putin the vast revenues needed to support his military — and giving him the power to wreak havoc on Europe by disrupting supplies.

“I think we’re seeing a coordinated divergence between the European Union and the United States,” said Mujtaba Rahman, managing director for Eurasia Group. “There’s no rupture or even a split. Rather, there is an agreement that the U.S. will go more aggressively than the E.U. because they can afford to do so.”

Speaking to reporters Thursday evening, Mr. Biden said that he had requested the emergency meetings — with leaders of NATO, the European Union and the Group of 7 industrialized nations — to show Mr. Putin that the allies will not “crack” in their determination to keep economic pressure on Russia over days, weeks, months and more.

“We have to stay fully, totally, thoroughly united,” he said, adding that he favors ejecting Russia from the Group of 20 industrialized and developing nations.

For Mr. Zelensky, though, none of it was enough. He has become more pointed in his criticism of

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WIFE OF JUSTICE URGED OVERTURN

Ginni Thomas Told Aide to Trump to Void Vote

This article is by **Danny Hakim, Luke Broadwater and Jo Becker.**

In the weeks between the 2020 presidential election and the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol, Virginia Thomas, the wife of Justice Clarence Thomas, sent a barrage of text messages imploring President Donald J. Trump’s chief of staff to take steps to overturn the vote, according to a person with knowledge of the texts.

In one message sent in the days after the election, she urged the chief of staff, Mark Meadows, to “release the Kraken and save us from the left taking America down,” invoking a slogan popular on the right that refers to a web of conspiracy theories that Trump supporters believed would overturn the election.

In another, she wrote: “I can’t see Americans swallowing the obvious fraud. Just going with one more thing with no frickin consequences.” She added: “We just cave to people wanting Biden to be anointed? Many of us can’t continue the GOP charade.”

The contents of the texts were reported earlier by The Washington Post and CBS News. They were among about 9,000 pages of documents that Mr. Meadows turned over to the congressional committee investigating the Jan. 6, 2021, Capitol attack. The texts detailed Mr. Meadows’s interactions with Republican politicians as they planned strategies to try to keep Mr. Trump in office in the weeks before the riot.

The committee obtained 29 texts between Ms. Thomas and Mr. Meadows — 28 exchanged between Nov. 4 and Nov. 24, and one written on Jan. 10. The text messages, most of which were written by Ms. Thomas, represent the first evidence that she was directly advising the White House as it sought to overturn the election. In fact, in her efforts to keep Mr. Trump in power, Ms. Thomas effectively toggled between like-minded members of the executive and legislative branches, even as her husband, who sits atop the judiciary branch that is supposed to serve as a check on the other branches of government, heard election-related cases.

Justice Thomas has been Mr. Trump’s most stalwart defender on the court. In February 2021, he wrote a dissent after the majority declined to hear a case filed by Pennsylvania Republicans that sought to disqualify certain mail-in ballots. And this past January, he was the only justice who voted against allowing the release of records from the Trump White

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In Retaliating, Ukraine Sends Signal to the World

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — A month into a war that began with widespread expectations of a quick Russian rout, Ukraine’s military is undertaking a counteroffensive that has altered the central dynamic of the fighting: The question is no longer how far Russian forces have advanced, but whether the Ukrainians are now pushing them back.

Ukraine has blown up parked Russian helicopters in the south, and on Thursday claimed to have destroyed a naval ship in the Sea of Azov. Its forces struck a Russian resupply convoy in the Northeast.

Western and Ukrainian officials also have claimed progress in fierce fighting around the capital, Kyiv.

The asserted gains in territory are hard to quantify, or verify. In at

Strategy of Skirmishes Exploits the Flaws in Russia’s Approach

least one crucial battle in a suburb of Kyiv, where Russian troops had made their closest approach to the capital, brutal street fighting still raged on Thursday and it was not clear that Ukraine had regained any ground.

But even this muddled picture of Ukrainian progress is helpful for the country’s messaging to its citizens, and to the world — that it is taking the fight to a foe with superior numbers and weaponry, and not just hunkering down to play defense. And it underscores the flawed planning and execution that has bedeviled Russian forces

from the start, including supply shortages and demoralizing conditions for its soldiers. Those missteps have enabled Ukraine to unexpectedly go on the offensive.

In particular, by preventing Russian troops from capturing Irpin, a suburban town about 12 miles from the center of Kyiv, Ukraine showed that its strategy of sending small units out from the capital to engage the Russians, often in ambushes, has had success, at least for now.

Western governments have issued cautiously optimistic assessments of the counteroffensive. In an intelligence report released Wednesday, the British Ministry of Defense said the Ukrainian moves were “increasing pressure” on the Russians to the east of Kyiv, and that Ukrainian soldiers “have probably retaken

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Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson during her Supreme Court confirmation hearings this week.

A Broken Confirmation Process on Full Display

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — The Republican manhandling of Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson this week was convincing evidence that the Senate’s Supreme Court confirmation process is irredeemably broken.

The aggressively hostile interrogation of Judge Jackson, featuring political dog-whistling and relentless re-litigating of Supreme Court feuds of the past, marred what could have been not only a reset for the Senate, but a significant national moment in seeing the first Black woman ascend to the pinnacle of American jurisprudence with

NEWS ANALYSIS

strong support.

Instead it was an escalation of what has come before it in recent years: toxic partisanship, bitter attacks and nasty questioning full of innuendo about the supposed character failings of a nominee who will likely carry the scars across the street to the high court.

“Do you believe child predators are misunderstood?” Senator Marsha Blackburn, Republican of Tennessee, asked in one of the many loaded queries aimed at defining Judge Jackson as some sort of pedophile enabler, despite years of lauded service

on the bench.

“Could you fairly judge a Catholic?” asked Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina, one of Judge Jackson’s main antagonists despite the fact that he had voted to promote her to a highly influential appellate court just last year, one of only three Republicans to do so.

“Do you agree with this book that is being taught with kids that the babies are racist?” asked Senator Ted Cruz, Republican of Texas, who also took it upon himself to lecture Judge Jackson, whose parents had attended segregated schools, about the teachings of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

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Europe Agrees On Law to Curb Big Tech’s Might

By ADAM SATARIANO

GÖTTINGEN, Germany — The European Union agreed on Thursday to one of the world’s most far-reaching laws to address the power of the biggest tech companies, potentially reshaping app stores, online advertising, e-commerce, messaging services and other everyday digital tools.

The law, called the Digital Markets Act, is the most sweeping piece of digital policy since the bloc put the world’s toughest rules to protect people’s online data into effect in 2018. The legislation is aimed at stopping the largest tech platforms from using their interlocking services and considerable resources to box in users and squash emerging rivals, creating room for new entrants and fostering more competition.

What that means practically is that companies like Google will no longer be able to collect data from different services to offer targeted ads without users’ consent and that Apple may have to allow alternatives to its App Store on iPhones and iPads. Violators of the law, which will take effect as early as later this year, could face penalties of up to 20 percent of their global revenue — which could reach into the tens of billions of dollars — for repeat offenses.

The Digital Markets Act is part of a one-two punch by European regulators. As early as next month, the European Union is expected to reach an agreement on a law that would force social media companies such as Meta, the owner of Facebook and Instagram, to police their platforms

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Mayor Eric Adams at Citi Field.

Adams Relents On Vaccination Of Pro Athletes

By JEFFERY C. MAYS and DANA RUBINSTEIN

Less than two weeks ago, Mayor Eric Adams had a quick response to a heckler who implored him to drop the vaccine requirement that kept the Brooklyn Nets star Kyrie Irving from playing in New York City.

“Kyrie can play tomorrow,” Mr. Adams retorted. “Get vaccinated.”

But privately, efforts were already underway by the owners and executives of some of the wealthiest and most influential sports franchises in the country to persuade Mr. Adams to change his mind.

The Yankees president, Randy Levine, personally reached out to the mayor’s team and encouraged officials to consider that baseball is played outdoors where Covid transmission rates are lower than indoors.

Steven A. Cohen, the hedge fund manager and Mets owner who last year gave \$1.5 million to a super PAC supporting Mr. Ad-

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In Poland, Biden Highlights Human Toll of Mass Exodus



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden visited soldiers from the 82nd Airborne in Rzeszów, Poland, and also met refugees at a nearby aid and transit center.

Alliances Shift
As Israel Hosts
3 Arab Leaders

By PATRICK KINGSLEY
JERUSALEM — Israel will host a historic summit this weekend with the top diplomats from the United States, the United Arab Emirates, Morocco and Bahrain, a sign of how quickly the realignment of Middle Eastern powers is accelerating as Israelis and some Arab governments find common cause not only over Iran but in navigating the new global realities created by the Ukraine war. Unimaginable half a decade ago, the high-level meeting reflects the new political reality created when Israel sealed landmark diplomatic agreements with the U.A.E., Bahrain and Morocco in 2020. Planned for Sunday and Monday, it is set to be the first meeting with top officials from three Arab countries on Israeli soil, and highlights how Israel — which needed the United States to help broker the 2020 accords — can now become a bridge between Washington and certain Arab governments. The groundbreaking visit will add the three foreign ministers to a very short list of high-level Arab visitors to Israel — starting with Anwar Sadat, the Egyptian president who shocked Israelis by flying to Israel in 1977 and calling for peace in an address to the Knesset, or parliament. Hosni Mubarak, Mr. Sadat’s successor, visited in 1995 to deliver a eulogy at the funeral of slain prime minister Yitzhak Rabin. King Hussein of Jordan also visited Israel several times, including for Mr. Rabin’s funeral. The meeting will provide a forum to discuss both disagreements and shared concerns about the Ukraine war; the possibility of a new nuclear deal with Iran; and the need to avoid a surge of violence in Israel and the occupied territories next month, when

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Thomas Urged to Recuse Himself in Jan. 6 Cases

By ADAM LIPTAK
WASHINGTON — The disclosure that Virginia Thomas, the wife of Justice Clarence Thomas, had sent a barrage of text messages to the Trump White House urging efforts to overturn the 2020 election brought into sharp focus the conflict of interest her political activism has created — and the lack of a clear-cut remedy. It is one thing, experts in legal ethics said on Friday, for the spouse of a Supreme Court justice to express political views, even ones shot through with wild conspiracy theories. That may not by

Wife’s Messages Cause
Conflict for a Justice,
Legal Experts Say

itself require the justice’s recusal from cases touching on those views. But the text messages from Ms. Thomas, a longtime conservative activist who goes by Ginni, revealed something quite different and deeply troubling, experts said. The messages from Ms. Thom-

as to Mark Meadows, President Donald J. Trump’s chief of staff, sent during and just after the fraught weeks between the 2020 presidential election and the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol, demonstrated that she was an active participant in shaping the legal effort to overturn the election. “I’m not sure how I would have come out if we just had a lot of texts from her saying that ‘this is terrible,’ said Amanda Frost, a law professor at American University in Washington. “But she wasn’t doing just that,” Professor Frost said. “She was strategizing. She was promoting. Continued on Page A14

G.O.P. Primaries to Gauge Trump’s Pull on Party

By SHANE GOLDMACHER and JONATHAN MARTIN
Donald J. Trump has sought to establish himself as the Republican Party’s undisputed kingmaker in the 2022 midterms, issuing more than 120 endorsements to elevate allies, punish those who have crossed him and turn his baseless claim that the 2020 election was stolen into a litmus test for the party. But the range of Trump-backed candidates has become so unwieldy that even some of his own advisers have warned that his expansive effort to install loyalists nationwide has not only threatened his brand but diluted its impact, exposing him unnecessarily to political risk, according to advisers and Republican strategists. Mr. Trump’s face-saving decision on Wednesday to retract his endorsement of Representative Mo Brooks, a longtime ally who has slumped in the polls in Alabama’s Senate race, only highlighted the perils of an upcoming primary season that will test the former president’s sway over the Republican Party. Already, two of Mr. Trump’s early and most prominent Senate



ADRIANA ZEBRAUSKAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kari Lake, a candidate for Arizona governor, at a rally in January. She was recently endorsed by former President Donald J. Trump.

endorsements have backfired long before voters head to the polls. In addition to Alabama, his initial choice in Pennsylvania, Sean Parnell, quit the race last fall after abuse allegations emerged in a child custody dispute. And fears of further setbacks have helped keep Mr. Trump on the sidelines so far in choosing a re-

placement there or a candidate in the Ohio or Missouri Senate races. Georgia, where Mr. Trump is headed this weekend, represents one of his riskiest bets. He has been fixated on unseating the Republican governor, Brian Kemp. But Mr. Trump’s handpicked challenger has been struggling to gain Continued on Page A15

Moscow Signals a
Change in Its
War Goals

This article is by Anton Troianovski, Michael D. Shear and Michael Levenson.

Russia signaled a possible recalibration of its war aims in Ukraine on Friday as the Kremlin faced spreading global ostracism for the brutal invasion, hardened Western economic punishments and a determined Ukrainian resistance that appeared to be making some gains on the ground. A statement by Russia’s Defense Ministry said the goals of the “first stage of the operation” had been “mainly accomplished,” with Ukraine’s combat capabilities “significantly reduced,” and that it would focus on securing Ukraine’s eastern Donbas region, where Russia-backed separatists have been fighting for eight years. The Defense Ministry statement was ambiguous about further possible Russian territorial ambitions in Ukraine, where its ground forces have been mostly stymied by the unexpectedly strong Ukrainian military response. But on a day when President Biden was visiting U.S. soldiers in Poland near the Ukrainian border, the statement suggested the possibility that the Russians were looking for a way to salvage some kind of achievement before the costs of the war they launched a month ago became impossibly onerous. While Russia “does not exclude” that its forces will storm major Ukrainian cities such as Chernihiv, Mykolaiv and the capital, Kyiv, the Defense Ministry statement said taking them over was not the primary objective. “As individual units carry out their tasks — and they are being solved successfully — our forces and means will be concentrated on the main thing: the complete liberation of the Donbas,” Col. Gen. Sergei Rudskoi, a senior Russian military commander, said in the statement, his first since Russia’s invasion on Feb. 24. Whether General Rudskoi’s statement was sincere or simply Continued on Page A10

Travels to a Hub
for Ukrainians
on the Run

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR
WARSAW — President Biden traveled to a Polish city close to the border of war-torn Ukraine on Friday, vowing to maintain America’s solidarity with the countries on NATO’s eastern flank and reaffirming a commitment to financial support and humanitarian assistance for dealing with a staggering wave of refugees. The president heard firsthand from President Andrzej Duda of Poland about the desperate plight of more than two million people who have poured into his country just in the past month, driven from their homes by constant bombardment across Ukraine. “Wounded persons” with “mental trauma,” Mr. Duda told Mr. Biden, describing the many Ukrainians who had arrived with virtually no belongings. “The suffering that’s taking place now is at your doorstep,” Mr. Biden told Mr. Duda during a briefing from officials managing the exodus of Ukrainians into neighboring countries. “You’re the ones who are risking in some cases, your lives, and risking all you know, to try to help.” Mr. Biden did not venture into Ukraine because of security concerns — a fact that he lamented in remarks to reporters. “Quite frankly, part of my disappointment is that I can’t see it firsthand like I have in other places,” the president said. “They would not let me — understandably, I guess.” Instead, he met with Mr. Duda about 50 miles from the Ukrainian border in the southeastern city of Rzeszow, which has become a hub for humanitarian aid and a transit point for refugees. Mr. Biden also visited American troops stationed at a nearby military installation as part of a beefed-up NATO force in Eastern Europe, thanking them for serving as a visible deterrent to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia. He again called Mr. Putin a “war criminal,” a characterization that drew an angry response from the Continued on Page A10

INFORMATION WAR Strollers symbolizing slain children. Bach in the rubble. Skillful social media use is winning support for Ukraine. PAGE A9

AT CENTER STAGE Poland’s right-wing government has been embraced by Brussels and Washington, infuriating the Kremlin. PAGE A11

U.S. Makes a Pact With Europe
To Reduce Use of Russian Energy

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS
The United States announced a deal with European leaders on Friday to increase shipments of natural gas to help wean Europe off Russian energy. And Germany set an ambitious goal of halving its imports of Russian oil and coal this year and freeing itself from its dependence on Russian natural gas by the middle of 2024. Germany’s timelines, outlined by its vice chancellor, are a remarkable turnabout by Europe’s largest economy, which has long relied extensively on Russia for energy. Just a few months ago, Germany was still aiming to buy even more natural gas from Moscow through a new pipeline called Nord Stream 2. But President Vladimir V. Putin’s invasion of Ukraine has forced leaders in Germany and other European countries to rip up the energy playbook they had used for years, decades even, in just a month. The German vice chancellor, Robert Habeck, said at a briefing in Berlin that his country was shifting away from Russian energy at an “insane pace.”



CLARA VANNUCCI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A liquefied natural gas terminal in Porto Venere, Italy.

President Biden is seeking to encourage similar moves by other European countries, in part by offering up the United States as an energy supplier. The deal he announced, in Brussels earlier on Friday, lacked many details but contained some big goals: The United States would send an additional 15 billion cubic meters of liquefied natural gas to Europe this year — roughly 10 to 12 percent of current annual U.S. exports to all countries. By Continued on Page A7



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Making Adjustments in Flight
Critics say Mexico’s newest international airport was rushed open to precede a looming referendum. PAGE A4

Retiree vs. Spanish Banks
A retired doctor’s fight for dignity resonates with a rapidly aging population. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A5

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Manchin Will Back Jackson
The support of the West Virginia centrist shows Democrats are unifying behind Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson’s Supreme Court nomination. PAGE A13

Utah Passes Transgender Bill
The Legislature overrode a veto to enact a measure barring transgender athletes from competing in girls’ sports. Legal challenges are likely. PAGE A16

Back to ‘Broken Windows’?
As violent crime surges, New York’s mayor is testing how much policing a changed city will tolerate. PAGE A12

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Out of Pandemic, New Paths
A look at six people who lost their jobs during the lockdown and saw an opportunity to rethink their future and change their careers. PAGES B4-6

A Balancing Act on Inflation
The Fed historically has a mixed record of slowing the economy without causing a sustained recession, but officials hope to avoid a rough landing. PAGE B1

Tweets Sink a Levi’s Leader
Jennifer Sey, a candidate to lead Levi Strauss & Company, left after her posts against mask mandates. PAGE B1



SPORTS B8-11

Magical Run Adds a Milestone
St. Peter’s beat No. 3 Purdue to become the first 15th seed to reach the round of 8 in the N.C.A.A. tournament. PAGE B11

A Winter Holiday for Cheaters
Baseball’s lockout put drug testing on pause, which experts say gave players a chance to illicitly bulk up. PAGE B8

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Three Hosts for the Oscars
Regina Hall and Wanda Sykes talk about what they, and Amy Schumer, have planned for the show. PAGE C1

New York City’s Culture Czar
Laurie Cumbo, the new commissioner of the Department of Cultural Affairs, takes over at a delicate time. PAGE C1

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Jesse Wegman PAGE A18



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Rallying Allies, Biden Says Putin ‘Cannot Remain in Power’



JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia during a New York Times interview at his residence in Novo-Ogaryovo in 2003.

The Evolution of an Enigma

Tracing Putin’s 22-Year Slide From Statesman to Wrathful Dictator

By ROGER COHEN

PARIS — Speaking in what he called “the language of Goethe, Schiller and Kant,” picked up during his time as a K.G.B. officer in Dresden, President Vladimir V. Putin addressed the German Parliament on Sept. 25, 2001. “Russia is a friendly European nation,” he declared. “Stable peace on the continent is a paramount goal for our nation.”

The Russian leader, elected the previous year at the age of 47 after a meteoric rise from obscurity, went on to describe “democratic rights and freedoms” as the “key goal of Russia’s domestic policy.” Members of the Bundestag gave a standing ovation, moved by the reconciliation Mr. Putin seemed to embody in a city, Berlin, that long symbolized division between the West and the totalitarian Soviet world.

Norbert Röttgen, a center-right representative who headed the Parliament’s

Foreign Affairs Committee for several years, was among those who rose to their feet. “Putin captured us,” he said. “The voice was quite soft, in German, a voice that tempts you to believe what is said to you. We had some reason to think there was a viable perspective of togetherness.”

Today, all togetherness shredded, Ukraine burns, bludgeoned by the invading army Mr. Putin sent to prove his conviction that Ukrainian nationhood is a myth. More than 3.7 million Ukrainians are refugees; the dead mount up in a month-old war; and that purring voice of Mr. Putin has morphed into the angry rant of a hunched man dismissing as “scum and traitors” any Russian who resists the violence of his tightening dictatorship.

His opponents, a “fifth column” manipulated by the West, will meet an ugly fate, Mr. Putin vowed this month, grimacing as his planned blitzkrieg in Ukraine stalled. True Russians, he said, would “spit them

out like a gnat that accidentally flew into their mouths” and so achieve “a necessary self-purification of society.”

This was less the language of Kant than of fascist nationalist exaltation laced with Mr. Putin’s hardscrabble, brawling St. Petersburg youth.

Between these voices of reason and incitation, between these two seemingly different men, lie 22 years of power and five American presidents. As China rose, as America fought and lost its forever wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, as technology networked the world, a Russian enigma took form in the Kremlin.

Did the United States and its allies, through excess of optimism or naïveté, simply get Mr. Putin wrong from the outset? Or was he transformed over time into the revanchist warmonger of today, whether because of perceived Western provocation, gathering grievance, or the

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Signs of Persistent Counterattack Near Kyiv

By CARLOTTA GALL

NORTHERN OUTSKIRTS OF KYIV, Ukraine — When Ukrainian forces hit a Russian tank with an American-made Javelin missile on a highway on the northern reaches of the capital, Kyiv, the explosion was so huge that it tossed the turret 10 yards down the road and shredded the rest of the vehicle and the men inside.

The charred body parts of Russian soldiers were still decomposing on the asphalt three weeks later, alongside scattered metal debris and ammunition. A single felt boot, favorite footwear for centuries in Russia’s frozen villages, lay blackened among the detritus.

“Good shot,” the Ukrainian commander said with elation, surveying the wreck. A deputy commander of the 72nd Mechanized Brigade, which controlled the area, he asked that he be identified only by his nom de guerre, Sulim. He pointed to blackened chunks of human flesh and bone on the road from Russian soldiers killed in the strike, and added, “It was all humane, it was all very quick.”

“They came four times,” Commander Sulim, 40, said. “Let them come again. I am waiting.”

The Russian Army has come, again and again, trying to penetrate villages and suburbs around Kyiv for weeks, in what has become a seesaw battle for the critical areas that could be used to enter or encircle and eventually shell the capital.

Ukrainian media officers escorted several teams of journalists on a rare visit through villages close to Russian lines in the countryside of greater Kyiv on Friday to show some of the damage from early fighting, as well as the success of the Ukrainian resistance and the counterattacks Ukraine’s military has mounted.

The villages visited were not among those recently liberated by the continuing Ukrainian counter-offensive, but they had come under attack as Russian forces had tried to seize them two weeks ago.

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Fiery Statement After Visiting Refugees

This article is by Michael D. Shear, David E. Sanger and Michael Levenson.

WARSAW — President Biden delivered a forceful denunciation of Vladimir V. Putin’s invasion of Ukraine on Saturday, declaring “for God’s sake, this man cannot remain in power,” as he cast the war as the latest front in a decades-long battle between the forces of democracy and oppression.

Ending a three-day diplomatic trip to Europe with a fiery speech outside a centuries-old castle in Warsaw, Mr. Biden described the Russian invasion of Ukraine as the “test of all time” in a post-World War II struggle between democracy and autocracy, “between liberty and repression, between a rules-based order and one governed by brute force.”



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden with a young Ukrainian evacuee in Warsaw.

“In this battle, we need to be clear-eyed,” Mr. Biden said in front of a crowd waving Polish, Ukrainian and American flags. “This battle will not be won in days or months, either. We need to steel ourselves for the long fight ahead.”

Mr. Biden used the speech to bolster a key NATO ally on Ukraine’s western border that has served as a conduit for Western arms and has absorbed more than two million refugees fleeing the violence, more than any other country.

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PARSING HIS WORDS The end of President Biden’s speech on Saturday could be considered a slip of the tongue or a veiled threat. PAGE 14.

Election Texts Shine New Light On Clout Held by Justice’s Wife

This article is by Danny Hakim, Jo Becker and Alan Feuer.

Two days after the 2020 election, Virginia Thomas, the wife of Justice Clarence Thomas, texted an old friend, Mark Meadows, the chief of staff to President Donald J. Trump.

She sent messages that had been making the rounds on pro-Trump sites, where anger over the election echoed her own raw feelings, including this passage: “Biden crime family & ballot fraud co-conspirators (elected officials, bureaucrats, social media censorship mongers, fake stream media reporters, etc) are being arrested & detained for ballot fraud right now & over coming days, & will be living in barges off GITMO to face military tribunals for sedition.”

Then she added of this fanciful, if chilling, set of conspiracy theories: “I hope this is true.”

She texted Mr. Meadows again the next day. “Do not concede,” she wrote. “It takes time for the army who is gathering for his back.”

The messages were among a flurry of text traffic between Ms. Thomas and Mr. Meadows that was revealed last week, part of a trove of documents previously

turned over to the House committee investigating the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol. (Ms. Thomas has openly opposed the committee and called for Republicans who serve on it to be expelled from the House Republican conference.)

A hard-line conservative activist, Ms. Thomas had long been viewed with suspicion by the Republican establishment. Yet her influence had risen during the Trump administration, especially after Mr. Meadows, who like Ms. Thomas has roots in the Tea Party movement, became chief of staff. Now, an examination of her texts, woven together with recent revelations of the depth of her efforts to overturn the election, shows how firmly she was embedded in the conspiratorial fringe of right-wing politics, even as that fringe was drawing ever closer to the center of Republican power.

The disclosures add urgency to questions about how Ms. Thomas may have leveraged her marriage to Justice Thomas, who would be ruling on elections cases throughout the battle over the 2020 vote and beyond. As his wife agitated for Mr. Trump and his aides to turn aside the election results, Justice Thomas was Mr. Trump’s

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A Month of Agony and Resistance

The first weeks of the war in Ukraine included Russian strikes on a mall in Kyiv, left, and heavy damage to homes, right. Page 14.

Streaming Studios Storm the Oscars, With ‘Best Picture’ in Reach

By BROOKS BARNES and NICOLE SPERLING

Three years ago, Hollywood was engaged in a knock-down, drag-out fight over the future of cinema — what, exactly, constitutes a film — with the Oscars as the boxing ring.

Netflix and other streaming insurgents insisted that the delivery route was irrelevant, that a film

could be primarily viewed on an iPhone and still be a film. Theaters? Ticket sales? It didn’t matter.

The Hollywood establishment, or at least most of it, was incensed: Big screens, they argued, are part of the very definition of cinema. “Once you commit to a television format, you’re a TV movie,” Steven Spielberg told a reporter at a European press junket at the time. “You certainly, if it’s a

good show, deserve an Emmy, but not an Oscar.”

And now?

Unless the predictions are wrong and something unexpected awaits inside those gold leaf-embossed envelopes at the 94th Academy Awards on Sunday, a streaming service film — in a first — will win the Oscar for best picture. “CODA,” a dramedy from Apple TV+ about the only hearing member of a deaf family, is fa-

vored to receive the prize, having already won top honors at the predictive Producers Guild Awards, Screen Actors Guild Awards and Writers Guild Awards.

A Netflix film, “The Power of the Dog,” could nudge past “CODA” to win the best picture trophy, awards handicappers say. But most are not predicting a win for nominees from traditional studios, including “Belfast” and

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Drummer for Foo Fighters
Taylor Hawkins, 50, said a Queen show in 1982 “changed everything.” PAGE 30

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Britain’s Refugee Predicament
Thousands of Afghans still lack homes as a Ukrainian influx looms. PAGE 4

NATIONAL 20-28

Squeezed Off Their Spaces
Investment companies are buying up mobile home parks and driving up rents, pushing out longtime residents with nowhere else to turn. PAGE 20

U.S. to Offer Second Booster
Another shot might save thousands of lives if a new coronavirus wave hits before the fall, officials say. PAGE 23

SUNDAY STYLES

A Quiet Media Power Player
Jay Penske has been on a buying spree that includes Rolling Stone, the South by Southwest festival and more. PAGE 10



SPORTS 32-35

It’s Not Over Yet for Coach K
Duke, in Coach Mike Krzyzewski’s final season, and Villanova advanced to the Final Four in the men’s N.C.A.A. basketball tournament. PAGE 33

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SUNDAY BUSINESS

‘Crowdfunding for Justice’
Philanthropists big and small have been donating money and time to help catch killers, by hiring geneticists and paying for DNA searches. PAGE 1

Read Before You File
Paying your income taxes could be extra-complicated this year. Our guide is here to help you. PAGE 8

METROPOLITAN

Tensions Over ‘Gangsta Night’
A themed gathering at a basketball game in a rural New York town has exposed racial fault lines. PAGE 1



Citizens of Kyiv



Mariupol Teetering Amid Signs Russia Is Shifting Focus



ROMAN PILIPEY/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Inside the Regional State Administration office in Kharkiv on Sunday. Artillery fire killed seven in the city, including two children.

Ukraine Says Foe May Concentrate on East in Effort to Split Country

By CARLOTTA GALL

KYIV, Ukraine — Russian forces redoubled attacks on strategic targets across Ukraine on Sunday, with fierce fighting reported around the capital, Kyiv, amid signs that the besieged city of Mariupol was close to falling. As the conflict moved into its second month, Russian forces have largely failed in their first aim to take the largest cities and have narrowed immediate targets to the sieges of the southern port city of Mariupol and the strategically placed city of Chernihiv in the north. Air raid sirens rang out in Kyiv during the day, but otherwise the city remained calm, lending some credence to the Russian Defense Ministry’s recent assertion that it was turning its focus away from Kyiv to concentrate on the eastern front. Some Russian units were withdrawing to Belarus in the north to regroup and re-equip, according to the Ukrainian military, but heavy Russian artillery attacks continued around Chernihiv, northeast of Kyiv. Seven people, including two children, died in artillery fire in Kharkiv, in northeast Ukraine, as Russian forces tried to subdue the

city near the border, the Ukrainian news media reported. And missiles hit a fuel depot in western Ukraine as Russia continued to use airstrikes to disrupt supply lines to Ukrainian forces. Ukraine’s top military intelligence officer suggested that Russia was changing its military focus to the south and east and might be trying to divide Ukraine between occupied and nonoccupied territories. “In fact, this is an attempt to create North and South Korea in Ukraine,” said Brig. Gen. Kyrlo Budanov, the head of the intelligence division of Ukraine’s Ministry of Defense. Fighting across the country showed Russian forces were working to consolidate their positions in key spots north of Kyiv and resisting Ukrainian attempts to break their grip there while focusing fully on seizing control of Mariupol. After weeks of siege in the port city, Ukrainian soldiers and civilians trapped there were facing increasingly dire conditions, without food and water, forcing people to use untreated sewage water to survive. Western military analysts and

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HEALTH CATASTROPHE LOOMS The war in Ukraine threatens to undo decades of progress with H.I.V., tuberculosis and hepatitis. PAGE A9
BIDEN’S NINE WORDS An ad-lib statement captures the attention of foreign policy experts, Congress members and NATO allies. PAGE A13

How Manchin Aided Coal Industry, and Earned Himself Millions

This article is by Christopher Flavelle, Julie Tate and Erin Schaff.
GRANT TOWN, W.Va. — On a hilltop overlooking Paw Paw Creek, 15 miles south of the Pennsylvania border, looms a fortresslike structure with a single smokestack, the only viable business in a dying Appalachian town. The Grant Town power plant is also the link between the coal industry and the personal finances of Joe Manchin III, the Democrat who rose through state politics to reach the United States Senate, where, through the vagaries of electoral politics, he is now the single most important figure shaping

the nation’s energy and climate policy. Mr. Manchin’s ties to the Grant Town plant date to 1987, when he had just been elected to the West Virginia Senate, a part-time job with base pay of \$6,500. His family’s carpet business was struggling. Opportunity arrived in the form of two developers who wanted to build a power plant in Grant Town, just outside Mr. Manchin’s district. Mr. Manchin, whose grandfather went to work in the mines at age 9 and whose uncle died in a mining accident, helped the developers clear bureaucratic hurdles. Then he did something beyond routine constituent services. He

A Senator’s Fortune Is Tied to a Power Plant in West Virginia

went into business with the Grant Town power plant. Mr. Manchin supplied a type of low-grade coal mixed with rock and clay known as “gob” that is typically cast aside as junk by mining companies but can be burned to produce electricity. In addition, he arranged to receive a slice of the revenue from electricity generated by the plant — electric bills paid by his constituents.

The deal inked decades ago has made Mr. Manchin, now 74, a rich man. While the fact that Mr. Manchin owns a coal business is well-known, an examination by The New York Times offers a more detailed portrait of the degree to which Mr. Manchin’s business has been interwoven with his official actions. He created his business while a state lawmaker in anticipation of the Grant Town plant, which has been the sole customer for his gob for the past 20 years, according to federal data. At key moments over the years, Mr. Manchin used his political influence to benefit the plant. He urged

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Nokia Departs, But Cybertools Stay in Russia

This article is by Adam Satariano, Paul Mozur and Aaron Krolík.

Nokia said this month that it would stop its sales in Russia and denounced the invasion of Ukraine. But the Finnish company didn’t mention what it was leaving behind: equipment and software connecting the government’s most powerful tool for digital surveillance to the nation’s largest telecommunications network. The tool was used to track supporters of the Russian opposition leader Aleksei A. Navalny. Investigators said it had intercepted the phone calls of a Kremlin foe who was later assassinated. Called the System for Operative Investigative Activities, or SORM, it is also most likely being employed at this moment as President Vladimir V. Putin culls and silences antiwar voices inside Russia. For more than five years, Nokia provided equipment and services to link SORM to Russia’s largest telecom service provider, MTS, according to company documents obtained by The New York Times. While Nokia does not make the tech that intercepts communications, the documents lay out how it worked with state-linked Russian companies to plan, streamline and troubleshoot the SORM system’s connection to the MTS network. Russia’s main intelligence service, the F.S.B., uses SORM to listen in on phone conversations, intercept emails and text messages, and track other internet communications. The documents, spanning 2008 to 2017, show in previously unreported detail that Nokia knew it was enabling a Russian surveillance system. The work was essential for Nokia to do business in Russia, where it had become a top supplier of equipment and services to various telecommunications customers to help their networks function. The business yielded hundreds of millions of

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Kremlin Purges Reporters’ Talk With Zelensky

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI and IVAN NECHEPURENKO
It was a remarkable moment in the war in Europe: President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine gave a 90-minute-long Zoom interview on Sunday to four prominent journalists from Russia, the country invading his. Hours later, the Kremlin responded. A government statement notified the Russian news media “of the necessity to refrain from publishing this interview.” Journalists based outside Russia published it anyway. Those still inside Russia did not. The episode laid bare the extraordinary, and partly successful, efforts at censorship being undertaken in Russia by President Vladimir V. Putin’s government as his bloody invasion of Ukraine enters its second month, along with Mr. Zelensky’s attempts to circumvent that censorship and reach the public directly. In the interview, Mr. Zelensky offered a graphic description of what he claimed was the Kremlin’s disregard for both Ukrainian and Russian lives, to the point, he said, that the Russian army was slow to pick up the bodies of its fallen soldiers. “First they refused, then something else, then they proposed some sorts of bags to us,” Mr. Zelensky said, describing Ukraine’s efforts to hand over the bodies of Russian soldiers. “Listen, even when a dog or a cat dies, people don’t do this.” Mr. Zelensky generally speaks Ukrainian in public — his country’s official language — but he is a native Russian speaker, and he has repeatedly switched into Russian in the video addresses that he posts to social media, seeking to encourage Mr. Putin’s critics inside Russia. But Sunday’s interview marked the first time since the war began that Mr. Zelensky had spoken at length with Russian journalists, in their language.

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Pentagon Seeks To Offset Rival As Arctic Melts

By MIKE BAKER

DELTA JUNCTION, Alaska — After parachuting into the frigid Alaska interior, Capt. Weston Iannone and his soldiers navigated miles through deep snow, finally setting up a temporary outpost on a ridgeline next to a grove of lanky spruce trees that were also struggling to survive. Darkness was setting in, the temperature had fallen below zero, and the 120 men and women who had gathered as part of a major combat training exercise in subarctic Alaska had not yet erected tents. The supply line for fuel, essential to keep warm through the long night ahead, was lagging behind. “Everything is a challenge, from water, fuel, food, moving people, keeping them comfortable,” said Captain Iannone, the 27-year-old company commander, as his soldiers shoveled deeper into the snow in search of a solid foundation to put up their sleeping quarters. “This is inherent training —

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ASH ADAMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

About 8,000 American troops took part in a training exercise near Fairbanks, Alaska, this month.

INTERNATIONAL A4-15

A Hotel in an Ex-War Office

An extravagant conversion is nearly complete on the Old War Office in London, an Edwardian-era monument to Britain’s imperial past. PAGE A4

2nd Plane Recorder Is Found

The cause of the crash of China Eastern Flight 5735, which killed 132 people on Monday, remains unknown. PAGE A15

OBITUARIES A22-23

Saved by ‘Britain’s Schindler’

Vera Gissing, 93, was 10 when train convoys took her and hundreds of other Jewish children to safety. PAGE A22

SPORTS D1-8

The One-of-a-Kind Mets

George Vecsey recalls the ineptitude and the Stengelisms that marked a team’s 1962 birth. PAGES D2-3

A No. 15 Seed’s Run Ends

St. Peter’s fell one game short of the men’s Final Four, losing to North Carolina. Kansas routed Miami. PAGES D6-8



NATIONAL A16-21

Committee Argues for Charges

The House panel investigating the Capitol riot issued a report on two allies of Donald Trump and their roles in efforts to keep him in power. PAGE A17

Inquiry of Lieutenant Governor

Federal prosecutors are examining whether Brian Benjamin of New York took part in a plan to funnel fraudulent contributions to his campaign. PAGE A18

States Suspend Gas Taxes

Other states could soon follow actions by Maryland, Georgia and Connecticut to reduce prices at the pump. PAGE A19

ARTS C1-8

That Ellington Swing

Making a case for Duke Ellington works that are still rarely heard from classical ensembles. A review. PAGE C6

Big Winners at the Oscars

Will Smith provided a slap and Ariana DeBose made history at the Academy Awards ceremony. PAGE C1



BUSINESS B1-6

Rumble Envisions an Alt-Web

The far-right video platform wants to help build a “new internet” that has no ties to Silicon Valley’s titans. PAGE B1

Why Chris Wallace Left Fox

Changes following Donald J. Trump’s defeat in 2020 influenced the anchor’s decision to move to CNN+. PAGE B1

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Farah Stockman

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Biden’s Budget Tilts Priorities Toward Center

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By **KAREN ZRAICK**
and **ASHLEY WONG**

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NEWS ANALYSIS

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Ukraine is a sovereign nation with a population of more than 40 million, an armed force of over 200,000 troops and a capital city of three million or more inhabitants.

But Chechnya’s experience is worth recalling, as it was the first time we saw Vladimir V. Putin develop his game plan to reassert Russian dominion wherever he wanted. His methods are brute force and terror: the bombing and besieging of cities, the deliberate targeting of civilians and the abduction and jailing of local leaders and journalists and their replacement by loyal quislings. The tactics are straight out of Stalin’s playbook, as former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright wrote shortly before her death.

The war in Chechnya began

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